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Close Textual Analysis, Close Skeletal Analysis: Postcolonial Hybridity Approaches to Administrative & Clerical Document Content Analysis and Osteobiographies of Care of Early Modern Period Spanish Colonialism in Camarines, Bicol, Philippines

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

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by

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Close Textual Analysis, Close Skeletal Analysis: Postcolonial Hybridity Approaches to Administrative & Clerical Document Content Analysis and Osteobiographies of Care of Early Modern Period Spanish Colonialism in Camarines, Bicol, Philippines

by

Edward Cleofe
Doctor of Philosophy in Archaeology
University of California, Los Angeles, 2025
Professor Stephen B. Acabado, Chair

This dissertation examines how a postcolonial hybridity analysis of materials from Early Modern Bicol that might otherwise be uncritically relegated to an indigenous or Spanish people category may demonstrate a dynamic negotiation between and beyond those people categories. Spanish documents written by administrative and clerical writers about the Camarines in the 1500s and 1600s were analyzed using content analysis, revealing dynamism in how indigenous people were conceptualized and growing tensions between indigenous people and religious clerics over time. Osteobiographies of care about two subadults buried at the Bombon church site in Camarines Sur, Philippines (one who lived, died, and was buried in the pre-Spanish 7th century and one who loved, died, and was buried in the early Spanish colonial period) were developed,

revealing continuities in care practices and dynamic burial practices over time. These case studies demonstrate the analytical value of a postcolonial hybridity approach by surfacing evidence of indigenous agency and dynamic negotiations of colonialism in materials that might otherwise be uncritically placed in a single people category.

The dissertation of Edward Cleofe is approved.

Charlene Villaseñor Black

Chin-Hsin Liu

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2025

DEDICATION

For Paco–a faithful companion, a fearless lover, and a good boy.

I couldn't have done it without you.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF TABLES

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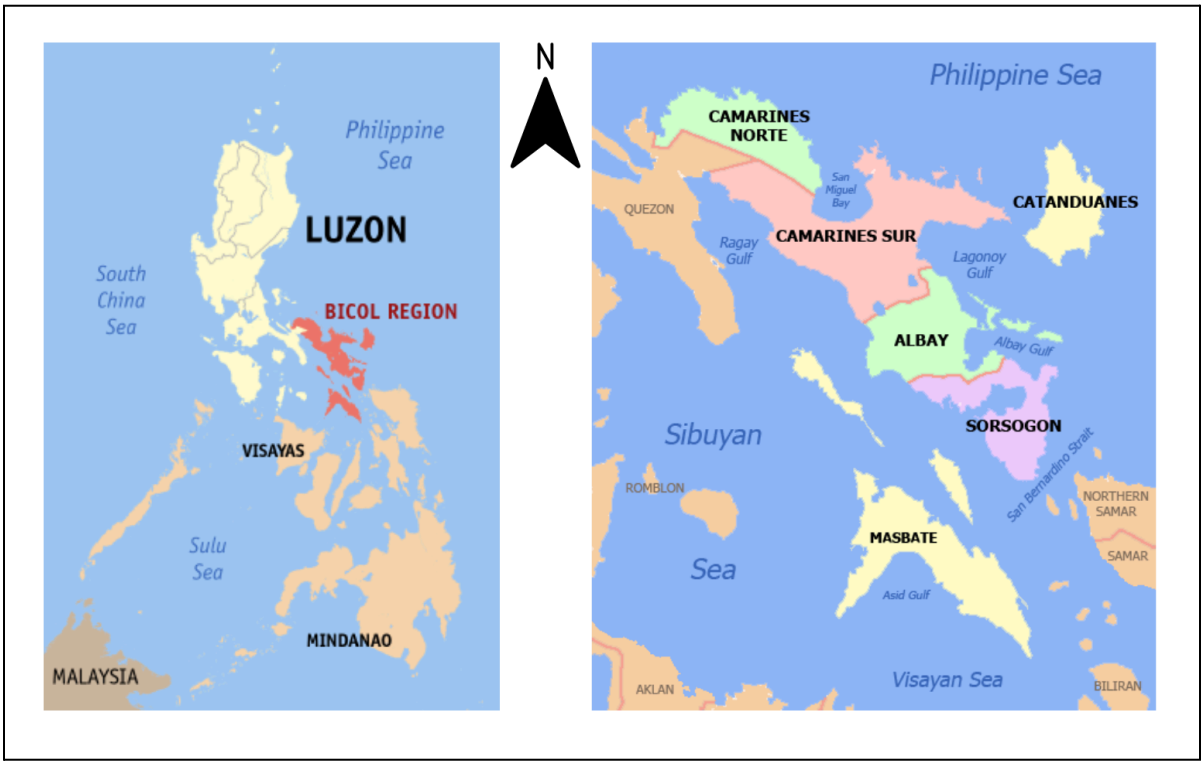
Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Introduction

Recent archaeological research on colonialism in the Philippines has focused on the nuanced ways in which indigenous people resisted, accommodated, co-opted, and transformed colonizing phenomena and processes (Acabado 2018). This work has clearly established indigenous agency in (re)shaping macro-scale agricultural, spiritual, and industrial landscapes across the archipelago into forms that reflect both colonial constraints and indigenous cultural continuity through innovation and hybridization, particularly in the Cordilleras and in the Bicol region (see Figure 1.1) (Acabado et al. 2019; Yakal 2023; Meyer-Lorey and Acabado 2024). However, less research has focused on the (re)shaping of individual-scale materials–such as documents and individual burials–in the context of sustained colonial contact in the Philippines.

Figure 1.1 Map of the Philippines, highlighting the Bicol region and map of modern Bicol and constituent provinces (adapted from Namayan 2007 and Villar 2003)



This dissertation is an examination of some of those individual-scale materials, using the concept of postcolonial hybridity to explore how materials that might otherwise be uncritically relegated to an 'indigenous' or 'Spanish' people category may instead demonstrate a dynamic negotiation between and beyond those people categories (Bhabha 1994; Dean and Leibsohn 2003; Croucher 2012; Liebmann 2013; Martinez 2019). Documents and burials, as sites of intentional remembrance that were shaped by everyday interactions and habitual actions, provide focal points to potentially access these negotiations during the Spanish colonial period. My primary research objective focuses on exploring how indigenous Bicolanos' agency materialized in 'Spanish' material culture and 'indigenous' material culture to disrupt notions of the unidirectionality or instantaneousness of colonization.

Popular, and even some official, understandings of the history of the Bicol region have a clear narrative: Bicolanos experienced near-instant colonization and attendant Catholicization in the late 1500s (Escandor Jr. 2016; Marcaida 2018; Yakal et al. 2021). However, the uniquely Bicolano Catholicism practiced today–perhaps distilled best in the Peñafrancia Festival, the largest Marian devotional event in Asia–suggests otherwise. Instead, conversion to and subsequent transformation of Catholicism was a strategy used by indigenous Bicolanos to navigate a period of unprecedented social change, with effects of that strategy affecting the physical, economic, and spiritual landscape of the region to this day (Yakal 2023).

By examining documents from the early Spanish colonial period (the 1500s-1600s), the precolonial period burial of a subadult, and the early Spanish colonial period burial of another

subadult, this project aims to identify indigenous agency through the perspective of Spanish administrative and clerical writers and through the care provided to young people in life and death within indigenous communities. I argue that indigenous Bicolanos skillfully navigated colonial pressures, eventually transforming the Catholicism imported via Spanish colonialism into a uniquely Bicolano Catholicism (Silliman 2009, 2014; Liebmann 2012). Through content analysis of archival documents and the development of osteobiographies of care for two subadults, I explore these questions:

- How did the concepts of indigenous people and religious practice and writers' affect about indigenous people change during the 16th and 17th centuries in the Camarines Archival Documents corpus?
- How did the skeletonized lifeways and mortuary treatment of subadults buried in the Bombon church site change before and after Spanish colonization?

Through exploring these questions using the Camarines Archival Documents and the burials of subadults from the Bombon church site as case studies, we can gain a more nuanced understanding of how the indigenous people of the Bicol region resisted, accommodated, co-opted, and transformed colonizing phenomena and processes in small ways (Acabado 2018). In daily interactions with colonial administrators and clerics that were remembered, synthesized, and written down and through the habitual behaviors and significant choices that appear in graves, indigenous agency materialized in the individual-scale materials of daily life in the Early Modern Period. The Early Modern Period, stretching from 1400s to 1830, saw advancements in

communications, transportation, political, and commercial technologies and infrastructure that enabled unprecedented contexts of sustained cultural contacts across the globe (Andaya and Andaya 2015).

This chapter provides an introduction to the dissertation by outlining some background information and historical context of Early Modern Bicol; identifying the research problem; explicating research aims, objectives, and questions; positing the project's intellectual and potential social significance; describing limitations of the project; and providing a structural outline for the following chapters.

1.1.1 Background

Despite its economic centrality to the development of the globalization of the Spanish Empire–and thus globalization as we know it today–the Early Modern Philippines remains largely unstudied in the archaeology of Iberian colonialism (Acabado et al. 2019; Valle et al. 2019). In 1564, the Viceroy of New Spain commissioned expeditions led by Miguel López de Legazpi and Andrés de Urdaneta to conquer the islands described by Ferdinand Magellan's surviving crew. Legazpi captured Cebu in 1565, establishing the Captaincy General of the Philippines and himself as its first Governor General. Due to the Viceroy of New Spain's patronage, the Captaincy General of the Philippines was a dependency of the viceroyalty and was administered by the viceroy directly instead of the king (Lee 1984).

Following strategies used in Spain's conquests in the Americas, Legazpi adopted/adapted existing power relations in the Philippine islands rather than replace them by allying with Visayan

groups interested in shifting the pre-Spanish balance of power (Mawson 2016). Aided by these groups, Legazpi dispatched Martín de Goiti in 1570 to conquer Maynila/Manila. After its capture in 1571, Legazpi then established Manila as the capital of the Philippines and the rest of the Spanish East Indies (Santiago Jr. 2006).

The capture of Manila made regular transpacific trade possible, serving as the final link of an emergent Castilian-controlled global trade network (initially) flush with silver (Clossey 2006; Yun-Casalilla 2019). This final link took the form of the Manila-Acapulco Galleon trade, which continued despite many disasters due to the extreme profitability of newly possible global trade; the Galleon trade also pulled in indigenous Bicol boatbuilding traditions and natural resources into the technology that made Early Modern globalization possible, reflecting the multi-directional hybridization inherent to globalization (Jago-on and Orillaneda 2019; Marcaida n.d.).

Control of the silver trade–from extraction in the Americas to sales in Chinese markets vis-a-vis the Philippines–via the Manila-Acapulco Galleon system generated massive profits for Mexican merchants (Bjork 1988). Due to its strategic proximity to and historical trade relationships with China, the Philippines became a commercial hub requiring subsidization, which the Crown was happy to let the Viceroyalty fund; ultimately, this neglect from Castile allowed for the inordinate influence of the Catholic Church in the day-to-day administration of the Philippines (Camba and Aguilar 2022; Mehl 2016).

The Church made good use of this influence in the Philippines generally and in Bicol specifically, with effects visible to this day: 79% of all Filipinos and 93% of Bicolanos identified as

Roman Catholic in the 2020 census (Philippine Statistics Authority 2025). Though these statistics may suggest the Church was incredibly successful in evangelization and eradication of indigenous religious practices, ethnographic and material culture analysis of contemporary Bicolano Catholicism strongly suggests a more nuanced understanding: indigenous Bicolanos in the Early Modern period strategically converted to Catholicism in order to avoid colonial scrutiny and then transformed the practice of the faith into a distinctly Bicolano Catholicism (Yakal 2023).

Thus, religious and spiritual practices in Early Modern Bicol, viewed with a postcolonial hybridity lens, represent likely sources of evidence of indigenous agency during the early Spanish colonial period in the Philippines. Although definitive materializations of religious or spiritual practices can be difficult to access archaeologically (Benavides 2002; Liebmann 2013), archival documents from the early Spanish colonial period and burials from the pre- and early Spanish colonial period burials emerged as potentially rich sources of data, following historical, archaeological, and historic archaeological work across the Early Modern Spanish Empire (Camba 2012; Wrobel 2012; Fitzpatrick 2013).

1.1.2 Research Problem

Research on the Early Modern Philippines is an emergent, highly interdisciplinary field of study, braiding together archaeological, archival, geospatial, ethnographic, ecological, and other methodologies and datastreams; this innovative research has clearly established indigenous agency in (re)shaping macro-scale agricultural, spiritual, and industrial landscapes across the archipelago into forms that reflect both colonial constraints and indigenous cultural continuity through

innovation and hybridization (Barretto-Tesoro 2015; Acabado 2018; Acabado et al. 2019; Yakal 2023; Meyer-Lorey and Acabado 2024).

However, this body of research has traditionally focused on the macro-scale (Acabado et al. 2019; Yakal 2023; Meyer-Lorey and Acabado 2024), analyzing landscape transformations at settlement and regional levels. Less research has focused on the micro-scale, closely analyzing individual objects, small collections of objects, and intimate landscapes. As a result, the existing research of the Early Modern Philippines may be leaving metaphorical money on the table–that is, missing evidence of indigenous agency and person-scale narratives of navigating and negotiating colonialism.

1.1.3 Research Aims, Objectives, Questions

Given this gap in research focused on micro-scale analysis of colonialism in the Early Modern Philippines, this dissertation aims to identify evidence of indigenous agency and person-scale narratives of navigating early Spanish colonialism with a focus on individual-scale materials shaped by everyday interactions and habitual actions.

Using the concept of postcolonial hybridity, this project explores how these objects that might otherwise be uncritically relegated to an 'indigenous' or 'Spanish' people category may instead demonstrate a dynamic negotiation between and beyond those people categories (cf. Bhabha 1994; Dean and Leibsohn 2003; Croucher 2012; Liebmann 2013; Martinez 2019).

By examining documents from the early Spanish colonial period (the 1500s-1600s), the precolonial period burial of a subadult, and the pericolonial period burial of another subadult, this

project aims to identify indigenous agency through the perspective of Spanish administrative and clerical writers and through the care provided to young people in life and death within indigenous communities. I argue that indigenous Bicolanos skillfully navigated colonial pressures, eventually transforming the Catholicism imported via Spanish colonialism into a uniquely Bicolano Catholicism (cf. Yakal 2023). Through content analysis of archival documents and the development of osteobiographies of care for two subadults, respectively, I explore these questions:

- How did the concepts of indigenous people and religious practice and writers' affect about indigenous people change during the 16th and 17th centuries in the Camarines Archival Documents corpus?
- How did the skeletonized lifeways and mortuary treatment of subadults buried in the Bombon church site change before and after Spanish colonization?

Digital and computational humanities approaches to analyzing Early Modern Spanish documents have emerged as a dynamic body of work aiming to identify patterns and trends within and between document corpi (González Zalacain and Vaamonde 2025). In Early Modern contexts, computational/digital humanities tools such as optical character recognition (OCR) and content analysis can be valuable tools for understanding and deconstructing colonial power across multiple (collections of) documents (Müller 2021). However, computational approaches to documents from New Spain have yet to meaningfully include the Philippines in their analysis (Liceras-Garrido et al. 2019). Using OCR and content analysis to examine a corpus of early Spanish colonial period documents about the Camarines area of Bicol (the Camarines Archival Documents or CAD), this

dissertation aims to meaningfully put Philippine colonial experiences in conversation with the growing body of Early Modern (New) Spanish digital humanities. Unfortunately, OCR's limitations in Early Modern Spanish texts led to transcriptions of the CAD with 90+% of words needing human correction. Instead, paleography assisted by digital tools was used to create CAD transcripts for content analysis.

Content analysis can surface trends in conceptual frameworks and relationships between concepts within a corpus of documents using quantitative approaches–including concept analysis and relational analysis–to analyze and visualize qualitative data (Busch et al. 2005; Kuckartz and Rädiker 2019, 2023). This dissertation uses conceptual analysis to identify diachronic changes and continuities in the CAD writers' concepts of and biases about indigenous people and religious practices. Further, this dissertation uses relational analysis, particularly an approach known as affect extraction, to identify diachronic changes and continuities in how Spanish government administrators and Catholic clerics felt and wrote about indigenous people in the CAD. Relational analysis of affect can be an effective means of uncovering colonial anxieties and resultant governance strategies in historical documents (Müller 2021). The results of these different types of analyses are contextualized in broader historical trends and closely examined for (hidden) evidence of indigenous agency.

Osteobiographies, multiscalar analyses of the life histories of individuals via their skeletal remains and many other lines of evidence, have become increasingly popular as a bioarchaeological method due to many reasons, including logistical, legal, monetary, and moral (Saul and Saul 1989;

Renfrew and Bahn 2004; Stodder and Palkovich 2012; Boutin 2016; Hossek and Rob 2019). The bioarchaeology of care is a case-study based approach, focused on assessing the need for and nature of care an individual received via human skeletal remains (Tilley and Cameron 2014; Oxenham and Willis 2017). This focus on care is also compatible with postcolonial hybridity, due to the inherently social and agentive nature of giving and receiving care (Liebmann 2013; Tilley 2015).

Combining these compatible approaches, this dissertation develops osteobiographies of care for TP1B1 and T2B2, a pre-colonial period and early colonial period indigenous subadult respectively, who were buried in what are now the grounds of Bombon church in Camarines Sur province in the Bicol region (Yakal et al. 2021). These osteobiographies of care aim to surface indigenous agency via an examination of caregiving, ultimately comparing materializations of indigenous agency before and during the Spanish colonial period.

1.1.4 Comparative Work

Early Modern Bicol–and the Early Modern Philippines writ large–has been historically understudied, so the agency of indigenous Bicolanos has also been historically understudied (Yakal et al. 2021; Acabado 2017). Despite this, many case studies from Early Modern Spanish colonial contexts have examined Catholicization and hybridization, the bioarchaeological impacts of colonialism, and colonial governance strategies.

Contemporary Bicol is perhaps the most Catholic region of the Philippines, itself a country that is overwhelmingly Catholic (Philippine Statistics Authority 2025). While this may suggest the Church was incredibly successful in the evangelization and the eradication of indigenous religious

practices, ethnographic and material culture analysis of contemporary Bicolano Catholicism strongly suggests more nuanced phenomena: Early Modern indigenous Bicolanos strategically converted to Catholicism to avoid colonial scrutiny and subsequently transformed the faith into a distinctly Bicolano Catholicism (Yakal 2023). This is perhaps most apparent in the Peñafrancia Festival and the image at its center: Our Lady of Peñafrancia, a Marian image with a distinct triangular body and gold adornments iconic to the Bicol region (Yakal 2023). Our Lady of Peñafrancia belongs to a sorority of syncretic Marian figures whose devotions emerged during the Early Modern Period, including the Virgin of Guadalupe and a possible Virgin Kachina from 17th century New Mexico (Peterson 2014; Liebmann 2013). Hybridization by indigenous people navigating Early Modern Catholicism seems to be a ubiquitous phenomenon, suggesting that the postcolonial hybridity used in this dissertation may have relevance across the former Spanish Empire.

Bioarchaeological studies of Early Modern Latin America, with sample sizes ranging from single osteobiography to hundreds of individuals, have revealed incredibly diverse skeletal manifestations of equally diverse health, diet, activity, and trauma effects of Spanish colonialism (Harvey et al. 2017; Klaus and Alvarez-Calderón 2017; Murphy et al. 2017; Ortiz et al. 2017; Winkler et al. 2017; Stojanowski 2013; Wrobel 2012; Mayes and Barber 2008; Stojanowski 2005). At a regional scale, Klaus and Alvarez-Calderón (2017) analyzed hundreds of indigenous burials from 17th and 18th century north coast Peru *reducciónes*, which exhibited diverse biological responses to colonialism and hybrid burial practices despite temporal and spatial contexts

suggestive of conversion. At a person-/microscale, Wrobel (2012) developed osteobiographies of two young adult males from 16th or 17th century Belize whose burials exhibited a combination of Catholic and Maya traditions, arguing that the selective integration of Catholic burial practices represents indigenous agency in negotiating assimilation and resistance. Though the development of these osteobiographies was aided by regional archaeological studies whose counterparts are largely unavailable for Early Modern Bicol, they were primarily grounded in ethnohistoric accounts (Wrobel 2012). Thus, the close textual analysis of the CAD serves two purposes, as context for TP1B1 and T2B2's osteobiographies and as content analysis in its own right.

Early Modern Spanish Empire colonial governance strategies varied greatly across time and space. The Spanish *encomienda* system, itself shipped from *Reconquista* Iberia across the Atlantic to *Nueva España*, was shipped across the Pacific to the Philippines (Valle et al. 2019). Prone to abuse, the labor extraction *encomienda* system was eventually replaced by the labor-tribute *repartimiento* system after the passage of *Las Leyes Nuevas* in 1542 to reduce abuse of indigenous people in the colonies (Carlos V/I 1542). The *repartimiento* system in the Philippines was eventually complemented by *reducción*, forced resettlement of indigenous people into European style towns, in order to consolidate labor and ease colonial governance (Barretto-Tesoro 2015), mirroring similar strategies in *Los Virreinatos de Perú y Nueva España* (cf. VanValkenburgh 2017, Voss 2008). *Repartimiento* and *reducción* were initially easier to administer in Peru, likely because of Spanish cooptation of Inca power structures, such as the *mit'a* labor-tribute system, suggesting that indigenous power structures influenced Spanish governance strategies (Ortiz et al. 2017). In

Bicol, narratives of early Spanish chroniclers suggest a dense population with little (need for) large scale political organization or power structures due to the natural abundance and geographic fragmentation of the region (Newson 2009).

This brief survey of research on Early Modern Spanish colonial contexts examining Catholicization and hybridization, the bioarchaeological impacts of colonialism, and colonial governance strategies suggests that the content analysis of the CAD and development of osteobiographies of TP1B1 and T2B2, though small in scale, are in conversation with a rich, diverse, and growing body of literature exploring the diversity of indigenous responses to colonialism.

1.1.5 Significance

An examination of the Camarines Archival Documents corpus and the Bombon church site subadult burials as case studies reveals evidence of the ways in which indigenous Bicolanos resisted, accommodated, co-opted, and transformed colonizing phenomena and processes in subtle ways (Acabado 2018). In daily interactions with colonial administrators and clerics that were remembered, synthesized, and written down and through the habitual behaviors and significant choices that appear in graves, indigenous agency materialized in the small things of daily life in the Early Modern Period. This dissertation will thus contribute to the body of knowledge on indigenous Philippine agency in contexts of Early Modern Spanish colonialism.

The application of computational/digital humanities approaches, such as content analysis, to Early Modern (New) Spanish documents about the Philippines is novel (Liceras-Garrido et al.

2019). Further, through the use of computational/digital humanities approaches, this dissertation can allow for comparative colonial historiography with the emergent body of computational/digital humanities research on Spanish colonialism in the Early Modern Americas (González Zalacain and Vaamonde 2025). It also represents an approach to (re)assess Early Modern Spanish documents across the Philippine archipelago to surface indigenous agency and allow for comparative historiographic research between the different regions of the Philippines.

The development of an early Spanish colonial period Philippine osteobiography of care is novel, though the bioarchaeology of care has been compellingly used in the deep historic Philippines (Vlok et al. 2017) as well as in deep historic mainland Southeast Asia (Oxenham 2016). TP1B1's osteobiography of care can be compared with T2B2's due to geographical proximity and can be put into conversation with previous research based on regional affinity and (relative) temporal proximity. Further, this dissertation aims to present the side-by-side analyses of TP1B1 and T2B2's osteobiographies of care as a prototype of future bioarchaeological research on the Early Modern Philippines.

Beyond academic research, I hope that this research helps to center the importance of small, person-scale stories in contexts of large, historical narratives. Critical archaeological work on the Early Modern Philippines has been met with complicated feelings in some contexts, as evidence disrupts popular–and at times official–narratives of who and what Filipinos are that were largely uncritically inherited and adopted from the Spanish and American colonial eras (Acabado et al.

2019). Although these disruptions are important, (re)assessment of the past with more objective eyes can be painful, particularly when it challenges the foundation of people's identity-building.

However, narratives about Filipino identity could benefit from an update. The logic behind popular narratives of a 'true' Filipino identity 'untainted' by Hispanicization renders anyone whose ancestors interacted with the Spanish as inherently false and tainted (Larkin 1967; Camba and Aguilar 2022). Further, those who can claim a 'true' or 'untainted' history and identity are relegated to a static category of 'indigenous' that does not allow for modernization, cultural change, or meaningful national representation, as seen in the case of Ifugao and other groups across the archipelago (Acabado 2017; Acabado and Martin 2020).

The large-scale, landscape research described above is incredibly important, allowing for the development of new, truer, and more nuanced large historical narratives. I believe that complementing that research with micro-scale research and person-scale narratives will assist in more effectively and compassionately changing hearts and minds when it comes to understandings of the past. Storytelling is key to our understandings of our experiences, identities, and histories: providing meaningful narratives and the opportunity to develop narratives can be incredibly empowering and healing at individual and community levels (Rosenthal 2003).

1.1.6 Limitations

This project's scope is, admittedly, very small, with case studies consisting of 16 documents and two subadult burials. Because of this small sample size, the generalizability of findings is limited. Future archival content analysis and/or bioarchaeological research on Early Modern Bicol

would benefit greatly from larger sample sizes. Methodologically speaking, microscopic and chemical analyses could greatly complement and benefit the osteobiographies of care presented in this dissertation.

The limitations briefly described above were, ultimately, functions of limited resources. The COVID-19 Pandemic greatly reduced opportunities for fieldwork and thus time to locate and/or excavate relevant materials. Microscopic analyses were prevented by a lack of (funding to purchase or access) equipment while working with excavated materials in the Philippines. Chemical analysis was prevented by (admittedly important) policy changes: the administration of archaeological materials excavated in the Philippines transitioned from the National Museum of the Philippines to the National Commission for Culture and the Arts during the early 2020s. Due to this change, policies and protocols for export and destructive analysis of archaeological materials–particularly human skeletal remains–are still under review and development. These limitations strongly point to the need to advocate for the capacity development of partner institutions in the Philippines, as the Bicol Archaeological Project has successfully done with drone photography equipment in partnership with Partido State University.

1.2 Outline of Dissertation

1.2.1 Introduction

This introductory chapter (Chapter 1) provides a summarized introduction; background and historical context about Early Modern Bicol; the research problem; the dissertation's research

aim, objectives, and questions; the project's intellectual and social significance; the project's limitations; and the chapter-by-chapter outline below.

1.2.2 Let's (Re)Assess: Postcolonial Hybridity in the Early Modern Philippines

Chapter 2 examines different theoretical models to interpreting archaeological data about colonialism, ultimately landing on postcolonial hybridity, because of its analytic focus on processes that produce material culture forms that do not neatly fit into a single people category of origin, power, and the subaltern (Liebmann 2013; Villasenñor-Black 2019). Next, category consciousness and practice theory are introduced as complements to postcolonial hybridity. Chapter 2 closes by describing how Early Modern Philippine documents and mortuary contexts are compelling examples of postcolonial hybrid materials.

1.2.3 All Catholicism is Folk Catholicism: Structures, Internal Conflict, and Opportunities for Indigenous Agency in Early Modern Imperial Spanish Catholicism

Chapter 3 examines the structures of (and structures within) the Early Modern Spanish Empire and the Early Modern Catholic Church, arguing that the heterarchical structure of imperial governance and the internal conflicts of the Church contributed to a historical period wherein indigenous people had ample opportunity to dramatically affect the Spanish and Catholic material culture and social practices exported to the Philippines.

1.2.4 Between the Lines: Content Analysis of the Camarines Archival Documents

Chapter 4 examines the Camarines Archival Documents–a corpus of 16 documents written by both government administrators and religious clerics about 16th and 17th century Bicol–using

diachronic conceptual analysis and diachronic relational analysis to examine how concepts of indigenous people and religious ritual and how affect about indigenous people changed over time.

1.2.5 Bones of Connection: Osteobiographies of of Care of Two Subadults from the Bombon Church Site, Camarines Sur, Philippines

Chapter 5 examines the skeletonized lifeways and mortuary treatment of two subadults excavated from the Bombon church site through the development of osteobiographies of care–case studies using paleopathological analysis to identify possible biosocial healthcare practices–to learn about the lives, deaths, and burials of these individuals, who died 100s of years apart but were buried less than 100 meters from one another.

1.2.6 Conclusion

Chapter 6 summarizes the key findings of the Camarines Archival Documents content analysis and osteobiography development of the subadults excavated from the Bombon Church site in relation to the research aims and questions. The chapter then outlines the dissertation's contributions and recommendations for future research. The chapter closes with a brief summary.

Chapter 2. Let's (Re)Assess: Postcolonial Hybridity in the Early Modern Philippines

2.1 Archaeological Understanding(s) of Indigenous Responses to Colonialism

This project is fundamentally concerned with indigenous responses to colonialism in the lowland Philippines. Despite narratives of near-instant colonization (and attendant Catholicization), previous research across the Philippines, the Americas, and beyond during the Early Modern period compellingly argue that indigenous people resisted, accommodated, co-opted, and transformed colonizing phenomenon and processes in myriad ways (Acabado 2018; Fitzpatrick 2013; Winkler et al 2017; Ortiz et al 2017; Murphy et al 2017; Klaus and Alvarez Calderon 2017; Harvey et al 2017; Stojanowski 2013; Loren 2013; Wrobel 2012; Silliman 2009).

These diverse responses to colonialism materialized in equally diverse and fundamentally innovative forms, particularly in the creation of novel material culture that (re)combined features from multiple cultures in contexts of newfound, sustained contact (Liebmann 2013, Silliman 2009, Stockhammer 2013). The diverse responses also likely manifested in emergent social practices, but those practices are very difficult to access archaeologically (Scott 1990; Stockhammer 2013).

Theory, interpretation, and analysis of these new social/material forms have formed the bedrock of the archaeology of colonialism for decades (Croucher 2012; Liebmann 2013). Much of this scholarship, unfortunately, skewed toward essentializing indigenous peoples, focused on (indigenous) cultural degradation, and interpreted cultural change as evidence of destruction of indigenous cultures (Silliman 2009, 2014; Liebmann 2013).

In response to these interpretive issues, multiple theoretical models for examining and explicating material culture that exhibits multiple cultural origins in contexts of new, sustained

cultural contact between multiple people groups have been proposed and hotly debated, including acculturation, syncretism, bricolage, creolization, mestizaje, hybridity, and entanglements (Liebmann 2013). Though none of the models are perfect, hybridity–particularly as posited by postcolonial theorists–may lead to the richest, most nuanced interpretations of novel material culture forms (Liebmann 2013).

2.1.1 Archaeological History & Theory

2.1.1.1 Historical Eras of Archaeological Theory

The models of cultural contact explored below do not map cleanly to specific eras in archaeological theory. However, the mutually constitutive relationship between the discipline's different understandings of culture, predominant theoretical orientations, and analyses of sustained cultural contact calls for a brief overview of the imprecise, overlapping theoretical eras throughout anthropological archaeology's history and development. These eras include: the cultural-historical model, New Archaeology/Processualism, Post-Processualism, and contemporary archaeological theory.

The cultural-historical model of archaeology was dominant in the emergence of the discipline from the late 1800s through the 1920s. The model is primarily concerned with the identification and classification of archaeological cultures (patterns of material assemblages suggesting bounded groups of homogenous peoples) and the history of those archaeological cultures via tracing their movement over time (Croucher 2012). The cultural-historical model of archaeology has theoretical roots in 19th century anthropology, its classificatory schemes, and its

roles in colonial projects during the Early Modern Period (Moro-Abadia 2016). Due to the impermeability of alleged archaeological cultures, the cultural-historical model had few if any considerations of hybrid materials, instead leaning toward narratives of cultural replacement and extinction. (Liebmann 2013).

The 'New Archaeology' or Processualism emerged in the 1930s as a result of critiques of the cultural-historical approach: processualism focused on the rigorous application of the scientific method, measurability and quantifiability (Trigger 2009). Though processualism posited itself as objective and scientific, its measurements and quantifications often used or focused on archaeological cultures, thereby reifying concepts of monolithic and bounded cultural/ethnic groups largely inherited from the Cultural-Historic model (Croucher 2012). Processual archaeology leaned toward unidirectional models of cultural contact, wherein a dominant culture caused changes in the culture(s) it came into sustained contact with, such as through acculturation (Liebmann 2013).

By the late 1970s, as a reaction to the positivism and (alleged) objectivity of Processualism/ Processual Archaeology, diverse theoretical concerns emerged from many different scholars and schools of thought, eventually being consolidated into the umbrella of Post-Processualism. The large theoretical tent of Post-Processualism included scholars concerned with power inequalities, resistance, and gender. Rather than a unified explanatory or interpretive model, post-processualism is a "very diverse strands of thought coalesced into a loose cluster of traditions," (Johnson 2020). Reactionary scholarship criticized post-processualism's (lack of) methodological rigor.

Since the late 1990s, the contemporary mainstream of anthropological archaeological scholarship has attempted to hew a middle path, primarily concerned with how to best study post-processual concerns of power, resistance, and identity using processual methods focused on quantifiability and positivism. This dissertation aims to walk this middle path, using methodologies drawn from both the social and natural sciences to explore the materializations and meanings of Early Modern colonialisms in the Bicol region of the Philippines.

2.1.2 Theoretical Models of Cultural Contact

For the purposes of this dissertation, the most relevant subset of (post-processual) theory is postcolonial theory. Postcolonialism is primarily concerned with the material, economic, and intellectual legacies of colonialism and has explicit social-political goals to fight the aforementioned legacies to develop new, decolonized intellectual and material futures (Patterson 2008; Gosden 2016). The theoretical models of cultural contact/colonialism outlined below (acculturation, syncretism and bricolage, creolization, mestizaje, entanglements, and hybridity) emerged from post-processual and postcolonial theory with a single exception: acculturation (Liebmann 2013).

Acculturation emerged as an explanatory model of culture change during the processual period of the 1930s-1970s (Trigger 2009; Liebmann 2013). Trait lists were used to create and reify categories of artifacts that were understood to be associated with discrete social groups (Croucher 2012). Measurements of traits were used to quantify cultural changes brought on by one social group changing another: in colonial contexts, trait lists and measurements of traits were used to quantify the Europeanification of indigenous artifact assemblages and, thus, of indigenous people

(Silliman 2009; Liebmann 2013). This unidirectional analysis of (material) culture change flattened the agency of indigenous peoples and has left acculturation as a model implicitly and explicitly maligned by most anthropological archaeologists studying Early Modern Period colonialism and its legacies. Despite its shortcomings, acculturation as a theoretical model underscores the analytic power of (the creation of) categories in archaeological research: this power is best understood and utilized through the critical, conscious creation (or choosing) of contextually relevant categories to be used in analysis.

