Ceramics of the Spanish-Atlantic World

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Ceramics of the Spanish-Atlantic World

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirement
for the degree of Bachelors of Arts in the Anthropology Department from
The College of William and Mary

By

Kathryn Lee Swanson

Accepted for High Honors
(Honors, High Honors, Highest Honors)

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April 30, 2007
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Table of Contents

Figures iii
Tables v
Acknowledgments vi
Introduction 1
Chapter One: Rota, The Old World 9
Chapter Two: Puerto Real and St Augustine, The New World 13
Chapter Three: Methodology 23
Chapter Four: Discussion of Origins, Gender, and Aesthetics 26
Chapter Five: Conclusion 45
Bibliography 51
Appendix A: Photos of Site B and Majolicas from Rota 54
Appendix B: Identification of Ceramics found at Rota 58
Figures

FIGURE 1. Map of Rota in relation to eastern Andalusia. (Swanson 2006:15)

FIGURE 2. Map of the United States Naval Station, Rota. Note Site B in the northwestern corner. (Swanson 2006:16)


FIGURE 5. St. Augustine circa 1762. (Deagan 1983:10)

FIGURE 6: Distribution of ceramic types according to income levels. The percentages are measured according to the proportion of the Kitchen artifact assemblage. (Based on Deagan 1983:238-239)

FIGURE 7. The late fifteenth and sixteenth century diffusion of Andalusian ceramics. (Lister and Lister 1987:172)

FIGURE 8. Gender differences in emigration percentages. (Based on Boyd-Bowman 1976: 599)

FIGURE 9. A sample of the blue-on-white ceramic fragments uncovered from Rota and brought to the United States for further analysis. (Photo by the author)

FIGURE 10. A view of the Western Arroyo from the observation area of the former motocross track. The bright green lines indicate the erosion protection nets and, partially, indicate the location of the track. (Photo by the author)

FIGURE 11. A view of the observation area of the former motocross track from the Western Arroyo. The green nets serve as erosion barriers. (Photo by the author)

FIGURE 12. An on-site photograph of a sample of the ceramics found at Site B. (Photo by the author)

FIGURE 13. The ceramic sample collected on the western side of Site B. (Photo by the author)

FIGURE 14. Base fragment of an Ichtuchknee blue-on-white plate. (Photo by the author)

FIGURE 15. Base fragment of an Unidentified blue-on-white bowl. (Photo by the author)

FIGURE 16. Marly fragment of an Unidentified blue-on-white plate. (Photo by the author)

FIGURE 17. Body fragment of an Unidentified blue-on-white vessel. (Photo by the author)
FIGURE 18. Rim fragment of an Unidentified polychrome vessel. (Photo by the author)

FIGURE 19. Body and rim fragments of Andalusia polychrome A vessels. (Photo by the author)

FIGURE 20. Body and rim fragments of Unidentified polychrome bacins. (Photo by the author)
Tables

TABLE 1. The origins and types of ceramics found at Puerto Real and St. Augustine. (Based Deagan 1983:77,113; Deagan 1995:210-211)

TABLE 2. Distribution of majolicas at the de la Cruz site. (Based on Deagan 1983:113)

TABLE 3. Distribution of majolicas at the de Hita site. (Based on Deagan 1983:77)


TABLE 4. Identification of the ceramics brought to the United States from Rota and the production date range of each type. (Chart produced by the author)

TABLE 5. Identification and motifs of the Blue on White Ceramics found at Rota (Chart produced by the author)

TABLE 6. Identification and motifs of the Polychrome Ceramics found at Rota (Chart produced by the author)
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Ceramics of the Spanish-Atlantic World

Introduction

For decades, archaeologists have been fascinated by Spanish colonialism and its character in the Caribbean and the southeastern United States. Questions regarding the patterns of colonialism, the effects of the newcomers on the indigenous population, and the formation of a creolized culture have been subject to in-depth studies. Researchers have investigated the material culture, languages, economies, political structures, and social composition of Spain’s New World colonies. Archaeological investigations have been carried out across the Caribbean and throughout the southeastern United States. Innumerable books and articles have been written about Spanish colonialism in the New World and countless scholars continue to investigate these themes further.

Little of the research conducted in Spain itself, however, has been linked to the studies carried out in her former colonies. Admittedly, the overwhelming majority of Spanish archaeology centers on the area’s prehistoric, Roman, and Moorish periods and is therefore of relatively little use to those interested in stories of the colonies. Inquiry into the imperial period of Spanish history, however, indicates a wealth of valuable information for those interested in Spain’s colonies across the Atlantic. By analyzing the New World in relation to its colonizer and assessing how the two regions diverge from each other in terms of social customs, material culture, language, and political structure, researchers can gain a new perspective on the development of the Spanish-American colonies.

Comparing the artifacts found on Spanish colonial sites in the New World with those from Spain, for example, can help scholars understand the changes occurring in the
colonies as they developed their own independent identities. By understanding what types of goods were being produced in Europe, scholars interpreting the material culture of the Americas would gain a firmer understanding of what products were locally made and what commodities were imported. As a result, researchers would obtain a clearer picture of the New World’s production capabilities as well as the influences that shaped the region’s material culture.

Ceramics in particular provide an ideal means of analyzing social changes in this way, as they are the most plentiful artifacts recovered at Spanish and Spanish colonial archaeological sites. It has been suggested that this heavy dependency on pottery is due to the relative scarcity of timber on the Iberian Peninsula and the resulting lack of alternative storage materials (Fairbanks 1973:143). This trend transferred to the New World through emigrating colonists and trade between Spain and her colonies, consequently making ceramics a key part of archaeological assemblages throughout the Spanish-Atlantic world.

Due to the important and plentiful nature of pottery at Spanish colonial sites, therefore, it is possible to infer social changes and cultural developments based on the types and locations of the ceramics found during archaeological excavations. As James Deetz noted in his study of New England ceramics, cultural systems and by extension pottery, are generally influenced by four key factors: availability, need, function, and social status (1973:19). This holds true for the Spanish colonies, as all of these factors play a role in establishing a material culture assemblage.

For the New World, finer European-made goods such as majolicas were undeniably of limited availability. The costs of manufacture and shipping alone
prohibited many from enjoying these goods, while strict trade regulations imposed by Spain and sporadic supply shipments to colonies further limited the availability of Spanish ceramics. As New World-based industries began to form and locally-produced tableware became more widely available, it seems logical to conclude that less Spanish pottery was being imported as the colonists were able to fulfill their own needs. With a lower import frequency, the availability of European ceramics, especially those from the Iberian Peninsula, further decreased.

The need for Spanish ceramics, however, did not diminish. As Bonnie McEwan (1995:223) noted in her discussion of excavations in Puerto Real, Haiti, “whether genuine or perceived, the need for particular Spanish ceramic forms appears to have been directly related to their function.” She argued that the most common vessel forms imported to this colonial town were ones for which there was no native equivalent. Consequently, utilitarian forms such as the ubiquitous olive jar and bacín, which were not part of the native assemblage, were sent from Spain. In addition, finer tableware such as majolica was also imported in order to enable the colonists to maintain the living standards to which they were accustomed in Spain.

Deetz’s final two factors, function and social status, appear to blend together in the Spanish New World colonies. Aside from the practical use of these imported ceramics as dishes for the table, the function of finer European ceramics was, in a large part, that of a status indicator. Those who could afford to own imported goods such as majolicas, therefore were likely to use them in the most socially visible areas in order to display their wealth. In the Spanish colonial social structure, those with direct connections to the mother country were viewed as socially superior to the natives or those of mixed blood.
This attitude is emphasized in the ceramic assemblage, as Spanish pottery was considered better than ceramics from England, France, Holland or other European countries (Deagan 1983:38). In discussing her work at St. Augustine, Kathleen Deagan (1983:124) comments directly on this disparity by concluding that “social distinctions within the town were reflected in differential access to Hispanic goods.”

In the case of Spain and her colonies, therefore, the abundant presence of ceramics at sites on both sides of the Atlantic has made pottery an especially valuable resource for examining social transformations. Yet despite the rich body of information about majolica, the overwhelming majority of the research conducted on Spanish ceramics thus far has focused on utilitarian pottery. In many cases, this emphasis is incorrectly justified by the assertion that majolica has been overanalyzed. Over the course of my research, I have found very few studies that investigate majolica in depth, with the exception of John Goggin’s groundbreaking study, Florence and Robert Lister’s monograph and the first volume of Deagan’s Artifacts series. Aside from the Lister’s book, those that do address this ceramic type have concentrated primarily on how to distinguish the various types of majolica and have largely ignored the interpretation of these ceramics in a social context.

It is my hope therefore, that this project will be a step toward filling the aforementioned void between Spanish and Spanish-American archaeology as well as adding to the relatively small number of majolica studies. Through a comparison of luxury ceramic assemblages collected in Spain, the Caribbean, and the southeastern United States, this thesis will attempt to gain a better understanding of the social developments occurring within the Spanish-American colonies.
Specifically, I will analyze the hypothesis proposed by Kathleen Deagan and Charles Ewen in their work in St. Augustine, Florida and Puerto Real, Haiti, respectively. During the course of their excavations at these sites, both archaeologists theorized that socially visible status-related artifacts in the colonies would be predominantly European-made (Ewen 1991:45). Over time, however, the material culture should change to indicate the formation of a new, unique Hispanic-American culture (Ewen 1991:47-48).