Syncretism and bricolage focus on novel artifacts and artifact types that are combinations of previously discrete forms (Clack 2011). Broadly, syncretism is used to denote the combination of elements from two or more different cultures; is most often used to analyze religion and its materializations; emphasizes creativity, inventiveness, and innovation; but typically, does not explicitly address power or structural limitations (Liebmann 2013). Further, syncretic analyses rely upon the source-recognizability of syncretized 'parts' and can thus miss, misattribute, or misinterpret truly novel forms (Benavides 2002). Bricolage differs from syncretism via its analytic emphasis on structural limitations: people navigating structural barriers create material culture that somehow reflects or echoes those limitations.

Effectively, bricolage and syncretism are each other's inverse. To illustrate this difference, a syncretic analysis of, for example, a Marian image including symbolism related to a pre-Catholic and/or indigenous maternal deity would underscore the creativity and agency of the image creator in transforming Mary (Yakal 2023). A bricolage-focused analysis would instead emphasize the

image creator having to navigate an environment hostile to pre-Catholic religious practices. Neither analysis is necessarily better: both models investigate a continuity/change dialectic, wherein the creation of new, novel, or remixed forms of material culture represent a culture's continuing change and evolution (Clack 2011, Silliman 2009). However, for this dissertation's analysis, the complementarity of these inverse theoretical models suggests that a theoretical model of sustained cultural contact is most interpretively nuanced and interesting when it considers both individuals' agency and structural limitations.

Creolization and mestizaje are both popular models used in the archaeology of colonialism in the Americas. Creolization is a theoretical model of cultural contact that focuses on the creation of new forms of material culture that are created out of a cultural 'vocabulary' (be it linguistic, visual, aesthetic, etc.) in dislocated/diasporic contexts (Deagan 1998; Hall 2011). Creolization emerged as an archaeological model during the historical moment of the late 20th century: national-identity building projects of former/ neo-colonies, particularly in Latin America and the Caribbean, favored ethnogenetic models over unidirectional models (Deagan 1998). Creolization is a popular model in the historical archaeology of the Early Modern Spanish Americas as it is particularly well suited at examining the ethnogenesis of distinct Spanish American colonial cultures (Deagan 1998). Through its focus on the dislocated vocabulary over the diasporic context, the model privileges newcomers.

Mestizaje is a theoretical model of cultural contact focused on the creations of new cultural forms and identities in the context of sustained contact between peoples from the Old World and

New World (Liebmann 2013). Because of its focus on the creation of new forms and identities, the model largely ignores the indigenous identities and the ways in which they were (re)created and maintained by indigenous agency (Silliman 2009). Both creolization and mestizaje's analytic value for this dissertation lie in their historical and geopolitical contingency: it exclusively studies identity and its materializations across the Early Modern Spanish Empire and its successor states. This contingency represents one intervention that will be applied to hybridity.

Perhaps the most recent theoretical model to emerge in the archaeological study of the Early Modern Spanish colonies, entanglement is primarily concerned with the phenomena that result from creative processes triggered by intercultural encounters (Stockhammer 2013). Entanglements are inherently relational, examining the connections between objects, associated local practices, and the worldviews of the people(s) who used the objects. Entanglement theory thus ambitiously aimed to braid analyses of material culture, social practices, and psycho-cognitive phenomena. This ambition was likely its downfall: despite its initial popularity among some influential archaeological theorists, entanglement theory never crystallized into a cohesive approach that bridged theory, methods, and practice (Silliman 2015). For the purposes of this dissertation, entanglement's concern for the connections between objects and the practices they were used for is a compelling addition to the adopted theoretical model: hybridity.

Born from subaltern studies, hybridity as a theoretical model emphasizes analysis of structures of power that define, center, and marginalize purities, particularly purities of identities, power, and morality (Dean and Leibsohn 2003). Informed by Bhabha, postcolonial hybridity is

influenced by mimicry—wherein colonized people(s) attempt to create (imperfect) copies of colonial powers' cultural forms and the ambivalence of disgust and desire those imperfect copies inspire in the imagination of colonial powers (Bhaba 1994).

Postcolonial hybridity refers to the processes in contexts of colonization that produce material culture forms that do not neatly fit into a single cultural origin category (Liebmann 2013). These forms are often called hybrid materials, hybrid forms, or hybrid objects. As a theoretical tool for the analysis of material culture, postcolonial hybridity emphasizes: the power inequalities inherent to contexts that produce hybrid materials; the (usually marginalized) people who produce hybrid material culture; the subversive, counter-hegemonic discourses inherent in mixed forms that defy colonial categorization; and thus agency of the subaltern (Villasenñor-Black 2019).

Despite these emphases in postcolonial theorizing, scholars have argued that the archaeological uses of the term hybridity have significant interpretive flaws, including: imprecise definition and application to the point of meaninglessness (Stockhammer 2013); hybridity's reliance on essentializing cultural categories (Croucher 2012); and an interpretive overemphasis on origins and not practices (Silliman 2015). In the context of archaeology studying the Spanish colonial Philippines, these flaws in hybridity-based archaeological analysis can be significantly mitigated through: category consciousness in research design and the application of practice theory in data interpretation (Bordieu 1977).

2.2 Postcolonial Hybridity in the Philippines: Category Consciousness & Practice Theory

2.2.1 Category Conscious Hybridity

For the application of hybridity to the archaeology of the Philippines during the Spanish colonial period, the very categories that hybrid cultural material–by definition–defy must be reckoned with. Categories have an incredibly fraught history in anthropological and archaeological research (Croucher 2012). Despite this, it would be absurd to ignore the fact that the people living in the Early Modern Philippines thought in, used, and navigated people-categories in significant ways and that some material culture and cultural practices were strongly associated with people from certain people-categories (Martinez 2019). These people-categories were both socially important enough to be codified into laws and socially dynamic enough for their meanings to be contingent upon time period and/or location across the Early Modern Spanish Empire (Martinez 2019; Mehl 2016; Mawson 2013; Seijas 2012). This social importance and dynamism thus calls for meaningful examination and definition of people-categories.

Further, 'Philippine' people-categories far predate the Philippines as a political entity, as seen in pre-Spanish era indigenous terms such as *rajah*, *maharlika*, *datu*, *catalonan*, and *timawa* (Owen 1974; Scott 1992; Barretto-Tesoro 2008). With this emic milieu of categorization in mind, the application of postcolonial hybridity to archaeological interpretations of Spanish colonial Philippine history is best served by: the explicit definition of the categories material culture is to be divided into; the presentation of evidence of the (emic) relevance of the categories to the social contexts being studied; and the discussion of the shortcomings and limitations of the categories

being used (Fitzpatrick 2013; Beaule 2017).

2.2.1.1 Defining Historically Contingent Categories

Based on archival (see Chapter 4) and archaeological (see Chapter 5) evidence examined throughout this dissertation, two people categories (that include significant subcategories) emerge as both emically meaningful and analytically accessible for the early colonial (or Castile/Aragon and Hapsburg) period of the Philippines: indigenous[1] and Spanish[2].

For the purposes of this dissertation, the Indigenous category is perhaps best defined as: material and social practices pertaining to the peoples (and their descendants) living in and around and with historical geographic ties to the islands that would eventually be made into the Captaincy General of the Philippines. The Spanish category is perhaps best defined as: material culture and social practices pertaining to the peoples (and their descendants) who traveled to the Captaincy General of the Philippines for administrative, clerical, or other imperial purposes. The varied emic uses of these people categories in documents written by secular and religious administrators are examined in detail in Chapter 4.

Both categories have significant limitations, particularly in their imprecision and parallels to some colonial epistemologies. 'Indigenous' as a people category for the Early Modern Philippines is incredibly imprecsie, homogenizing thousands of communities into what is effectively an exonym. 'Spanish' is also imprecise due to Spain not existing as a meaningful socio-political entity during the early colonial period: individuals were much more likely to identify with a particular kingdom or

[1] Variously described as *naturales*, *indios,* and specific ethnonyms in surviving Spanish documents (see Chapter 4).

[2] Typically self-described as *Spañoles* or otherwise unmarked in surviving Spanish documents (see Chapter 4).

region overseen by the Kingdom of Castile. Despite these limitations, the categories are useful because of their emic significance and contemporary utility to interface with both popular and scholarly discourse.

2.2.2 Hybridity as Practice and Process

2.2.2.1 Practice Theory

For Early Modern Philippine archaeology, the application of postcolonial hybridity is innervated and strengthened by a pairing with Bourdieu's practice theory (Silliman 2013, Bourdieu 1977). Practice theory posits that ethnogenesis–the 'creation' of (new) identities–is historically contingent, emerging from cultural practices and their attendant materializations, in recognition of differences from the cultural practices of one (or many) other groups (Bourdieu 1977). With this theoretical interface, postcolonial hybridity-based interpretations can expand beyond artifact origins and categories to further include critical reckoning with the social practices that hybrid materials were materially and symbolically embedded in (Decoteau 2013; Silliman 2013, Stockhammer 2013).

2.2.2.2 Change-Continuity Dialectic

Further, the simultaneous consideration of hybridity and practice allows for an understanding of a change-continuity dialectic, rather than viewing cultural change and cultural continuity as diametrically opposed processes (Silliman 2009). Previous theoretical models argue that change represents the death or disappearance of culture (Liebmann 2013, Silliman 2009). This change-as-cultural-death concept has been disproportionately (and sometimes exclusively) applied

to indigenous peoples' cultures, even in colonial contexts wherein European cultures are changed as or more dramatically by sustained cultural contact with indigenous peoples' cultures (Silliman 2009). This disproportionate application has been brutally effective as a tool in the continuing colonial processes of indigenous land dispossession, in the Americas and beyond; however, a change-continuity dialectic understanding of cultures in colonial contexts may become an effective countermeasure for archaeologists working with, by, and for indigenous communities today (Atalay 2006, Colwell 2016, Nicholas and Hollowell 2016).

A change-continuity dialectic views cultural change over time–particularly the creation of multiple-origin material culture and social practices–as evidence of continuity and cultural persistence (Silliman 2009). For example, some scholarship on Catholic devotional art, particularly Marian images, from historical and contemporary Bicol focuses on the integration of native motifs, materials, and/or artistic traditions, compellingly arguing that these integrations can transform Hispano-Christian imagery into a distinctly Bicolano phenomenon (Yakal 2023). Similar work has examined art from other parts of the Early Modern Spanish colonial world, compellingly arguing that local practices (even when using potentially imported materials) render nominally Christian(izing) imagery into evidence of local cultural continuity in a fast-globalizing world (Villaseñor Black 2015, Blanco 2019).

This continuity and cultural persistence is brought about by indigenous people making strategic decisions to resist, accommodate, co-opt, and transform colonialism in diverse, innovative ways, and these decisions were materialized and inhumed in many places, though particularly in

mortuary contexts that dot Spain's former colonial possessions across the globe (Acabado 2018, Fitzpatrick 2013, Winkler et al 2017, Ortiz et al 2017, Murphy et al 2017, Klaus and Alvarez Calderon 2017, Harvey et al 2017, Stojanowski 2013, Loren 2013, Wrobel 2012, Silliman 2009).

2.3 Postcolonial Hybrids: Early Modern Philippine Documents & Mortuary Contexts

A postcolonial hybrid approach calls for the (re)assessment of material culture that would otherwise be unquestionably placed into a people category for elements of hybridity (Liebmann 2013). If an object demonstrates any elements of hybridity, it should then be analyzed as such, looking at the (typically marginalized) people who significantly affected its creation or use, regardless of the object's previously assumed categorization.

This dissertation operationalizes postcolonial hybridity through its (re)assessment of 16th and 17th century documents written by Spanish officials concerning the *Tierra de Camarines*[3] (see Chapter 4) and burials of two subadults excavated from the grounds of Our Lady of the Holy Rosary Parish Church in the contemporary Bombon Municipality, Camarines Sur (see Chapter 5).

2.3.1 Archival Documents

2.3.1.1 16th & 17th Century Documents

Spanish colonial administrative documents concerning the Philippines are a perfect example of documents in need of postcolonial hybrid (re)assessment: previous scholarship considers these documents as obviously and implicitly Spanish and only Spanish material culture (Mallari, S.J. 1990; Marcaida Jr. 2018; Elizalde 2022). However, a postcolonial hybridity assessment is interested

[3] The northern half of the Bicol Peninsula, more or less equivalent to the combined areas of the modern provinces of Camarines Norte and Camarines Sur (Mallari, S.J. 1990).

in how indigenous people may have affected the creation and related social practices of these documents.

On a literal level, these documents could not exist without indigenous people: the majority of the documents' content is reports on the nature, resources, lifestyles, etc. of indigenous people (see, for example, Lavezaris 1574) and their interactions with Spanish colonizers .

This reporting is undoubtedly a distortion of the reality of indigenous peoples' lives; however, indigenous peoples' actions, choices, and agency shaped the majority of the documents' content, even if the writers were uniformly Spanish (see, for example, Grau y Monfalcón 1636).

To be analyzed with nuance, these actions–often merely implied and/or dramatically distorted within a text or texts–call for the use of methods that both analyze patterns across documents in a corpus without losing the specificities of individual documents (Müller 2021).

2.3.1.2 Content Analysis & Postcolonial Hybridity

Several textual analysis methods exist to better access the agency of people in documents written about them (Kuckartz & Rädiker 2023). Content analysis, a diverse body of methods used to determine the presence of particular words, concepts, or themes and analyze their presence, meanings, and relationships between them within some body of communication, is an apropos tool to analyze the Camarines Archival Documents (hereafter CAD) (Elo et al. 2014). The CAD is a corpus of 16 documents from the 16th and 17th centuries that include narrative writing about indigenous peoples of the Camarines.

Within content analysis, conceptual analysis investigates the explicit existence of words, concepts, or themes within a corpus of communication (Kuckartz and Rädiker 2019). Due to this dissertation's focus on indigenous people and religious practices, conceptual analysis was conducted to trace diachronic changes in writing about the indigenous people and their practice of Catholicism in the Camarines during the 16th and 17th centuries.

Whereas conceptual analysis explores the explicit, relational analysis aims to investigate the implicit relationship(s) between particular words, concepts, or themes within a corpus of communications (Busch et al. 2005; Elo et al. 2014). Using affect extraction, relational analysis was used to trace diachronic changes in Spanish affect concerning indigenous people of the Camarines during the 16th and 17th centuries.

Based on these content analyses, a postcolonial hybridity-based interpretive approach is used to discern, hypothesize, and postulate about the indigenous peoples of the Camarines' social practices and agency during the 16th and 17th centuries.

2.3.2 Mortuary Contexts

Indigenous Philippine peoples' responses to Spanish colonization and Catholicization are uniquely accessible via mortuary contexts throughout the Philippines (Fitzpatrick 2013, Beaule 2017). In the lowlands, the majority of these mortuary contexts are ostensibly Catholic churchyard cemeteries; however, global patterns and local examples in Bicol abound of Catholic structures purposefully built atop indigenous cemeteries, holy sites, and other locations of social significance (Beaule 2017, Escandor 2016).

These Early Modern Philippine mortuary sites, the graves therein, and the contents of these graves defy simple categorization and should thus be understood, analyzed, and interpreted via category conscious hybridity and practice theory. Even ancestors or objects deposited long before Spanish arrival–which may have been categorized as 'purely' indigenous through less nuanced hybridity analyses–may have acquired new social meanings or been integrated into new social practices and thus warrant archaeological (re)assessment (Silliman 2009).

Examples from mortuary archaeology of the Spanish Americas and other Early Modern colonial contexts provide compelling models of analysis, through their nuanced examination of hybrid materials (and their possible social meanings to the individuals who placed them with deceased loved ones), including beads (Loren 2013), textiles (Murphy et al 2017), repurposed ceramics (Wrobel 2012; Barretto-Tesoro 2008), and even the skeletal remains of the deceased themselves to examine changes in violence, metabolic stress, and labor practices in colonial contexts (Murphy et al 2017; Klaus and Alcarez-Calderón 2017; Mayes and Barber 2008).

2.3.2.1 Hybrid Graves & Grave Goods

Excavations during the 2019 field season of the Bicol Archaeological Project revealed a plethora of materials, including ceramic sherds, faunal remains, and human skeletal remains. The human skeletal remains excavated from Bombon church were largely fragmentary, but two burials of subadults–Burial 1 in Test Pit 1 and Burial 2 in Trench 2 (hereafter TP1B1 and T2B2, respectively)–were found relatively intact. TP1B1 is the partial skeleton of a subadult, associated with an earthenware coffin. T2B2 is the near complete skeleton of a subadult.

Age estimates via dental and postcranial skeletal analysis suggest that these individuals were at similar ages at time of death; however, C-14 dating suggests that TP1B1 was interred around 607 - 655 cal CE, and artifacts excavated from the same excavation layer as T2B2 suggest that T2B2 lived and died during the early colonial period (Yakal et al. 2021). Thus, TP1B1 is a pre-colonial burial that may have obtained new social meanings during the colonial period, and T2B2 is, by definition, hybrid material.

2.3.2.2 Osteobiography & Postcolonial Hybridity

Osteobiography, a bioarchaeological method aiming to interpret life histories of individuals that are recorded in their skeletal remains through exhausting analysis of the skeletal materials and archaeological context (Saul and Saul 1989). Postcolonial hybridity centers individuals' agency in navigating power structures in contexts of sustained cultural contact and inequality, which complements osteobiographical approaches' focus on the health, social status(es), and agency of the individuals under study (Villaseñor-Black 2019; Hossek and Rob 2019). Through the postcolonial hybridity-osteobiography interface, interpretation of evidence from TP1B1 and T2B2 considers the material at multiple scales of analysis (tissue, bone, skeleton, grave, mortuary, community, etc.) as physical manifestations of individuals navigating power structures and novel cultural contact(s) (Boutin 2016).

Chapter 3. All Catholicism is Folk Catholicism: Structures, Internal Conflict, and Opportunities for Indigenous Agency in Early Modern Imperial Spanish Catholicism

3.1 Early Modern Imperial Spanish Catholicism

In line with a category-conscious hybridity theoretical framework, an understanding of Early Modern Spanish Catholicism requires critical examination of both the Early Modern Spanish Empire and the Early Modern Catholic Church. This chapter explores the structure of (and structures within) the Early Modern Spanish Empire and the Early Modern Catholic Church. These explorations suggest that the polysynodial structure of imperial governance and corporate structure of the Church contributed to a historical moment wherein indigenous peoples resisted, accommodated, co-opted, and transformed Early Modern Spanish Catholicism in myriad ways (Acabado 2018).

Examining Early Modern Spanish administrative structures reveals a heavily stratified geopolitical entity subject to multiple hierarchies, with competitions for power both within and between these hierarchical structures. An examination of the Early Modern Catholic Church reveals an already ancient, complex institution struggling to manage multiple internal conflicts while attempting to (re)assert power across a seemingly ever-expanding globe. These global conditions rendered the Catholic beliefs and practices exported by the Church during the Early Modern Period perhaps surprisingly porous and amenable to multidirectional hybridization with local/indigenous beliefs and practices.

3.2 Governing Structures of the Early Modern Spanish Empire

For the purposes of this dissertation, the term Early Modern Spanish Empire refers to the territories controlled by the composite Castile-Aragon monarchy and its Hapsburg successors from

1469[4] to 1716[5]. The dissertation focuses on this period due to its concern with elucidating indigenous agency during the earliest years of Spanish colonization of the Philippine islands and the resultant development of uniquely Philippine-Catholic religious practices.

The use of 'Spanish' is a misnomer for the early years of the empire: the legitimate prospect of a post-classical, unified Spain as a geopolitical entity did not crystalize until the reign of Felipe II beginning in 1556 and did not become a reality until the ascension of the Spanish Bourbon Dynasty during the early 1700s (Alcalá-Zamora 2005; Royal Historical Society 2003). Despite the anachronism, terms like 'Early Modern Spanish Empire' are used throughout the dissertation for convenience and ease of communication with historical and archaeological scholarship.

Globalization as we know it today can trace many of its structural roots to Early Modern Iberia's[6] expansive empires and trade networks (Camba and Aguilar 2022; Valle et al. 2019). As a function of the vast distances between metropoles and their colonies paired with the limitations of Early Modern transportation and communications technology and infrastructure, the Spanish Crown developed new types of governing structures to administer the intertwined economic, geopolitical, and religious mission of the Spanish Empire (Headley 1995; Schurz 1922). These new types of governance were flexible and responsive to local conditions, with multiple levels of both

[4] Marked by the marriage of the eventual Isabel I of Castile and Fernando II of Aragon.

[5] Marked by the end of the War of Spanish Succession and the installation of the Bourbon Dynasty in 1714 followed by the final Nueva Planta Decree in 1716.

[6]Felipe inherited the Spanish Crown from his father and ruled as Felipe II of Spain. Felipe also inherited the Portuguese Crown from his mother and ruled as Felipe I of Portugal. Due to this personal union of Spain and Portugal via Felipe, the growth and administration of the two empires became somewhat entangled and both contributed to the emergence of the early stages of contemporary globalization (Valle et al. 2019).

religious and administrative authority (Marrero-Fente and Spadaccini 2019; Valle et al 2019; Yun-Caslilla 2019).

The novel phenomenon of global empire necessitated this flexibility and responsivity, which resulted in the transplantation and transformation of existing governing structures and the development of novel governing structures in Spain's viceroyalties, captaincies general, and colonies (Huxtable 1964; Camba and Aguilar 2022; Valle et al. 2019). The simultaneous processes of transplantation and new development in turn created conditions wherein the ambiguities of governing powers and responsibilities created many opportunities for indigenous people to resist, accommodate, co-opt, and transform systems of colonial governance, including in religion (Acabado 2018).

3.2.1 Early Modern 'Spain'

The 1469 marriage of then-heiress presumptive Isabel of Castile and then-heir apparent Fernando of Aragon created a power base that allowed for the eventual emergence of a Spanish state that was able to navigate and challenge the waning power of the Catholic Church during the Early Modern Period. Anti-papal resistance was at the literal foundation of their union: the Catholic Monarchs[7] successfully forged[8] a papal bull to allow for their consanguineous[9] marriage, a union forbidden by Canon Law (Edwards 2004).

[7] Pope Alexander VI officially granted the titles to Isabel I and Fernando II in 1494

[8] Pope Sixtus IV granted an *ex post facto* papal dispensation, officially legitimating the marriage in 1471

[9] The monarchs were second cousins: Juan I of Castile was Isabel's grandfather and Fernando's great-grandfather (Sánchez Prieto 2005).

The 1492 annexation of Granada by Castile and the success of the Reconquista solidified the balance of power of Early Modern Iberia: Castile was the peninsula's most powerful kingdom and, with support from Aragon, would rule the majority of the territory directly or indirectly through less powerful kingdoms (Lockhart and Schwartz 1983).

3.2.1.1 Composite Monarchy

The Catholic Monarchs ruled their Iberian territories as a composite monarchy: each of the monarchy's constituent territories–a patchwork of recently-independent kingdoms (Mendoza 1770)–retained a great deal of autonomy within their borders and were governed according to local law and tradition while recognizing the Crown(s) of Castile and/or Aragon as their sovereign from 1469 until 1716[10] (Alcalá-Zamora 2005). The new territories of the empire presented a conundrum: with no extant (Iberian) kings to rule through, how could the Crown of Castile govern its colonies (Lockhart and Schwartz 1983)?

3.2.1.2 The Polysynodial Regime

To administer a geopolitical entity as complex and widespread as the Spanish Empire of the 1500s and 1600s[11], the composite monarchy ruled via a structure known as the *Régimen Polisinodial*[12], a system of councils with administrative authority that reported to the *Consejo de*

[10]The Nueva Planta Decrees (1707 -1716)–signed by Felipe V, the first Bourbon King of Spain–collapsed all kingdoms into the Crown of Castile (Alcalá-Zamora 2005).

[11] Composed of the Iberian patchwork of kingdoms, other territories across southern and central Europe, and colonies in the Americas, Africa, and Asia.

[12] Variously translated as Polysynodial Regime, Polysynodial System, or System of Councils.

Estado[13], itself headed by the monarch(s) (Sánchez Prieto 2005; see Figure 3.1). Each *consejo* or council had varying compositions over time, but they typically included a combination of powerful ecclesiastical, noble, learned, and/or wealthy men.

In the *Régimen Polisinodial*, extant and recently created councils administered for a set territory[14] (see Figure 3.2) or for a particular governing function[15] (Galende Díaz 2005). The simultaneous division of administrative power by both geography and governing function created a situation wherein colonial administrators were held accountable to multiple *consejos*, who may have had divergent or contradictory agendas, priorities, and bureaucratic processes. These constant administrative conflicts between different *consejos* and between *consejos* and other governing structures hampered efficient governance, particularly in the farthest flung territories of the Early Modern Spanish Empire (Marrero-Fente and Spadaccini 2019).

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[13] Council of State

[14] Such as the *Real y Supremo Consejo de las Indias* or Council of the Indies

[15] Such as the *Consejo de la Suprema y General Inquisición* or Council of the Inquisition

Figure 3.1 Schematic view of Spanish Councils in the sixteenth century (from Lee 1984)

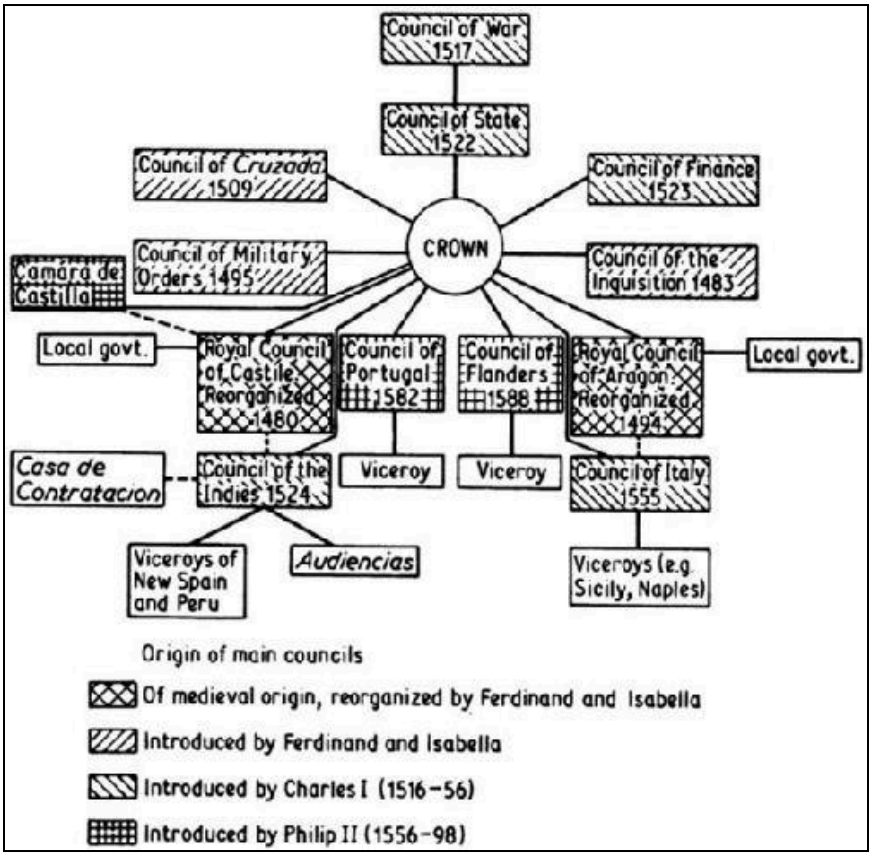
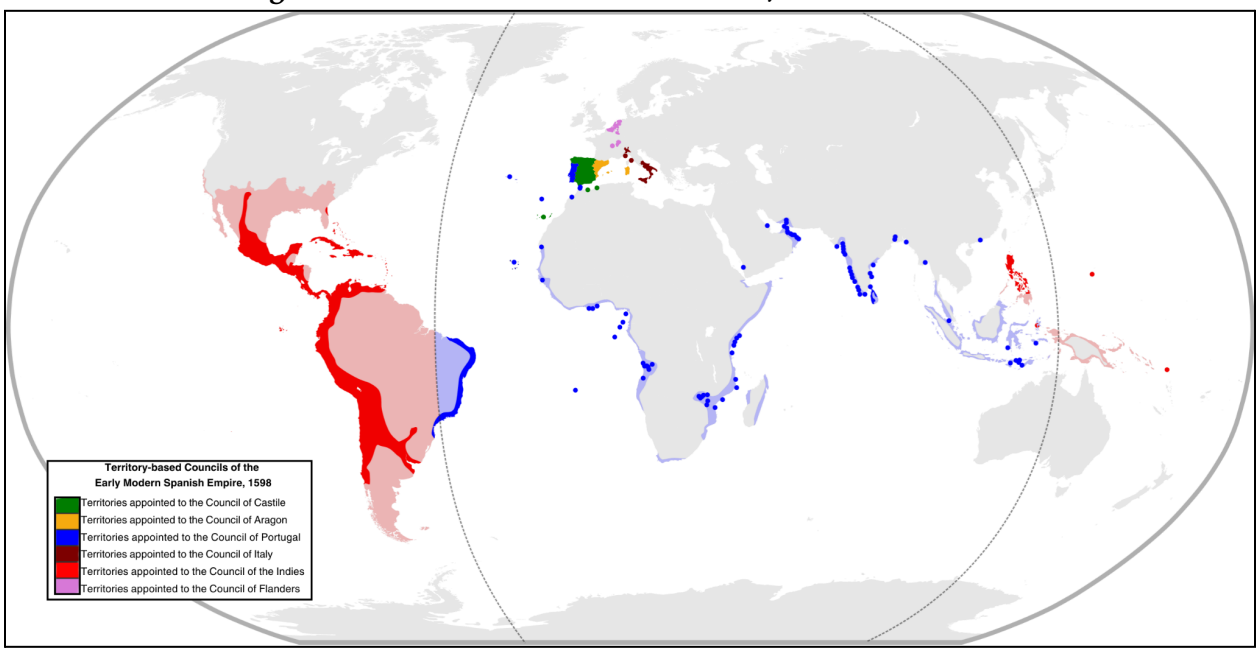


Figure 3.2 Territory-based Councils of the Early Modern Spanish Empire, 1598. (Adapted from Kinder and Higelmann 1983 and Trasamundo 2008)



3.2.2 Early Modern Spanish Colonies

The late 15th century and 16th century presented novel legal/governmental challenges for the nascent Spanish Empire. From 1492 to 1504, *Las Antillas Occidentales*[16] were dependencies of the Crown of Castile: effectively, Spain's colonies were (exclusively) Castilian colonies, subject to no laws or oversight except directly from the Crown (Lockhart and Schwartz 1983). Isabel I's death–and Fernando II's subsequent political maneuvering to maintain power in the Kingdom of Castile–in 1504 left the colonies in legal limbo, officially both a lordship (personal property of the king) and a kingdom of the crown (subject to the Crown of Castile). Fernando II officially ceded the territories to the Crown of Castile in June 1506, only to have them brought back under his rule via the regency[17] of Carlos I in 1507 until his death in 1516 (Fossa 2006). From 1516 to 1520, the territories would unofficially belong to the Crown of Castile under Carlos I of Castile; in 1520, acting in his new capacity as Charles V of the Holy Roman Empire, Carlos I declared that the territories would belong to the Crown of Castile in perpetuity (Sánchez Prieto 2004).

The legal status of *Las Antillas Occidentales* in relation to the Crown of Castile during the early 1500s illustrates the novel legal issues the nascent Spanish Empire faced concerning the governance of its new imperial territories (Fossa 2006). New structures and norms had to be developed in response to emergent developments, and these structures and norms were often

[16] Spanish settlements in the Caribbean, founded in the wake of the Columbian voyages. Also called *Las Antillas Españolas*, the Spanish West Indies, and the Spanish Antilles, among myriad other names.

[17] Fernando II ceded the territory to his son-in-law Felipe I (King of Castile solely by marriage to Isabel I and Fernando II's own daughter, Juana I) via treaty in 1506. Felipe I's sudden death in late 1506 led to Fernando II assuming the regency of his grandson by Juana I and Felipe I, the eventual Carlos I of Castile/ Charles V of the Holy Roman Empire (Fossa 2006).

complicated by the consolidation of multiple streams of power among a small ruling elite (Marrero-Fente and Spadaccini 2019) .

This consolidation led to a global empire that was officially ruled by one (or two) monarch(s), in a technological era wherein communicating a simple message from one side of the empire to the other could take years. In response to these issues, existing governing bodies were transplanted and new governing bodies were created, such as the *Régimen Polisinodial* described above and *virreinatos*[18].

3.2.2.1 El Virreinato de Nueva España

In an effort to transplant the composite monarchy system that was largely effective on the Iberian Peninsula, the early 16th century Spanish Crown created *virreinatos* within their colonies and installed *virreyes*[19] as their heads (Polzer et al. 2021). *Virreyes* held two functions: first, they served as representatives of the monarchy abroad and second, akin to the petty kings of the Iberian Peninsula, held administrative oversight over other government bodies within a specific territory and reported to the Crown (Fisher 1926).

Within their territories, *virreyes* oversaw the functions of local governing bodies, such as *audiencias reales* and *chancillerías*[20], that did much of the actual governing of the colonies, settlers, and indigenous people (Elliot 1964). Despite the *virreyes*' nominal oversight, most *audiencias*

[18] Viceroyalties

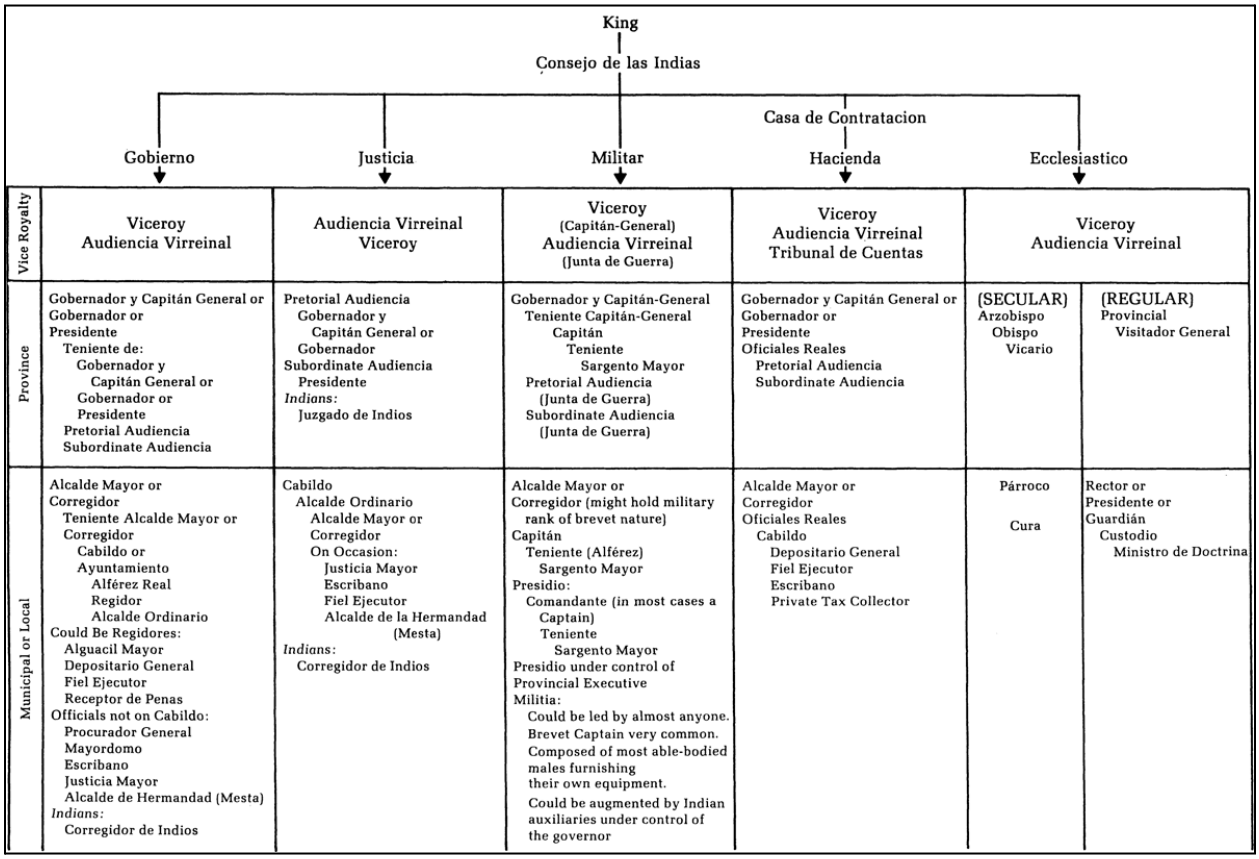
[19] Viceroys

[20] Royal Audiences and Chancellories. These were appellate courts (structured after the courts of late Medieval Castile) that also heldl executive and legislative functions within the colonies (Elliot 1964).

created and enacted policies with autonomy from the *virreyes*. As a reflection of the relative governmental impact of the *audiencias* versus the *virreinatos*, the borders of the modern nation states of the former Spanish Empire largely follow the territorial divisions of the Early Modern *audiencias*, not those of the *virreinatos* (Parry and Keith 1984).

Conversely, *Virreyes* negotiated administrative powers with the *consejos* of the *régimen polisinodial*: though the *consejos* technically oversaw the *virreyes*, the *virreyes*' proximity to their territories often meant that the *consejos* were reactive overseers with little on the ground power and influence (Fisher 1926). Thus, on multiple levels of governance in the colonies, allegedly-subservient and more-local governing structures were more influential than their nominally-dominant and more-global counterparts (see Figure 3.3). Their relative locality allowed them to modulate and filter policy from on high per local conditions and their own goals: this is reflected often in the archival documents explored in Chapter 4, with many references to ignored or conflicting royal, councilor, and/or viceroyal decrees (Marrero-Fente and Spadaccini 2019).

Figure 3.3 Governing structures of the *Virreinato de Nueva España* (from Polzer et al. 2021).



The *Virreinato de Nueva España*[21] was founded in 1535, with the first *virrey*, Antonio de Mendoza, chosen due to his personal loyalty to the monarchy over the conquistador Hernán Cortés, who had been amassing considerable power and influence since his campaign that culminated in the siege of Tenochtitlan and annexation of the former Aztec Empire into the lands he dubbed *Nueva España* in 1521 (Altman 2010). Mexico City, adapting much of Tenochtitlan's physical and political infrastructure, was chosen as the capital of the *virreinato* and seat of the *virrey*.

[21] Viceroyalty of New Spain

Mendoza's appointment is thus evidence of the infighting endemic to the web of governing structures of the (then nascent) Early Modern Spanish Empire, particularly the Crown's attempts at limiting the power of the conquistadors (Altman et al. 2003). Ironically, Mendoza would modulate the power of the Crown himself, via his *obecezco pero no cumplo* approach to *Las Leyes Nuevas*[22] (Perry and Keith 1984).

In 1564 Luis de Velasco, Mendoza's successor as *Virrey de Nueva España,* commissioned expeditions led by Miguel López de Legazpi and Andrés de Urdaneta to conquer the islands that would become the *Capitanía General de Filipinas*.

3.2.2.2 Capitanía General de Filipinas

Legazpi established several permanent forts across the Pacific and captured Cebu in 1565, thereby establishing the *Capitanía General de Filipinas* and himself as the first *Gobernador General de Filipinas*[23]. Due to its patronage from the *Virrey de Nueva España*, the *Capitanía General de Filipinas* was a dependency of the viceroyalty and would be administered by the *virrey* directly instead of the king (Lee 1984). Thus, the establishment of the *Capitanía General de Filipinas* represented another stratum in the empire's governing structure (see Figure 3.4). This is quite ironic: the *Virreinato* was established to prevent conquistadors from creating their own independent geopolitical entities far from the Crown, only to later commission an expedition of

[22] Literally "I obey but do not comply." The *encomenderos'* response to the implementation of *Las Leyes Nuevas* in the *Virrey de Perú* was armed rebellion, culminating in civil war and the assassination of *Virrey* Blasco Núñez Vela. In response, Mendoza implemented modified versions of *Las Leyes Nuevas* that softened regulations on *encomenderos'* abuses to indigenous people (Perry and Keith 1984).

[23] Governor-General or Captain-General of the Philippines

conquistadors who created an independent geopolitical entity in the farthest flung territory of the Empire.

Following strategies used in Spain's conquests in the Americas, Legazpi adopted/adapted existing power relations in the Philippine islands rather than replace them by allying with Visayan groups interested in shifting the pre-Spanish balance of power (Mawson 2016). Aided by these groups, Legazpi dispatched Martín de Goiti in 1570 to conquer Maynila/Manila. After its capture in 1571, Legazpi established Manila as the capital of the Philippines and the rest of the Spanish East Indies (Santiago Jr. 2006).

The capture of Manila made regular transpacific trade possible, serving as the final link of an emergent Castilian-controlled global trade network (initially) flush with silver (Clossey 2006; Yun-Casalilla 2019). This final link took the form of the Manila-Acapulco Galleon trade, which continued despite many natural and anthropogenic disasters due to the extreme profitability of newly possible global trade; the Galleon trade also pulled in indigenous Bicol boatbuilding traditions and natural resources into the technology that made Early Modern globalization possible, reflecting multi-directional hybridization inherent to globalization (Jago-on and Orillaneda 2019; Marcaida n.d.).

Control of the silver trade–from extraction in the Americas to sales in Chinese markets vis-a-vis the Philippines–via the Manila-Acapulco Galleon system generated massive profits for Mexican merchants, whose Pacific economy aimed to rival Spanish merchants' Atlantic economy (Bjork 1988). These merchants were heavily taxed by the Crown of Castile, and these taxes funded

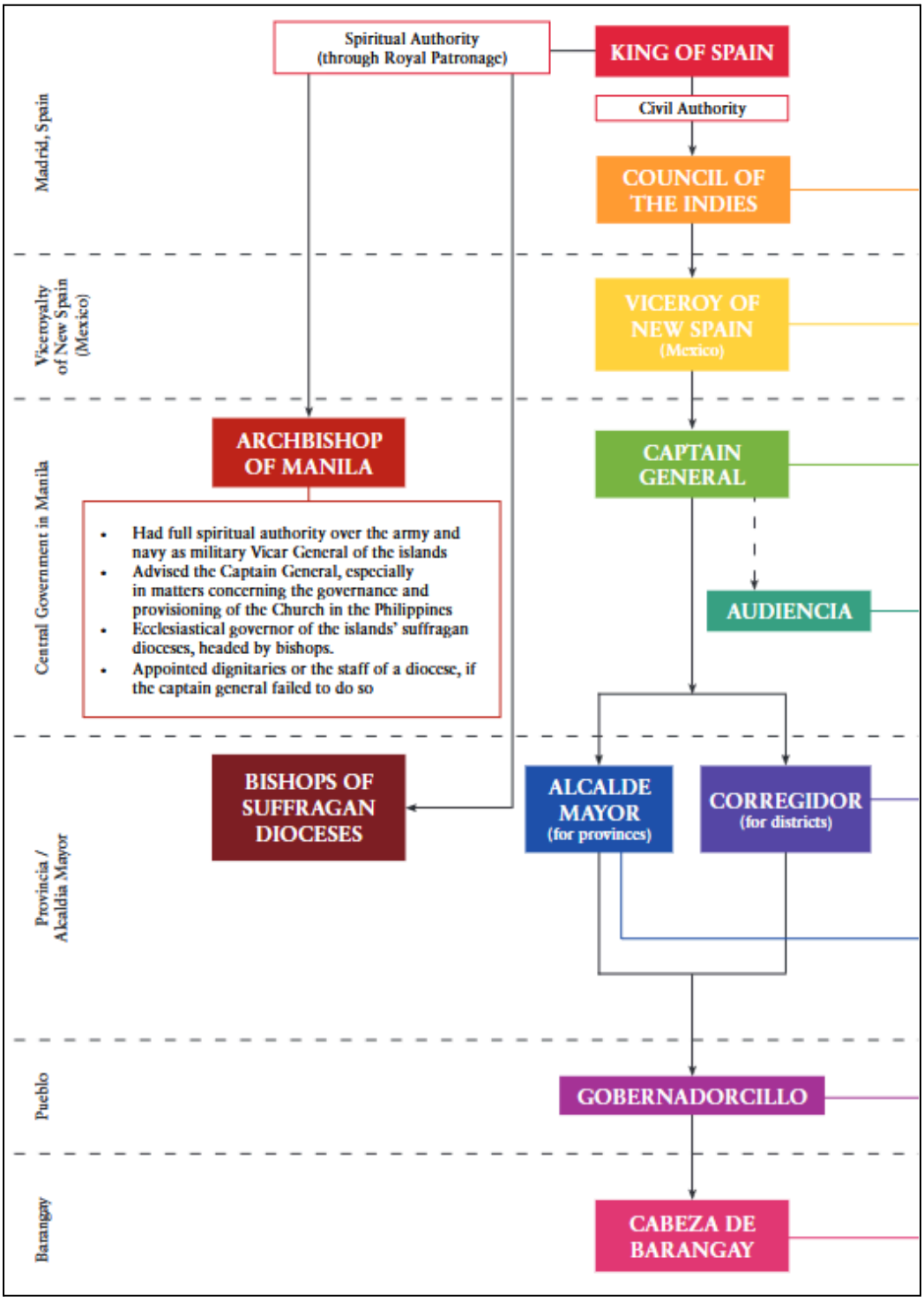
both colonial administrations and Iberian infrastructure, leading to notable stability on the Iberian Peninsula, relative to other parts of Europe in the 1500s and 1600s (Brockey 2012, Clossey 2006, Yun-Casalillia 2019). Spain's globalized empire allowed it to be a near-exclusive conduit for goods and information about China; more specifically, *Nueva España*'s control over the administration of the Philippines made it Europe's clearinghouse for all of Asia (Brockey 2012; Clossey 2006).

Until the Bourbon Revolution of the 1700s, the Crown of Castile did not aim to take direct control of the *Capitanía General de Filipinas*. Due to its strategic proximity to and historical trade relationships[24] with China, it became a non-extractive, commercial hub that required subsidies, which the Crown was happy to let the *Virreinato* fund; ultimately, this neglect from Castile allowed for the inordinate influence of the Catholic Church in the day-to-day administration of the Philippines (Camba and Aguilar 2022; Mehl 2016).

Ultimately, the overlapping systems of the colonial bureaucracy created gaps and conflicts among civil authorities and between religious and civil authorities that would not be meaningfully resolved during the early Spanish colonial period in the Philippines (cf. Vivero 1599; San Marcos et al. 1646). With the lack of settlers and the Spanish strategy of adapting existing power structures, indigenous groups exploited these inconsistencies to navigate, infiltrate, and co-opt colonial governance throughout the entire Spanish colonial project in the Philippines (Camba and Aguilar 2022; Grau y Monfalcón 1636; González Cano 1683).

[24] Fragments and even entire vessels of Chinese tradeware were not uncommon in burials of elite Tagalogs from the 1400s (Barretto-Tesoro 2008). This may suggest direct trade with Chinese merchants, a more general embedding in the trade networks of the greater Sinosphere, or both.

Figure 3.4 Spanish Colonial Bureaucracy 17th-19th Century (from Wong et al. 2015)



3.3 The Early Modern Catholic Church

Similar to the Spanish Crown, the Catholic Church needed to transplant existing or develop new governing structures in the context of nascent globalization (Marrero-Fente and Spadaccini 2019). Whereas the composite Castile-Aragon monarchy was only a few decades old at the dawn of the Spanish Empire, the Catholic Church was already centuries old. This age came with centuries-old internal structures and institutions, particularly Inquisitions, Church Councils, and Religious Orders.

Though this time depth and institutional knowledge may suggest a conservative organization able to transplant and maintain a coherent identity, the opposite is true. Conflicts within and between the Church's internal institutions were exported during the Early Modern Period, leading to incredibly heterogeneous religious practices that were ripe for multidirectional hybridity in contexts far from Rome's metropolitan sphere of influence.

It is important to note the Church's waning influence on the Iberian Peninsula during the final decades of the Reconquista: this was codified in *patronato*, patronage rights granted by the Church that ceded effective administrative oversight over the Church in all things except doctrine within a particular territory (Kirkwood 2010). The patronato over Spain's newfound empire was granted to the Spanish Crown via a series of concordats and papal bulls from the 1490s and 1500s (Weber 1961).

3.3.1 Inquisitions

Inquisitions are Catholic ecclesiastical institutions meant to adjudicate cases of heresy in Christendom (Kelly 1989). It is important to note that heresy during the Medieval period was primarily a crime against the state/established social order, as evidenced by pre-inquisitorial jurisdiction: secular courts and institutions tried charges of heresy (Lea 1887). Further, the Roman law codes that formed the basis of most Medieval European legal systems classified heresy as a serious crime which could be severely punished by many means, up to and including execution (Blötzer 1910). Thus, inquisitorial practices can provide a window into how Catholic orthodoxy was enforced during the late-Medieval and Early Modern Period. The following sections trace the emergence of several different types of Inquisitions, revealing simultaneously internal and external Church structures that contributed to the tangled web of hierarchy in the Early Modern Catholic Church.

3.3.1.1 Late Medieval Inquisitions

Scholarship typically subdivides the phenomenon of the Medieval Inquisition into two categories: episcopal inquisitions and legate inquisitions (Lea 1887). Episcopal inquisitions were administered at the bishopric level and were thus, from Rome's point of view, incredibly decentralized. The bishopric to bishopric administration of justice ended up mirroring the patchwork and inequitable investigative practices of secular authorities that they were meant to improve (Blötzer 1910).

To standardize these inconsistencies, Pope Innocent III used Franciscan and Dominican

legates–papally appointed representatives of the Holy See to nations, other Catholic institutions, and heads of state/monarchies–to advise upon and later administer trials of heresy; this was a part of a larger project of (re)asserting papal authority over European rulers during his papacy (1198-1216) (Innocent III 1201; Ott 1910; Deansley 2004). Pope Gregory IX further expanded the powers and numbers of legates and instituted the Papal Inquisition beginning in 1320-1321 (Deansley 2004).

However, legates were rare or non-existent in the Christian kingdoms of pre-Reconquista Iberia; in fact, Aragon was the only kingdom with a sustained legatine presence, though its power was consistently undercut by the Aragonese court to the point wherein the influence of the legatine presence in Aragon had atrophied to irrelevance by the mid-1400s (Smith 2010). Castille's medieval inquisitions were always episcopal: no papal legates ever existed in the kingdom, despite the Vatican's attempts (Menocal 2014).

3.3.1.2 The Spanish Inquisition

The tensions between the Iberian kingdoms and failed papal inquisitorial presence through the late 14th century resulted in the Catholic Monarchs' (perhaps ironic) resistance to the Church's authority in trying cases of heresy and likely contributed to the emergence of the Spanish Inquisition (Villarroel González 2009). With the history of the Iberian kingdoms' freedom from papal inquisitions and (pre-15th century) freedom of religion, the creation of the *Tribunal del Santo Oficio de la Inquisición* (Tribunal of the Holy Office of the Inquisition, hereafter Inquisition) in 1478 may have been an amenable compromise between Rome and the nascent Spanish Crown

(Sixtus IV 1477; Angeles 1980). The Church was able to assert its spiritual authority by 'allowing' the Crown to oversee trials of heresy within its own borders, and the Crown created a Church-sanctified office led by royal appointees with power in all of its (recently independent) constituent kingdoms and, eventually, its imperial territories (Kamen 2014).

During the Reconquista, the Holy See began granting the Catholic Monarchs *patronato* –patronage rights in appointing major Church officials and managing Church revenues within a particular territory–over an increasingly large geographic area of the Iberian Peninsula; the *patronato* over Spain's newfound empire was granted to the Spanish Crown via a series of concordats and papal bulls from the 1490s and 1500s (Weber 1961). The powers and rights granted by the patronato were extensive, including the right to appoint colonial Church officials, veto elections of colonial (arch)bishops, the right to ignore papal bulls in the colonies, and, perhaps most saliently for this dissertation, the administration of the Inquisition in the colonies (Weber 1961; Kirkwood 2010)

3.3.1.3 The Colonial Inquisitions

The Spanish Inquisition saw offshoots in the colonies: the Peruvian Inquisition (officially the *Tribunal del Santo Oficio de la Inquisición en el Perú*[25]) and the Mexican Inquisition (officially the *Tribunal del Santo Oficio de la Inquisición de Nueva España*[26]) (Hamnett 2019). Relative religious tolerance of indigenous 'pagan' religions during the earliest decades of conquest and

[25]Tribunal of the Holy Office of the Inquisition of Peru

[26] Tribunal of the Holy Office of the Inquisition of New Spain

conversion likely delayed the founding of the Inquisitions despite the peninsular Inquisition's ascendancy during the late 1400s through the mid-1500s: the *Inquisición en el Perú* was established in January 1570, and the *Inquisición de Nueva España* was founded in November 1571 (Kamen 2014; Hamnett 2019).

During the interim period in Mexico, Juan de Zumárraga was appointed as the first Bishop of Mexico and later Apostolic Inquisitor and oversaw Inquisition-like legal proceedings, including the public burning of indigenous religious artifacts and texts and the execution of an alleged indigenous false convert, for which Zumárraga received reprimands from both his secular and clerical superiors (Don 2018).

Inquisitorial practices are not a perfect proxy of the treatment of indigenous peoples: during the early modern period, they only had authority over extant Christians, which meant that they were not applied consistently to indigenous peoples during the earliest years of conquest and conversion. However, indigenous peoples in the central areas of colonies were expected to have converted by the 1570s, and thus cases against indigenous people existed in both of the viceregal inquisitions (Brewer 2004; Vose 2013). Further, the relative lack of *conversos* and *moriscos*[27] in the colonies may have contributed to the *Inquisición de Nueva España*'s relative focus on cases of sorcery, magic, blasphemy, and collusion with the Devil (typically brought against women) over cases of false conversion, more closely reflecting the witch trials of the Early Modern Period seen throughout non-Iberian Europe and later the British colonies than the trials of the Spanish

[27] Late Reconquista era Jewish-to-Catholic and Muslim-to- Catholic converts, respectively.

Inquisition (Giles 1999; Few 2010). This relative focus on sorcery would also be found in the Mexican Inquisition's own offshoot: the Philippine Inquisition (Angeles 1980).

3.3.1.4 The Philippine Inquisition

Akin to the development of different inquisitions in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe, the Philippine Inquisition saw several distinct phases: a civil/monastic inquisition led by Lieutenant Governor then Captain General Francisco de Sande from 1577-1580; an episcopal inquisition led by Domingo de Salazar as the first Bishop of Manila from 1581-1583; and the tribunal phase led by a *comisario*[28] who reported to the *Tribunal del Santo Oficio de la Inquisición de Nueva España* from 1583 to 1821 (Angeles 1980).

For the first century of the tribunal phase, its *comisario* had nearly unchecked power within the Philippines, up to and including arresting a sitting governor; however, the *comisario* could not try alleged heretics, who were instead sent to Acapulco for trial (Cunningham 1918). These powers were eventually resisted by the *Consejo de las Indias*, who successfully appealed to the Inquisition to reform and reduce the *comisario's* powers in the early 1670s (Cunningham 1918).

Reflecting the interwovenness of race within Spanish colonialism, *indios*[29] were initially not under the jurisdiction of the Philippine Inquisition as they were thought of as 'children' in the

[28] Head Commissioner

[29] Literally indians, indigenous peoples of the Philippine Islands

Catholic faith, though *mestizos*[30]and *indio* priests were considered *gente de razón*[31] in the eyes of the Church–and thus the Inquisition–as a function of their partial European ancestry or Catholic education/confirmation, respectively (Arcilla 1972; Cunninghan 1918; Angeles 1980). This would later change with *Sublimis Deus*, a 1537 papal bull stating that indigenous people are "truly men and that they are not only capable of understanding the Catholic Faith but, according to our information, they desire exceedingly to receive it," (Paul III 1537).

Though perhaps easily considered a unidirectional process of integration, a postcolonial hybridity approach necessitates a reassessment of the dynamic context of the Philippines in the 1500s (Liebmann 2013). The integration and/or infiltration of indigenous peoples into the Philippine priesthood and Church at large during the earliest decades of the Spanish colonial presence represented myriad opportunities for *indio* priests and parishioners alike to have combined their own religious imagery, practices, or belief into the nascent Catholic presence on the archipelago (Yakal 2023). Indigenous people developed these contributions to a uniquely Philippine Catholicism while navigating Early Modern Spanish Imperial Catholic orthopraxis, as defined by a series of church councils in the latter half of the 1500s (Claassen and Ammon 2022).

3.3.2 Church Councils

As its influence began to be challenged by a variety of forces—including Protestants, Protestant states, Catholic orders, and Catholic monarchs—the Church–at multiple levels–made

[30] People of mixed indigenous and Spanish ancestry

[31] Literally people of reason. *Gente de razón* were converts or otherwise sufficiently 'Hispanicized' indigenous people considered to be legal adults, in contrast to most indigenous people who were considered legally minors regardless of age (Miranda 1988).

moves toward flexibility to remain relevant and powerful, which can be seen via doctrinal and administrative reforms and clarifications made by various church councils during the Early Modern Period (Hamnett 1999).

Church councils are meetings of Catholic leaders to decide upon issues of religious doctrine and/or Church administration (Wilhelm 1908). The most relevant type of councils of the Early Modern Spanish Empire were known as provincial councils, wherein all the bishops of a particular territory were present and/or represented. The provincial councils of the Early Modern Church were primarily concerned with the administration of the Church in the new colonies (Archdiocese of Mexico City 1556).

3.3.2.1 First Mexican Provincial Council (1555)

The First Mexican Provincial Council was convened in 1555 to strengthen the organization of the Catholic Church in the new colony in order to streamline evangelization and conversion of indigenous peoples; one of the most impactful decisions made by the Council was to integrate Catholic stories and imagery into the existing professional artistic infrastructure of the former Aztec Empire (see Figure 3.5) rather than try to outright supplant or absorb the artistic/aesthetic language of the Mexica and other indigenous peoples (Archdiocese of Mexico City 1556). The Council, composed of two Dominicans, one Franciscan, and two secular clergy, published the *Constituciones del Arçobispado y Prouincia de la muy ynsigne y muy leal ciudad de Tenuxtitlan*[32] in 1556, which ordered that, among other things, missionaries should evangelize to indigenous people

[32] Constitutions of the Archbishopric and Province of the very distinguished and loyal city of Tenochtitlan

in local languages, indigenous men were banned from the priesthood, and that indigenous song and dance were forbidden, despite the integration of indigenous visual art traditions (Archdiocese of Mexico City 1556).

This policy of (selective) artistic/aesthetic integration is hybridity in action. As a top-down policy, it may seem a unidirectional hybridizing dynamic. However, many have compellingly argued that this interpretation is limiting and obfuscates/ignores the agency of indigenous craftspeople, artisans, and artists who had the ability to embed, remove, and/or transform the meaning of Catholic stories and imagery in the creation of hybrid objects (Villaseñor-Black 2019). This phenomenon is much more thoroughly studied in the Latin American context, but recent scholarship has examined hybrid Catholic art in contemporary Bicol and its historical roots during the Early Modern period (Yakal 2023).

Figure 3.5 Cover page of the *Constituciones del Arçobispado y Prouincia de la muy ynsigne y muy leal ciudad de Tenuxtitlan*. Note the integration of eagle and cactus imagery into both Castilian and Archdiocesan heraldry (Archdiocese of Mexico City 1556)

3.3.2.2 Second Mexican Provincial Council (1565)

The Second Mexican Provincial Council was convened as a direct response to the conclusion of the Council of Trent (1546-1563) in order to decide how its decisions would be implemented in the colonies (Claassen and Ammon 2022). The Council of Trent itself was convened in response to the Reformation and as part of the Counter-Reformation; the council decreed several new doctrines that emphasized collective orthopraxis as the basis of Catholicism and thus Catholic identity (Hamnett 1999).

With this emphasis on collective orthopraxis, the (clerically-defined) proper practice of religious rituals became crucial to Catholicism/Catholic identity in both Spain and its colonies, in contrast to emergent Protestantism's focus on individual belief (Claassen and Ammon 2022). This sentiment shaped colonial Catholicism for centuries to come; for example, the legitimacy of mass baptisms of indigenous people in 17th century Bicol were called into question, based on both converts' sincere belief and procedural concerns (González Cano 1683).

Despite the doctrinal declarations from the Council of Trent, matters concerning proper procedures were never universally decided upon and varied dramatically geographically and temporally (Claassen and Ammon 2022). This uniformity in doctrine with internal heterogeneity in colonial Catholic practice and administration allowed indigenous peoples to exercise some agency in the (allegedly unidirectional) conversion process, leading to the development of regional/folk Catholicisms with unique material manifestations across the globe (Villaseñor-Black 2019). Further, the clerical definition of orthopraxis did not necessarily preclude cultural practices

that did not directly contradict Catholic beliefs. In *Nueva España*, some Aztec religious practices that shared outward/aesthetic qualities with Catholic ones (such as the consumption of replica divinites and blood) were not outright banned but were instead grafted onto Catholic frameworks (Nesvig 2008; Kirkwood 2000). The legacy of this heterogeneity can be seen in material culture and religious rituals in contemporary Bikol (Yakal 2023).

3.3.2.3 Third Mexican Provincial Council (1585)

The Third Mexican Provincial Council was predominantly concerned with reform of the *repartimiento* system (Poole 1963). Its decrees also banned indigenous religious practices deemed to be precursors to idolatry and forbade the depiction of animals, demons, or stars in images of saints (Nesvig 2006). These aesthetic regulations may have been a reactionary response to indigenous agency in artistic production, previously allowed by the First Mexican Provincial Council (Archdiocese of Mexico City 1556). These aesthetic regulations were part of a larger movement toward standardizing orthopraxis in *Nueva España*, such as requiring potential converts to know the Ten Commandments and several prayers in their native language to be considered truly Catholic (Farriss 2018).

3.3.3 Religious Orders

During the late 16th and 17th centuries, missionaries from different Catholic orders were among the most mobile agents of the Spanish Empire, moving relatively freely and often between Europe, New Spain, the Philippines (Clossey 2006). With this mobility and their literacy borne

from religious education, individual *religiosos*[33] were key drivers in the creation of a globalized information system in the Early Modern Spanish Empire (Nawata Ward 2012). For example, two genres of writing produced by the Jesuits were typologies of indigenous peoples and practical guides on working with indigenous peoples (Wilde 2019). This pairing is a fascinating manifestation of colonialism and hybridity: the typologies define official categories of indigenous people while the practical guides reveal nuanced relationships between *religiosos* and the people they attempted to convert, with particular attention paid to recording indigenous languages and identifying indigenous religious practices that could be integrated into Catholic orthopraxis, contributing to the emergence of regional/folk Catholicisms (Nesvig 2008; Kirkwood 2000; Farriss 2018).

Beyond their role in creating the information systems and many of the archival documents used by historians, the *religiosos* of the Early Modern period often came into conflict with secular clergy, ordinaries/diocesan bishops, civil authorities, indigenous peoples, and even one another (Corcuera 1636; Herrera 1637; San Marcos et al. 1646; González Cano 1683). In the Early Modern Camarines region, these *religiosos* in conflicts were usually members of the *Orden de San Agustín*, *Orden de San Francisco*, or *Orden de Santo Domingo*[34]. These conflicts were often rooted in both spiritual matters (such as in doctrinal differences among orders or between an order and an archdiocese) and temporal ones (such as in competition over the administration of hospitals, parishes, or tax collection).

[33] Monks or friars who were members of Catholic orders

[34] Colloquially known as Augustinians, Franciscans, and Dominicans, respectively.

These conflicts represented further rupture within the Church and between the Church and Spanish government that allowed for indigenous people to resist, accommodate, co-opt, and transform colonizing phenomenon and processes in myriad ways (Acabado 2018). Materializations of indigenous agency in transforming Catholic practice and religious life into hybridized practices and materials can be seen in the Bicol region, the Philippines at large, and across the Spanish empire, with aesthetic and ritual evidence apparent in the 'folk' Catholicisms that can be found in the Spanish empire's contemporary successor states (Yakal 2023).

3.4 Conclusions

This chapter surveyed different structures within both the government of the Early Modern Spanish Empire and the Early Modern Catholic Church in order to better understand the type(s) of Catholicism exported across the globe during the 16th and 17th centuries.

An examination of the Early Modern Spanish Empire's governing structures revealed a complex web of bureaucratic hierarchies. The Iberian Peninsula was ruled as a composite monarchy, with a patchwork of largely autonomous recently-independent kingdoms recognizing the Crown(s) of Castile and/or Aragon as their sovereign or suzerain (Mendoza 1770; Alcalá-Zamora 2005). Without extant Iberian kings to rule through, the Crown of Castile ruled via the *Régimen Polisinodial*, a system of *consejos* that oversaw particular territories or governing functions (Galende Díaz 2005). This simultaneous division by geography and governing function engendered near constant administrative conflicts at the highest levels of governance, and these

conflicts allowed for infighting that trickled down into every level of bureaucracy that administered the new colonies (Marrero-Fente and Spadaccini 2019).

In an effort to transplant the largely effective composite monarchy of the Iberian Peninsula, the Crown created *virreinatos* headed by *virreyes*. Although these *virreyes* held nominal administrative oversight over other government bodies within a specific territory, *audiencias reales* and *chancillerías* did much of the governing, and the *virreyes* still reported to multiple *consejos*. The *Virreinato de Nueva España* and its *virrey* were established to commandeer power from the conquistador Hernán Cortés. The next *virrey* commissioned expeditions across the Pacific led by Miguel López de Legazpi, who ultimately founded the *Capitanía General de Filipinas* and established himself as its first *Gobernador General de Filipinas*. This is quite ironic: the *Virreinato* was established to prevent conquistadors from creating their own independent geopolitical entities far from the Crown, only to later commission an expedition of conquistadors who created an independent geopolitical entity in the farthest flung territory of the Empire. Just this brief survey of the governing bodies of the Early Modern Philippines reveals a nesting doll of authority that led to near constant conflicts of interest and power grabs, that ultimately created opportunities for indigenous peoples of the Philippine islands to infiltrate and/or integrate into higher levels of power, shaping colonial governance and the attendant production of hybrid materials and social practices.

An examination of the Early Modern Catholic Church's internal structures reveals a similarly complex web of power relations that time and again created opportunities for indigenous

peoples in the Early Modern Philippines to transform Catholic practices and identity into new hybrid forms. Inquisitions and the *patronato real* system allowed the power of the Catholic Church to be modulated by government bodies across the Spanish Empire. Church councils, particularly those in *Nueva España*, issued many decisions that explicitly created the space for indigenous aesthetics and concepts to be embedded in other orthodox Catholic art and practices. Religious orders, whose members were often the ones doing the actual evangelizing in the Early Modern Philippines, were in near constant conflict with the Church, the government, and indigenous people. These conflicts represented further rupture within the Church and between the Church and Spanish government that likely allowed for indigenous people to resist, accommodate, co-opt, and transform colonizing phenomenon and processes in myriad ways (Acabado 2018).

Scrutiny of nearly any structure within the Early Modern Spanish Empire or Early Modern Catholic Church reveals tensions or stress points that would have provided indigenous peoples with ample opportunity to dramatically affect Spanish and/or Catholic material culture and/or social practices. This understanding of Early Modern Spanish Catholicism will be used in future chapters to (re)assess Spanish documents and indigenous burials as postcolonial hybrids.

Chapter 4. Between the Lines: Content Analysis of the Camarines Archival Documents

4.1 Materials

4.1.1 Camarines Archival Documents

Documents were located using the *Portal de Archivos Españoles* (PARES) search tool, using combinations of keywords including Bombon/Bonbon, Camarines, and/or Nueva Cáceres and filtered for the 16th and 17th centuries[35]. The tool draws from the *Archival General de Indias* (AGI) (Gobierno de España n.d.). After removing duplicates and short documents petitioning/confirming the installation of *encomenderos* without further information, 16 relevant documents containing narrative writing were located (see Table 4.1). The corpus of 16 documents are hereafter collectively referred to as the Camarines Archival Documents or CAD.

All 16 documents are handwritten in several handwriting styles common throughout Early Modern Spanish Empire documents, including Cortesana, Humanística, and Procesal styles. Cortesana is so-named due to its preferred use in the *cortes*[36] of the Catholic Monarchs; Procesal, a derivative of Cortesana, became popular due to its speed of writing and was popular into the 1640s (Martínez-Dávila 2018; Brigham Young University 2023). Humanística was influenced by Italian handwriting styles made popular during the Renaissance; due to its more reliable legibility, it became steadily more popular beginning in the 1500s, eventually eclipsing Cortesana/Procesal by the 1640s (Dominican Studies Institute 2013, Brigham Young University 2023).

[35] See Yakal et al. 2021 for analyses of similar archival materials from the 18th and 19th centuries.

[36] Literally, courts. Refers to several types of administrative bodies composed of landed gentry throughout the 16th and 17th centuries and successor bodies, including modern Spanish Congress.