In examining this hypothesis with relation to ceramics, one would expect to find primarily Spanish-made luxury ceramics, such as majolica, in the early colonies. As time progressed, however, the second part of Deagan’s and Ewen’s theory implies that different ceramic types should appear as the colonists continue to adapt to their new environment and develop their own standardized, local culture, both socially and materially.

Deagan advances this model by also proposing that the artifact assemblages in the colonies reflect a division of activities according to gender (1983:104-105). Her argument addressed the predominantly aboriginal influences in areas frequently associated with women, such as kitchen activities and child care, as opposed to the Spanish forces present in the more male-dominated activities of warfare and house construction (Deagan 1983:104-105).

Through this thesis, I would particularly like to investigate how creolization is evident in the ceramic assemblages by exploring the origins of the ceramic fragments found in the colonies as well as the gender-division proposed by Deagan. I am also interested in comparing the aesthetics, both of vessel form and of surface decoration, between the Spanish ceramics from Rota and the pottery found and produced in the New
World, an area largely neglected by previous scholars. In looking at the ornamentation of the different ceramics, I would like to see how the similarities and differences reflect the social and cultural development of the colonies.

One further element of interest is the development of the function of the ceramics over the course of time in the New World. In both of the colonies focused on here, connections with Spain were seen as positive social factors (Deagan 1983:240). The use and display of Spanish luxury goods, therefore, served to indicate and elevate the importance of their owner. While the ceramics were undoubtedly being used as actual ceramic dishes, they also served an implied purpose as they provided a means of communicating the social status, wealth, and in some cases, ethnicity of their owner. As Florence and Robert Lister noted (1987:214), “…in some circumstances Andalusian earthenware acquired a new dimension: amid the disruptive cultural vibrations attendant on moving from one world into another, it had been converted from a necessity into a status symbol.” I will also consider how this new function developed and the ways in which it reflected the creolization process of the Spanish colonies.

Due to the wealth of available information, the three sites that will be focused on in this study are Rota, Spain, Puerto Real, and St. Augustine. My archaeological surveys in Rota are crucial to my argument as they provide new information in areas of Spanish research previously neglected by scholars, namely post-medieval domestic sites. The location of Rota in Andalusia further increases the site’s importance for this thesis as a majority of the immigrants coming from Spain to populate the Colonies were lower class Andalusians (Boyd-Bowman 1976:582). Emigration ledgers indicate that an overwhelming majority of the colonists originated from Seville, Jérez de la Frontera, and
Cadiz (Boyd-Bowman 1976:589,591), all Andalusian cities within one hundred kilometers of Rota. In addition, my research has suggested that this site was occupied throughout Spain’s colonizing period by individuals similar to those immigrating to the New World. Consequently, Rota provides an excellent basis for comparison with New World sites of similar economic factors, cultural conditions, and social status.

In addition to comparable backgrounds, these sites feature a great deal of archaeological compatibility. Ewen’s work in Puerto Real has yielded a fairly large ceramic collection that dates from the founding of the colony in 1503 through its forced evacuation in 1578 (Ewen 1991:24,30), providing a great deal of information about the ceramics used by the early colonists. Deagan’s extensive excavations in St. Augustine, in contrast, have uncovered an excellent sampling of ceramics from 1565 through 1821 (Deagan 1991:xiii,xxiv), consequently supplying material with which to analyze the changes in ceramics during the later period of Spanish colonization. It is important to note, however, that St. Augustine was under English control between 1764 and 1784. Consequently, ceramics dating to any period after 1763 will doubtless reflect a broader range of European influences, even after the area returned to Spanish control. Because of this governmental shift and its consequential effects on the city’s society and material culture, this thesis will focus primarily on the First Spanish period (1565-1763) with an emphasis on the last sixty-three years of that period.

Rota, Puerto Real, and St. Augustine also share similar social histories. These towns, while they were not completely isolated from the larger Spanish world, were not major cultural or trade centers. The New World sites, in particular, frequently went without European goods for extended periods of time as inconvenient trade routes and
irregular shipments meant long delays in getting supplies. While this might appear to be a
detriment in studying the Spanish influence and role in the development of the colonies,
the relative isolation of the sites served to lessen the influence of other cultures that
would have converged at some of the larger sites such as Havana, which would reflect a
more international network through its material culture.

While the Spanish culture is dominant in each of these three areas, the New
World sites also feature Native American and African influences. As noted by Deagan,
these elements are particularly apparent in the locally-made utilitarian wares used in the
colonies (Deagan 1996:146-147,150). Because these cultures had little impact on the
production and use of luxury ceramics, their role in shaping Spanish American ceramic
assemblages is largely beyond the scope of this paper and will therefore not be addressed
except to note their presence.
Chapter One

Rota, The Old World

Located on the Costa de la Luz in Andalusia (Figure 1), the town of Rota has a rich and varied past that reflects the overall history of the surrounding region. As described by archaeologist Pedro Funari, “A country of passage, [Spain] has been settled by several peoples” (2006:211). While early ruling groups such as the Phoenicians and Romans contributed to the area’s unique culture and social system, the 8th century Arab invaders left perhaps the most enduring marks on the region (Swanson 2006:4).

Figure 1: Map of Rota in relation to eastern Andalusia. (Swanson 2006:15)
The most important of these contributions by the North African Moors was the introduction of glazed pottery, which ultimately came to be known as *maiolica*, or majolica (Funari 2006:214). This tradition strengthened over the four centuries of Arab rule in southern Spain and is still a prevalent source of inspiration for modern Spanish ceramics.

After the Christians expelled the Moors in the 13th century, the ceramic industry continued to flourish in Spain for many reasons. This trade was particularly strong in Seville due to the establishment of a shipping monopoly, the Casa de Contratación, which levied taxes, imposed duties, and required the registration of all cargo prior to shipment (Deagan 1987:20). The subsequent importance of Sevillian merchants as well as the costs of overland shipping consequently helped ensure fragile and bulky goods such as ceramics were produced locally (Swanson 2006:5). This further reinforced the local pottery manufacturing tradition and resulted in a wealth of ceramics in both domestic and commercial sites across the region.

While Andalusia is rich in archaeological resources, the site that I have chosen to focus on for this thesis, Site B, is located on the United States Naval Station, Rota. Operating since 1953, this naval base is strategically located between the towns of Rota and El Puerto de Santa Maria with access to the Atlantic via the Costa de la Luz (Swanson 2006:5). Prior to the base’s installation, this area was primarily devoted to agriculture, a lucrative industry in the region even today, as Andalusia is well known for its sunflowers, olives, and sherry (Swanson 2006:5).

Situated on the western edge of the base in an area termed the Western Arroyo (Figure 2), Site B was once the location of an active motocross track that was closed in
the 1990s upon the discovery of an archaeological site in the middle of the course (Swanson 2006:6). Use of the track as well as natural drainages have caused severe erosion issues that have since been rectified with the construction of a large system of nets and barriers (Swanson 2006:6). Fortunately, a majority of the artifact clusters were positioned far enough away from the erosion-damaged area to suggest an intact site below the surface.

**Figure 2: Map of the United States Naval Station, Rota. Note Site B in the northwestern corner. (Swanson 2006:16)**

While the remains of at least one assemblage were found in the disturbed region of the track, two other concentrations were located on the upper, intact portion of the Arroyo. In the eastern area of Site B, the more recent of these concentrations was found near, although not associated with, a set of building foundations and a cluster of historic period building materials. Interestingly, there were very few ceramics, including an
almost total lack of roofing tiles, directly associated with the foundations (Swanson 2006:8).

In contrast, the western concentration in Site B contained more abundant ceramics that feature an older date range, extending from the fifteenth through the 19th century (Swanson 2006:7). While a few examples of more recent ware types, such as 19th century transfer prints, were evident from this surface collection, a majority of the sample amassed consisted of coarse earthenware sherds and majolica fragments. The date range and contents of this area at the site correspond with the occupation dates from St. Augustine and Puerto Real, enabling Site B to serve as the basis for Spanish and Spanish colonial comparison.

Given the location of the base outside of the main area of town and the position of the site away from the main entrance to the base, it appears likely that Site B was that of at least one farmer’s house (Swanson 2006:13). This model is supported by large quantities of ceramic fragments that vary in vessel form from a porcelain doll’s head and a flower pot rim to plates and bacins (Swanson 2006:8-9). Further archaeological testing may prove the existence of multiple residences within Site B, especially given the spatial and temporal separation of the two concentrations. For the purposes of this thesis, however, only the western artifact cluster will be considered as it contained considerably more majolica fragments and appears to have been occupied during Spain’s colonial era. This will be discussed in further detail below.
Due to site similarities and the wealth of available information, Puerto Real and St. Augustine are ideal New World sites for comparison. The social diversity in these two colonies provides multiple avenues for comparison both with each other and with Rota. Of particular interest to this thesis is the large amount of ceramics recovered at these sites and how changes in the social diversity are reflected in the material culture remains.

Originally proposed by Kathleen Deagan in her work at St. Augustine, the hypothesis I will investigate suggests that early socially visible, status-related artifacts in the colonies would be of European manufacture, while changes over time would reflect the development of a new Hispanic-American culture (Ewen 1991:45,47-48). She adds to her proposal by noting that gender differences should be reflected in the material assemblage in that the female dominated areas should indicate aboriginal influences more than the male-oriented spheres, which would reflect a strong Spanish presence (Deagan 1983:104-105). Shortly after Deagan published a summary of her St. Augustine work, Charles Ewen tested and found evidence to support the pan-Hispanicity of this hypothesis through his research at Puerto Real (1991:117).
Figure 3: The Caribbean and southeastern United States. (Deagan 1991:147)

PUERTO REAL

The history of Puerto Real commenced around 1503 when Lieutenant Rodrigo de Mexia led a group to the northern coast of the island of Hispaniola (Ewen 1991:24). (Figure 4) While the town was originally intended as a mining colony, the lack of precious metals in the area meant that the slave and hide trades became the basis of its economy (Ewen 1991:24,29). Puerto Real prospered at first, with nearly a hundred households during the first decade of the 16th century and, according to the 1514 census, 20 registered citizens, or vecinos, along with eighteen others who held Native American slaves (Ewen 1991:24,27). After the discovery of the mineral-rich mainland and the subsequent gold rush to south and central America, however, northern Hispaniola began to decline as labor and shipping were gradually diverted to more profitable regions and ports in the Spanish Americas (Ewen 1991:27).
By 1542, the convoy system of shipping was established to ensure that precious metals from the more profitable mainland were guaranteed safe passage to Spain (Ewen 1991:27). While this kept the Spanish crown just above the point of bankruptcy during a period of frequent warfare, little of this wealth was reinvested in the colonies (Ewen 1991:8). Some cities, such as Puerto Real, suffered more than others as new convoy routes did not pass near Hispaniola, forcing the inhabitants to rely on the *rescate*, or illegal trade, network (Ewen 1991:27). In many cases, these colonies were forced to make the difficult choice between obeying the law and living without even the most minimal supplies or trading with smugglers who often threatened to destroy the town if they did not purchase their available European goods (Ewen 1991:29). English, French, and Dutch corsairs frequently visited the Spanish territories, although the prevailing nationality of the mauraders altered over the course of the 16th century. Puzzlingly, this international trade network does not appear be reflected in the ceramic assemblage, with the majority
of ceramics being of Spanish or aboriginal origin and less than 1% of the collected ceramics indicate a non-Spanish European origin (Ewen 1991:71).

The citizens of Puerto Real continued to survive as best as they could despite their difficulties in getting essential supplies after the diversion of trade. A smallpox epidemic in 1518-19 devastated the local Aboriginal population, forcing the colonists to rely on African labor (Ewen 1991:27). The remaining natives, however, revolted against the Spanish settlers numerous times during the second quarter of the 15th century, prior to peace being established in 1533 (Ewen 1991:29). Also during that year, sixty new colonists arrived to help repopulate Puerto Real, and an eastern neighboring city, Monte Christi (Ewen 1991:29).

In 1566, four years after an earthquake, and months after a French Corsair raid, Spain suspended the registry of ships in Puerto Real due to the town’s smuggling activities (Ewen 1991:30). While the town sued and its registry was temporarily restored, Puerto Real only survived twelve more years before it was abandoned in 1578 and its residents were forcibly relocated to Bayaha in an attempt by the crown to lessen the smuggling activities (Ewen 1991:30). Despite these measures, the smuggling activities continued and Spain ultimately relinquished its colonies on Hispaniola, resulting in the French occupation of what would later be Haiti (Ewen 1991:30).

Despite its relatively short life, Puerto Real appears to have been capable of supporting a healthy upper class, as evidenced by the excavation and subsequent study of two high-status households, Loci 19 and Loci 33/35. Excavations at the latter site suggest that this is an earlier residence, with the peak of its activity being sometime before 1550 (Deagan 1995:202). Loci 19, however, represents a more recent household that was most
likely occupied after 1550 by a wealthy Spaniard, his wife, and possibly their child (Ewen 1991:115). The results of research at the site suggest that the owner was a hide and slave merchant who was able to afford the latest European fashions, ceramics, and glassware (Ewen 1991:115). Together, these sites are particularly useful for this thesis in that the majority of artifacts uncovered were ceramic, with an especially large concentration of Spanish ceramics (Ewen 1991: 120-121).

Loci 19 and Loci 33/35 provide a wealth of information about the acculturation process of the Spanish colonists over the life of this colony (Deagan 1995:202). In his work at Puerto Real, Ewen used the information gleaned from previous work at Locus 33/35 as well as his original research from Locus 19 to test Deagan’s hypothesis (Deagan 1995:202). Ewen concluded that the proposed theory of Spanish colonial creolization was correct (Ewen 1991:116). His research supported Deagan’s model in that “outwardly the culture pattern was composed of primarily Hispanic traits…” while non-Spanish elements of material culture were noticeable in the less visible, private, domestic spheres, such as food preparation (Ewen 1991:117).

ST. AUGUSTINE

The story of St. Augustine began in 1565 when Pedro Menédez de Aviles and Philip II, King of Spain entered into a joint venture to establish a colony in Florida and therefore defeat the encroaching French colonists in the area (Deagan 1983:22). While Menédez was successful in defeating the French, he was disappointed in the economic opportunities Florida had to offer, as there was nothing of value to mine, sandy soil to made agricultural endeavors difficult, and few sedentary Native American groups to spark a slave trade (Deagan 1983:22). In addition, by the time the Floridian city was
founded, the Crown had outlawed the popular *encomienda* system, in which native individuals were appointed to a Spaniard for life (Deagan 1983:22).

St. Augustine was plagued by a series of natural disasters and setbacks from the outset. In crossing the Atlantic, Menédez lost ten ships and nearly a thousand people (Deagan 1983:22-23). Those remaining spent a year with the Timucua Indians before establishing the first town in what is now the southern portion of the city’s downtown area (Deagan 1983:23). Later, the city was beleaguered by fires, hurricanes, floods, and pirate attacks (Deagan 1983:23).

Like Puerto Real, St. Augustine was largely isolated from the main portion of the Spanish world and therefore struggled to obtain necessary supplies (Deagan 1983:23). Established in 1578, the *situado* system or annual subsidy meant that provisions traveled from Mexico to Veracruz via overland routes prior to being shipped to St. Augustine (Deagan 1983:35). Problems with cash availability, transportation costs, and rotting food meant that citizens of the Florida city often lived in poverty and were forced to make do without essential provisions (Deagan 1983:35).

Despite these challenges, the city more than doubled in size over the first century while a small cattle ranching industry developed further inland (Deagan 1983:24). In 1669, after a disastrous attack by pirate John Davis, the original wood Castillo de San Marcos was replaced by a stone fort, resulting in still more population growth as fifty-five new, military-related jobs were created and a number of Native American groups moved to the vicinity (Deagan 1983:25).
The ever-present threat of attack by neighboring British colonists in the Carolinas was carried out in 1702 when James Moore, governor of South Carolina assaulted Florida (Deagan 1983:25). While Moore was able to take the town with ease, the Spanish, African, and Amerindian citizens took refuge in the Castillo, where they withheld a six week siege before the English finally admitted defeat (Deagan 1983:26). Moore’s second raid in 1704 resulted in the defeat of the Franciscan missions located in west and central Florida (Deagan 1983:26). The survivors of these attacks moved to St. Augustine, resulting in the near desertion of interior Florida and the end of the cattle ranching trade (Deagan 1983:26). In addition to affecting the town’s population and supply base, these
attacks led the colonists to rebuild their previously wood town with masonry buildings, providing a valuable terminus post quem for archaeologists (Deagan 1983:26).

While reforms in the situado system during the late 17th century and the early 18th century improved the availability of supplies in St. Augustine for a brief period of time, they did not provide a lasting solution and the supply system returned to its previous ineffectiveness (Deagan 1983:35). Consequently, the residents of St. Augustine frequently traded with the British colonies of New York and South Carolina after the late 1600s, justifying their illegal transactions through situado’s inability to meet their needs and the better value of British goods (Deagan 1983:35,37). Unlike Puerto Real, there is no evidence to indicate that these contraband dealings were conducted at gunpoint as piracy does not appear to have been a major concern after the 1669 attack.

St. Augustine remained under Spanish rule until 1763 when the Treaty of Paris following the French and Indian War determined that Florida was to be traded to Britain exchange for Havana (Deagan 1983:27). In 1783, Florida returned to Spanish rule for nearly 40 years before officially joining the United States (Deagan 1983:27). Because the Hispanic character is more prevalent in the culture and remains of the First Spanish period, this thesis will focus on two sites dating between 1700 and 1763.