Table 4.1 Overview of the Camarines Archival Documents

Author	Year	# Words	Document Type	Handwriting
Lavezaris	1574	3140	Administrative	Cortesana
Rada	1574	2144	Clerical	Humanística
Miranda	1582	351	Clerical	Humanística
Sardonil	1582	347	Administrative	Procesal
Ayala	1588	866	Administrative	Humanística
Vivero	1599	2946	Clerical	Humanística
Matías	1609	588	Clerical	Humanística
Consejo	1635	628	Administrative	Humanística
Corcuera	1636	1152	Administrative	Humanística
Grau y Monfalcón	1636	594	Administrative	Humanística
Herrera	1637	5037	Administrative	Humanística
San Marcos et al.	1646	1142	Clerical	Humanística
San Marcos	1647	633	Clerical	Humanística
Salcedo et al.	1666	1474	Administrative	Humanística
Herrera	1677	487	Clerical	Humanística
González Cano	1683	3088	Clerical	Procesal

4.1.2 Camarines Archival Documents & Postcolonial Hybridity

Spanish colonial administrative documents concerning the Philippines are a perfect example of documents in need of postcolonial hybrid (re)assessment: previous scholarship considers these documents as obviously and implicitly Spanish and only Spanish material culture (Mallari, S.J.

1990; Marcaida Jr. 2018; Elizalde 2022). However, a postcolonial hybridity assessment is interested in how indigenous people may have affected the creation and related social practices of these documents.

On a literal level, these documents could not exist without indigenous people: the majority of the documents' content is reports on the nature, resources, lifestyles, etc. of indigenous people (see, for example, Lavezaris 1574) and their interactions with Spanish colonizers . This reporting is undoubtedly a distortion of the reality of indigenous peoples' lives; however, indigenous peoples' actions, choices, and agency shaped the majority of the documents' content, even if the writers were uniformly Spanish (see, for example, Grau y Monfalcón 1636).

To be analyzed with nuance, these actions–often merely implied and/or dramatically distorted within a text or texts–call for the use of methods that both analyze patterns across documents in a corpus without losing the specificities of individual documents (Müller 2021).

4.2 Methods

4.2.1 Method: Optical Character Recognition

Optical Character Recognition (hereafter OCR) tools are computer vision/artificial intelligence tools used to turn images of symbols into searchable, editable text (Christy et al. 2017). On a basic level, OCR tools work by assigning letter values to specific images of symbols/characters within a larger image. (Alrasheed et al. 2021). These character images are typically from the same writing system as the letter values, such as images of Latin alphabet characters being assigned their letter equivalents (Christy et al. 2017). More complex OCR tools can assign letter values to

characters from other writing systems[37] or even arbitrary images[38] (Alrasheed et al. 2021; Granell et al. 2018). These more advanced OCR tools are thus able to simultaneously decode and transcribe text from images into searchable, editable documents.

Modern OCR tools are largely effective: for high-quality images of modern texts using , OCR tools approach 99% accuracy (Mandell 2013). However, OCR tools' accuracy ranges dramatically for materials printed between the 1470s-1820s due to non-standardized changes to certain letters, ligatures, and/or words that were largely based on physical/technical limitations of different types of printing presses (Christy el al. 2017). Further, OCR tools have been successfully used on handwritten documents, though the accuracy of these tools can drop considerably when used on historical documents due to changes in many features in written/visual language, including handwriting styles, orthography, spelling, and vocabulary (Alrasheed et al. 2021).

4.2.1.1 Optical Character Recognition Tools for Early Modern Texts

During the Early Modern period, European languages simultaneously experienced the diversification of vocabulary and grammar (based on increased geographic spread and multi-directional hybridization with the languages of indigenous peoples) and the standardization of orthography and spelling (based on the emergence of language regulators/academies) (Real Academia Española 1995).

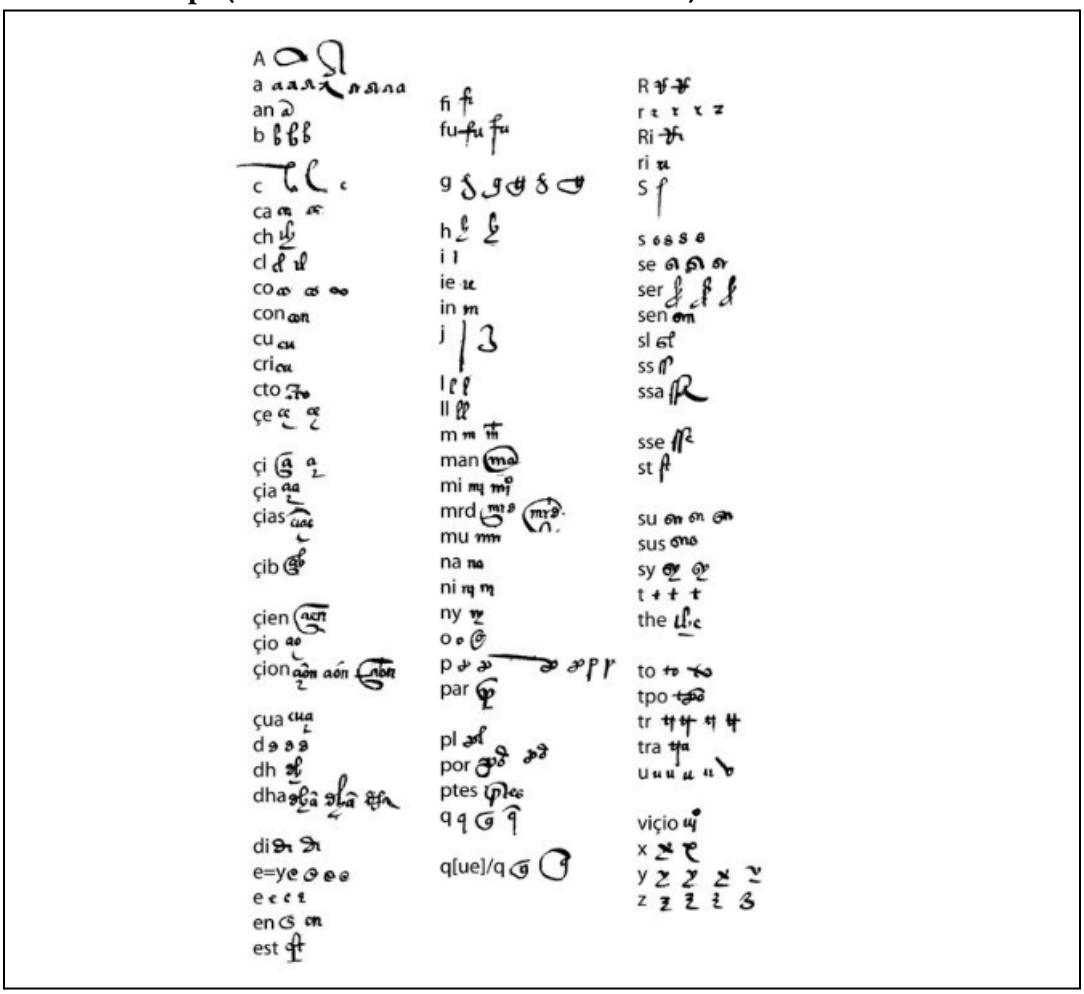
[37] Such as Japanese kanji characters being assigned their phonic equivalent in Latin alphabet letters.

[38] Such as arbitrary geometric patterns being assigned specific Latin alphabet letters, such as the symbols ||| ¤¤¤ ||| being assigned the letter value S O S, akin to Morse code (Alrasheed et al. 2021).

For Castilian/Spanish, a particularly noticeable divergence can be found in the variety of second person plural pronouns–*vosotros* in Continental Spanish versus *ustedes* in most Spanish colonies–that emerged during the Early Modern Period (Jonge 2005). Simultaneously, the 1713 founding of the *Real Academia Española* or Royal Spanish Academy to, "work in the service of the Spanish language [by] preserving—through activities, works and publications—the proper use and unity of a language in permanent evolution and expansion," represented efforts to document and standardize spelling and other linguistic features across the expanding Hispanophone world (Real Academia Española 1995).

The simultaneous diversification and standardization of Spanish linguistic features and its uses led to a complex situation wherein a wide variety of characters–individual letters, groups of letters, ligatures, abbreviations, and even entire words–could potentially represent multiple and/or contradictory letter values depending on time, location, document type, and more (Cuéllar 2023; Mandell 2013; see Figure 4.1). Thus, in order to develop effective OCR tools for handwritten Spanish colonial documents, developers must compile large datasets of properly labeled images of multiple versions/morphs (see Figure 4.1) of individual characters, ligatures, abbreviations, and common words and their corresponding letter values for particular times, locations, document types, and handwriting styles to serve as the model enervating the OCR tool.

Figure 4.1 Letter morphs found in a single 16th century Spanish colonial document in Cortesana script (Dominican Studies Institute 2013)



OCR tools purpose-built for decoding and transcribing Early Modern handwritten Spanish colonial documents are rare, proprietary, and/or experimental in nature[39] (Cuéllar 2023, Alrasheed et al. 2021). The most widely available OCR tools for Early Modern handwritten Spanish colonial documents are Ocular and Transkribus: both are used for OCR on many languages and writing systems, including at least one model for handwritten Spanish colonial documents (Alpert-Adams 2016, Alrasheed et al. 2021).

[39] Due largely to their limited commercial applications.

Transkribus was selected to process the Camarines archival documents, due to its variety of relatively large, transparent models for handwritten Spanish colonial documents, particularly the Siglo de Oro (SdO), Carlos V (CV), and Coloso Español (CE) models (Cuéllar 2023, Ball et al. 2021, Transkribus 2023). Each model was created with different datasets, which varied in many ways, including date range of sources, word count, type of text (handwritten, printed, or both), and type of document (administrative, clerical, and/or literary) (see Table 4.2).

Table 4.2 Publicly Available Transkribus OCR Models for Handwritten Early Modern Spanish

Name of Model & Dataset	Dates of Sources	#Words	Type of Text	Type of Document
Siglo de Oro (SdO)	15th-17th	3,250,116	Handwritten, Printed	Administrative, Clerical, Literary
Carlos V (CV)	15th-16th	9,279	Handwritten	Administrative
Coloso Español (CE)	14th-20th	11,442,533	Handwritten, Printed	Administrative, Clerical, Literary

4.2.1.2 Limitations of Early Modern OCR

These models each present challenges for OCR of the CAD: ideally, datasets that serve as the basis of OCR models are as large and as similar as possible to the documents to be analyzed (Grannell 2018). In contrast to the analyzed documents, SdO includes data from printed and literary documents (Cuéllar 2023); CV's dataset is relatively small and based largely on a single

author's handwriting (Ball et al. 2021); and CE includes data from printed, literary, and 18th-19th century documents (Transkribus 2023).

To assess the potential adverse impacts of the differences between the model's datasets in comparison to the CAD, I tested several of the documents against the models. To test documents across time period, handwriting style, and document type as efficiently as possible, Lavezaris 1574 was chosen due to its relatively long length (3140 words), use of Cortesana style, and administrative document type; Herrera 1637 was chosen due to its relatively long length (5037 words), use of Humanistica style, and administrative document type; and González Cano 1683 was chosen for its relatively long length (3088 words), use of Humanística style, and clerical document type. The results of uncorrected transcriptions are recorded in Table 4.3 and visualized in Figure 4.3.

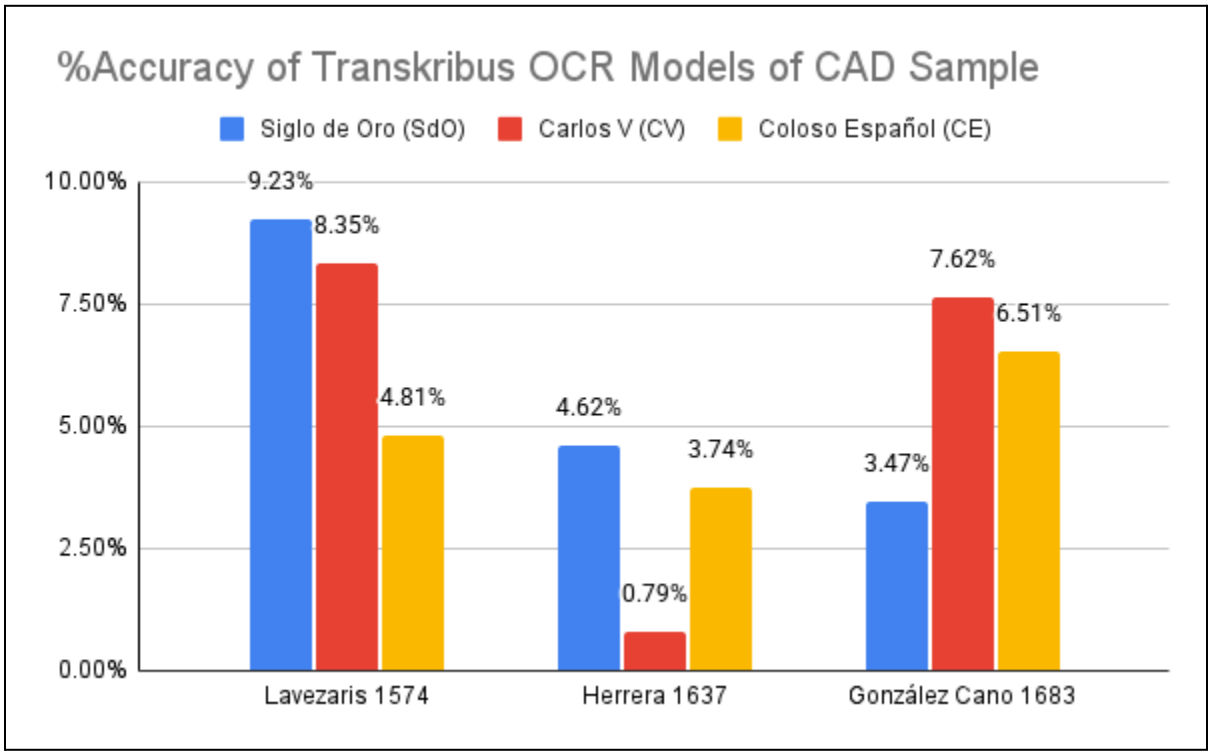
Table 4.3 %Accuracy of Transkribus OCR Models of CAD Sample

Name of Model & Dataset	%Accuracy Lavezaris 1574	%Accuracy Herrera 1637	%Accuracy González Cano 1683
Siglo de Oro (SdO)	9.23	4.62	3.47
Carlos V (CV)	8.35	0.79	7.62
Coloso Español (CE)	4.81	3.74	6.51

%Accuracy was calculated as the number of words in the OCR's initial transcription that did not require correction divided by the total number of words in the document. Unfortunately, none of the publicly available models yielded consistently accurate transcriptions of the CAD Sample. All three models were less than 10% accurate for the three CAD samples. This lack of

accuracy necessitated either the (prohibitively resource intensive) creation of a purpose-made OCR model or a different approach for transcription and analysis of the CAD.

Figure 4.3 Graph of %Accuracy of Transkribus OCR Models of CAD Sample



4.2.2 Method: Spanish Paleography

Paleography is the study of old/archaic forms of extant writing systems (Brigham Young University 2023). One of the most popular methods of Early Modern Period Spanish paleography was developed using archival documents of the Spanish colony of La Española[40]; luckily, several dominant handwriting style types (namely Cortesana/Procesal and Humanistica) were taught and used throughout Early Modern Spain and the Spanish colonial world by both secular and religious

[40] The modern Dominican Republic.

educational systems, so the Dominican Studies Institute method (hereafter DSI method) was likely to be of value for the transcription and analysis of the CAD (Dominican Studies Institute 2013).

4.2.2.1 Dominican Studies Institute Methodology

Several scholarly, religious, and genealogical organizations have developed resources and loose methodologies for the manual decoding and transcribing of handwritten Early Modern Spanish colonial documents, including Brigham Young University and the Dominican Studies Institute (Brigham Young University 2023, Martínez-Dávila 2018, Dominican Studies Institute 2013).

The Dominican Studies Institute (DSI), part of the City University of New York (CUNY) system and supported by a National Endowment of the Humanities grant, developed the Spanish Paleography Digital Teaching & Learning Tool (hereafter DSI Tool or Tool) over several years and initially released it for public use in 2013 (Dominican Studies Institute 2013). The DSI Tool's approach is very similar to how an OCR is developed: the Tool provides high-resolution images of documents with a word by word–and occasionally letter by letter–transcription of the documents. Rather than train a model, the Tool trains readers on a dataset of 40 documents in cortesana (4), humanistica cursiva (5), and procesal-type (31) handwriting styles. The DSI Tool further provides alphabets and glosses for common morphs of letters and commonly used and/or abbreviated words for each handwriting style (see Figure 4.1).

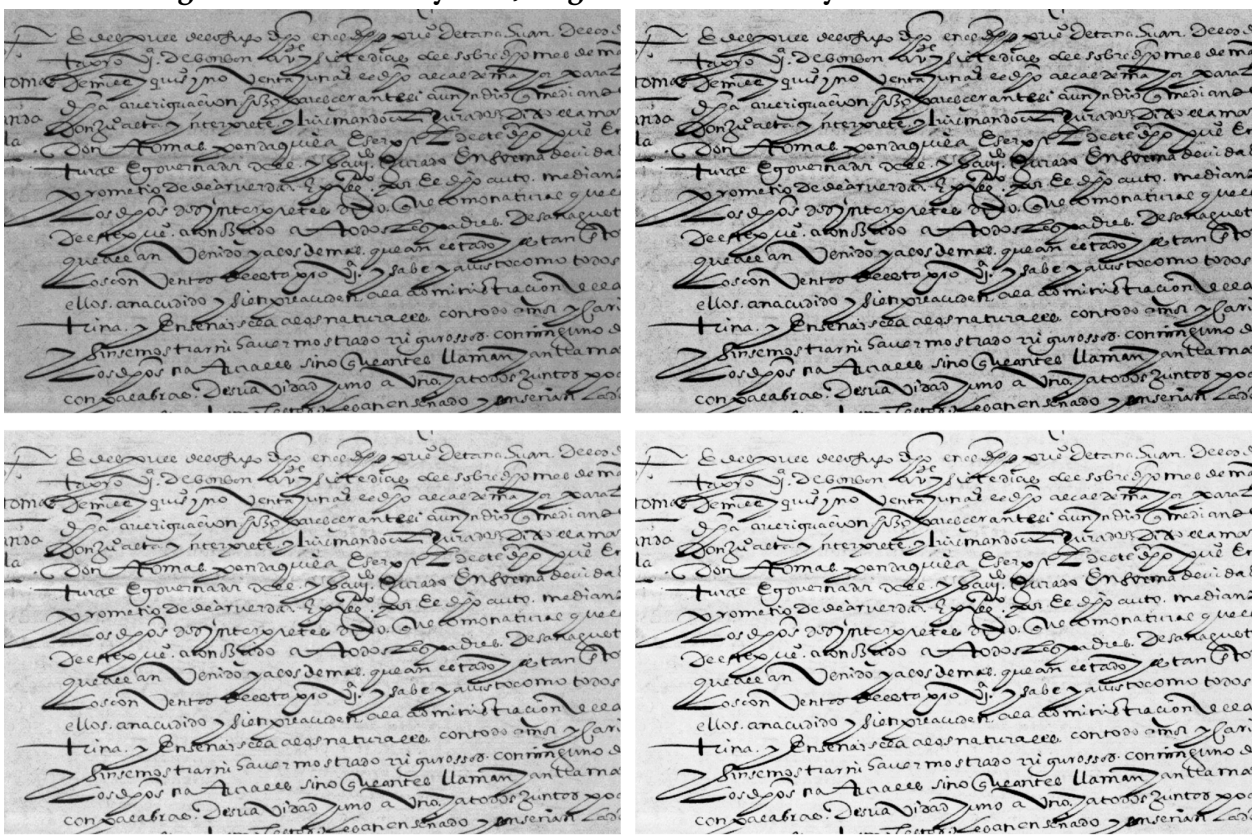
The DSI Tool informs the DSI method, which follows a general sequence: collect and analyze all available contextual data for the document in question; identify names/proper nouns,

and potential unusual or technical vocabulary; manipulate images of documents to reduce visual noise; if necessary, manually trace the handwriting found on the manipulated images to create an isolable visual layer; scan/peruse the writing on the document; identify and note any immediately legible words; work through the document from beginning to end at least twice, identifying and transcribing letters, words, sentence fragments, and sentences (Dominican Studies Institute 2013).

4.2.2.3 Image Manipulation

Basic digital image manipulation techniques (see Figure 4.4) can transform a low quality image or low resolution scan of a centuries-old, handwritten document into an image that is significantly more legible to a reader at least somewhat familiar with the document's language(s), writing system(s), and/or handwriting style(s) (Cuellar 2023; Ball et al. 2021).

Figure 4.4 Comparison of manipulated versions of image of text Manrique 1591. Clockwise from top left: Original image, contrast increased by 100%, contrast increased by 100% and brightness increased by 50%, brightness increased by 50%



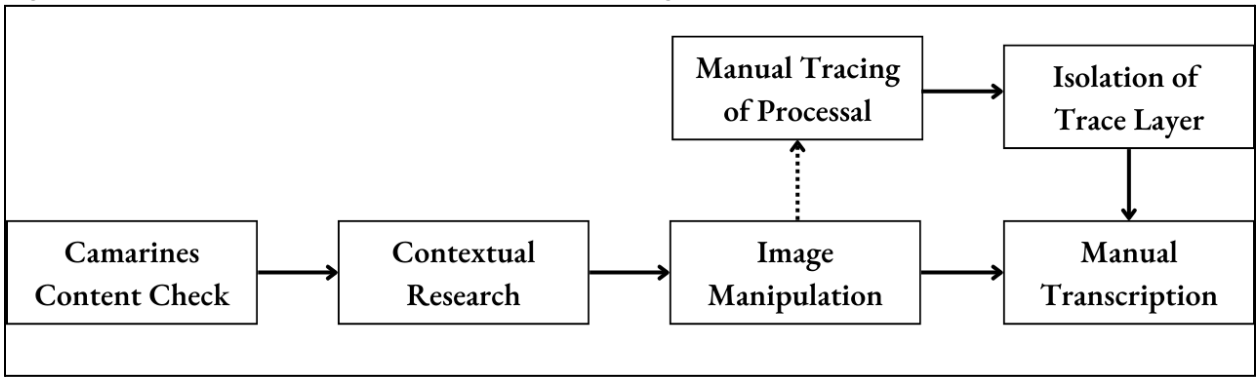
Due to inconsistencies in the tools and processes used to create, store, and digitize the documents and resultant differences in image quality, different image manipulation techniques were used between documents and between pages within single documents. Particular techniques[41] were chosen on an image-by-image/page-by-page basis in order to create the clearest images of handwriting for paleographic analysis.

[41] These include increasing contrast, increasing brightness, increasing sharpness, noise reduction, conversion to greyscale, and color inversion.

4.2.2.4 Workflow for Decoding the Camarines Archival Documents

After initial training with the DSI Tool's published dataset, a standardized workflow (see Figure 4.5) was developed to decode and transcribe the Camarines Archival Documents for later coding and content analysis.

Figure 4.5 Standardized workflow for transcribing the CAD for analysis



The PARES system was queried for the keywords Camarines, Bombon, etc. The results were then filtered for the 16th and 17th centuries. Documents were then filtered for the keywords *encomendero* and *encomendera*. Documents containing either word were examined, and the ones whose sole content was the reporting of the installation of new encomendero(s) were removed from the document corpus[42].

The PARES system provides some contextual data for each document, such as author name and/or title, a brief document description, and an inventory of enclosed supporting documents (Gobierno de España n.d.). Per the DSI Tool's method, these metatexts were analyzed for context,

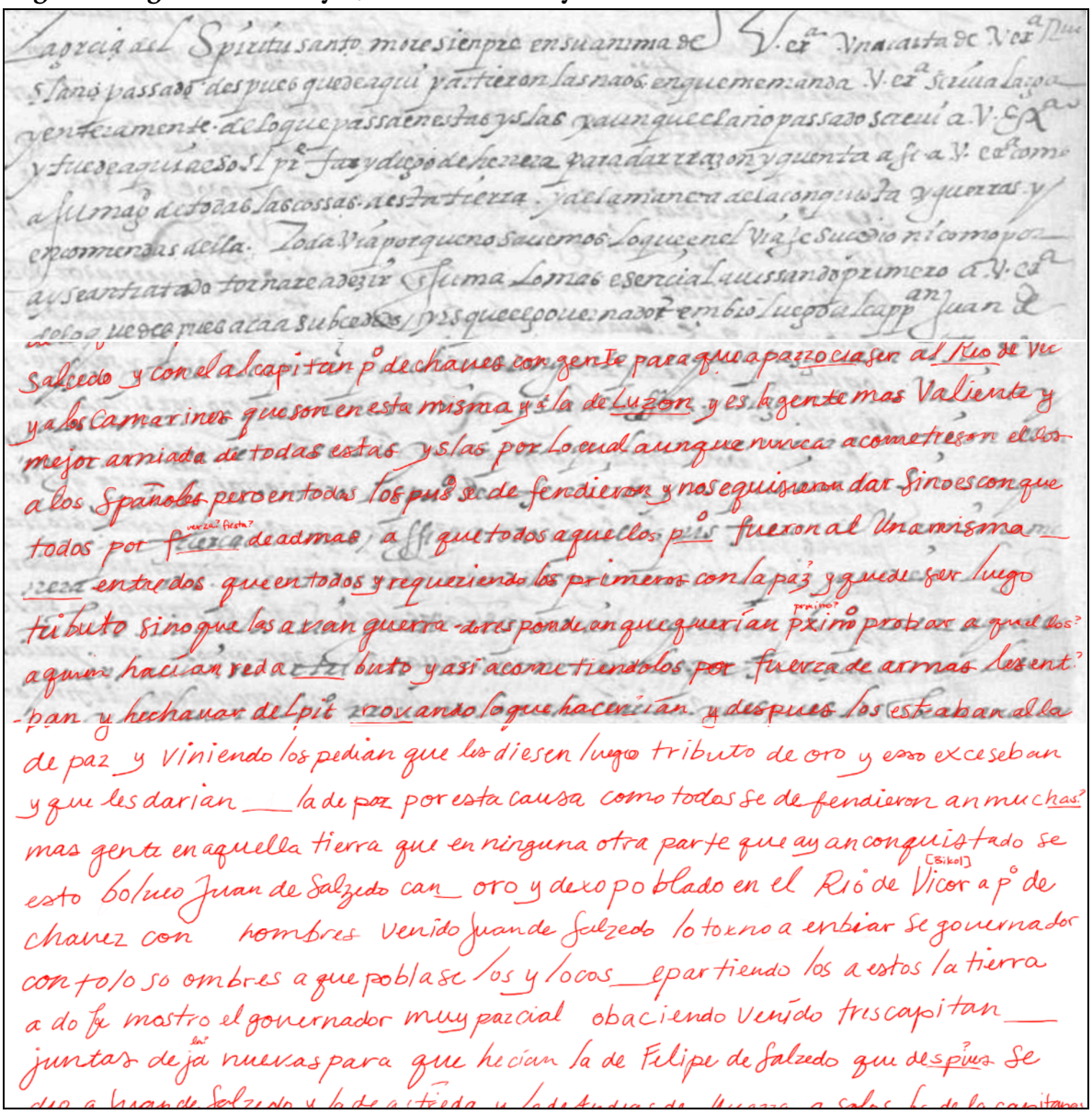
[42] The *encomienda* property transfer records constitute their own fascinating body of documents chronicling a specific component of the early colonial period in the Philippines. Unfortunately, an analysis of them is beyond the scope of this dissertation's foci. They represent a compelling opportunity for future research.

names/proper nouns, and potential unusual or technical vocabulary (Dominican Studies Institute 2013).

With a document's metatextual analysis complete, its constituent images were manipulated to ease the decoding and transcribing process using multiple tools, including the PARES system's native image manipulation tool and Adobe Photoshop. Due to inconsistencies in paper and ink production, writing style, document preservation, and digitization tools and methods, the necessary image manipulation varied both from document to document and from page to page within single documents.

After image manipulation, the characters in documents written in the *Processal* handwriting style were manually traced using Adobe Illustrator, Sketchbook 6.1 for iOS, an iPad Pro (11-inch) running on iPadOS Version 18.3.1, and an A2051 Apple Pencil. This tracing served two purposes. First, the traced text was often more legible than the manipulated image when isolated as a layer (see Figure 4.6). Second, the physical act of manual tracing using a stylus in some ways imitated the training of *Cortesana/Procesal* writing, revealing letter omissions, ligatures, abbreviations, and distorted letter shapes that were common due to the time saved, limitations of wrist movements, and scribal convenience (Martínez-Dávila 2018; Brigham Young University 2023).

Figure 4.6 Composite image of first page of Rada 1574. From top to bottom: original image, original image and trace layer, isolated trace layer



4.2.3 Content Analysis

Content analysis is a set of research methodologies used to determine the presence of particular words, concepts, or themes and analyze their presence, meanings, and relationships between them within some body of communication (Elo et al. 2014). This is done via labeling words, sentence fragments, and sentences within transcriptions of communications with conceptual categories or codes that can be more easily qualitatively and quantitatively analyzed (Kuckartz and Rädiker 2023). Thus, content analysis can be a valuable tool for the quantitative tracking of colonial discourse within the CAD (Müller 2021).

The MaxQDA 2022 software suite, a standard content analysis software used for both research and commercial applications, was used for the coding of the documents, analyses of relationships between codes, and visualizations of these analyses (VERBI Software 2021).

Due to this dissertation's focus on hybridization, religious practices, and burials, the Camarines Archival Documents were divided into two sets of document types: Administrative (written by secular writers typically for commercial and/or government administrative purposes) and Clerical (written by clergy typically for ecclesiastical administration and operations) documents. Further, in order to better trace the diachronic contours of colonialism in the Philippines, the CAD were also divided into 1500s and 1600s sets, resulting in 6 document sets: Administrative, Administrative (1500s), Administrative (1600s), Clerical, Clerical (1500s), and Clerical (1600s).

4.2.3.1 Conceptual Analysis

Within content analysis methods, conceptual analysis aims to investigate the explicit existence and frequency of particular words, concepts, or themes within a corpus of documentary, visual, audio, and/or video communications (Kuckartz and Rädiker 2019). Thus, it can be a useful tool to identify shifts in concepts and biases over time within historical documents (Müller 2021). Using a conceptual analysis framework, this section of the dissertation aims to explore the research question: how did the concepts of indigenous people and religious practice change over time in the Camarines Archival Documents?

Content analysis requires consistency in coding decisions, oft-referred to as a coding protocol, in order to increase the accuracy of analysis (Gizzi and Rädiker 2021; Rädiker and Gizzi 2024). These coding decisions include: level of analysis, the use of pre-defined versus emergent codes/conceptual categories, the analysis of existence versus frequency of codes, and the levels of precision and implication that merits coding (Busch et al. 2005; Elo et al. 2014).

For the conceptual analysis of indigenous people and religious practices in the Camarines Archival Documents, coding decisions included: words as the finest level of analysis; predefined meanings with emergent codes; the analysis of code frequency; low levels of precision; and low levels of implication.

Word-level analysis allows for the most sensitive detection of concepts within a corpus of documents, though it also allows for a significant amount of analytic noise (Gizzi and Rädiker

2021). Because of the CAD's relatively small size, word-level analysis was able to be conducted and audited manually using MaxQDA's Dictio functionalities (VERBI Software 2021).

Pre-defined meanings of codes (particularly words referring to indigenous people categories and words referring to religious rituals) were drawn from this dissertation's focus on indigenous responses to colonialism and the multidirectionality of Catholic hybridization in Spanish colonial contexts; however, the wording of codes ultimately used were borne from emergent recurring words found throughout the corpus.

Word/code frequency in a document does not necessarily denote the importance of said concept in the mind of the writer; however, content analysis can be used to identify potential patterns of frequency and/or proximity of particular concepts in a corpus of historical government/church documents (Müller 2021). In turn, these patterns across a corpus of related historical documents can then be visualized and analyzed for internal consistency and change over time.

Low precision–referring to the aggregation of coding different forms of the same word versus high precision's disaggregation of different forms into different codes–was used in order to account for linguistic features of written Early Modern Castilian/Spanish, such as inconsistent agreement between articles and nouns based on number and/or gender, variations in spelling[43], and other orthographic irregularities[44] (Real Academia Española 1995).

[43] For example, Bicol is variously referred to as Vicor (Rada 1574), Bikol (Lavezaris 1574), and Bicol (Miranda 1582) across the CAD.

[44] In fact, a cohesive body to determine Castilian orthography would not meaningfully exist until the 18th century (Real Academia Española 1995).

Based on these considerations, a coding protocol[45] was developed (see Table 4.4).

Table 4.4 Coding protocol for CAD

Code Number	Code
1	People category names referring to indigenous peoples
1.1	Indios
1.2	Naturales
1.3	Ethnonyms/geographic names
1.3.1	Bikolanos/de los Camarines
1.3.2	Cagayanos
1.3.3	Moros
1.3.4	Pampangos
1.3.5	Tagalos
1.4	Mezclados
2	Catholic rituals
2.1	One-time rites
2.1.1	Bautismo
2.1.2	Casamiento
2.1.3	Ritos funerarios
2.2	Regular rites
2.2.1	Confesión
2.2.2	Limosna

[45] Other concepts were coded for but were ultimately excluded for most analyses. To see the complete coding protocol, please see Appendix A.

2.2.3	Misa
2.3	Perversions/failures of Catholic rituals

Code frequencies were then calculated and visualized to identify salient concepts in the text and to identify conceptual shifts about indigenous people and religious rituals from the 1500s and 1600s (Gizzi and Rädiker 2021).

4.2.3.2 Relational Analysis

Within content analysis methods, relational analysis aims to investigate the relationship(s) between particular words, concepts, or themes within a corpus of documentary, visual, audio, and/or video communications (Busch et al. 2005; Elo et al. 2014). Using a relational analysis framework, this section of the dissertation aims to explore the research question: how did Spanish writers' affect about indigenous people change over time in the text of the Camarines Archival Documents corpus?

In content analysis of written content, affect refers to writers' emotions about concepts in a text, and affect extraction refers to the examination and evaluation of these emotions within and across texts of a corpus (Busch et al. 2005; Palmquist 2025). Thus, relational analysis and affect extraction can be an effective means of uncovering colonial anxieties and resultant governance strategies in historical documents (Müller 2021). A more conservative affect extraction approach often relies on explicit affect rather than implicit or subtextual affect; this is particularly important for a smaller corpus, such as the CAD (Gizzi and Rädiker 2021). With explicit affect in mind, recurring words with a distinctly positive or negative valence referring to people

categories–hereafter affect statement subtypes–were identified within the CAD and assigned codes (Müller 2021). These affect statement subtype codes were added to an expanded version of the coding protocol[46] used to conduct conceptual analysis (see Table 4.5).