While excavations in Puerto Real focused on the more well-preserved higher-status households, archaeological research in St. Augustine uncovered houses from a variety of different economic levels. In order to best test Deagan’s and Ewen’s hypothesis, I have chosen to focus on one upper class site and one lower class site, both of which are residences dating from the First Spanish period. While numerous upper class sites have been examined in St. Augustine, this thesis will focus on the de Hita site as a model for
this economic level. The de la Cruz site will serve as the lower class example, as it is one of the only extensively researched sites of its economic and ethnic background (Deagan 1983:124). Taken together, the remains of these households exhibit the importance of European, specifically Spanish, ceramics as socially visible status indicators.

In addition to the varying income levels, the de Hita and the de la Cruz sites also represent two of the major ethnic groups in the city during this period, the mestizo and the criollo. Considered socially inferior, the former group consisted of families and individuals who were of mixed Hispanic and Indian ancestry (Deagan 1983:65-66). Criollos, however, were seen to be a slightly higher social level and included individuals of Spanish descent who were born in the New World (Deagan 1983:65).

Perhaps the best preserved of the sites, the de Hita household reflects the lifestyle and material culture of a criollo soldier with an annual income of 264 pesos (Deagan 1983:237). This site, SA-7-4, includes six different deposit areas that reflect a variety of household activities (Deagan 1983:237,74). While the main house structure, kitchen, and yard areas yielded very few ceramics, substantial amounts were found in the well and the two refuse areas (Deagan 1983:77). Consequently, these three areas will be investigated for the purposes of this thesis.

The de la Cruz site, or SA-16-23, provides evidence of how a mestizo family lived with an income of between 91 to 132 pesos (Deagan 1983:237). Due to continuous activity after the de la Cruz family left the site, this area has proven to be fairly disturbed, however scholars are confident that enough remains to provide a relatively clear image of activity at the site during the First Spanish period (Deagan 1983:106). This site is also significant in that it is one of the only mestizo sites to have been excavated and studied in
detail (Deagan 1983:124). Like the de Hita household, the de la Cruz site also contained multiple deposits, however the ceramics were more evenly dispersed in that three of the four concentrations produced a considerable amount of ceramic sherds (Deagan 1983:113). It is worthwhile to note that, in addition to finer, European ceramics, a great deal of aboriginal pottery was also uncovered at this site (Deagan 1983:114), an element which will not be an area of focus for this thesis due to its logical absence in Spain.
Chapter Three

Methodology

Research for this thesis began in the summer of 2006 when I traveled to Rota, to participate in a routine archaeological survey on the local United States Naval Base. For over a decade, archaeological research has identified over twenty different sites of varying dates and components on the base (Swanson 2006:2). While previous research has focused on the prehistoric or Roman sites, my work was one of the first surveys to focus on the twelve post-medieval historic sites on base.

Time constraints and local regulations limited this to non-invasive fieldwork that consisted of a pedestrian survey to locate features, gathering a sample of surface artifacts and using a Global Positioning System (GPS) to document the location of the largest artifact concentrations (Swanson 2006:11-12). A number of factors limited site accessibility, namely seasonal vegetation, the lack of annual plowing, and nearby construction that threatened the integrity of several of the sites (Swanson 2006:11). Site B, however, yielded a great deal of ceramics that date to Spain’s imperial period and, in many cases, relate to the Spanish ceramics found in its American colonies. Consequently, this thesis will focus primarily on this site as its Spanish basis of comparison.

It should be noted here, however, that dating the ceramics from Rota has proved particularly difficult for a variety of reasons. Namely, many of the vessel forms, manufacturing techniques, and decorative motifs found among the sample sherds are still being used today and can be commonly found in modern ceramic stores. Consequently, exact dates are difficult to determine as the continuity of styles could result in the pieces being younger than they appear. Another difficulty was the lack of research conducted
specifically on Spanish majolicas. While John Goggin and the Listers have conducted invaluable studies on these types of ceramics, lack of color pictures and objective data (such as color descriptions which vary from person to person) made identifying and dating the samples from Rota particularly difficult.

Regardless of these difficulties, many of the ceramic sherds were identifiable and therefore used in this study. Among the artifacts studied from Rota is a wide range of majolica types. With the aid of the Florida Museum of Natural History’s online ceramic resource catalogue (Florida Museum of Natural History 2004), Goggin’s majolica study and Kathleen Deagan’s monolith on Hispanic artifacts, I was able to identify a majority of these ceramics as types that are also found in Spain’s New World colonies. Interestingly, there were several large categories of majolicas, such as the blue-on-blue decorated types, which were common in the New World but were not found among the Rota sample, a discrepancy which will be addressed in further detail below. These same resources were also valuable in identifying the various utilitarian fragments that were recovered.

It is perhaps worthwhile to define several of the terms used to identify the origin of the ceramics, as these vary according to different resources and connotations. Throughout this thesis, I will follow the example set forth by the Listers and Goggin and use the term “Spanish” to refer to pottery produced and used in Spain as well as those pieces of Spanish origin which were exported to the colonies. Although Deagan and Ewen refered to ceramics in this category as “Hispanic,” this term has been used by other scholars to refer to goods produced within the New World, discrepancy which could
cause confusion. The term “Iberian” has also proved difficult when referring to ceramics, as this has been largely used to refer to ceramics from the Phoenician and Roman eras.

For European ceramics produced outside of Spain, I will use the term “non-Spanish European.” The key producers in this category include Britain, France, Italy, and Holland. This term relates directly to what Deagan termed “non-Hispanic European ceramics” and what Ewen called “non-Majolica European tablewares.” In order to be consistent with my use of the term “Spanish” as opposed to “Hispanic,” I have adjusted my term to avoid possible confusion.

The final category that I discuss is “aboriginal.” Both Deagan and Ewen used this term to refer to ceramics produced by the natives and used to some extent in Spanish households. This category will be especially important when looking at Deagan’s gender argument.
Chapter Four

Discussion of Origin, Gender, and Aesthetics

As mentioned above, Deetz considered the four key factors of social change to be availability, need, function, and social status (1973:19). In the Spanish colonies, each of these features plays a prominent role in the development of the material assemblage. Of particular importance to this thesis is how Deetz’s final two factors blend together and indicate a shift in the role of pottery in the Spanish colonies over time. While ceramics were undoubtedly used as actual dishes, they assumed a second function over time as that of a social signal. Throughout the Spanish New World, European commodities, especially Spanish goods, were considered superior to the products made in the New World and indicated the owner’s ties to the motherland and therefore social supremacy. This value system is further underscored in that Spanish goods were frequently of poorer quality and more expensive than goods from England, France, Holland, or other European nations (Deagan 1983:38). Consequently, those who could afford such imported commodities were most likely to use and display them in the most socially visible portions of the household.

I argue, therefore, that by the time St. Augustine was at the height of the First Spanish Period, ceramics had assumed the role of a socially acceptable means of displaying wealth while also maintaining their intended function of tableware. This is especially apparent when one considers the hypothesis in question which suggests that a predominantly European material culture would be more apparent in the earlier colonies while shifts in the material assemblage would indicate the development of a creolized culture as time progressed (Ewen 1991:45,47-48).
In looking at this hypothesis and the development of a dual function of ceramics, I will first analyze the ceramic collections from the New World sites and how the origins of the tablewares reflect this creolization before investigating the roles played by genders with regard to tableware. In addition, I will investigate the aesthetic differences between New and Old World ceramics as indicated by the recovered fragments from both the colonial sites and Rota. Through this section of my thesis, I hope to shed further light on the importance of Spanish ceramics in the New World even after the colonies have established a level of independence through their own pottery industry.

**Origins**

In comparing the two New World ceramic assemblages, several differences are readily noticeable. The incongruity between the amounts of Spanish ceramics and non-Spanish European pottery is perhaps the most obvious disparity between the colonial sites. In Puerto Real, less than 1% of the ceramic collection consists of non-Spanish European ceramics (Ewen 1991:71). This statistic is especially surprising considering that the majority of the town’s supplies were obtained through illegal trade networks which doubtless had access to more global markets. St. Augustine, in contrast, spent most of the First Spanish period acquiring its provisions from other Spanish colonies and, after more than a century of frustrations with the *situado* trade system, turned to its British colonial neighbors for goods during the last several decades of the period (Deagan 1983:35). Despite these primarily Hispanic business interactions, non-Spanish European ceramics outnumber Spanish pottery by a shallow margin in St. Augustine (Table 1).
Table 1: The origins and types of ceramics found at Puerto Real and St Augustine. (Based on Deagan 1983:77,113; Deagan 1995:210-211)

While there are a number of factors that could account for the higher percentage of Spanish ceramics in Puerto Real, one of the key elements is the lack of available alternatives. Aboriginal ceramic technology was adopted for the utilitarian wares so as to save on shipping costs and to increase the availability of utilitarian ceramics, however there were few local alternatives to the more refined tablewares that the Spanish-born colonists were accustomed to using. As noted by Bonnie McEwan (1995:223), “The Iberian vessel forms for which there were no aboriginal counterparts were the most common types imported to Puerto Real.” In addition, the Casa de Contratación made it illegal for goods to enter the colonies unless they originated in Seville or were registered through this House of Trade (Deagan 1987:20). Consequently, British, French, Dutch, and Asian goods were illegal and would have been obtained only through corsairs and other illegal networks. Paradoxically, under the Hapsburg reign, nearly five-sixths of the goods being exported under this system were of non-Spanish European origin (Deagan
1987:20), a statistic that provides even more questions as it does not appear to be reflected in the material culture of Puerto Real.