Table 4.5. Coding Protocol for CAD, continued

Code Number	Code
3	Negative affect
3.1	Dangerous
3.2	Lazy
3.3	Negative by nature
3.4	Rebellious/warlike
4	Positive affect
4.1	Brave
4.2	Loyal/obedient
4.3	Material abundance
4.4	Peaceful
4.5	Servile/hardworking
4.6	Skilled

Using MaxQDA's Code Matrix Browser and Code Relations browser, proximity analysis–the quantitative analysis of the closeness of related concepts within a corpus paired with the qualitative analysis of parsing the potential significance(s) of said closeness–was conducted

[46] Other concepts were coded for but were ultimately excluded for most analysis. To see the complete coding protocol, see Appendix A.

within the degree of ≤1 paragraph (VERBI Software 2021). Thus, affect subtypes were only included in the relational analysis if a valenced word was used in the same paragraph as an indigenous people category (Müller 2021). The identified valenced words were then manually confirmed to be directly referring to the indigenous people categories using MaxQDA's Dictio tools and subsequently coded for final analysis (VERBI Software 2021).

Code frequencies of affect subtypes were then tabulated and visualized to identify affect differences between the administrative and clerical documents and identify potential changes between their 1500s and 1600s document subsets (Gizzi and Rädiker 2021). For all document visualizations, codes were assigned a color: red for people category names referring to indigenous peoples, purple for Catholic rituals, yellow for positive affect statements, and blue for negative affect statements. Less common code types were included in visualizations and also color coded (see Appendix A).

4.3 Findings & Discussion

4.3.1 Conceptual Analysis of Indigenous People and Catholic Rituals in the CAD

4.3.1.1 Concepts of Indigenous People in the CAD

People groups who lived within particular islands or areas of islands at the time of Spanish incursion are identified with a variety of terms by both administrative and clerical writers. The most common in the corpus are *naturales*[47] and *indios*[48] (see Table 4.6).

[47] Natives

[48] Indians

Table 4.6 Frequency and %WordCount of indigenous people category names in the CAD, 1500s vs 1600s

	1500s		1600s		TOTAL	
Total Word Count	9794		14,823		24,617	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
Naturales	21	0.21%	17	0.11%	38	0.15%
Indios	10	0.10%	22	0.15%	32	0.13%
Ethnonyms (in aggregate)	8	0.08%	12	0.08%	20	0.08%
Bikolanos/de los Camarines	6	0.06%	3	0.02%	9	0.04%
Cagayanos	0	0.00%	1	0.01%	1	0.00%
Moros	2	0.02%	0	0.00%	2	0.01%
Pampangos	0	0.00%	4	0.03%	4	0.02%
Tagalos	0	0.00%	4	0.03%	4	0.02%
Mezclados	0	0.00%	2	0.01%	2	0.01%
TOTAL	39	0.40%	53	0.36%	92	0.37%

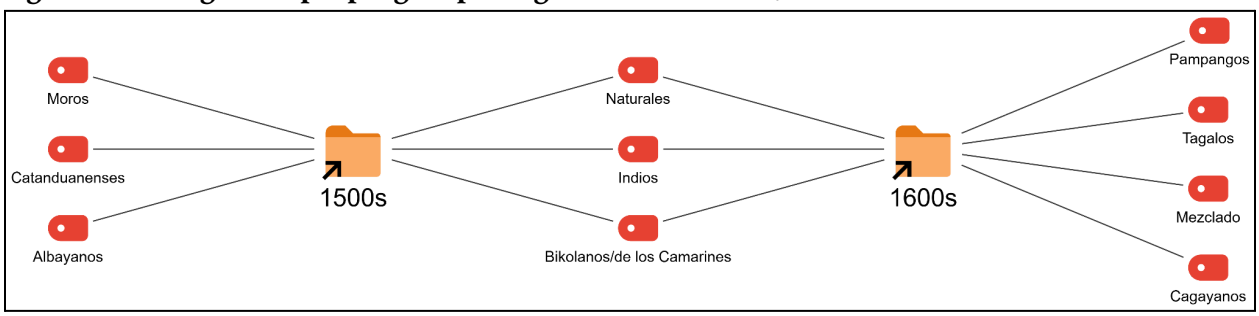
Naturales and indios are by far the most common names used to describe indigenous people categories in the CAD in both the 1500s and 1600s. However, the relative frequency of each differs between the 1500s document set and the 1600s document set: when adjusted for word count per document set, *naturales* is used more than twice as much as *indios* in the 1500s set, while *indios* is used one and a half times as often as *naturales* in the 1600s set (see Table 4.6).

Indios may have become relatively more popular among administrators due to the use of the term *indios* in the expanded legal frameworks of the *Leyes Nuevas* and subsequent legal reforms throughout the latter 1500s (Carlos V/I 1542). Discursively, the change toward *indios* may also signal a transition from viewing indigenous people of the Philippines as natives of alien territories

to viewing them as simply another type of subject of the Crown. This conceptual shift is made more apparent through analysis of specific ethnonyms used in the CAD.

Ethnic/geographic names are used sparingly across both document sets: *Moros*, *Catanduanenses*, and *Albayanos* are exclusive to the 1500s document set; *Pampangos*, *Tagalos*, *Mezclado*[49], and *Cagayanos* are exclusive to the 1600s document set; and *Bikolanos/de los Camarines* appear in both document sets (see Figure 4.6).

Figure 4.6 Indigenous people group categories in the CAD, 1500s vs 1600s



Catanduanenses and *Albayanos* refer to indigenous groups to the east and south of the Camarines, respectively and are only mentioned once each in the earliest document in the CAD and are ultimately referred to as *naturales* (Lavezaris 1574). *Moros* only appears once each in two documents: in Lavezaris 1574 referring to a messenger from the Kingdom of Borneo and in Rada 1574 referring to Visayans. The *naturales-Moros* binary may suggest a bifurcated concept of the inhabitants of the Philippine islands very early in the Spanish colonial project: non-Muslim indigenous people in the central and northern Philippines are *naturales* while Muslims in the southern Philippines are *Moros*. Further, Islam and indigeneity are mutually exclusive.

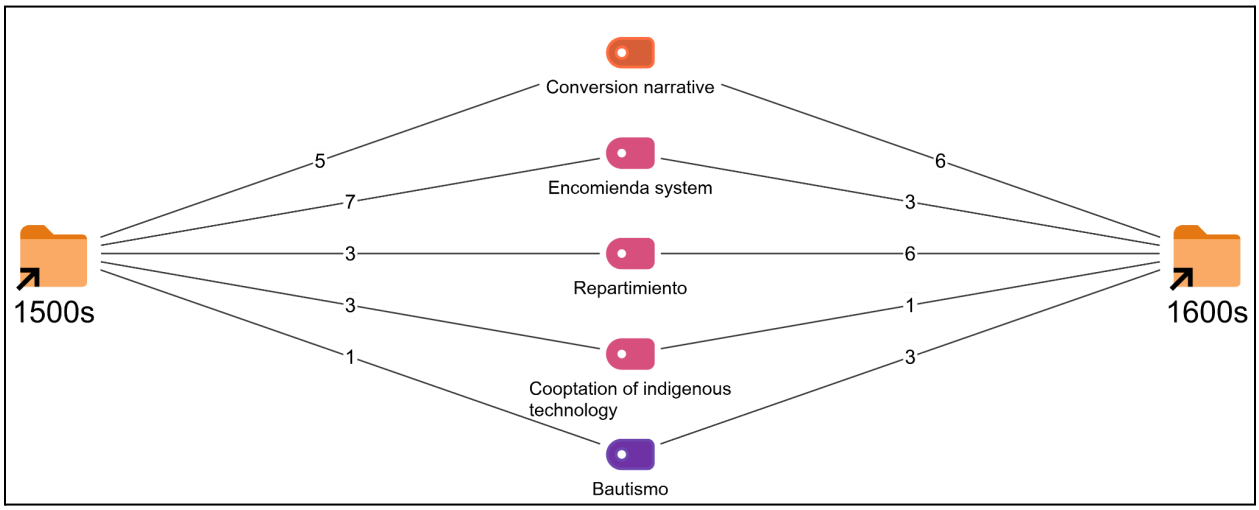
[49] People of mixed indigenous and Spanish ancestry. The term *mestizo* would become more commonly used in the Philippines and throughout the empire beginning in the 1680s

This distinction is reflected in 16th century Crown policy and reified during multiple rounds of legal reforms considering the treatment of indigenous people: subjects of the Crown of Castile could legally enslave Muslim Moros but could not enslave *indios* as they too were subjects of the Crown of Castile (Isabella I 1501, 1504; Fernando II 1512; Carlos V/I 1542). Isabel I amended this position in 1503: the only other group legally sanctioned for enslavement were cannibals (Palencia-Roth 2022). This resulted in likely-exaggerated or entirely fabricated settler accounts of indigenous cannibalism in the Caribbean and Americas used to justify enslavement and genocide (Earle 2012). Despite extensive evidence of ritual cannibalism across the archipelago, Spanish settlers rarely levied efforts to enslave or eradicate indigenous people of the central and northern Philippine Islands nor enslave the Moros in the south (Tan 2021). The lack of Crown-sanctioned genocidal violence was likely a function of the small number of Spanish present in the Philippines and the logistical difficulties of developing a Trans-Pacific slave trade and thus the need for indigenous labor in the Philippines (Newson 2009; Elizalde 2022).

The concept of indigenous people as souls in need of saving versus as economic assets in need of exploitation changes over time, with a slight shift from the economic to spiritual between the 1500s and 1600s (see Figure 4.7). This may reflect a broader transition in colonial strategy: as Manila grew into its role as a commercial hub, natural resource extraction and transportation from the Philippines became less practical and profitable (Camba and Aguilar 2022; Mehl 2016). In response, the colonial elite transformed the Philippines from a managerial colony that

predominantly exploited raw materials into a missionary colony that instead predominantly exploited labor via religious conversion (Yakal et al. 2021; Lightfoot 2015).

Figure 4.7 References to indigenous people as economic assets and (potential) religious converts, 1500s vs 1600s



The use of *Cagayanos*, *Pampangos*, and *Tagalos*–all regional-level ethnonyms akin to *Bikolanos*–in the 1600s document set suggests the development of Spanish imperial infrastructure over time: there are more distinctly defined provinces/administrative areas across the Philippine islands, resulting in more Balkanized concepts of and information about different indigenous people groups (Grau y Monfalcón 1636).

The CAD's conceptualization of indigenous people is thus quite dynamic between the 1500s and 1600s: from *naturales* of alien islands to *indio* subjects of the Crown, from economic assets to (potential) fellow Christians and thus exploitable labor, and from a monolith to groups of different peoples integrated into the complex machinery of the Early Modern Spanish Empire.

4.3.1.2 Concepts of Catholic Rituals in the CAD

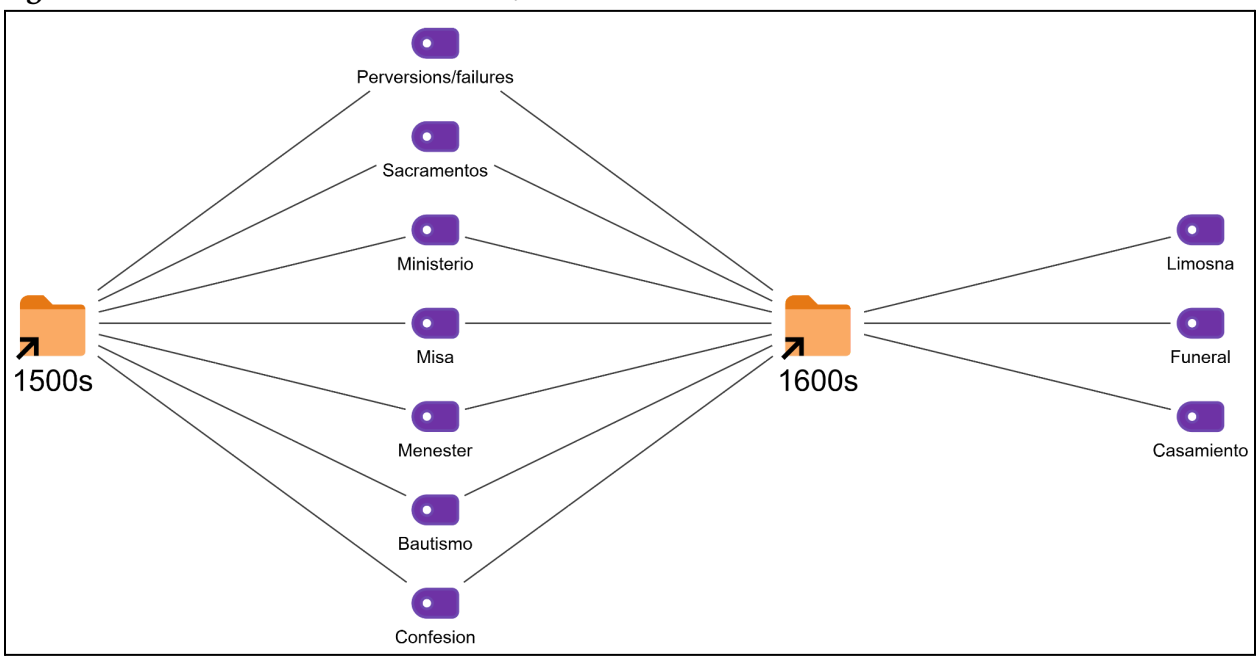
Catholic rituals are described with a variety of terms in the CAD, many of which correspond to the sacraments established by the Church in the 1200s (Cantor and Davidson 2011) (see Table 4.7). There are no mentions of indigenous religious rituals in the CAD.

Table 4.7 Frequency and %WordCount of Catholic rituals named in the CAD, 1500s vs 1600s

	1500s		**1600s**		**TOTAL**	
Total Word Count	9794		14,823		24,617	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
One-time rituals (in aggregate)	1	0.01%	18	0.12%	19	0.08%
Bautismo	1	0.01%	3	0.02%	4	0.02%
Casamiento	0	0.00%	6	0.04%	6	0.02%
Funeral	0	0.00%	9	0.06%	9	0.04%
Regular rituals (in aggregate)	4	0.04%	16	0.11%	20	0.08%
Confesion	1	0.01%	1	0.01%	2	0.01%
Limosna	0	0.00%	10	0.07%	10	0.04%
Misa	3	0.03%	5	0.03%	8	0.03%
TOTAL	5	0.05%	34	0.23%	39	0.16%
Perversions/failures	2	0.02%	21	0.14%	23	0.09%
% of Catholic ritual mentions that are described as perversions/failures	40%		62%		60%	

Only *Bautismo*, *Confesion*, and *Misa* are explicitly mentioned in the 1500s document set. All identified rituals (*Bautismo*, *Casamiento*, *Funeral*, *Confesion*, *Limosna*, and *Misa*) are explicitly mentioned in the 1600s document set, with *Limosna*, *Funeral*, and *Casamiento* exclusive to the 1600s (see Figure 4.8). The vast majority (34 out of 39 or 87%) of explicit mentions of religious practices exist in the 1600s document set; further the writers label 60% of these mentions of rituals as perversions/failures of Catholic orthopraxis (see Table 4.7).

Figure 4.8 Catholic rituals in the CAD, 1500s vs 1600s



The preponderance of mentions concerning Perversions/failures of Catholic ritual strongly suggest a heightened sensitivity toward heteropraxis among the writers of the CAD (Hamnett 1999). 91% of mentions of Perversions/failures of Catholic rituals are from the 1600s document set; adjusting for word count, this is a septuple increase from the 1500s to 1600s (see Table 4.7).

This dramatic increase is likely a function of changes in priorities of colonial processes as a long term effect of the Council of Trent (Mallari 1964; Parry and Keith 1984) .

Through the prism of Catholic ritual in the 1500s Philippines, conversion was a colonial priority and mass baptism an efficient process to address that priority (Laverzaris 1574). After initial waves of conversion across the Empire, however, the quality[50] of religious conversion began to matter as much if not more than their quantity (Claassen and Ammon 2022; Nesvig 2006). By the 1680s, a priest in the Philippines raised concerns about the procedural and spiritual legitimacy of mass baptisms (González Cano 1683).

This concern with the proper enacting of religious ritual stemmed from doctrinal decisions levied by the Council of Trent that emphasized collective orthopraxis as the basis of Catholicism and thus Catholic identity (Hamnett 1999). The Council of Trent was reactive, acting as part of the Counter-Reformation trying to stem the rising tide of Protestant sects' growing political and cultural power across Europe and its colonies (Claassen and Ammon 2022).

Thus, Spanish missionaries in *Nueva España*– some of whom penned a plurality of the CAD–developed a reactionary bent toward orthopraxis (Nesvig 2006; Farriss 2018). However, their orthopraxis-focused approach tacitly ignored or tactically integrated indigenous religious practices that did not conflict with Catholic doctrine in order to facilitate conversion (Nesvig 2006; Kirkwood 2000). This historical context betrays the multidirectionality of the hybridization of

[50] The metrics of quality varied across the Empire and over time, but the ability to recite several prayers and the Ten Commandments in the convert's native language was a common standard in *Nueva España* (Farriss 2018).

religious practices in the Camarines during the Early Modern Period, despite the CAD's primary concept of Catholic ritual being its concern with perversion or failure.

4.3.2 Relational Analysis of Affect Statements

Because of the conceptual shifts toward becoming subjects of the Crown of Castile and toward becoming integrated parts of the Spanish Empire, government administrators' view of indigenous people in the CAD is likely fertile ground for relational analysis of affect. Further, the tension between Catholic orthopraxis and indigenous-led hybridization in the CAD likely led to clerical authors having distinct affect toward indigenous people.

With these specific groups' probable distinct affect in mind, the CAD was divided into administrative and clerical document sets for relational analysis of affect statements about indigenous people categories (see Table 4.1).

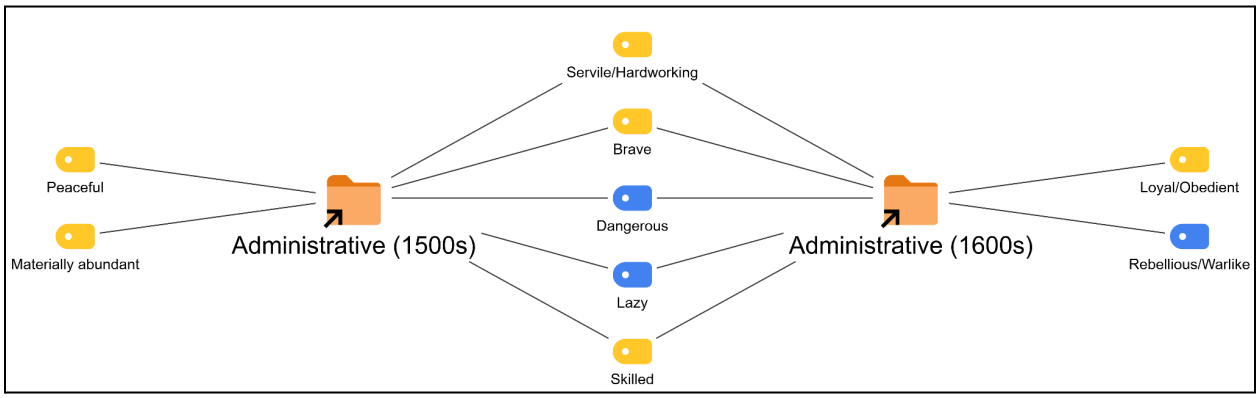
4.3.2.1 Administrative Affect Statements

Table 4.8 shows the absolute and relative frequency of affect statement subtypes in the administrative CAD. When adjusted for word count, the frequency of positive affect statements in aggregate and negative affect statements in aggregate is roughly equal across both the 1500s and 1600s document subsets. However, specific affect subtypes are not distributed evenly over time (see Figure 4.9).

Table 4.8 Frequency and %WordCount of affect statements in the Administrative CAD, 1500s vs 1600s

	1500s		1600s		TOTAL	
Total Word Count	4353		8,885		13,238	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
Negative (in aggregate)	2	0.05%	4	0.05%	6	0.05%
Dangerous	1	0.02%	1	0.01%	2	0.02%
Lazy	1	0.02%	1	0.01%	2	0.02%
Negative by nature	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
Rebellious/Warlike	0	0.00%	2	0.02%	2	0.02%
Positive (in aggregate)	6	0.14%	11	0.12%	17	0.13%
Brave	1	0.02%	2	0.02%	3	0.02%
Loyal/Obedient	0	0.00%	5	0.06%	5	0.04%
Materially abundant	1	0.02%	0	0.00%	1	0.01%
Peaceful	2	0.05%	0	0.00%	2	0.02%
Servile/Hardworking	1	0.02%	3	0.03%	1	0.01%
Skilled	1	0.02%	1	0.01%	2	0.02%
TOTAL	8	0.18%	15	0.17%	23	0.17%

Figure 4.9 Affect statement subtypes referring to an indigenous people category in the Administrative CAD, 1500s v 1600s



Peaceful and Materially Abundant only appear in the 1500s subset, Loyal/Obedient and Rebellious/Warlike are exclusive to the 1600s subset, and Servile/Hardworking, Brave, Dangerous, Lazy, and Skilled appear throughout both the 1500s and 1600s.

The change in some affect subtypes is likely reflective of the conceptual shifts explored in conceptual analysis above; for example, once Peaceful *naturales* became Loyal/Obedient or Rebellious *indio* subjects. Another potential explanatory factor is the changing nature of the Spanish colonial project in the Philippines over time (Mallari 1964). The Material Abundance noted in Lavezaris (1574) and Rada (1574) became less compelling as the Philippines' role as a commercial hub for trans-Pacific trade began to overshadow its own natural resources, marking a transition from a predominantly resource-exploiting managerial colony into a predominantly labor-exploiting via conversion missionary colony (Camba and Aguilar 2022; Mehl 2016).

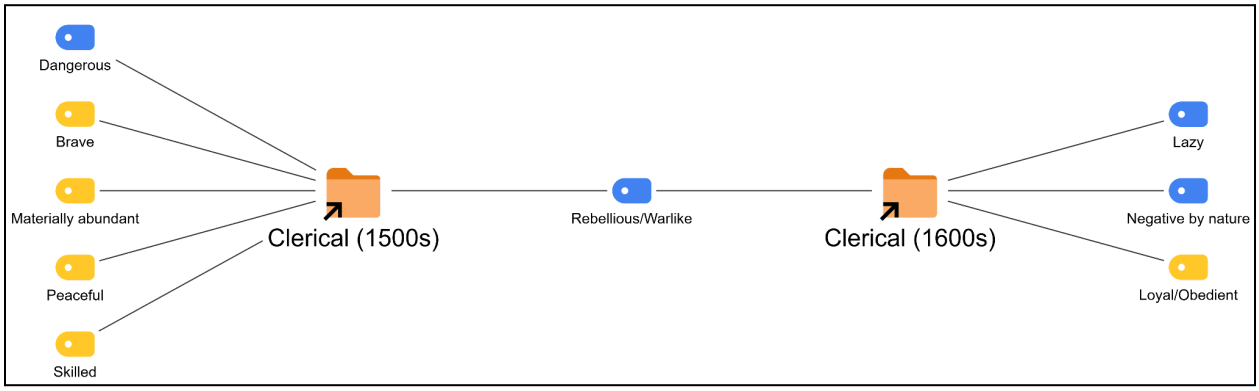
For the administrative authors, positive affect statements were nearly thrice as numerous as negative affect statements across both the 1500s and 1600s (Table 4.8). Despite the conceptual

shifts concerning indigenous people identified above, overall explicit affect about indigenous people remained largely positive throughout the administrative CAD.

4.3.2.2 Clerical Affect Statements

Table 4.9 shows the absolute and relative frequency of affect statement subtypes in the clerical CAD. When adjusted for word count, the frequency of negative affect statements in aggregate is roughly equal across both the 1500s and 1600s document subsets. However, the frequency of positive affect statements in aggregate dropped off significantly from the 1500s to the 1600s. The drop off in positive affect statements is also reflected in the majority of positive affect subtypes being exclusive to the 1500s subset (see Figure 4.10).

Figure 4.10 Affect statement subtypes referring to an indigenous people category in the Clerical CAD, 1500s v 1600s



Dangerous, Brave, Materially Abundant, Peaceful, and Skilled are exclusive to the 1500s subset, Lazy, Negative by Nature, and Loyal/Obedient are exclusive to the 1600s, and Rebellious/Warlike appears in both subsets.

Table 4.9 Frequency and %WordCount of affect statements in the Clerical CAD, 1500s vs 1600s

	1500s		1600s		TOTAL	
Total Word Count	5441		5,938		11,379	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
Negative (in aggregate)	3	0.06%	4	0.07%	7	0.06%
Dangerous	2	0.04%	0	0.00%	2	0.02%
Lazy	0	0.00%	2	0.03%	2	0.02%
Negative by nature	0	0.00%	1	0.02%	1	0.01%
Rebellious/Warlike	1	0.02%	1	0.02%	2	0.02%
Positive (in aggregate)	4	0.07%	1	0.02%	5	0.04%
Brave	1	0.02%	0	0.00%	1	0.01%
Loyal/Obedient	0	0.00%	1	0.02%	1	0.01%
Materially abundant	1	0.02%	0	0.00%	1	0.01%
Peaceful	1	0.02%	0	0.00%	1	0.01%
Servile/Hardworking	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
Skilled	1	0.02%	0	0.00%	1	0.01%
TOTAL	7	0.13%	5	0.08%	12	0.11%

This decline in positive affect may reflect growing Spanish frustrations with indigenous adaptations. However, an exploration of the negative affect subtypes may provide some insight. The clerical CAD writers' negative affect subtypes about indigenous people may reflect the changing nature of relationships in contexts of sustained cultural contact.

Indigenous people are initially unfamiliar and thus inherently dangerous; with more contact, that danger is downgraded to the potential for violence/danger; and with sustained contact, that potential is downgraded to a lack of action on the part of indigenous people (Liebmann 2013; Silliman 2009; Stockhammer 2013). This evolution of negative affect may help explain the decline in positive affect: as indigenous people's apparent dangerousness declines, so might their agency in the eyes of the clerical CAD writers.

Despite the lack of clear explanations as to why, the decline in positive affect toward indigenous people over time demonstrates a growing ambivalence in the clerical CAD writers over time that is not paralleled in the administrative CAD writers. This is perhaps a function of negotiations between indigenous people and clergy around faith and ritual that resulted in an emergent, uniquely Philippine Catholicism.

4.5 Conclusions

This chapter analyzed the Camarines Archival Documents (CAD), a corpus of 16 documents from the 1500s and 1600s that include narrative writing about the Camarines region. Using a content analysis approach combining diachronic conceptual analysis and diachronic relational analysis, this chapter aimed to address two questions:

- How did the concepts of indigenous people and religious practice change over time in the Camarines Archival Documents?
- How did Spanish writers' affect about indigenous people change over time in the text of the Camarines Archival Documents corpus?

The CAD was decoded and transcribed using a combination of digital image manipulation and manual paleography. The resultant transcripts were coded using MaxQDA software to identify mentions of indigenous people categories, Catholic rituals, and affect statements about indigenous people categories. Through a combination of quantification, visualization, and contextual historical research, conceptual and relational analysis surfaced diachronic trends within the CAD.

The CAD's conceptualization of indigenous people was dynamic between the 1500s and 1600s: from *naturales* of alien islands to *indio* subjects of the Crown, from economic assets to (potential) fellow Christians and exploitable labor, and from a monolith to groups of different peoples integrated into the complex machinery of the Early Modern Spanish Empire.

The CAD's primary concept of Catholic ritual in the Early Modern Philippines centered around concern for rituals' potential perversion or failure, leading to a focus on Catholic ritual orthopraxis. However, their orthopraxis-focused approach tacitly ignored or tactically integrated indigenous religious practices that did not conflict with Catholic doctrine in order to facilitate conversion. This historical context betrays the multidirectionality of the hybridization of religious practices in the Camarines during the Early Modern Period.

Despite the conceptual shifts concerning indigenous people identified through conceptual analysis and thus dynamism in their attendant positive affect subtypes, overall explicit affect about indigenous people remained largely positive throughout the administrative CAD. Contrarily, clerical writers' explicit affect toward indigenous people saw a marked drop off in positive affect between the 1500s and 1600s. This growing ambivalence between the *religiosos* and indigenous

people may have been a function of many things, including processes of negotiation between indigenous people, priests, and Catholic Doctrine that resulted in the emergence of a uniquely Bicolano Catholicism.

This content analysis of the CAD reveals connections between indigenous agency, colonial perceptions of indigenous resistance, and how this perception may have influenced governance in the Philippines. Similar shifts in discourse are seen in Latin American colonial records, where indigenous groups were initially idealized but later viewed as obstacles to religious control (Claassen and Ammon 2022; Farriss 2018).

Chapter 5. Bones of Connection: Osteobiographies of Care of Two Subadults from the Bombon Church Site, Camarines Sur, Philippines

5.1 Materials

5.1.1 The Bicol Region: Early Modern Churches

Bicol, also known as the Bicol Region or Bicolandia, is a region of southeastern Luzon comprising six contemporary provinces: Albay, Camarines Norte, Camarines Sur, Catanduanes, Masbate, and Sorsogon (see Figure 1.1). A series of small Spanish expeditions with both military and missionary personnel were launched to pacify the area now known as Bicol between 1567 and 1573 (Lavezaris 1574; Rada 1574; Newson 2009). The region was thought of as an isolated economic backwater because of its distance from Manila, but oral historical and historical evidence suggests that Bicol-sourced hardwoods may have been used to repair Manila-Acapulco galleons using local boat building techniques (Newson 2009; Marcaida n.d.; Jago-on and Orillaneda 2019).

Bicol is notable for its unique place in Philippine colonial history discourse: official and popular understandings posit that the region was swiftly pacified and the people conquered and completely converted to Catholicism in the span of two years (Owens 1974; Newson 2009). The Catholic Church's historical and contemporary presence and prominence throughout the Bicol region are undeniable: extant parishes and parish churches founded and/or built during the Early Modern period dot the landscape (see Figure 5.1 and Table 5.1).

Figure 5.1. Extant churches in the Bicol Region built during the Spanish colonial period

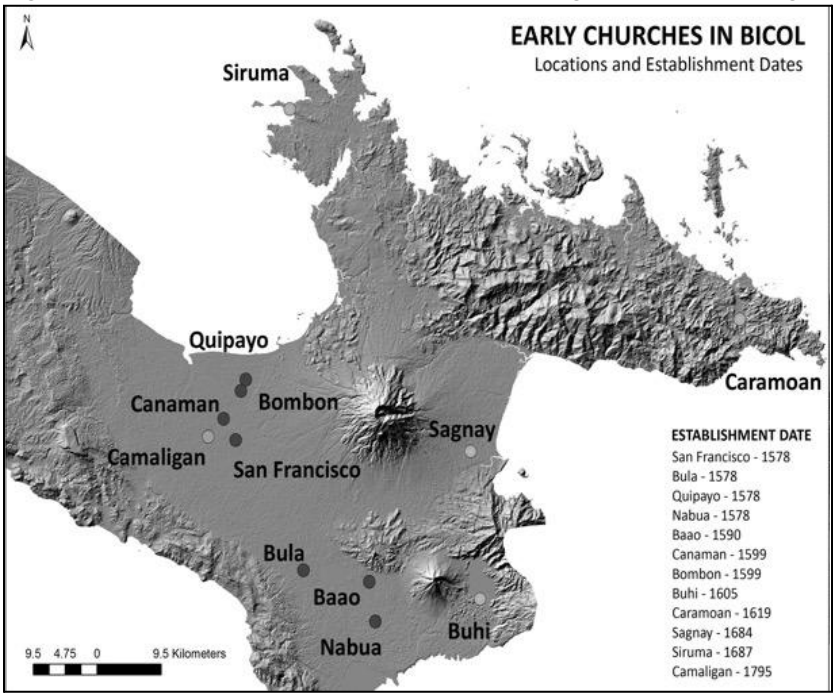


Table 5.1. Parishes in the Bicol Region established during the 16th-19th centuries

Parish Name	Municipality	Visita Date	Parish Established
Saint Mary Magdalene	Bula	1578	1578
Holy Cross	Nabua	1571	1578
Saint Bartholomew	Baao	1590	1590
Saint Francis of Assisi	Buhi	1578	1605
Saint Michael the Archangel	Caramoan	1619	1619
Our Lady of the Assumption	Canaman	1578	1669
Saint Anthony of Padua	Iraga	1578	1683
Saint Andrew the Apostle	Sagnay	1684	1684
Saint Anthony of Padua	Siruma		1687
Saints Philip and James	Lagonoy	1734	1700
Finding of the Holy Cross	Manguiring, Calabanga	1701	1733
Saint Bernard Abbot	Ocampo	1735	1735
Nuestra Senora de La Porteria	Calabanga	1578	1749
Most Holy Trinity	Bato		1753
Saint Anne	Magarao		1754
Saint John the Baptist	Goa	1700	1777
Saint Paschal Baylon	Tinamboc		1781
Saint Clare of Assisi	Tigaon	1701	1794
Saint Anthony of Padua	Camaligan		1795
Saint Josepth	San Jose	1816	1801
Parish of our Lady of the Holy Rosary	Bombon	1578	1804

Per common Early Modern period Catholic practice across the globe, many of the churches in Bicol were built atop sites that held social, religious, political, and/or economic importance to indigenous peoples (Wrobel 2012, Escandor 2016). This often meant the building of churches and churchyard cemeteries atop indigenous cemeteries used for many years before contact (Stojanowski 2013). For example, the Bicol Archaeological Project's 2016 excavations at the Santo Domingo Chapel Site in Camaligan (approximately 8 km away) revealed burials carbon dated to the 17th century atop prominent shell middens carbon dated to the 11th to 13th century (Yakal et al. 2021).

This phenomenon thus further links the Early Modern Philippine islands to Spain's American territories: bioarchaeological work examining the Early Modern Americas explores this spatial and spiritual displacement attempted by missionaries and various indigenous peoples' diverse means of resisting, accommodating, co-opting, and transforming of Catholic burial practices amid periods of dramatic social change brought on by Early Modern globalization and colonization (Winkler et al 2017, Ortiz et al 2017, Murphy et al 2017, Klaus and Alvarez Calderon 2017, Harvey et al 2017, Stojanowski 2013, Loren 2013, Wrobel 2012, Silliman 2009).