The presence of finer Spanish ceramics as a luxury good supports Deagan and Ewen’s hypothesis. However when one considers that refined, non-Spanish European ceramics were most likely more available than Spanish pottery, one would expect to see more of the former in the archaeological remains. Within the material assemblage of Puerto Real, the large percentage of Spanish pottery in relation to other non-Spanish European ceramics suggests that the former category was enjoyed by most of the colonists, regardless of economic level. If the Spanish ceramics were as highly coveted by the citizens of Puerto Real as Ewen suggests, then it appears logical to conclude that a majority of Spanish pottery would be associated with those sites representing the highest economic levels while lower status sites would show more European-made and fewer Iberian ceramics.

Such a pattern is found, however, at St. Augustine. This appears to suggest that as time progressed in the colonies, pottery of Spanish origin became increasingly prized as a socially visible status indicator. In her research at the Florida town, Deagan noted that Spanish ceramics increased positively with income, meaning that more Spanish ceramics were found in sites that represented higher income families. In contrast, the opposite was true for non-Spanish European ceramics as they increased in number as the families’ incomes decreased. (Figure 6)
Figure 6: Distribution of ceramic types according to income levels. The percentages are measured according to the proportion of the Kitchen artifact assemblage. (Based on Deagan 1983:238-239)

This discrepancy suggests that these goods were enjoyed primarily by the upper classes as a means to show their prosperity. As previously noted, the Spanish goods were of lower quality, lesser availability, and more expensive than their French or British counterparts (Deagan 1983:38). Consequently, they present an ideal means of displaying affluence as their presence indicates that the owner could afford to spend more money on items of inferior quality. By exhibiting these Spanish goods, the owners also advertised their connections with the motherland, therefore reinforcing a positive social identification.

In an effort to emulate their wealthier counterparts, the lower income houses also sought Spanish majolicas. At the de la Cruz site, for example, 46.6% of the tablewares found were majolica, while 53% were non-Spanish (Deagan 1983:119). The esteem of Spanish majolicas is further reinforced when one considers the distribution of ceramics across the site. According to Deagan, approximately 70% of the site’s tablewares were concentrated in the kitchen area and south house (Deagan 1983:119). Of this, however,
the majolica was predominant in both the north and south structures (Deagan 1983:119), suggesting that these more socially-valuable ceramics were used in the most visible areas. (Tables 2, 3) This trend has been partially explained by Deagan’s theory that such conspicuous displays of wealth would serve to support aid a household’s attempts to integrate itself within the larger network of the town via upward social mobility (Deagan 1983:104).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kitchen</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Structure</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refuse A</td>
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<td>22.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refuse B</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>17.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yard</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>8.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>672</td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 2: Distribution of majolicas at the de la Cruz site. (Based on Deagan 1983:113)*

These incongruities between the colonies illustrate the creolization process discussed by Deagan and Ewen. In Puerto Real, it appears that the culture was more homogenous in that all economic levels were able to own and use Spanish majolicas. While there were still strong positive social associations with being Spanish or owning Spanish goods, connections to the mother country do not appear to have been used to emphasize a higher social rank in Puerto Real as strongly as in St. Augustine. The sharp differences in economic status and majolica amounts in the Floridian houses, however, indicates that the value of purely Spanish goods was reinforced as a newer, Hispanic-American culture developed.

The rising importance of Spanish majolicas in St. Augustine during the first half of the 18th century is also a significant concept in that it contradicts Goggin’s model that
the value of Spanish ceramics decreased as the New World became more self-sufficient (Goggin 1968:215). Goggin speculated that by approximately 1650-60, “Spanish majolica had become unimportant in the Caribbean area because of the rapidly expanding Mexican majolica industry” (Goggin 1968:213). St. Augustine, with its close geographical and trade connections to the Caribbean, invalidates this proposal, as Spanish majolicas gain importance over the course of time due to their social symbolism and rarity while Mexican majolicas flooded the market.

![Figure 7: The late fifteenth and sixteenth century diffusion of Andalusian ceramics. (Lister and Lister 1987:172)](image)

In this respect, I argue that the first part of the proposed hypothesis is correct. Status related artifacts do appear to have been almost exclusively of Spanish origin. When owned, these valuable pieces were used and displayed in the most socially visible areas of the house in order to emphasize their owner’s importance and affluence.

The second portion of the hypothesis, however, requires some reassessment. Here, it is proposed that the development of a creolized culture in the colonies would result in
standardized methods of coping with the New World environment (Ewen 1991:47-48). Ewen (1991:48) stated, “Variations among households from this predicted pattern should become less evident in later periods.” While this might prove true for Puerto Real, the artifacts from St. Augustine argue against Ewen’s model of decreasing variation of material remains as they reveal a greater degree of variation between the houses and economic levels than in the earlier city (Ewen 1991:48). Therefore, I propose that the development of a creolized culture in the New World resulted in an increase in artifact variation as a socially acceptable method of displaying wealth became standardized. In this light, one might possibly interpret Ewen’s statement to refer to a customary acceptance of such ostentation in which few people attempted to indicate their prosperity in other ways.

Over all, these discrepancies support Deagan’s and Ewen’s. A closer look at the social influences, however, reveals how this creolization occurred, an area largely neglected in Deagan’s and Ewen’s discussions of their findings. When one considers the shift in social value of Spanish ceramics, it becomes apparent that these vessels served a greater role as status indicators in St. Augustine than in Puerto Real. Consequently, I would add to the proposed hypothesis that the development of a creolized culture changed the role of Spanish goods in that they assumed an increased social significance in the later colonies such as St. Augustine.

**GENDER DIFFERENCES**

In her analysis of St. Augustine’s households from the early 18th century, Deagan speculated that the level of European influences in the material culture assemblage also reflect gender differences. According to her, artifacts associated with female-dominated
areas would most likely reveal more aboriginal influences than the male-dominated realms, which would reflect stronger Spanish characteristics (Deagan 1983:104-105). Within these two areas, Deagan lists kitchen activities, child care, feminine adornment, and clothing production and maintenance as being the domains of women while weaponry, house construction, hunting, and political activities were predominantly associated with men (Deagan 1983:104-105).

Puzzlingly, Deagan does not discuss the more socially prominent female-dominated areas, such as personal adornment, in further detail. Her only concession is to acknowledge that native influences “were expected to be most strongly evident in those areas not affected by social visibility” (1983:104). By this, she appears to imply that these more visible areas were likely to imitate the Spanish fashions, however they would still reflect native elements.

In addition, Deagan does not address the subject of household decoration. This area is particularly intriguing in that it reflects Spanish influences whenever possible yet appears to have fallen within the domestic realms associated with women. The incongruity is especially apparent when analyzing tablewares such as majolicas. While these dishes were associated with the female-dominated realm of kitchen activities, the strong desire to have Spanish ceramics should place this area of household decoration within the Spanish-influenced men’s domain.

Deagan’s association of women with the natives and men with the Spanish is not unfounded. During the first hundred years of colonization, approximately 83% of European arrivals to the New World were men (Boyd-Bowman 1976:599). Between the years of Columbus’ arrival in 1493 and 1579, only 16.9% of the 45,374 emigrants were
women (Figure 8), over half of which were Andalusian by birth (Boyd-Bowman 1976:599-600). As a result of this gender discrepancy, many of the Spanish men married aboriginal women, therefore increasing the contact between the cultures. Records from Puerto Real indicate that as early as 1514 at least two Spanish men had native wives (Ewen 1991:27). As Deagan’s findings have shown, the practice of marrying native women did not disappear as the New World became more settled and women immigrated in increasing numbers.

![Emigration Percentages](image.png)

*Figure 8: Gender differences in emigration percentages. (Based on Boyd-Bowman 1976:599)*

The discrepancies between Spanish-influenced household decoration and the other aboriginal-influenced female-dominated areas could be accounted for in a number of different ways. It is reasonable to assume that women, especially native women, used aboriginal pottery as the cheapest, most readily available utilitarian ceramics for economic reasons. In general, these pieces would not be socially visible and therefore would not play a role in indicating status of the household. It is also logical that native women would continue to use the food preparation tools they were accustomed to using,
despite having married a Spaniard and living in a Spanish colonial environment. Consequently, one should see more native influences in the utilitarian area of food preparation, as Deagan stated in her argument (1983:104-105), while more Spanish influences should be apparent in the socially visible areas such as tableware.