5.1.1.1 The Parish of Our Lady of the Holy Rosary Church Site, Bombon, Camarines Sur

Figure 5.2. Photograph of contemporary facade of Parish of Our Lady of the Holy Rosary Church (Boncodin 2018)

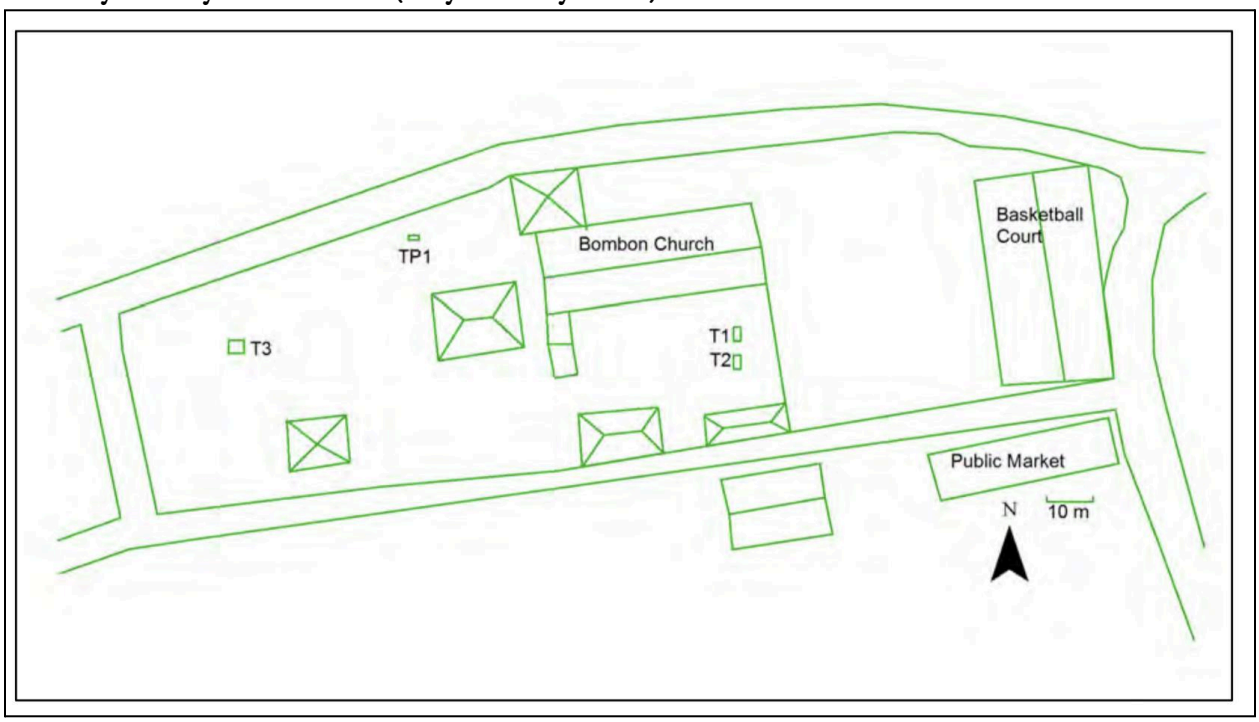
The Parish of Our Lady of the Holy Rosary first appears in historical records (as Bombon Church) in 1578 as a *visita*[51] site. It is one of five *visitas* first recorded in 1578, strongly suggesting that the formation of the church or chapel was part of the Bicol-wide evangelization mission launched by a separatist Franciscan order known as the Alcantarines in that year (Recto et al 2018). The parish was formally established in 1804, when the extant Baroque-style church was built (see Figure 5.2). The extant Baroque-style church is part of a larger public complex, including its

[51] *Visitas* were small, local churches or chapels that were visited by itinerant clergy on a semi-regular basis in the Early Modern Philippines (Recto et al 2018, Kuethe and Andrien 2014).

famous Leaning Tower, basketball court, and public market (Bombon 2025). Figures 5.3 and 5.4 show both drone photography and a schematic map of the site and the location of test pits and trenches relative to the main church structure.

Figure 5.3. Drone Imagery of the Parish of Our Lady of the Holy Rosary Church Site (Meyer-Lorey 2022)

Figure 5.4. Non-spatially corrected schematic map of excavations of the Parish of Our Lady of the Holy Rosary Church Site (Meyer-Lorey 2022)



During the 2019 field season, the Bicol Archaeological Project opened several test pits and trenches on the grounds of the Parish of Our Lady of the Holy Rosary Church (see Figure 5.4). Test Pit 1 and Trench 2 were opened in areas where recent construction and restoration efforts had revealed archaeological material, including possible human skeletal remains (Yakal et al. 2021; Bombon 2025). These excavations revealed a plethora of materials including human skeletal remains, faunal remains, and ceramic sherds.

5.1.1.2 Santo Domingo Chapel, Camaligan, Camarines Sur

Franciscans founded St. Anthony of Padua Parish Church (see Figure 5.5) in what is now the contemporary municipality of Camaligan in 1795; however, Camaligan existed as a part of the

city of *Nueva Cáceres*[52] in both church and government administration from 1578 to 1775 (Escandor 2014). During this period, Camaligan's lack of status as an independent parish led to the construction of several structures that were used for local worship, akin to *visitas* (Recto et al 2018). One such structure was the Santo Domingo Chapel, which was in use until the late 18th century and the building of St. Anthony of Padua Parish Church (Marcaida 2014).

Figure 5.5 Photograph of contemporary facade of St. Anthony of Padua Parish Church (Camaligan) (Pasa 2014)

During the 2017 and 2018 field seasons, the Bicol Archaeological project excavated Santo Domingo Chapel, revealing commingled human skeletal remains atop an enormous shell midden (Yakal et al. 2021).

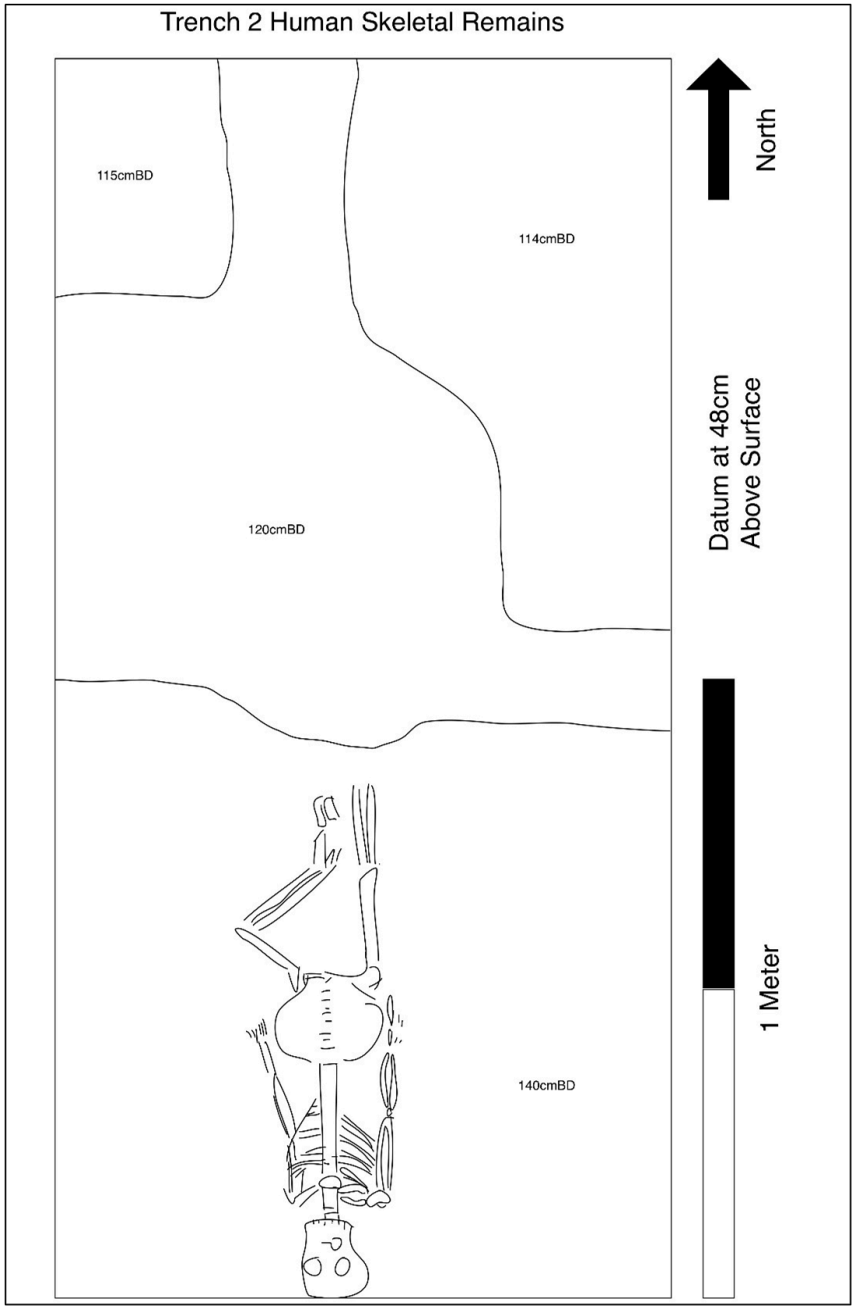
[52] Now the City of Naga, Camarines Sur

5.1.2 Human Skeletal Remains & Grave Goods Excavated from Bombon Church

The human skeletal remains excavated from Bombon Church were largely fragmentary, but two burials of subadults–Test Pit 1 Burial 1 (hereafter TP1B1) and Trench 2 Burial 2 (hereafter T2B2)–were found relatively intact. The burial found in Test Pit 1 is the partial skeleton of a subadult, associated with an earthenware coffin (see Figure 5.6). T2B2 is the near complete skeleton of a subadult (see Figure 5.7).

Figure 5.6 Photograph of the earthenware coffin associated with burial TP1B1

Figure 5.7 Drawing of excavation of T2B2



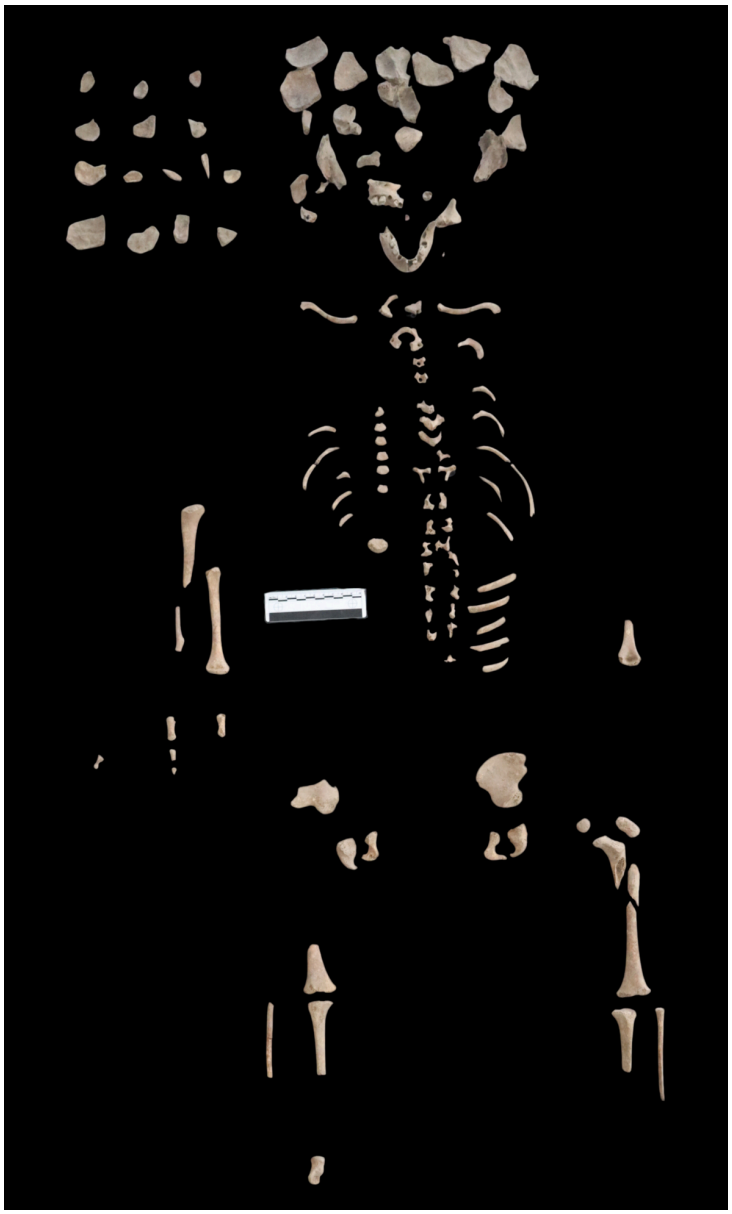
Radiocarbon dates of the earthenware coffin suggest that TP1B1 lived and died centuries before the Spanish colonial period, 1415 ± 15 cal BP or 607 - 655 cal CE, and artifacts excavated from the same excavation layer as T2B2 suggest that T2B2 lived and died during the early colonial

period (Yakal et al. 2021). The temporal distinction between TP1B1 and T2B2 aligns well with the dissertation's concern with indigenous responses to Spanish colonialism.

5.1.2.1 TP1B1

TP1B1 consists of fragments of the parietals, near complete left occipital bone, near complete bilateral temporal bones and TMJs, partial right sphenoid, partial right maxilla, complete bilateral mandible, complete claviculae, near complete os coxae, complete C1 (see Figure 5.8).

Figure 5.8 Anterior view of TP1B1



At 120cm below surface (see Figure 5.9), excavations revealed an earthenware coffin. Further excavation, screening, and mechanical flotation led to the recovery of a large earthenware plate, faunal remains, high fired earthenware sherds, and 57 glass beads from the earthenware coffin (see Figure 5.10).

Figure 5.9 Profile of Test Pit 1. Surface and Layers I-III are Fill. Layers V-a and V-b contained TP1B1 (adapted from Yakal et al. 2021)

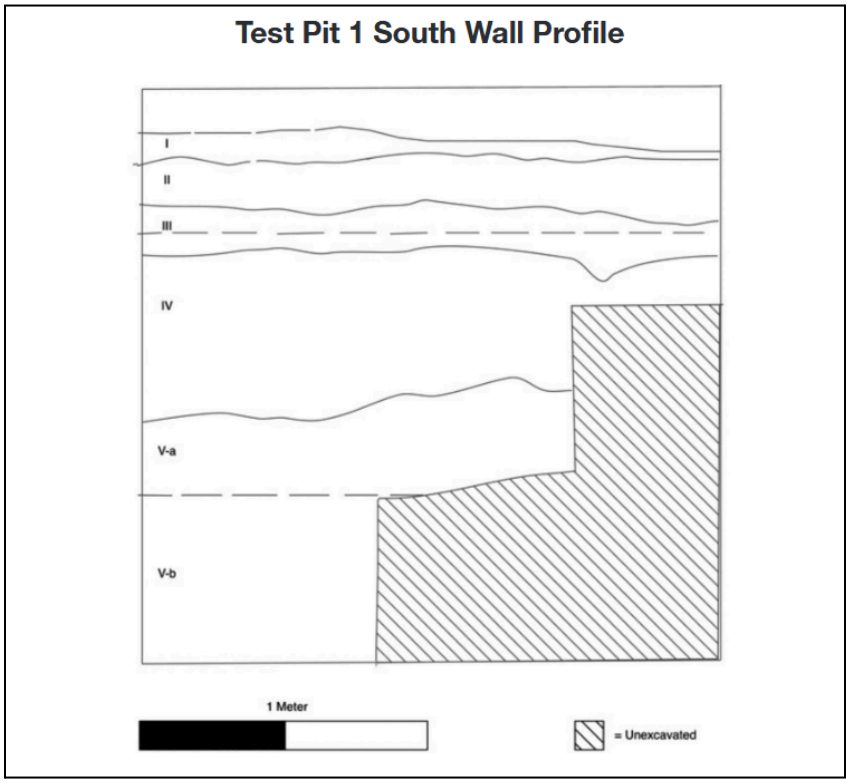
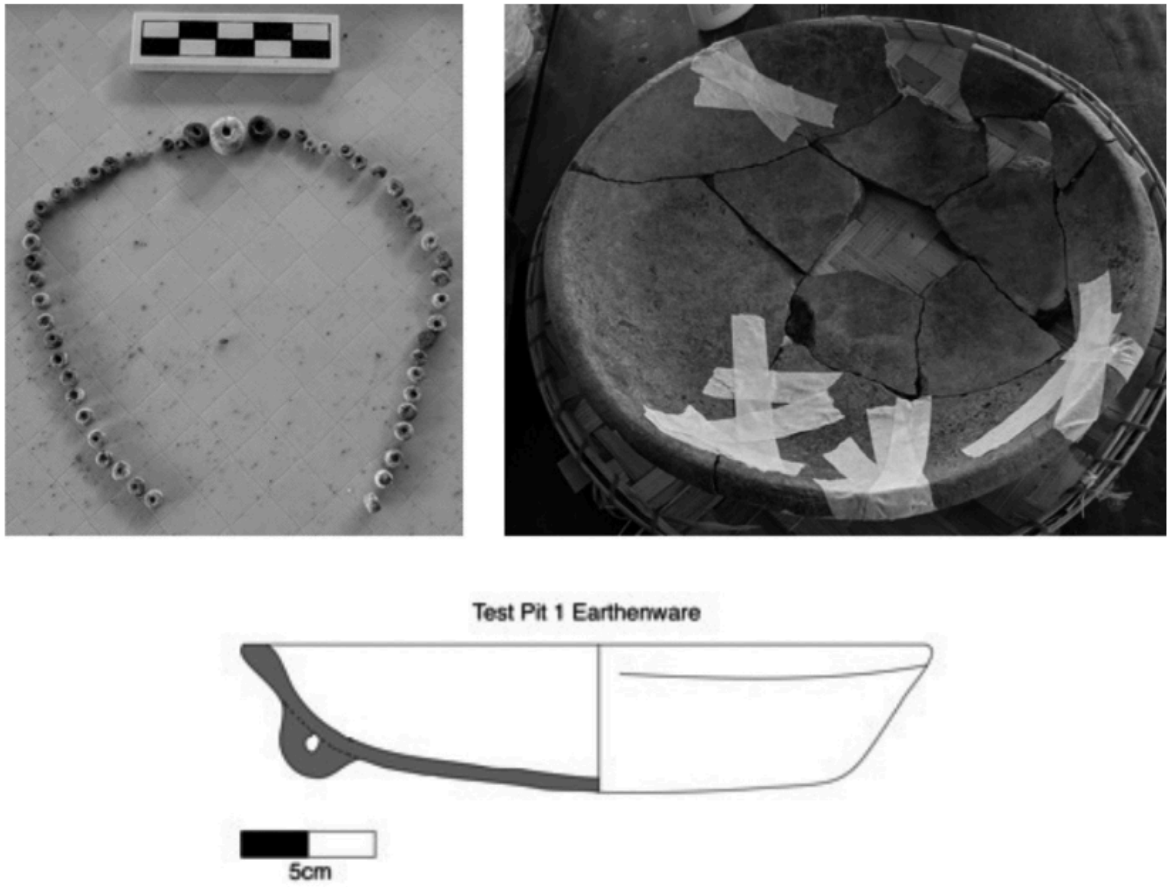


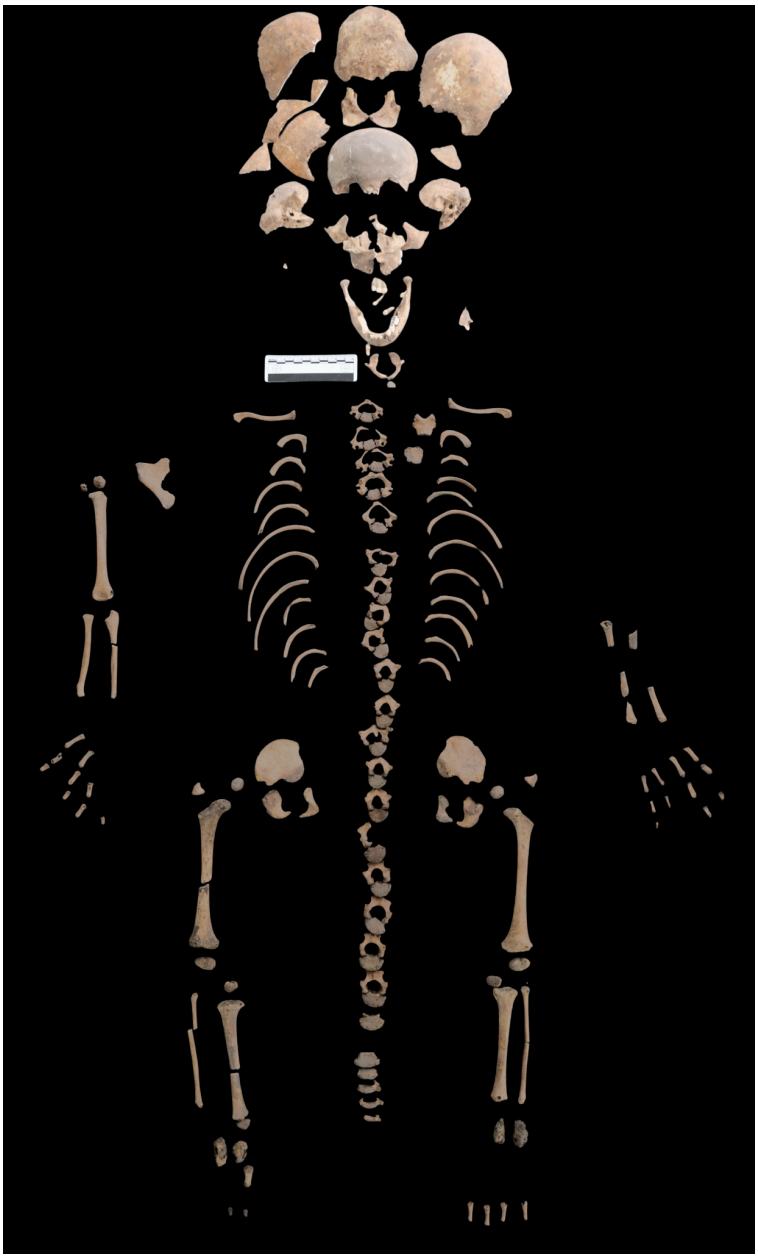
Figure 5.10 Grave goods recovered from TP1B1 (adapted from Yakal et al. 2021)



5.1.2.2 T2B2

T2B2 is the near complete skeleton of a subadult (see Figure 5.11). T2B2 was excavated among scattered, commingled skeletal elements and fragments from multiple adults. As remains were relatively complete (see Figure 5.6), T2B2 was likely a primary burial and did not experience significant disturbance until excavation in 2019. It had no associated grave goods.

Figure 5.11 T2B2 anterior view



5.1.2.3 T5B1-3 Stone Pendant

During the 2023 Field Season, a stone pendant was excavated that was associated with the commingled skeletal remains of 3 adults in Trench 5. The skeletal remains and stone pendant were

found between 80 cm - 90 cm below datum (see Figure 5.12). No radiocarbon dates have been established for materials excavated from Trench 5, but similarities to Layers III and IV in Test Pit 1 suggests that the individuals excavated from Trench 5 were inhumed after both TP1B1 and T2B2.

Figure 5.12 Stone pendant excavated from Trench 5

5.1.3 Human Skeletal Remains & Shell Midden Excavated from Santo Domingo Chapel

During the 2017 and 2018 field seasons, a large number of commingled human skeletal remains were excavated from Santo Domingo Chapel. Further excavation revealed an enormous shell midden beneath the burials (Yakal et al. 2021).

Radiocarbon dates suggest that Santo Domingo Chapel was used as a burial site from at least the late 15th century until the early 20th century: a sample taken from a skeletal element

uncovered 130 cm below the surface (in excavation Layer V) was dated to 405 ± 15 cal BP or 1444-1491 cal CE, and a sample taken from a skeletal element uncovered 38 cm below the surface (in excavation Layer II) was dated to 85 ± 15 cal BP or 1877-1915 cal CE (Yakal et al. 2021; Reimer and Reimer 2025). The commingled remains excavated in Layer V were separated and inventoried. They represented ≥70 individuals (see Appendix B).

A large shell midden was excavated between 90 - 130 cm below the surface. Radiocarbon dates suggest that the midden was created between the 10th and 13th centuries: a shell from the midden uncovered at 130 cm below the surface was dated to 1045 ± 20 cal BP or 987-1029 cal CE, and a shell from the midden uncovered at 90 cm below the surface was dated to 840 ± 20 cal BP or 1167-1234 cal CE (Yakal et al. 2021; Reimer and Reimer 2025). These dates suggest that the burials were purposefully inhumed above/in the shell midden.

5.2 Methods

5.2.1 Osteobiography

The human skeletal remains excavated from Bombon church were largely fragmentary, but the burials of TP1B1 and T2B2 were found largely intact (see Figure 5.8 and Figure 5.11). This very small sample size of largely intact individuals necessitates a particular bioarchaeological approach: osteobiography (Stodder and Palkovich 2012). Though bioarchaeological research sometimes favors larger sample sizes, single case studies can provide nuanced insights into the health, social statuses, and agency of the individuals under study through the production of osteobiographies (Hosek and Robb 2019; DiGangi and Moore 2013).

Osteobiographies aim to interpret the life histories of individuals that are recorded in their skeletal remains through comprehensive analysis of the skeletal materials and the individuals' archaeological context (Saul and Saul 1989). This is done via a multiscalar approach, analyzing microscopic features of bony tissue, individual bones, the individual's skeleton as a whole, grave goods, orientation of the grave, location of the grave within the mortuary context, location of the grave within the mortuary context, location of the mortuary context relative to the decedent's community, and so on (Stodder and Palkovich 2012). Data collected from these multiscalar analyses are integrated into a detailed life history, or osteobiography. Beyond the individual lives of TP1B1 and T2B2, studying their graves and the burial rites afforded to them can provide compelling points of access for studying the societies in which they lived (Renfrew and Bahn 2004). Thus, these osteobiographies aim to answer the following questions:

- How did the skeletonized lifeways of subadults buried in the Bombon church site change before and after Spanish colonization?
- How did the mortuary treatment of subadults buried in the Bombon church site change before and after the Catholicization of the Bicol region?

5.2.1.1 Osteobiography & Postcolonial Hybridity

Bioarchaeological research, including the production of osteobiographies, is best served by an early alignment of multiple components of the research process, including data collection methods and the theoretical framework(s) to be used for interpretation (Buikstra et al 2022). Further, explicit engagement with social theory often produces more interesting and effective

osteobiographies (Cheverko et al. 2020). For this dissertation, it is thus necessary to examine the interface between osetobiographical approaches and postcolonial hybridity.

Postcolonial hybridity's centering of individuals' agency in navigating power structures in contexts of sustained cultural contact and inequality complements osteobiographical approaches' focus on the health, social status(es), and agency of the individuals under study (Villaseñor-Black 2019; Hossek and Rob 2019). Through the postcolonial hybridity-osteobiography interface, interpretation of evidence should consider the material at multiple scales of analysis (tissue, bone, skeleton, grave, mortuary, community, etc.) as physical sites and manifestations of individuals navigating power structures and novel cultural contact(s) (Boutin 2016). In contexts of colonialism, social inequalities and practices are made manifest on the bones in ways that can be accessed–to a degree–via analysis.

The forms of osteobiographical interpretive writing may vary, including traditional academic writing, hypertext, and fictive narrative; the latter two novel forms serve as new opportunities for outreach that can effectively and engagingly communicate the inherent ambiguity of the archaeological process to broad audiences (Boutin 2011, 2016). This exploration of the inherent ambiguity of the archaeological process and academic norms is a compelling operationalization of postcolonial hybridity, explicitly addressing both contemporary and historical structures that scholars must navigate in developing representations of the subaltern. Osetobiographical work, including some fictive narrative, has been compellingly used in Philippine contexts, exploring the possible lived experience of a disabled adult male and his carers during the

Iron Period via a bioarchaeology of care approach (Page 2014; Oxenham et al. 2016; Vlok et al. 2017).

5.2.1.2 Bioarchaeology of Care

The osteobiography of a disabled adult male and his carers in the Iron Period Philippines described above utilizes the bioarchaeology of care approach (Vlok et al. 2017). The bioarchaeology of care is a theoretical/operational,

"case study-based approach for identifying and interpreting disability and health-related care practices within the corresponding lifeways context that has the capacity to reveal elements of past social relations, socioeconomic organisation, and group and individual identity which might otherwise remain inaccessible," (Tilley 2015:2).

The bioarchaeology of care approach aligns well with both osteobiography and postcolonial hybridity, via its focus on interpreting recipients of care and carers as agentive with as much biosocial context as possible (Tilley 2015; Tilley and Schrenk 2017). Although predominantly used to analyze the remains of physically disabled adults, it has been compellingly argued that the bioarchaeology of care approach is a useful framework for studying children/subadults (Oxenham and Willis 2017). Further, the richest body of research and literature using a bioarchaeology of care approach has centered on individuals, including many subadults, excavated from deep historical sites in mainland Southeast Asia which could provide (limited) comparative data in addition to a model for the theoretical/operational approach (Oxenham and Buckley 2016; Oxenham et al. 2008; Vlok et al. 2016).

Methodologically, the bioarchaeology of care approach is divided into four stages: document individual, lifeways, and pathology; consider possible clinical and functional impacts of

disease or injury; develop a model of likely care; and assess the implications of pathology and care response for carer(s) and recipient of care (Tilley 2015; Vlok et al. 2017).

5.2.1.3 Index of Care

Index of Care is a webtool that guides users through the process of a bioarchaeology of care analysis by dividing the analysis into four steps that correspond to the four stages described above: Describe, diagnose, document; Determine disability; Construct a model of care; Interpretation (Tilley and Cameron 2014). A brief description of each step is provided in Table 5.2. Steps 1-3 are discussed in Findings, and Step 4 is addressed in Discussion.

Table 5.2 Steps of Bioarchaeology of Care Approach (adapted from Tilley and Cameron 2018)

Step #	Step Title	Corresponding Stage	Step Description
1	Describe, Diagnose, Document	Document individual, lifeways, and pathology	Compiles information about the subject, their pathology, and their lifeways
2	Assess Need for Care	Consider possible clinical and functional impacts of disease or injury;	Assesses likely disability impact and establishes whether care was likely required
3	Construct a Model of Care	Develop a model of likely care	Derives a broad 'model of care' likely provided
4	Interpret	Assess the implications of pathology and care response for carer(s) and recipient of care	Explores the broader implications of this care for group and individual agency and identity

5.2.1.4 Postcolonial Considerations

Due to the logistical, legal, and ethical constraints of locating, excavating, preserving,

transporting, and analyzing of human remains faced by (often international) research teams, osteobiographies have emerged as an important and relatively popular methodological approach and anchorpoint for bioarchaeology in the 21st century (Buikstra and Beck 2006).

This is particularly salient in the context of this dissertation. In 2021, the management of archaeological materials excavated in the Philippines was transferred from the National Museum of the Philippines to the National Commission for Culture and the Arts, resulting in changes in policies and practices around the handling, exportation, and (destructive) analysis of all archaeological materials, particularly human skeletal remains. These new policies and practices remain in development. Original research plans included the exportation and (destructive) chemical analysis of skeletal (and other) samples; however, in an abundance of caution, only limited physical analysis, microscopy, and photography of the remains was conducted.

Though challenging and limiting for the purposes of this dissertation, this audit of policy and creation of new practices in archaeological stewardship in the 21st century Philippines are important to consider in a postcolonial context. Extraction and destructive analysis of human remains by an (diasporic Tagalog-/Ilocano-)American researcher without proper permission from local, provincial, and national bodies is a disturbing parallel to the extractive, exploitative anthropology that defines so much of the Philippine-American colonial period.

Instead, future bioarchaeological research by the Bicol Archaeological Project represents an opportunity to deepen our collaborative efforts with scholars in the Philippines and support the

growing capacity of chemical analysis for archaeology in the Philippines, in parallel to BAP's capacity building in drone imaging and spatial analysis with Partido State University.

5.2.2 Skeletal Analysis

5.2.2.1 Age Estimation

Subadult physiological age was estimated via examination of epiphyseal fusion present in several postcranial elements, particularly vertebrae (Schaefer et al. 2009; Lewis 2018). Partial or complete union of epiphyses was recorded on forms adapted from Buikstra and Ubelaker 1994.

5.2.2.2 Paleopathology

Due to subadults' higher sensitivity to biological and/or social changes relative to adults, subadult remains can provide rich data about the health of individuals and their communities; this is particularly true in prehistoric/deep historic contexts (Goodman and Armelagos 1989). Thus, TP1B1 and T2B2 were examined for nonspecific indicators of metabolic stress (such as porotic hyperostosis) and specific indicators of physical trauma and pathognomic skeletal manifestations of particular diseases (Halcrow and Tayles 2011).

Fractures were recorded using forms adapted from Buikstra and Ubelaker 1994. Lesions were recorded using the BoPLE (Bone Porous Lesions Evaluation) described in Rinaldo et al. 2019, expanding upon methods for evaluation of lesion presence and severity from Stuart-Macadam 1985 and of lesion healing status from Salvadei et al. 2001.

Stature estimation of adult individuals paired with comparison to a relevant population is commonly analyzed as a nonspecific indicator of metabolic stress (DiGangi and Moore 2013).

Despite this norm, several limitations exist for its application to analyzing the skeletal remains of TP1B1 and T2B2. Adult stature estimation typically requires population specific formulae[53] for precision, and populations from the Early Modern Philippines have remained almost entirely unstudied bioarchaeologically. There is no commonly used method for stature estimation for subadults and there is no relevant population to compare TP1B1 and T2B2 to, so stature estimation was excluded from paleopathological analysis for the osteobiographies.

5.2.3 Dental Analysis

5.2.3.1 Age Estimation

Subadult physiological age estimation on both individuals was conducted by assessing permanent teeth development and eruption using standard age ranges (Larsen 2015). Development and eruption of individual teeth was recorded on forms adapted from Buikstra and Ubelaker 1994.

5.2.3.2 Paleopathology

TP1B1 and T2B2's dentition were examined for pathologies, particularly signs of wear, caries, linear enamel hypoplasia, and perimortem breaks (Hassett 2012; Larsen 2015). Dental development and pathologies were recorded on forms adapted from Buikstra and Ubelaker 1994.

5.2.4 Comparative Methods

Osteobiographies are most compelling with many scales of analysis, including comparison between the individuals being studied to a relevant population (Boutin 2016). Due to the relative scarcity of historical mortuary archaeology in the Philippines, there is no published, immediately

[53] The Revised Fully Method may be universally accurate and precise enough for adult stature estimation (Baxter et al. 2006). The most relevant population specific formulae are of modern Thai adults, which have shown some relevance in deep historical Philippine osteobiographies (Mahakkanukrauh et al. 2011; Vlok et al. 2016).

relevant population to compare TP1B1 and T2B2 to. Barretto-Tesoro 2008, which examines ~300 late 15th century Tagalog-region burials, is perhaps the best comparative option. However, the geographic distance, ethno-linguistic difference, and analytic focus on grave goods limits its compatibility with TP1B1 and T2B2 as a comparative population for osteobiography development.

The commingled remains excavated at Santo Domingo Chapel are perhaps the most compelling comparative population due to their (relative) temporal and spatial proximity to TP1B1 and T2B2. Due to time constraints, the commingled remains excavated at Santo Domingo Chapel could not be analyzed as closely as TP1B1 and T2B2. Femora, humeri, cranial fragments, and teeth were examined and measured according to Buikstra and Ubelaker 1994 and examined for any notable lesions.

Per a bioarchaeology of care approach, Stages 1 (Describe), 2 (Assess Need for Care), and 3 (Develop Model of Care) are addressed in Findings and Stage 4 (Interpret) is addressed in Discussion for both TP1B1 and T2B2 (Tilley and Schrenk 2017; Vlok et al. 2017).

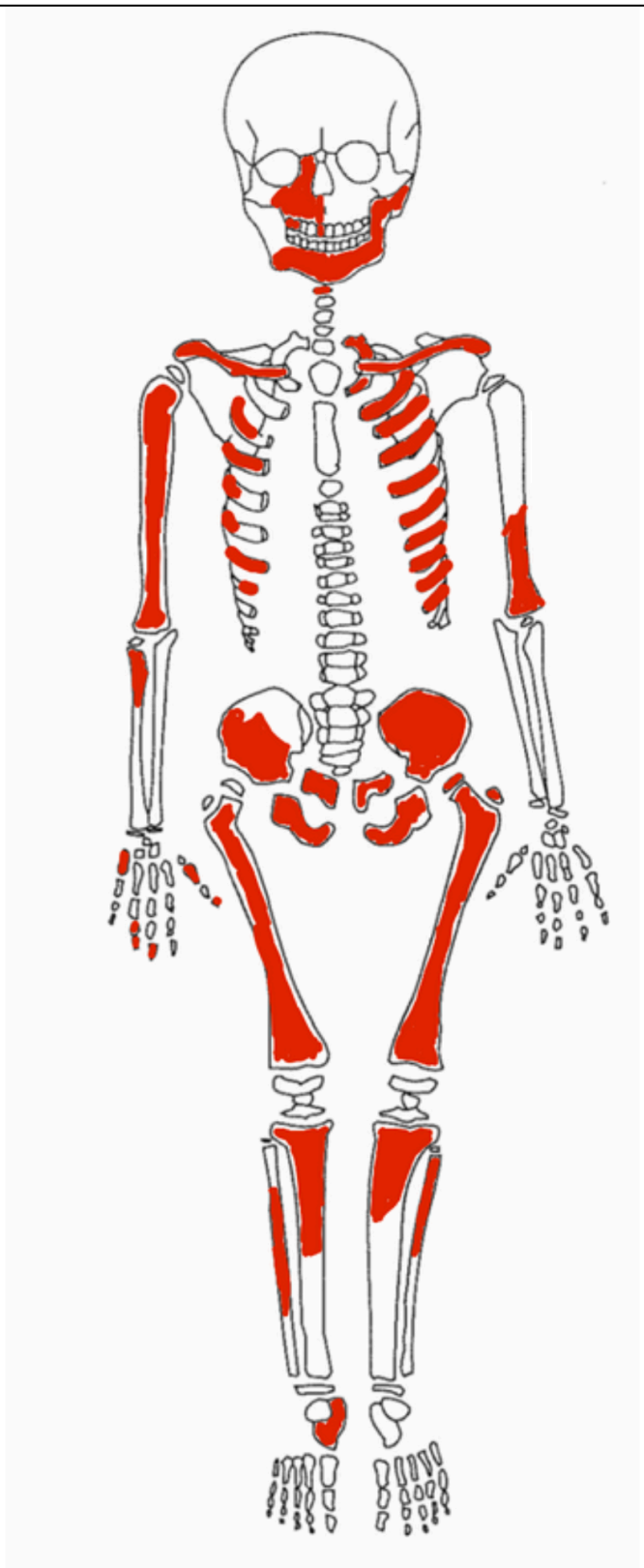
5.3 Findings

5.3.1 TP1B1

TP1B1 is the skeleton of a subadult excavated from the Parish of Our Lady of the Holy Rosary Church site, due south of the easternmost portion of the extant church (see Figure 5.4). TP1B1 consists of a partial skull, complete mandible, complete rib cage and spinal column, and partial limbs (see Figure 5.8 for photograph, Figure 5.13 for visual record, and Appendix B for full inventory).

The skeletal remains of TP1B1 were spatially associated with an earthenware coffin inhumed in a roughly east-to-west orientation (see Figure 5.6). Screening and mechanical floatation led to the recovery of several grave goods from within the coffin itself, including a large earthenware plate, faunal remains, high fired earthenware sherds, and 57 glass beads (see Figure 5.10).

Figure 5.13 Visual record of TP1B1



Radiocarbon dates of the earthenware coffin suggest that TP1B1 lived and died centuries before the Spanish colonial period, 1415 ± 15 cal BP or 607 - 655 cal CE (Yakal et al. 2021).

5.3.1.1 Estimating Age at Death

Examination of epiphyseal fusion was limited by taphonomic processes, but epiphyses on all present long bones–claviculae, humeri, right radius, femora, tibia, and left fibula–and os coxae remained completely unfused. As the humeral distal epiphyses are among the first to fuse, the lack of any fusion suggests that TP1B1 was younger than 9 years old at time of death (see Figure 5.14). Neural arches on present cervical, thoracic, and lumbar vertebrae achieved full union by time of death, and there is evidence of neural arch-centra fusion and occipital fusion.

Figure 5.14 Posterior view of TP1B1 humeri (L on top)

Based on these states of (un)fusion, TP1B1's physiological age based on postcranial maturation is 2 to 6 years old. Analysis of dental eruption (see Table 5.2), particularly areas of resorption to form adult molar crypts visible bilaterally on the mandible mesiodistally lateral to Lm_2 and Rm_2[54] (see Figure 5.15), suggests that TP1B1's physiological age was 5 years old ± 16

[54] This dissertation uses the dental notation system described in White et al. 2012. Briefly, L or R denote side; lowercase i, c, and m denote deciduous incisor, canine, and molar; numbers refer to teeth mesiodistally; and superscript denotes maxillary and subscript denotes mandibular.

months (3.67 to 6.33 years old) at time of death, per Buikstra and Ubelaker 1994.

Figure 5.15 Superior view of TP1B1 mandible (arrows highlight resorption)

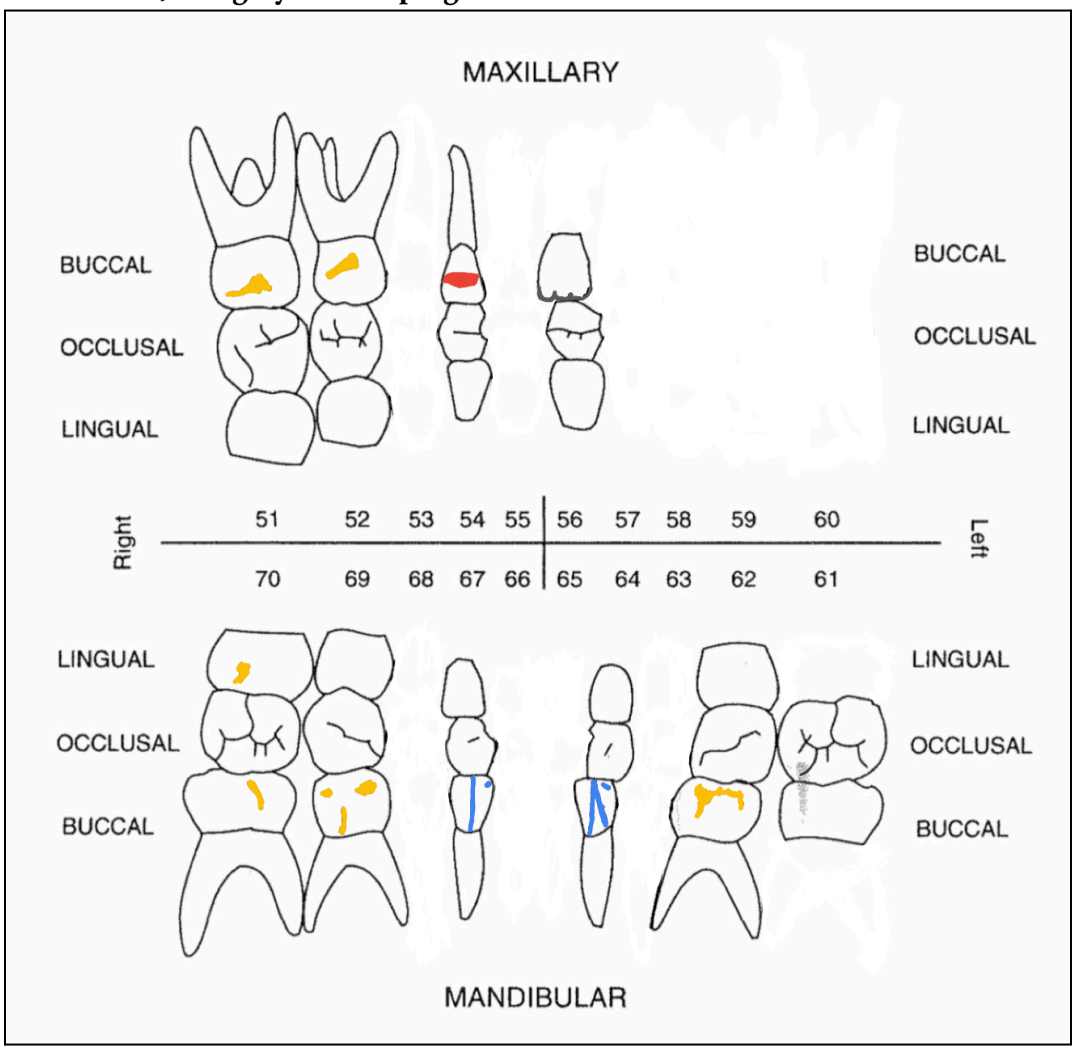
5.3.1.2 Paleopathology

TP1B1 displayed pathologies on all present teeth (see Table 5.3 for inventory or Figure 5.16 for visual record). The most visually striking is a dental caries covering roughly one-third of the labial surface of the Ri^2 (see Figure 5.17). Enamel opacities of varying size and color appear on the buccal surface of 5 (Rm^2, Rm^1, Lm_1, Rm_1, and Rm_2) of the 6 present deciduous molars; Lm_2, the only unaffected molar, is fragmentary, with only its buccal and buccal half of its occlusal surfaces intact. Rm_2 also had a small opacity on its lingual surface . Li_2 and Ri_2 display dark vertical lines and spots on their buccal surface. Li^1 exhibited a distinct scalloping of the occlusal surface, which was

Table 5.3 TP1B1 dental conditions and pathology inventory

Tooth	Presence/Condition	Pathologies
RM^1	Present, damaged	Only enamel 'cap' present, no root
Rm^2	Present, in occlusion	Yellow opacity on buccal surface
Rm^1	Present, in occlusion	Brown opacity on buccal surface
Rc^1	Absent, postmortem loss	
Ri^2	Present, in occlusion	Large dental caries on buccal surface
Ri^1	Absent, postmortem loss	
Li^1	Present, damaged	Scalloping on occlusal surface
Li^2	Absent, postmortem loss	
Lc^1	Absent, postmortem loss	
Lm^1	Absent, postmortem loss	
Lm^2	Absent, postmortem loss	
Lm_2	Present, damaged	Missing root, lingual surface
Lm_1	Present, in occlusion	Yellow opacity on buccal surface
Lc_1	Absent, postmortem loss	
Li_2	Present, in occlusion	Vertical, dark lines on buccal surface
Li_1	Absent, postmortem loss	
Ri_1	Absent, postmortem loss	
Ri_2	Present, in occlusion	Vertical dark line on buccal surface
Rc_1	Absent, postmortem loss	
Rm_1	Present, in occlusion	Multiple small yellow opacities on buccal surface
Rm_2	Present, in occlusion	White opacities on buccal and lingual surfaces

Figure 5.16 Visual record of TP1B1 dentition. Yellow is hypoplasia, red is dental caries, blue is dark lines, and grey is scalloping



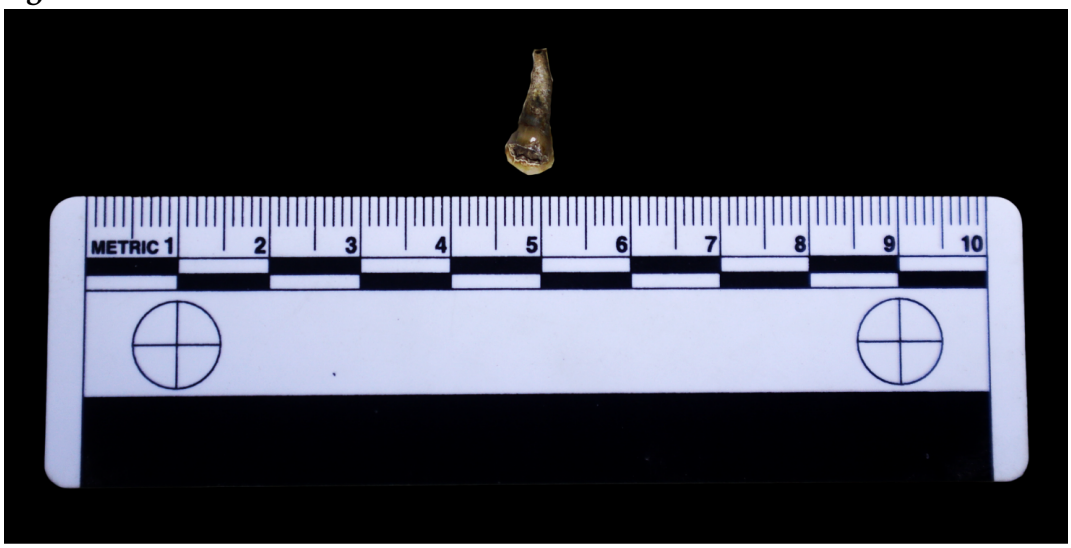
most macroscopically apparent in a buccal or lingual view (Figure 5.18).

The dental caries on Ri[2] is widespread and severe. It is an advanced dental caries that has destroyed less than half of the crown with dentin penetration, pulp exposure, and a likely active lesion (Lukacs 1992; Oxenham et al. 2002; Young et al. 2015). Possible symptoms include tooth sensitivity, tooth pain, and risk of infection. There is some darkening and change in texture at the cementum enamel junction that could be signs of infection or the result of taphonomic processes.

The absence of any abnormalities on the rest of the root and alveolus may suggest that the caries was not infected, at least not to a degree or duration that would cause an immune response to a degree that was skeletonized (Hummel et al. 2019; Young et al. 2015). Because of the multifactorial nature of caries progression, it is impossible to determine an exact duration of the caries before TP1B1's death. However, it is safe to assume that this level of caries progression required months or years to develop to the degree visible on Ri^2.

Although dental caries is a multifactorial, dynamic pathology, the formation of dental caries in the archaeological record typically signals (increased) carbohydrate intake; this has been observed in other deep historic contexts in Southeast Asia at times of agricultural intensification (Pezzo and Eggers 2012; Oxenham et al. 2002; Lukacs 1992). This may suggest that TP1B1's diet for months or years before death included a significant(ly increased) amount of carbohydrates.

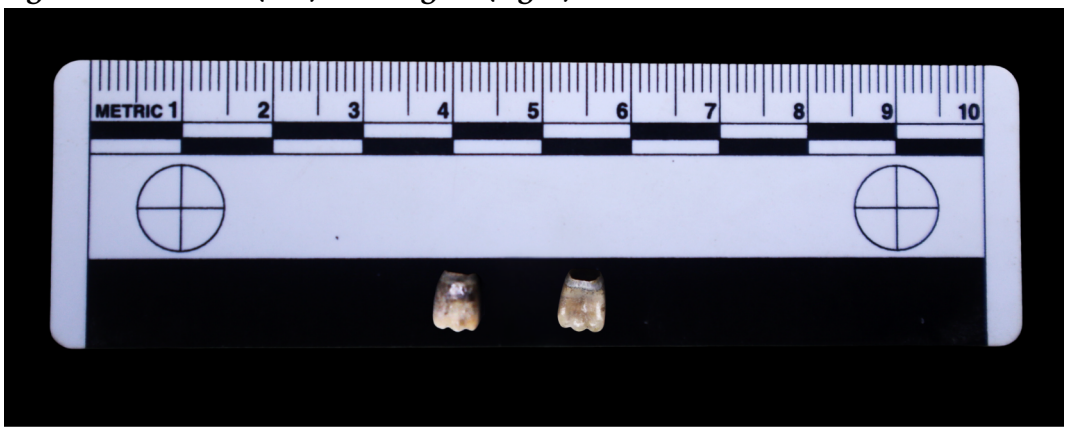
Figure 5.17 Buccal view of TP1B1 Ri^2



Based on 3D-imaging studies of modern fetal development, deciduous mandibular molars begin to form around week 6 of pregnancy while deciduous maxillary molars begin to form during

week 8 of pregnancy (Hovorakova et al. 2005, 2018). Enamel formation of the first deciduous molars begins on average at 15.5 weeks into pregnancy (Lunt and Law 1974). Enamel formation of deciduous molars continues at different times and rates per tooth, until approximately 11 months after birth when all deciduous molar crowns are completed, suggesting an approximately 17 month period wherein deciduous molar enamel is formed (Morita et al. 2014; Liversidge and Molleson 2004; Lunt and Law 1974). Enamel opacities represent a mild disruption in enamel formation, typically because of physiological stress or mechanical trauma (Slayton et al. 2001). Thus, the presence of enamel opacities on all of TP1B1's present deciduous molars suggests some amount of physiological stress and/or mechanical trauma placed on TP1B1's dental development during a broadly perinatal period, between approximately 5 and 7 years before death.

Figure 5.18 Buccal (left) and lingual (right) view of TP1B1 Li[1]



Although the bones and dentition of subadults are typically more sensitive than those of their adult counterparts, parental and/or broader community care and investment may suggest that TP1B1's caregivers were also in a biosocial environment of physiological stress during the event(s) that caused the ubiquity of TP1B1's enamel opacities (Adams et al. 2021; Oxenham and Willis

2017).

The scalloping of Li^1 is unique among the present incisors, though the other present incisors are mandibular and/or lateral. This type of scalloping can be congenital and is more common on maxillary and central incisors (Taylor 1969). None of the incisors present in the Camaligan commingled remains exhibited scalloping, but the probable centuries-long gap between the deaths of TP1B1 and the individuals represented in the Camaligan commingled remains (and within the Camaligan commingled remains themselves) limit their utility in assessing a relevant population frequency of incisor scalloping for TP1B1. Previous bioarchaeological work in deep historic Vietnam and South Asia argues that wear patterns on pairs of corresponding maxillary and mandibular incisors may be evidence of habitual dentition-as-tool use, particularly in fiber processing and clamping (Oxenham et al. 2002; Lukacs 1992). However, the lack of exposed dentine–which would be expected as a result of habitual mouth-as-tool use due to the thinness of deciduous incisor enamel–strongly suggests that the scalloping is indeed congenital.

Several fractures are apparent on the long bones of TP1B1, including both femora, tibiae, fibulae, and claviculae (see Table 5.4). Nearly every fracture has several characteristics that suggest postmortem breakage of dry bone, such as approximately 90° fracture angles and transverse fracture outlines (Villa and Mahieu 1991).

However, the femora and left humerus are more ambiguous. Most significantly, the left femur displays a fracture in the proximal third of the diaphysis with an obtuse fracture angle and curved/V-shaped fracture outlines (see Figures 5.19 and 5.20). These traits are typically associated

with perimortem fractures of wet bone, though they are by no means diagnostic at the individual level (Villa and Mahieu 1991; Ubelaker and Adams 1995; Moraitis et al. 2008; Wheatley 2008). They are, however, strongly associated with fractures on bones that are ≤4 days postmortem, though this time can vary to week, months, or even years (Wheatley 2008; Wieberg and Wescott 2008).

Table 5.4 TP1B1 Long bone fracture inventory. Italicized traits may suggest perimortem fracture, per Villa and Mahieu 1991, Ubelaker and Adams 1995, Kemp 2016

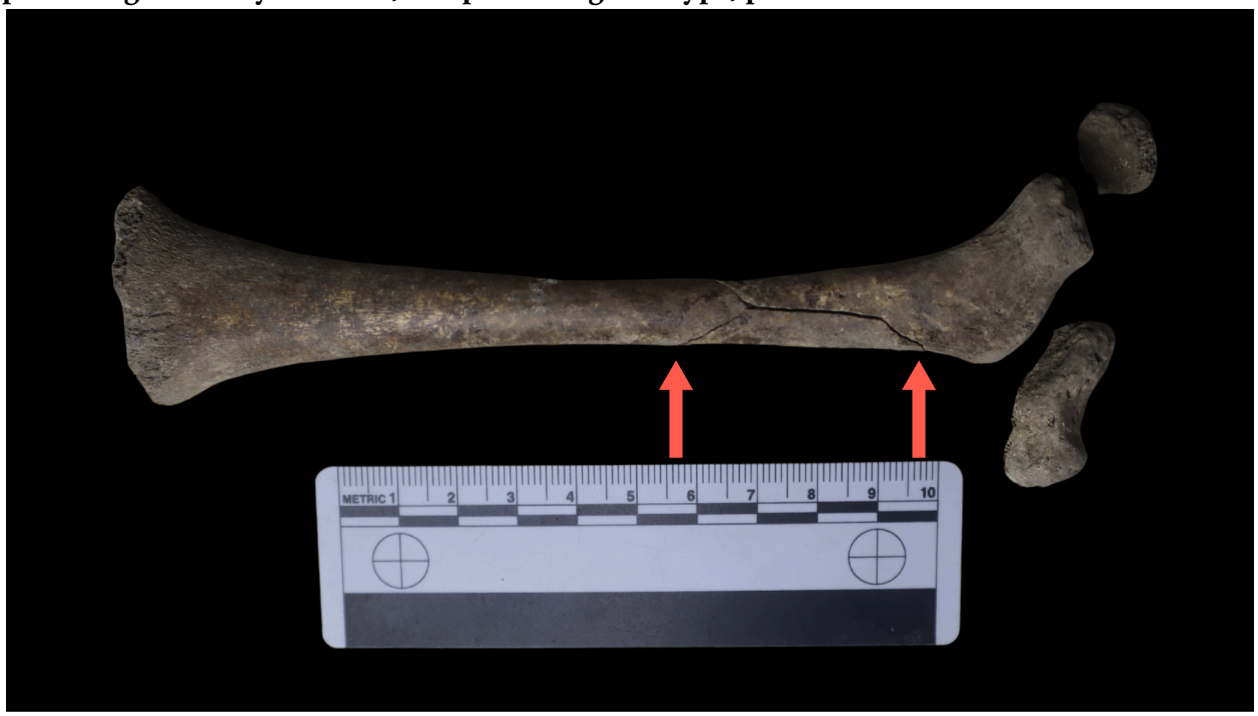
Fracture Traits[55]					
Skeletal Element	**Angle**	**Outline**	**Surface**	**Color comparison to cortical surface**	**Possible Timing**
L Clavicle	Right	*V-shaped*	Irregular	*Consistent*	Postmortem
R Clavicle	Right	*V-shaped*	Irregular	*Consistent*	Postmortem
L Humerus	Unknown	*V-shaped*	*Beveled*	*Consistent*	Postmortem?
R Radius	Right	Transverse	Irregular	*Consistent*	Postmortem
L Femur	*Obtuse*	*V-shaped*	*Beveled*	*Consistent*	Perimortem?
R Femur	Unknown	*V-shaped*	*Beveled*	*Consistent*	Postmortem?
L Tibia	Right	Transverse	Irregular	*Consistent*	Postmortem
R Tibia	Right	Transverse	Irregular	*Consistent*	Postmortem
L Fibula	Right	Transverse	Irregular	*Consistent*	Postmortem
R Fibula	Right	Transverse	Irregular	*Consistent*	Postmortem

The fracture is also in what is often called a butterfly fracture, with the complete wedge

[55] See Villa and Mahieu 1991, Ubelaker and Adams 1995, Reber and Simmons 2015, and Kemp 2016 for fracture trait definitions and visual examples and discussion of coloration and taphonomy.

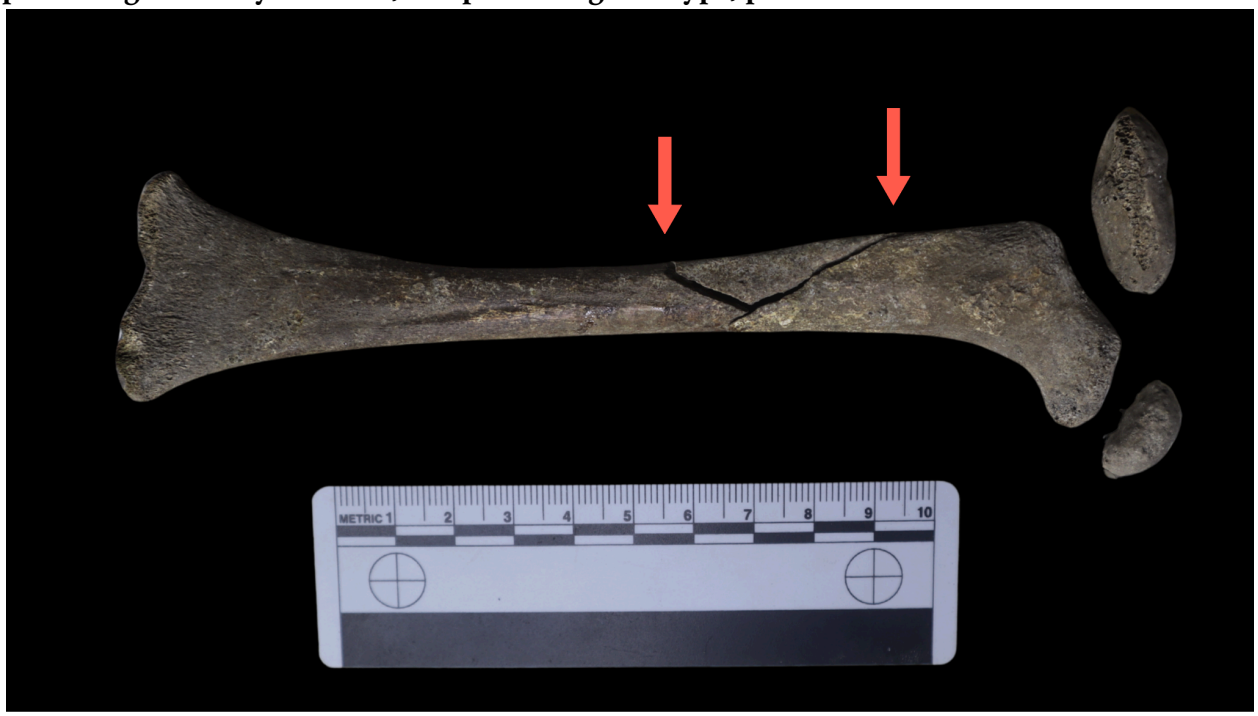
subtype (Wheatley 2008; Reber and Simmons 2015). Butterfly fractures are associated with perimortem trauma, though not diagnostically so (Ubelaker and Adams 1995; Wheatley 2008).

Figure 5.19 Anterior view of TP1B1 L femur, arrows indicate possible impact sites for producing Butterfly Fracture, complete wedge subtype, per Reber and Simmons 2015



Differential diagnosis of long bone fractures based solely on fracture traits can be difficult, even for experienced osteologists (Cappella et al. 2014). Color can sometimes be used in differential diagnosis: discrepancy between cortical bone surface and the fracture surface can suggest postmortem/dry bone fractures, while color consistency between the two surfaces can suggest perimortem/wet bone fractures (Ubelaker and Adams 1995). The fracture surface on TP1B1's left femur is consistent in color with the cortical surface, as are the diagnostically postmortem/dry bone fractures of TP1B1's other long bone fractures.

Figure 5.20 Posterior view of TP1B1 L femur, arrows indicate possible impact sites for producing Butterfly Fracture, complete wedge subtype, per Reber and Simmons 2015



However, taphonomic processes–which are sensitive to burial factors such as soil type, moisture content, pedestrian activity, and more (Moraitis et al. 2008)–can cause a postmortem fracture and then stain the fracture surface to match the cortical surface (Kemp 2016; Ubelaker and Adams 1995). TP1B1's earthenware coffin is a further confounding factor: no large studies have been done on earthenware body disposition vessels' effect on their interior microenvironments and subsequent effects on decomposition and taphonomy. The other fractures present can provide some information: even fractures that are clearly postmortem have consistent coloration with the surrounding cortical bone. Likely, because of the age of the burial, any taphonomic processes that affected the cortical surfaces had time to later affect any postmortem fracture surfaces (Kemp 2016; Loe 2016; Ubelaker and Adams 1995).

Ultimately, TP1B1's left femoral fracture cannot be definitively identified as perimortem, at least not without further analyses that are unavailable at this time and still experimental in their use on human bone and/or archaeological contexts (Cattaneo and Cappella 2017; Obertová et al. 2019; Yu et al. 2020; Winter-Buchwalder et al. 2024).

5.3.1.3 Assessing the Need for Care

Assessing the need for care can be divided into two parts: identifying clinical impacts of pathologies and their attendant functional limitations (Tilley 2015).

The potential clinical impact of the scalloping of Li^1 is moot: whether congenital or the result of dentition-as-tool use, its progression at time of death did not diminish the integrity of enamel. The potential clinical impact of the femoral fracture is quite polarized. If postmortem, it did not affect TP1B1's functionality; if perimortem, the lack of any healing implies that TP1B1 died around the time they may have experienced the blunt force trauma that caused the fracture.

Enamel opacities, though typically without clinical impacts, may have contributed to an overall more cariogenic dentition for TP1B1 (Slayton et al. 2001). The large dental caries on Ri^2 almost certainly had clinical impacts, including oral sensitivity, pain, and increased risk of localized and/or systemic infections (Hummel et al. 2019; Young et al. 2015).

Functionally speaking, these symptoms may have limited TP1B1's ability to independently eat or drink, which can have significant biosocial impacts (Katz 1983; Tilley 2015). Though perhaps insignificant on its face, the symptoms caused by TP1B1's dental caries likely limited what substances TP1B1 could consume safely or comfortably. Zooarchaeological and archaeobotanical

evidence strongly suggests that the peoples of pre-colonial Bicol had diets of diverse and dynamic foods and foodways (Yakal et al. 2021). This dietary diversity could have been helpful for TP1B1 and their caretakers: more diverse foods being available may have made it easier to find foods that TP1B1 could consume safely or comfortably. On the other hand, this dietary diversity may have limited TP1B1's ability to fully participate in daily and/or ritual community practices around food and drink such as feasting. Zooarchaeological work in other regions of the pre-colonial period Philippines strongly suggests feasts that centered around the consumption of specific foods (Lapeña and Acabado 2017). If a community practice necessitated the consumption of a specific food that was a pain trigger for TP1B1, they may have faced some amount of social exclusion and/or their caregivers may have had to do some amount of mitigating labor to ensure their full community participation.

5.3.1.4 Creating a Model of Care

TP1B1's carers were likely able to accommodate, to some degree, TP1B1's potential dietary restrictions; however, even in a context of dietary diversity, the extra mental and/or physical effort needed to acquire, process, and/or provision specific foods or amounts of food for TP1B1 reflects care investment. This extra provision of care in food procurement and preparation would have allowed for TP1B1's physiological comfort and ability to more fully engage in social, economic, and cultural life in their community.

Ironically, the very existence of the dental caries may also reflect differential treatment of TP1B1 on the part of carers: dental caries seem to be exceedingly rare across deep historic mainland

Southeast Asia, with their incidence being as low as 1.4% in certain populations (Oxenham et al. 2006). Although not identical environments, pre-colonial Bicol likely had similar potentially cariogenic foods, such as taro, yams, and bananas, which are typically eaten primarily using anterior teeth (Yakal et al. 2021; Turner II 1979; Oxenham et al. 2006). The existence and degree of disease progression of the dental caries on an anterior tooth may be evidence of carers giving–or TP1B1 independently accessing–disproportionately large or very ripened amounts of these foods.

The posthumous care that TP1B1 received is perhaps most evocative of differential or preferential treatment and care. Although jar burials of subadults in vessels of forms used for utilitarian purposes are common throughout the Philippine islands across millennia, TP1B1's earthenware coffin seems to be the first body disposition vessel of its kind excavated in the Bicol region (Barretto-Tesoro 2008; Yakal et al. 2021). Further, the presence of beads–likely embroidered as part of a garment or assembled into a piece of jewelry–and high fired earthenware sherds within TP1B1's earthenware coffin represents either significant economic resources being used to obtain valuable grave goods or the sacrifice of significant economic resources to provide metaphysical care or resources to this dead child.

5.3.2 T2B2

T2B2 is the near complete skeleton of a subadult excavated from the Parish of Our Lady of the Holy Rosary Church site, due west of the extant church (see Figure 5.4). T2B2 is nearly complete (see Figure 5.11 for photograph, Figure 5.21 for visual record, and Appendix C for full inventory). T2B2 was excavated among scattered, commingled skeletal elements and fragments

from multiple adults; based on its completeness and supine burial (see Figure 5.7), T2B2 was likely a primary burial and did not experience significant disturbance until excavation in 2019. It had no associated grave goods.

5.3.2.1 Estimating Age at Death

No epiphyses of present long bones showed significant fusion to diaphyses. The lack of any fusion on the distal right humerus suggests that T2B2 was younger than 9 years old at time of death (see Figure 5.22). The halves of all present neural arches on cervical, thoracic, and lumbar vertebrae were completely fused, though no neural arches were fused with their corresponding centra. Based on this lack of fusion across the postcranial skeleton, T2B2's physiological age is estimated to be 2 to 5 years old at time of death, per Buikstra and Ubelaker 1994.

Analysis of dental eruption (see Table 5.5), particularly the presence of secondary dentition RM^1, LM^1, LI^1, and RM_1 (see Figures 5.23 and 5.24) in crypts, suggests that T2B2's physiological age was 5 years old ± 16 months (3 to 6 years old) at time of death, per Buikstra and Ubelaker 1994.

5.3.2.2 Paleopathology

T2B2 displayed two types of pathologies throughout its dentition: enamel opacities on buccal surfaces (the vast majority being yellow) and dental wear exposing points or hairlines of dentine on occlusal surfaces (see Table 5.5 for inventory or Figure 5.25 for visual record). 65% (n = 13) of erupted teeth displayed enamel opacities, and 75% (n = 15) of erupted teeth displayed exposed points or hairlines of dentine.