The key question is whether this realm of household, or table, decoration fell within the men’s realm of activities or within the women’s area. In his study of emigration to the New World, Peter Boyd-Bowman (1976:597) suggested that the Spanish women would have been “envied and imitated…by the more numerous Indian women of the island settlements.” If this is the case, then the native wives of Spanish men most likely felt pressure to compete with their European counterparts. It is logical to conclude, therefore, that they would have sought to appear as outwardly Spanish as possible, both in their conduct and personal adornment as well as in their household decorations. Deagan supports this theory as she noted that aboriginal women were the only group to have direct contact with both native and Spanish cultures (1983:104). It would have been possible, therefore, for aboriginal women to obtain such Spanish goods as majolicas.

Given this evidence, I maintain that household decoration should be considered a female-dominated realm. It should be emphasized, however, that this particular area of women’s activities features more Spanish than native influences. Women also wished to compete socially, and highlighting their family’s ability to afford and use Spanish goods provided a means for them to indicate their importance within the colony.
AESTHETICS

One further way of analyzing Spanish ceramics in the New World is to investigate the differences and similarities in the aesthetics of pottery on both sides of the Atlantic. Puzzlingly, this topic appears to have been largely neglected by scholars. Previous discussions on aesthetics have focused on the European influences on Spanish ceramics while effectively ignoring the Spanish and Spanish colonial connections. Consequently, I hope to make some progress in filling this void by looking at the aesthetics of the ceramics from Rota, Puerto Real, and St. Augustine. Admittedly, my sample from Rota is small and only from one site, however certain comparisons can be made in terms of vessel form and majolica types between the three assemblages.

While it is logical to conclude that the colonists wished to emulate Spanish culture and living, some forms appear to have been made strictly for export from Spain to the colonies. The most striking example of this discrepancy is in the case of Olive Jars. These will not be covered in much detail as they have been extensively researched; however it is worthwhile to note that, while Olive Jars are ubiquitous in the Spanish colonies, none were found in Rota. The plentiful nature of these containers in the colonies is apparent in that they are typically the only ceramic type to be distinguished by their vessel form rather than their ceramic type. Deagan noted in her study of Spanish colonial artifacts that such vessels were primarily used as storage containers for shipping and overland transportation (1987:31). This conclusion is supported by the absence of olive jars in Rota, an agricultural area that was fully capable of locally producing the commodities traditionally transported in the Olive Jars.
Parallel to the creation of goods for export is the local production of goods for use solely in Andalusia. While some of these goods do appear in the earlier colonies, such as Puerto Real, a majority of these pieces do not appear in the colonial assemblage after the establishment of the New World ceramic industry. This is especially apparent, for example, in the Melado sherds. This coarse red earthenware is known for its honey-colored glaze that lends a unique translucent color to the vessel due to an iron impurity commonly found among Andalusian glazes (Deagan 1987:48). This type accounts for a large number of the non-majolica Spanish tableware in the early period of Puerto Real, however the figure drops dramatically after the mid-16th century and Melado ware is virtually non-existent in the St. Augustine assemblage (Ewen 1991:123; Deagan 1987:77,113).

Another incongruity can be found in the type of majolicas found on the sites analyzed. In order to better understand the broad category of majolica, experts such as Goggin and Deagan have divided it into several different groups based on the type of glazing, decoration, and colors used as part of the surface treatment. In analyzing the ceramic assemblage from Rota, I have tried to match as many sherds as possible with these preexisting categories. Not all of the categories were utilized and several sherds did not fall neatly into any type.
One of the clearest examples of this discrepancy between the Old and New World majolica assemblages is the difference between blue-on-white and blue-on-blue ceramics. Most of the sherds from Rota fell within the blue-on-white category which features a white background and hand-painted blue decorative elements (Figure 9). While this group is well represented among the colonial sites, the New World also features a number of blue-on-blue ceramics, in which dark blue decorations are set against a lighter blue background. This last category, however, did not appear to be found among the Rota assemblage. The absence of blue-on-blue ceramics raises several questions about this category. Was this a luxury item that was too expensive for this particular Spanish household? Was this a category that was produced solely for export and therefore is not found in Rota? Or could these ceramics have been imported from another European country which would explain their presence in the New World but not in Rota?

Figure 9: A sample of the blue-on-white ceramic fragments uncovered from Rota and brought to the United States for further analysis. (Photo by the author)
The first question can logically be dismissed as it is highly doubtful that colonists would have a luxury good that is too expensive for native Spaniards. In many cases, the prohibitive elements of majolicas were the costs of shipping and the scarcity. Given that Spanish ceramics had shorter distances to travel when used within Spain, as well as the greater availability of majolicas in Andalusia, one of the headquarters of ceramic production, these factors would not prevent citizens of Rota from enjoying a ceramic type that was used in the New World if they so desired.

The second question, however, is more difficult to dismiss without more Spanish sites for comparison. There could have been a preference for blue-on-white in Spain which would explain the lack of blue-on-blue in my sample and its subsequent shipment to the New World. Alternatively, this type simply could have not been available in Rota during the time when the site was occupied. Yet another possible answer could be that the occupants of this particular house simply did not wish to use the blue-on-blue ceramics.

While the third option is possible, the importation of these ceramics does not appear to be a likely explanation of the presence of these ceramics in the colonies but not in Rota. In her first volume of the *Artifacts* series, Deagan notes that only one type of non-Spanish European blue-on-blue, Ligurian blue-on-blue, was imported to the New World (1987:28-29). Given the strict attempts by the Casa de Contratación to regulate trade and its requirements that shipments to the New World go through Seville, one would expect to see similar non-Spanish European ceramics in Rota as well as in the colonies. Such imported ceramics could have reached the colonies via corsairs, however this account neglects to explain Rota’s lack of Spanish blue-on-blue ceramics, which were produced in Seville. While the importation of other types of pottery to Rota could
explain the presence of some ceramics, it would have been cheaper for this household to have purchased locally produced pottery rather than importing comparable products at considerable costs.

While it is difficult to draw conclusions without further evidence from Spain, one can speculate on the role these differences played in the development of the colonies. The creolization process is especially apparent in Fairbanks’ analysis of Spanish ceramics where he notes that Olive Jars were reused for water and other goods as well as for architectural elements such as finials and vaulted roofs (1973:147-148). This unique approach to solving supply problems is doubtless indicative of the New World’s adaptive methods and reveals a creativity that is not found in the better-equipped Spain.

Despite these discrepancies in vessel forms, numerous similarities can be seen between the ceramics produced within the New World and Spanish pottery. These similarities become increasingly evident when one compares the surface decorations. As noted by several experts, many Spanish decoration traditions were greatly influenced by Italian potters, who began migrating to Andalusia for work in the mid-16th century (Lister and Lister 1987:137). I would also argue that the Dutch played a very significant role in developing the aesthetics of Spanish pottery, as both the colors and the motifs resemble delftware, the Dutch equivalent of majolica.

These influences from the Netherlands are especially fitting because of Spain’s close trade relations with the northern Italian province of Genoa, which was further reinforced by the presence of Genoese merchants in both Seville and the colonies (Deagan 1987:20; Boyd-Bowman 1976:594). The Genoese merchants, in turn, had
intimate connections with the Netherlands, especially Antwerp, therefore providing ample opportunities for an exchange of goods and ideas (Pike 1966:17,48-49).

The Italian presence is apparent in what has been termed the Italian-Talavera tradition, which is characterized by an all-over decoration with a central medallion and “a fanciful floral surround” (Fairbanks 1973:161). Fairbanks continues to note that these ceramics are often polychrome with an emphasis on purple, green, yellows, oranges, and blues (Fairbanks 1973:161).

Intriguingly, many of the fragments from Rota that exhibited this motif were blue-on-white majolicas, while polychrome ceramics represented thicker-bodied, more utilitarian-style vessels. In this respect, the Dutch influence is obvious, as Netherlandish potters were known for their blue-on-white ceramics that mimicked Ming Dynasty Chinese porcelain, primarily that from Wan Li’s reign (1573-1619) (Bedford 1966:52-53). This influence of Chinoiserie on Spanish ceramics is further emphasized in that blue-on-white ceramics were not commonly found in the earlier periods of colonies such as Puerto Real, which was occupied prior to the height Wan Li’s reign, but became more predominant as time progressed. (Table 4)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Puerto Real</th>
<th>St Augustine</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Early</td>
<td>Late</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blue on White</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>387</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blue on Blue</td>
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<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Majolicas</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 4: The overall temporal distribution of Spanish majolica decorations. (Based on Deagan 1983:77,113; Deagan 1995:210-211)*

The increasing importance of blue-on-white ceramics is also significant in that all of the majolica sherds with this color scheme found in St. Augustine were of the Mexico-based Puebla tradition (Deagan 1983:77,113; Deagan 1987:28-9). In both the de Hita and
the de la Cruz sites, the only dichromatic majolicas recorded by Deagan are Puebla Blue on White, Huejotzingo Blue on White, and San Augustin Blue on White. It is also worth noting that by the time the de la Cruz and de Hita households were occupied, Spanish production of blue-on-white ceramics appears to have decreased from its original six types down to one. This decrease in Spanish production and resulting increase in local manufacture implies that the colonists were looking for cheaper ways to imitate costly Spanish majolicas.

This mimicking goes beyond matching the colors of Iberian ceramics, but also includes the main decorative motifs. Banded decorations on plates, especially on the rim, marly, and cavetto regions, are common in both Old and New World ceramics. In addition, the central medallion feature and various abstract floral decorations also persevered in the colonial-made ceramics. Among the New World ceramic fragments, as in the sherds from Rota, there appears to be very little figural arts, as the decorations mostly include geometric patterns or abstract plant designs.

In addition to similar motifs, the three Puebla traditions noted in St. Augustine also feature the loosely painted, wide brush strokes of the Spanish ceramics. While some of the New World sherds indicate fine detailing, the majority reveal a continuation of the seemingly uncontrolled brushwork that results in the glaze taking on a watercolor effect. Many of the fragments from Rota assume this brushy quality and, in some cases, I found it difficult to place the smaller sherds within a specific blue-on-white category due to a lack of any recognizable motif. This artistic trend is especially apparent when types such as the Puebla blue-on-white are compared with Italian maiolicas or French faïences, as
the non-Spanish European categories feature very detailed, intricate decorations that aim to realistically represent a specific subject.

While Deagan and Ewen do not emphasize aesthetics in their discussions of the hypothesis in question, the types and styles of decoration undeniably reflect the development of society and culture in the Spanish colonies. The tendency to imitate the motifs and decorative techniques further emphasizes the importance of Spanish ceramics in the New World. As a creolized culture developed, the colonial production centers created their own techniques and styles, however they were careful to remain close to the popular Spanish fashions.

The influence exerted by the imported majolicas again calls to mind the function of these ceramics and how these decorative elements affect that purpose. These ceramics were doubtless designed to look like Spanish majolicas in order to increase their appeal and therefore their sales. In this regard, one wonders whether the poorer colonists used these tablewares in the same ways the wealthier used genuine Spanish ceramics, as a means of advertising their status within the colony. Because they are found alongside Spanish pottery, it is doubtful that these locally-made dishes completely replaced Spanish ceramics for the lower classes. I would like to suggest, however, that the less wealthy colonists used such New World products to expand an otherwise meager collection of authentic Spanish tableware, thus suggesting that they too shared the refined tastes of a native Spaniard.
Chapter Five

Conclusion

Spanish colonial archaeology has been heavily researched for decades. Investigations into the development of colonial society, culture, trade, and industry have captured the imaginations of archaeologists and scholars alike. Remarkably few studies, however, on this time period have been conducted in Spain itself. Of these, even fewer have been linked to the information generated about the New World.

This thesis sought to bridge this gap and analyze the creolization of the Spanish colonies by looking at Spain as a relatively stable basis for comparison. In particular, I was curious to see how this new perspective would fit into the hypothesis proposed by Kathleen Deagan and Charles Ewen. Over the course of their excavations, these archaeologists proposed that the socially visible artifacts of the earlier colonies, such as Puerto Real, would be predominantly of European origin (Ewen 1991:45). As time progressed, however, Deagan and Ewen theorized that shifts in the material culture should indicate the formation of a new, more standardized Hispanic-American culture (Ewen 1991:47-48).

In examining these theories, I chose to look specifically at the function of luxury ceramics and how this changed over time in the Spanish colonies. Using James Deetz’s model that cultural systems are typically affected by availability, need, function, and social status (1973:19), I investigated how the latter two factors merged in the New World. As a creolized culture developed, ceramics took on the increasingly significant function of unofficial markers of social status.
In order to study these factors, I chose three sites as case studies. My original work in Rota, Spain provided the basis for the Spanish element of this thesis. The colonial aspects were represented by Ewan’s work in Puerto Real, Haiti as well as Deagan’s excavations in St. Augustine, Florida. Taken together, these sites represent a fairly wide time frame that indicates numerous changes both within the New World as well as between Spain and her colonies.

These three sites also fit together well as they feature similar economic and social backgrounds. While not completely isolated from mainstream Spanish society, these sites were not major trade or cultural centers, therefore providing a similar level of economic comparison. In addition, records indicate that a majority of emigrants to the New World were originally from Andalusian cities near Rota (Boyd-Bowman 1976:582). This migration trend indicates a certain degree of comparable social customs, language, and life styles, especially for the earlier colonies such as Puerto Real.

Ceramics from these sites suggested three major areas in which the creolization process was most apparent. Consequently, I researched the origin of ceramics and how this affected their popularity and perceived value. I also examined the gender differences within the New World in order to determine who was purchasing luxury goods such as Spanish pottery. The third element was to investigate the aesthetics of ceramics from Rota and the colonies to see differences and similarities in the assemblages as well as what this comparison implied about locally produced pottery in both regions. While Deagan’s and Ewen’s hypothesis appears to be largely sound, I would like to propose several adjustments to their hypothesis in light of my research.
An examination of the origins of the ceramics found in the colonies revealed an increasing amount of variety as time progressed. In Puerto Real, nearly all of the tableware was from Spain, despite frequent opportunities to acquire other types of non-Spanish European ceramics. By St. Augustine’s First Spanish period, however, the material assemblage revealed pottery from a wealth of different European nations. Despite the variety, the more expensive, lower quality Spanish ceramics maintained a high reputation. This esteem is closely related to their unstated function of status markers as they implied connections to Spain and therefore helped reinforce a positive social association with the Spanish.

In relation to Deagan’s and Ewen’s hypothesis, I argue that socially visible status indicators did change as a creolized Hispanic-American culture developed, however this change served to heighten the variability among houses and increase the prestige associated with Spanish goods as opposed to locally produced merchandise. While early colonies such as Puerto Real indicate a strong reliance on Spain for luxury and status-related items, the abundance of Spanish products in proportion to aboriginal and non-Spanish European goods weakens the theory that these early colonists relied on Spanish commodities as a means of indicating status. If this function were as strong as it has been suggested, one should expect to see greater disparities between the economic levels, a pattern which is found at St. Augustine. I contend, therefore, that as time progressed, creolization patterns are evident through the increased importance of Spanish pottery. While these dishes were used for the main, acknowledged purpose of serving and consuming food, they also increasingly assumed the dual function of a socially acceptable advertisement on the household’s affluence.
Gender differences also indicate this shift in the importance of Spanish goods. In her work at St. Augustine, Deagan added to her initial proposal by suggesting that the differing levels of European and aboriginal influences reflect a division of activities by gender. She noted that areas such as kitchen activities, child care, clothing production and maintenance, and feminine adornment reflect female-dominated activities while men typically controlled political activities, hunting, weaponry, and house construction (Deagan 1983:104-105). In dividing these examples, she suggests that women-run activities were more likely to reflect aboriginal influences due to the large number of native women who married Spanish men (Deagan 1983:104-105). Male-dominated areas, alternatively, indicated a heavy Spanish influence (Deagan 1983:104-105).

Deagan neglected to discuss, however, the area of household decoration, an activity which appears to have reflected Spanish influences. I would like to suggest that this division of gendered activities and social influences be reconsidered. While the majority of activities presided over by women do reflect an aboriginal influence, some areas reveal a very strong Spanish character. This is particularly apparent with regards to tableware, an area which reflects Spanish influences yet is closely associated with women’s kitchen activities. Given the ability of native women, many of whom were married to Spanish men, to gain direct access to both aboriginal and Spanish goods, as well as their domestic duties with regards to preparing and serving food, it appears logical to conclude that household decoration is an example of a female-dominated realm with Spanish influence and thus a true creolization with emphasis on Spanish aesthetics.

The increased importance of Spanish products within the colonies is further underscored by the aesthetics of New World and Spanish goods. While previous
discussions have focused on aesthetic influences within Europe, this thesis is unique in that it is one of the first studies to examine the trans-Atlantic element of this aspect in detail. The results of this pioneering investigation have revealed both similarities and differences, all of which support the idea that Spanish products gained significance as time progressed in the colonies.

In the case of ceramics, it appears that several vessel forms and surface decorations, such as Olive Jars and blue-on-blue majolicas, were created solely for export and do not appear to have been made within the colonies or widely used within Spain. In addition, the relative absence of wares such as Melado from the later colonial assemblages suggests that, after the development of a local ceramic industry, goods that were not immediately recognizable as luxury products were no longer imported in great quantities while they continued to be produced and used in Spain. This speaks to the increased value of majolica as these tablewares were not replaced by New World imitations while other ceramic types were substituted by locally produced pottery. While it is difficult to determine conclusive information without more Spanish sites for comparison, it appears that specific vessel forms and majolica types were produced solely for exportation purposes.

Despite these differences, there was also a large number of aesthetic similarities between the Spanish ceramics and those produced in the New World. These parallels reveal further ties between the colonies and their motherland, as majolica from the New World production centers mimicked their Spanish counterpart. This is especially apparent when looking at Puebla ware and how the blue-on-white tradition was ultimately taken over by this Mexican center while Spanish production of this type shrank dramatically by
the 18th century (Deagan 1983:28-29). Motifs and details such as characteristic loose
brushwork were also copied from Spanish ceramics.

This mimicry further supports my argument for the increasing value of Spanish
 ceramics in the colonies. Colonial artisans understood the increasingly high level of
 esteem the colonists held for Spanish ceramics and therefore attempted to make their
 products more marketable by imitating these goods. The New World consumers, in turn,
appear to have been keen to purchase goods that appeared Spanish while also enjoying
 understandably reduced costs.

This thesis sought to shed light on areas previously neglected by scholars by
utilizing information from both sides of the Spanish-Atlantic world. While further
research on this period is needed in Spain, there is ample evidence to suggest that
previous theories be reconsidered to incorporate the wealth of information from both the
Old and New Worlds. I propose, therefore, that Deagan’s and Ewen’s hypothesis be
adjusted to reflect how the development of a creolized culture occurred in the New World
and increased the social value of Spanish goods such as ceramics. In terms of ceramics,
this is primarily reflected through differential preference of ceramic types based on the
pottery’s origin and aesthetic decorations as well as the gender of those purchasing these
goods.
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Appendix A
Photos of Site B and Majolicas from Rota

**Figure 10:** A view of the Western Arroyo from the observation area of the former motocross track. The bright green lines indicate the erosion protection nets and, partially, indicate the location of the track. (Photo by the author)

**Figure 11:** A view of the observation area of the former motocross track from the Western Arroyo. The green nets serve as erosion barriers. (Photo by the author)
Figure 12: An on-site photograph of a sample of the ceramics found at Site B. (Photo by the author)

Figure 13: The ceramic sample collected on the western side of Site B. (Photo by the author)
**Figure 14:** Base fragment of an Ichtucknee blue-on-white plate. (Photo by the author)

**Figure 15:** Base fragment of an Unidentified blue-on-white bowl. (Photo by the author)

**Figure 16:** Marly fragment of an Unidentified blue-on-white plate. (Photo by the author)
Figure 17: Body fragment of an Unidentified blue-on-white vessel. (Photo by the author)

Figure 18: Rim fragment of an Unidentified polychrome vessel. (Photo by the author)

Figure 19: Body and rim fragments of Andalusia polychrome A vessels. (Photo by the author)

Figure 20: Body and rim fragments of Unidentified polychrome bacins. (Photo by the author)
Appendix B  
Identification of Ceramics found at Rota

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ceramics brought to the US from Rota</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Ichtucknee Blue On White</td>
<td>1600-1650</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>La Vega Blue on White</td>
<td>1525-1575</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Santo Domingo Blue On White</td>
<td>1550-1630</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Sevilla Blue on White</td>
<td>1530-1650</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Talavera Tradition, Blue on White</td>
<td>1590-1750</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Unidentified Blue on White</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Melado</td>
<td>1490-1550</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Andalusia Polychrome A</td>
<td>1575-1625</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Isabela Polychrome</td>
<td>1490-1580</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Unidentified Polychrome</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Blue-Green Bacin</td>
<td>1750-1820</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Columbia Plain</td>
<td>1490-1650</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Morisco Green</td>
<td>1490-1550</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Trailed Slipware</td>
<td>1750-1820</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Unglazed Earthenware</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 5: Identification of the ceramics brought to the United States from Rota and the production date range of each type. (Chart produced by the author)*
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Sherds</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Decoration/Colors</th>
<th>Motif</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Paste</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Plate</td>
<td>Blue on White</td>
<td>Straight, wavy lines; banded cavettos</td>
<td>Ichtucknee Blue On White</td>
<td>1600-1650</td>
<td>Tan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Plate</td>
<td>Blue on White</td>
<td>Banded cavettos</td>
<td>La Vega Blue on White</td>
<td>1525-1575</td>
<td>Cream</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Plate</td>
<td>Blue on White</td>
<td>Dashes on rim, banded?</td>
<td>Santo Domingo Blue On White</td>
<td>1550-1630</td>
<td>Cream</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Plate</td>
<td>Blue on White</td>
<td>Crude floral, rice-like pattern</td>
<td>Sevilla Blue on White</td>
<td>1530-1650</td>
<td>Cream</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Plate</td>
<td>Blue on White</td>
<td>Banded, concentric arches, dashes</td>
<td>Talavera Tradition, Blue on White</td>
<td>1590-1750</td>
<td>Buff</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Pitcher, Jar</td>
<td>Blue on White</td>
<td>Crude floral, thin lobes, spirals, smal dots</td>
<td>Unidentified Blue on White</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Bowl</td>
<td>Blue on White</td>
<td>Arches, crude floral, dashes, thin lobes</td>
<td>Unidentified Blue on White</td>
<td></td>
<td>Buff</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Bowl</td>
<td>Blue on White</td>
<td>Arches, banded rim</td>
<td>Unidentified Blue on White</td>
<td></td>
<td>Cream</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Plate</td>
<td>Blue on White</td>
<td>Bands</td>
<td>Unidentified Blue on White</td>
<td></td>
<td>Buff</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Bowl?</td>
<td>Blue on White</td>
<td>Crude floral/lobes</td>
<td>Unidentified Blue on White</td>
<td></td>
<td>Cream</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Plate</td>
<td>Blue on White</td>
<td>Zoomorphic? Crude floral? Not enough left</td>
<td>Unidentified Blue on White</td>
<td></td>
<td>Cream</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Plate</td>
<td>Blue on White</td>
<td>Wavy lines; banded</td>
<td>Unidentified Blue on White</td>
<td></td>
<td>Cream</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Plate</td>
<td>Blue on White</td>
<td>Arches, crude floral</td>
<td>Unidentified Blue on White</td>
<td></td>
<td>Buff</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Plate</td>
<td>Blue on White</td>
<td>Lobes, banded, crude floral</td>
<td>Unidentified Blue on White</td>
<td></td>
<td>Cream</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Bowl</td>
<td>Blue on White</td>
<td>Crude floral, berries</td>
<td>Unidentified Blue on White</td>
<td></td>
<td>Buff</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Plate</td>
<td>Blue on White</td>
<td>Cavettos, vertical bands, concentric circles</td>
<td>Unidentified Blue on White</td>
<td></td>
<td>Buff</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6: Identification and motifs of the Blue on White Ceramics found at Rota (Chart produced by the author)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Sherds</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Decoration/ Colors</th>
<th>Motif</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Paste</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Bowl &amp; Plate</td>
<td>Polychrome: Yellow, Blue, Orange</td>
<td>Banded, crude floral</td>
<td>Andalusia Polychrome A</td>
<td>1575-1625</td>
<td>Cream</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Plate</td>
<td>Blue on White</td>
<td>Alafia</td>
<td>Isabela Polychrome</td>
<td>1490-1580</td>
<td>Buff</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Bowl</td>
<td>Polychrome: Blue, Light Blue, Black, Yellow</td>
<td>Grid/partitioned designs dots, lines, washes</td>
<td>Unidentified Polychrome</td>
<td></td>
<td>Cream</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Plate</td>
<td>Polychrome: Blue, Yellow</td>
<td>Chinoiserie?</td>
<td>Unidentified Polychrome</td>
<td></td>
<td>Cream</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Plate</td>
<td>Polychrome: Blue, Light Blue, Purple, Yellow</td>
<td>Banded, cavettos, sponged</td>
<td>Unidentified Polychrome</td>
<td></td>
<td>Cream</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Plate</td>
<td>Polychrome: Green, Orange, Blue, Purple</td>
<td>Crude floral, banded, scenes?</td>
<td>Unidentified Polychrome</td>
<td>Light Orange</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Plate/Bowl</td>
<td>Polychrome: Blue, Yellow, Violet</td>
<td>Banded, fabric stamped/sponged</td>
<td>Unidentified Polychrome</td>
<td></td>
<td>Cream</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Bacin</td>
<td>Green and Blue</td>
<td>Banded, flowing green with inversed, intersecting blue arches</td>
<td>Unidentified Polychrome</td>
<td></td>
<td>Buff</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Charger</td>
<td>Blue-Green, Purple-Brown, Yellow</td>
<td>Banded green; inversed, intersecting brown arches; yellow band</td>
<td>Unidentified Polychrome</td>
<td></td>
<td>Cream</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Plate</td>
<td>Blue-Green, Blue</td>
<td>Flowing green arch with precise bands and dotted blue</td>
<td>Unidentified Polychrome</td>
<td></td>
<td>Tan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Bacin</td>
<td>Polychrome: Purple, Blue-green</td>
<td>Banded</td>
<td>Unidentified Polychrome</td>
<td></td>
<td>Cream</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Green and Blue</td>
<td>Not enough left to determine motif</td>
<td>Unidentified Polychrome</td>
<td></td>
<td>Cream</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 7: Identification and motifs of the Polychrome Ceramics found at Rota (Chart produced by the author)*