Figure 5.21 Visual record of T2B2

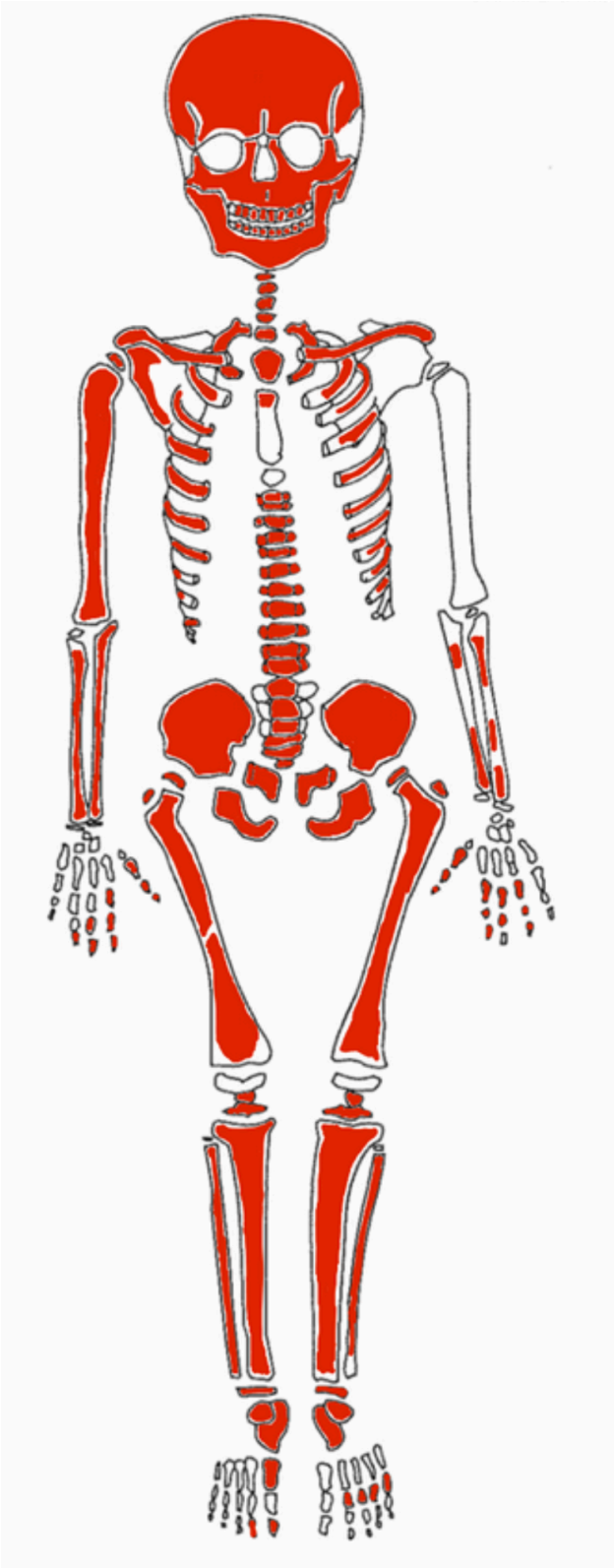


Figure 5.22 Postero-lateral view of T2B2 right humerus

The first tooth to begin forming enamel in utero is typically a central incisor, around 14 weeks into pregnancy, and deciduous enamel formation of deciduous teeth continues until approximately 11 months after birth, suggesting an approximately 17.5 month span of deciduous enamel formation (Lunt and Law 1974). Enamel opacities are the result of physiological stress and/or mechanical trauma during this enamel formation period (Slayton et al. 2001).

With T2B2's estimated age at death being between 3 to 6 years old, this suggests that T2B2 experienced some amount of physiological stress during a period sometime between 4.5 and 7.5

years before death. A bioarchaeology of care of children approach may suggest that T2B2's caregivers and/or community at large also experienced some amount of physiological stress during the enamel opaci-genic period (Adams et al. 2021; Oxenham and Willis 2017; Halcrow and Tayles 2011).

Figure 5.23 Occlusal view of T2B2 mandible (arrow highlights permanent molar in crypt)

Figure 5.24 Occlusal view of T2B2 maxillae (arrow highlights permanent incisor in crypt)

The near ubiquity of T2B2's occlusal surface wear to the degree of point or hairline dentine exposure suggests some sort of habitual abrasion between T2B2's dentition and materials with more hardness than the enamel (d'Incau et al. 2012). The wear patterns of individual teeth follow the norm seen in most dentine exposure processes brought on by dental wear in human teeth (Murphy 1959b). Further, the higher incidence of mandibular wear (9 of 10 mandibular teeth have at least a point of exposed dentine) relative to maxillary wear (6 of 10 maxillary teeth have at least a point of exposed dentine) on deciduous teeth is consistent with some patterns observed in gatherer-hunter dentition in deep historic Australia (Murphy 1959a). This may suggest that T2B2 was embedded in a community with at least some non-agricultural foodways; however, other research strongly suggests that deep historical transitions to agriculture did not significantly affect oral health in Southeast Asia (Oxenham et al. 2006).

Table 5.5 T2B2 dental conditions pathology inventory

Tooth	Presence/Condition	Pathologies
RM^1	Present, in crypt	
Rm^2	Present, in occlusion	
Rm^1	Present, in occlusion	Multiple white opacities on buccal surface
Rc^1	Present, in occlusion	Point of dentine exposure on occlusal surface
Ri^2	Present, in occlusion	Vertical yellow opacity on buccal surface, point of exposed dentine on occlusal surface
Ri^1	Present, in occlusion	Yellow opacity on buccal surface, hairline of exposed dentine on occlusal surface
Li^1	Present, in occlusion	Yellow opacity on buccal surface, hairline of exposed dentine on occlusal surface
LI^1	Present, in crypt	
Li^2	Present, in occlusion	Yellow opacity on buccal surface
Lc^1	Present, in occlusion	Point of dentine exposure on occlusal surface
Lm^1	Present, in occlusion	Yellow opacity on buccal surface, hairline of exposed dentine on occlusal surface
Lm^2	Present, in occlusion	Yellow opacity on buccal surface
LM^1	Present, in crypt	
LM_1	Absent, postmortem loss	
Lm_2	Present, in occlusion	Yellow opacity on buccal surface
Lm_1	Present, in occlusion	Yellow opacity on buccal surface, hairline of exposed dentine on occlusal surface
Lc_1	Present, in occlusion	Yellow opacity on buccal surface, point of exposed dentine on occlusal surface
Li_2	Present, in occlusion	Hairline of exposed dentine on occlusal surface

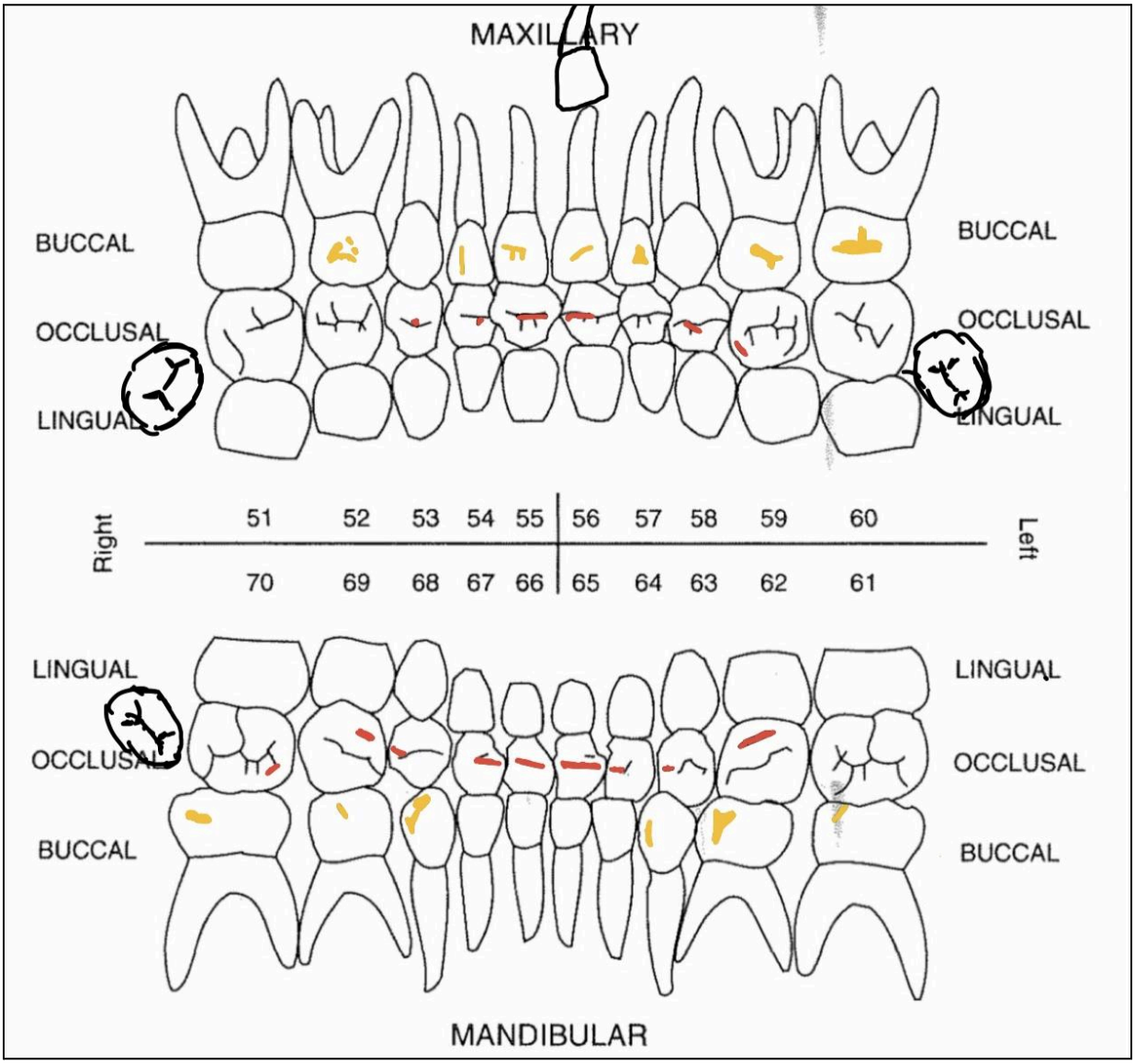
Li_1	Present, in occlusion	Hairline of exposed dentine on occlusal surface
Ri_1	Present, in occlusion	Hairline of exposed dentine on occlusal surface
Ri_2	Present, in occlusion	Hairline of exposed dentine on occlusal surface
Rc_1	Present, in occlusion	Yellow opacity on buccal surface, point of exposed dentine on occlusal surface
Rm_1	Present, in occlusion	Yellow opacity on buccal surface, point of exposed dentine on occlusal surface
Rm_2	Present, in occlusion	Yellow opacity on buccal surface, point of exposed dentine on occlusal surface
RM_1	Present, in crypt	

All fractures apparent on T2B2 display characteristics of postmortem breakage of dry bone, including approximately 90° fracture angles, transverse fracture outlines, irregular fracture surfaces, and color difference with cortical bone around the fracture site (Villa and Mahieu 1991; Ubelaker and Adams 1995; Reber and Simmons 2015; Kemp 2016).

Several of T2B2's cranial bones display porotic hyperostosis (see Table 5.6), which are described using the criteria described in Rinaldo et al. 2019, which are adapted from Stuart-Macadam 1985 and Salvadei et al. 2001.

The frontal bone exhibited a healing porous lesion roughly 1cm x 0.25cm in surface area on the right orbital roof (see Figure 5.26). The lesion presented small and large scattered holes (Degree of Severity 2, per Stuart-Macadam 1985) that were almost entirely healed (Degree of Healing 4, per Salvadei et al. 2001).

Figure 5.25 Visual record of T2B2 dentition. Yellow represents enamel opacities, red represents dental wear significant enough to reveal dentine, and black represents permanent teeth visible in crypt.



The endocranial surface of the frontal bone exhibited a porous lesion roughly 4.5cm x 1cm in surface area on the sagittal sulcus (see Figure 5.27). The lesion presented small scattered holes (Degree of Severity 1, per Stuart-Macadam 1985) with over 50% of the area healed (Degree of Healing 3, per Salvadei et al. 2001).

Table 5.6 T2B2 cranial bone porotic hyperostosis inventory

Lesion Traits				
Skeletal Element	**Degree of Severity[56]**	**Degree of Healing[57]**	**Pit frequency /1 cm^2**	**Surface Area**
Frontal, right orbital roof	2	4	26	1cm x 0.25cm
Frontal, sagittal sulcus	1	3	46	4.5cm x 1cm
L parietal, occipital angle	2	2	51	8cm x 1.5cm
R parietal, occipital angle	2	2	41	6.5cm x 1cm

Figure 5.26 Inferior view of T2B2 frontal bone

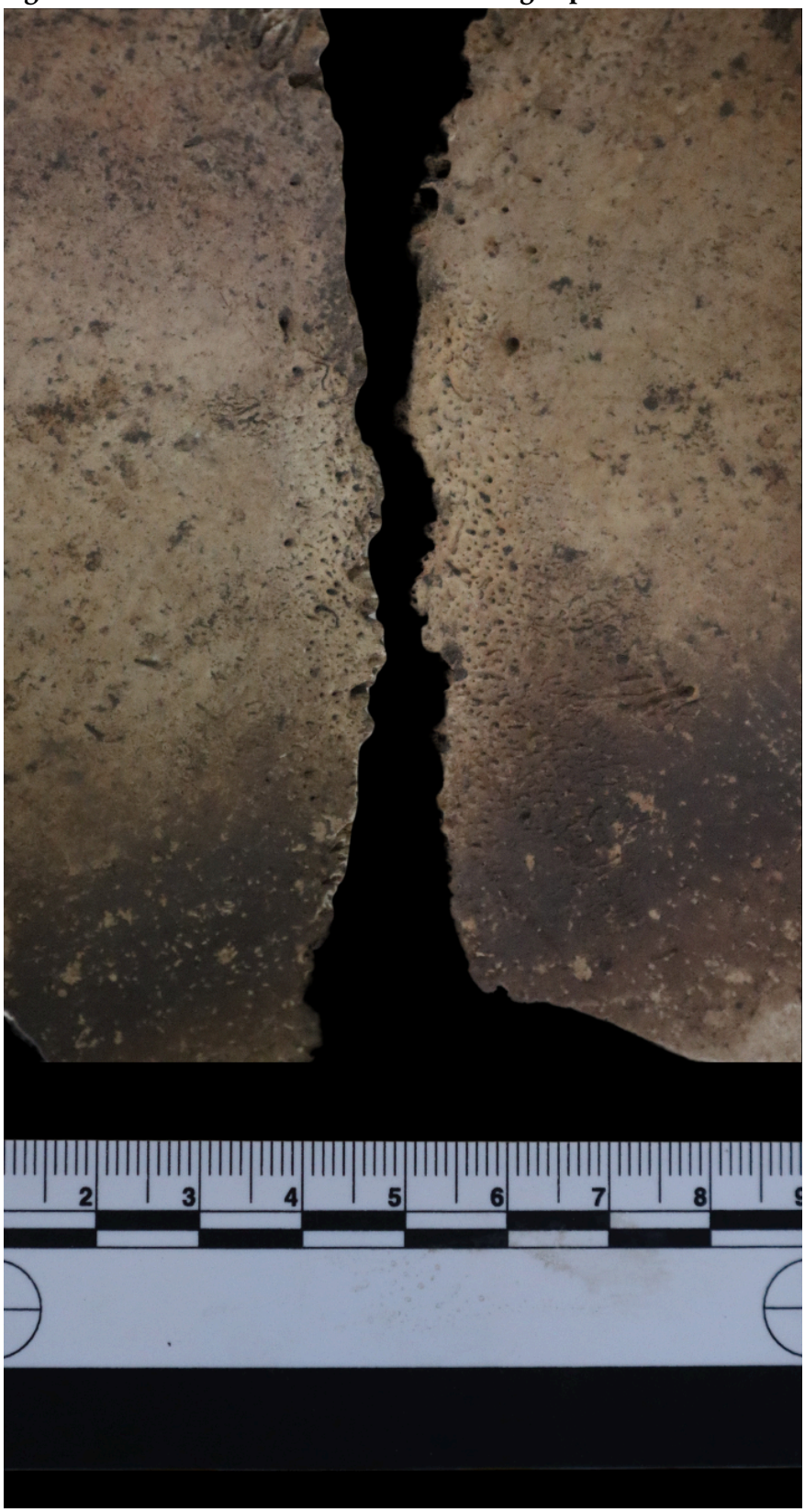
[56] See Stuart-Macadam 1985.

[57] See Salvadei et al. 2001

Figure 5.27 Endocranial view of T2B2 frontal bone

Both parietal bones exhibited porous lesions near their occipital angles (see Figure 5.28) that presented with small and large scattered holes with under 50% of the area healed (Degree of Healing 2, per Salvadei et al. 2001). The lesion on the left parietal is roughly 8cm x 1.5cm, and the lesion on the right parietal is roughly 6.5cm x 1cm.

Figure 5.28 Endocranial view of left and right parietals



5.3.2.3 Assessing the Need for Care

Most of the pathologies accessible via macroscopic osteological examination likely did not cause any noticeable symptoms for T2B2. Due to the lack of visible caries, it is safe to assume that the enamel opacities likely had no clinical implications for T2B2 (Slayton et al. 2001). The dental wear exposing dentine likely also lacked clinical implications, because of the relatively early stage of wear progression (Murphy 1959b). All fractures exhibited traits strongly suggesting postmortem breakage of dry bone (Villa and Mahieu 1991; Ubelaker and Adams 1995; Reber and Simmons 2015; Kemp 2016).

The presence of porotic hyperostosis on T2B2's frontal and both parietal bones, though small in size, is an exception to this likely asymptomology. Porotic hyperostosis, particularly *cribra orbitalia* in subadults, is commonly used as an indicator of physiological stress within an individual or population (DiGangi and Moore 2013). The specific manifestation or symptoms of this stress, however, are difficult to identify due to the ambiguous etiology of the porous lesions (Wang et al. 2023).

These lesions have dozen of potential causes; in the context of Southeast Asia, these causes include but are not limited to: congenital anemia, acquired anemia, severe infections, foodborne parasitic infections, soil borne parasitic infections, vitamin B12 deficiency, iron deficiency, thalassemia, and malaria (Halcrow et al. 2008; Oxenham and Willis 2016; Wang et al. 2023). It would be impossible to list all possible symptoms of all possible causes, but many of the causative conditions' symptoms include lethargy, fatigue, fever, headache, and cognitive impairments.

Regardless of their exact etiology, it is reasonable to assume that the presence of porotic hyperostosis suggests that T2B2 at times required care beyond altricial care (Oxenham and Willis 2016) . That is, the presence of porotic lesions suggests that there were times when T2B2 required health-based care that a peer not experiencing the same condition(s) would not have needed nor received. Previous bioarchaeological work on children refers to this care as intermittent direct support (Tilley 2015; Oxenham and Willis 2016; Oxenham 2012).

5.3.2.4 Creating a Model for Care

The intermittent nature of T2B2's care needs is further underscored by the uneven degrees of severity and healing observed on the porotic lesions, which suggests multiple episodes of physiological stress and recovery, likely aided by the reception of care via intermittent direct support (Salvadei et al. 2001; Mangas-Carrasco and López-Costas 2021). Following models of supportive caregiving during acute (episodes of) illnesses, these direct support may have included aid in the acquisition of nutrition and feeding, the maintenance of normal body temperature, the facilitation of rest, ensuring physical safety, and assistance with hygiene (Tilley and Cameron 2014; Tilley and Schrenk 2017).

Postmortem treatment of T2B2 also reflects the provision of care: the orientation, positioning, and completeness of the excavated skeleton suggests that T2B2's inhumation was a primary burial that was largely undisturbed until excavation. This is in contrast to the commingled remains of adults found above T2B2 (Yakal et al. 2021).

5.3.3 Camaligan Commingled Remains

The Camaligan commingled remains (CCR) represented at least 71 individuals, based on the number of left femoral diaphyses, who were buried in what was Santo Domingo Chapel on the grounds of what is now St. Anthony of Padua Parish Church in Camaligan municipality, Camarines Sur, Philippines (see Appendix B). Their time of death is broad, stretching from at least the late 15th century until the early 20th century (Yakal et al. 2021; Reimer and Reimer 2025). Due to this broad range within the commingled group, they are not representative of a particular time period or population in Bicol and can only be used very generally in the development of the osteobiographies of care of TP1B1 and T2B2.

The CCR were assessed for data related to health. Examination of approximately 308 frontal and parietal bones revealed no porotic hyperostosis nor cribra orbitalia. All long bones with their distal and/or proximal end intact had fused epiphyses, suggesting that there were few or no subadults among the CCR. 33 of the left femora were complete enough to measure maximum length (per measurement 60 in Buikstra and Ubelaker 1994). Stature was estimated using these maximum length measurements and formulae derived from regression analyses of long bone lengths of a modern Thai population of known statures (Mahakkanukrauh et al. 2011). Because the accuracy and precision of stature estimation is dependent upon population specific formulae, the formulae derived from a modern Thai population was selected, as it has been used in other bioarchaeological work in the Philippines and is likely the most relevant formula for the CCR published (Vlok et al. 2016). The mean estimated stature of the CCR (161.38cm) does not have a

statistically significant difference with any comparative anthropometric data to be found in the literature (see Table 5.7). Ultimately, however, the chronological spread of CCR and the lack of more directly comparative population specific stature estimation formulae, renders any inferences made about the CCR's health–and what that could mean in the cases of TP1B1 and T2B2–based on stature estimation as a mere intellectual exercise .

Table 5.7 Descriptive statistics for L femur maximum length and estimated stature of CCR, with comparative populations

Measurement	n	Mean (cm)	Standard Deviation
CCR Femur (max length)	33	43.05	6.35
CCR Estimated stature[58]	33	161.38	18.96
Average height, early 20th century Bicol men[59]	63	159.2	-
Average height, early 20th century Camarines men[60]	18	158.5	-
Average height, 20-39 year old Filipinos[61]	19M	158.41	-

Beyond their osteological traits, however, the CCR's burial location may prove most valuable in the development of TP1B1 and T2B2's osteobiographies of care. Excavation below the CCR revealed a large shell midden, likely to have been created over the course of the 10th through 13th centuries (Yakal et al 2021; Reimer and Reimer 2005). Thus, the CCR were likely buried

[58] Per Mahakkanukrauh et al. 2011, Estimated stature = 2.986 x Femur (max length) + 32.824 for unknown sex individuals.

[59] See Murray 2002.

[60] See Folkmar 1904.

[61] See Food and Nutrition Research Institute 2003.

above a site with perhaps centuries-old social significance in the region over the course of at least 500 years. Even if burial above the shell midden was purely by chance, the length of time that the area that would become Santo Domingo Chapel was used as a body disposition site suggests some continuity in burial practices in the Camarines from the deep historic, through the Early Modern colonial period, and even into the modern period.

5.4 Discussion

Per a bioarchaeology of care approach, this section will be focused on interpretation (Stage 4) for both TP1B1 and T2B2 (Tilley and Schrenk 2017; Vlok et al. 2017). Interpretation is fundamentally concerned with agency, as the giving and receiving of care is inherently social and agentive, which complements postcolonial hybridity's concerns with the agency of subaltern peoples (Oxenham and Willis 2017; Tilley 2015; Villaseñor-Black 2019). Following osteobiography's multi scalar approach and engagement of interpretive writing, interpretation relies on deductive inference to reassess the evidence presented in Stages 1-3 to develop a textured, nuanced reading of past life and death (Hosek and Robb 2019; DiGangi and Moore 2013; Tilley 2015). Meaningful interpretation of TP1B1 and T2B2's osteobiographies of care requires biosocial contexts of both the deep historic Philippines and Early Modern period/early colonial Bicol, so data from varied sources will be introduced to aid in interpretation, followed by osteobiographical writing about the agency of carers and TP1B1 and T2B2 (Halcrow and Tayles 2011).

5.4.1 TP1B1: Interpretation of Data

5.4.1.1 Biosocial Context: The Deep Historic Philippines

Data on the Bicol region in deep history is limited, so archaeological data from across the Philippines and mainland Southeast Asia will be used to establish possible ecological and social contexts for the life and death of TP1B1.

Foodways were diverse and dynamic across deep historic Southeast Asia, with multidirectional transitions across a gatherer-hunter and agricultural spectrum likely (Turner II 1979; Oxenham et al. 2006). Foodways in Bicol were diverse, spanning the harvesting of fish and shellfish, the hunting of deer and wild pigs, slash-and-burn agriculture, foraging for edible and medicinal plants, and likely other means of food acquisition (Bay-Petersen 1987; Buot 2009; Yakal et al. 2021). The tropical climate of much of Southeast Asia came with a diverse array of parasites and pathogens that likely affected most individuals at some point in their lives, particularly in their childhoods (Oxenham and Willis 2017).

Polities of many sizes and structures were present in the deep historic Philippines, often of a heterarchical structure (Barretto-Tesoro 2008). Heterarchical structures exhibit different hierarchies spread across multiple axes of power, which have different decision-making power for a group within specific domains (White 2008). It is also likely that TP1B1's community was embedded in the larger Sinosphere of the Sui and Tang dynasties via trade networks, as evidenced by the high-fired earthenware found in TP1B1's earthenware coffin (Yakal et al. 2021).

Body disposition practices were diverse across the deep historic Philippines, including jar burials using utilitarian vessels, jar burials using purpose-made and anthropomorphic jars, hanging coffin burials, log coffin burials, secondary burials, the inclusion of grave goods in inhumations, and more (Dizon 1998; Bay-Petersen 1982).

5.4.1.2 An Osteobiography of Care of TP1B1

The decision to provide and execute care has multiple steps and considerations: determining the need for care, assessing pros and cons of providing care, deciding to provide care, strategizing on care delivery, implementing care, ceasing care, and deciding on postmortem treatment (Tilley 2015; Tilley and Cameron 2014). TP1B1's carers moved through each step with at least some degree of agency.

The need for care was likely determined via TP1B1 communicating any symptoms, carers examining the affected tooth, and visual evidence of a pathology and/or previous experience with dental caries (Hummel et al. 2019; Young et al. 2019). Previous experience of dental caries may have been limited due to their rarity in deep historic Southeast Asia, but dental caries incidence has varied across deep historic Southeast Asian populations between around 1%-10% (Oxenham et al. 2006).

Due to the nature of altricial care, the diachronic nature of dental caries progression, and the relatively low energy investment required, it is likely that TP1B1's carers implicitly decided to provide accommodative care. Care strategy was likely developed, implemented, and iterated via observation of and communication with TP1B1 around food to identify what foods would meet

TP1B1's nutritional needs without causing undue pain. Care may have also involved the application of medicinal plants (Buot 2009).

Because of the presence of active caries and absence of signs of localized infection, TP1B1's carers likely provided care until the child's death, which may have involved blunt force trauma to the lateral left femur. The resources required for the postmortem care afforded to TP1B1 strongly suggest a powerful emotional bond between TP1B1 and their carers. That bond is, arguably, materialized through a unique burial vessel and grave goods that would have required extensive labor and/or trade, which mirror the graves of some indigenous Tagalog elites a millennium later (Barretto-Tesoro 2008).

TP1B1 was also an active agent in their care: establishing the need for care and evaluating the effectiveness of dietary accommodations depended on TP1B1 communicating their experiences with their carers over months or even years. The presence of the dental caries is itself a possible window into TP1B1's behavior or carers' preferential treatment: consistent access to high carbohydrate foods was likely needed for the caries formation, suggesting that TP1B1 independently accessed these foods often or were habitually given access to them by carers. Combined with the luxurious nature of TP1B1's grave, this may suggest that TP1B1 was a child of a family of considerable means, able to access rare resources in both life and death.

5.4.2 T2B2: Interpretation of Data

5.4.2.1 Biosocial Context: Early Modern Bicol

Biosocial data on Early Modern Bicol is drawn largely from Spanish documents (including

some analyzed in Chapter 4) and work by the Bicol Archaeological Project (Yakal et al. 2021).

Foodways in Early Modern Bicol were likely in flux: upon arriving in Bicol, the Spanish diverted indigenous labor toward boatbuilding, to the detriment of local agricultural production (Grau y Monfalcón 1636; Jago-on and Orillaneda 2019; Marcaida n.d.). Further, the Spanish may have co-opted or redirected agricultural resources toward wet rice agriculture for extraction via trade or tribute, following a pattern the Spanish used in the Cordilleras and that Chinese merchants may have used in deep historic Southeast Asia (Acabado 2019; Tayles et al. 2000).

Spanish labor extraction via indigenous elites, following a pattern used by conquistadors in the Americas, suggests that the Bicol region was politically organized and stratified and quickly integrated into a growing Hispanosphere (Lavezaris 1574; Rada 1574; Owen 1974; Hamnett 2019; Valle et al. 2019). Immediately before the arrival of the Spanish and their control of trade with China, Bicol was part of the greater Sinosphere through trade, as evidenced by Sung to Ming dynasty era porcelains found in peri-colonial graves in the Bicol region (Bay-Petersen 1982).

Body disposition practices were diverse across the Early Modern Philippines, though Catholic burial orthopraxis (burial in home parish churchyards, a lack of grave goods, and with feet pointed east or toward the church structure when possible among others) developed in the 12th century and exported via evangelization was becoming more common and more enforced beginning in the late 1500s (Thurston 1908; Jacobi 2000; Barretto-Tesoro 2015).

5.4.2.2 An Osteobiography of Care of T2B2

As discussed previously, deciding to provide and execute care has many steps and considerations: determining care need, assessing pros and cons of care, deciding to provide care, strategizing about the delivery of car, implementing care, ceasing care, and deciding on postmortem treatment (Tilley 2015; Tilley and Cameron 2014). T2B2's carers moved through each step with at least some degree of agency.

The need for care was likely determined during a period of acute illness, which likely included fever, headache, and fatigue (Wang et al. 2023). Due to altricial care, it is likely that T2B2 carer's implicitly assessed and decided to provide direct supportive care when presented with a sick child (Oxeham and Willis 2017). A direct supportive care strategy, focused on symptom management, rest, and assistance with basic functions like eating and hygiene, was likely developed and implemented based on prior experiences, which were likely at least somewhat common due to the abundance of pathogens and parasites present in the Bicol region (Rada 1574; Vivero 1599; Matias 1609; Newson 2009).

Based on the multiple porotic lesions and their different degrees of severity and healing that likely formed and began to heal during several episodes of physiological stress, T2B2's carers likely provided direct supportive care intermittently and likely continued to do so until T2B2's death. T2B2 was also an active agent in their care: co-operating with their care likely aided their ability to survive multiple episodes of physiological stress.

The carers' postmortem treatment of T2B2 reflects their care for the decedent, their

inclusion of the decedent into a historic and/or contemporary community based on shared place of burial, and their navigation of Catholic orthopraxis, indigenous burial practices, and hybridization (Ortiz et al. 2017).

Traditional analysis may simply see T2B2's burial as evidence of Catholicization, due to burial in a churchyard and a lack of grave goods. However, burial in the Bombon church yard is an indigenous continuity, as evidenced by TP1B1, demonstrating that Catholic strategies of co-opting spaces of indigenous significance to absorb them backfired by instead creating spaces wherein hybridization was possible, easy, or even a default (Escandor 2016; Beaule 2017). Further, grave goods (or their absence) in indigenous burials varied considerably between and within Early Modern Philippine communities based on factors such as age, sex, individual traits, and accomplishments (Barretto-Tesoro 2008). T2B2's body was buried facing north (head south, feet pointed north) instead of the Catholic preferred east (Yakal et al. 2021). Thus, T2B2's burial reflects their (postmortem) caregivers' selective rejection, integration, and transformation of Catholic orthopraxis onto an indigenous framework (Wrobel 2012).

5.5 Conclusions

This chapter examined the skeletonized lifeways and mortuary treatment of two subadults, TP1B1 and T2B2, who lived, died, and were buried in what became the Bombon church site nearly 1,000 years apart. Combining several theoretical/operational approaches, this chapter developed osteobiographies of care for TP1B1 and T2B2 via macroscopic skeletal and dental analysis, with particular sensitivity for paleopathologies.

Analysis of TP1B1 focused on an advanced dental caries, which held immediate implications for TP1B1's eating habits and cascading implications for TP1B1's ability to fully participate in social, economic, and/or cultural activities that likely would have been important for their development into an adult and full community member.

Analysis of T2B2 focused on cranial porotic lesions of varying degrees of severity and healing, which suggested that T2B2 experienced multiple episodes of physiological stress. Exact etiology could not be diagnosed, but most causative illnesses would have caused T2B2 to experience limiting if not incapacitating symptoms. The varying degrees of healing of their lesions suggested that T2B2's carers provided intermittent direct supportive care during multiple instances over time, reflecting the efficacy and sustained nature of their care.

This chapter also examined TP1B1 and T2B2's mortuary treatment as care. TP1B1's mortuary treatment reflected a family of means, willing to sacrifice significant resources to provide spiritual and metaphysical care for their child in death, as they did with nutritional effort and resources in life. The particulars of T2B2's burial reflect the agency of T2B2's carers in navigating and shaping the hybridization of Catholic and indigenous burial practices.

Notably, this process of hybridization extended past the life, death, and burial of T2B2. Trench 5 at the Bombon church site revealed burials that, per superposition, likely happened after T2B2's burial (Yakal et al. 2021). One of the burials included a grave good, a stone pendant (see Figure 5.12), demonstrating that different people integrated in different facets of Catholic and indigenous burial practices across time and space, even within sites, in a largely non-linear fashion

(Stojanowski 2013). The evidence of indigenous agency continues into the modern day, apparent through the uniquely Bicolano Catholicism practiced today (Yakal 2023).

Chapter 6. Conclusions

6.1 Introduction

This chapter concludes the dissertation by summarizing the key findings of the Camarines Archival Documents content analysis and osteobiography development of the subadults excavated from the Bombon Church site in relation to the research aims and questions. The chapter then outlines the dissertation's contributions, limitations, and recommendations for future research. The dissertation concludes with a brief summary.

6.2 Key Findings: Content Analysis of the Camarines Archival Documents

This dissertation aimed to examine how materials from Early Modern Bicol that might otherwise be uncritically relegated to an 'indigenous' or 'Spanish' people category may instead demonstrate a dynamic negotiation between and beyond those people categories.

Camarines Archival Documents (CAD), a collection of 16 documents written in the 1500s and 1600s by administrative and clerical writers about Bicol and ostensibly purely Spanish in origin, were examined using a content analysis approach to answer the question: "How did the concepts of indigenous people and religious practice and writers' affect about indigenous people change during the 16th and 17th centuries in the Camarines Archival Documents corpus?"

Conceptual analysis revealed a shift in ideas about indigenous people between the 1500s and 1600s: from natives of alien islands to Indian subjects of the Crown, from economic assets to (potential) fellow Christians and exploitable labor, and from a monolith to groups of different peoples integrated into the complex machinery of the Early Modern Spanish Empire. The CAD's primary concept of Catholic ritual in the Early Modern Philippines centered around concern for

rituals' potential perversion or failure, leading to a focus on Catholic ritual orthopraxis. However, their orthopraxis-focused approach tacitly ignored or tactically integrated indigenous religious practices that did not conflict with Catholic doctrine to facilitate conversion. This historical context betrays the multidirectionality of the hybridization of religious practices in the Camarines during the Early Modern Period.

Despite the conceptual shifts concerning indigenous people identified through conceptual analysis and thus dynamism in their attendant positive affect subtypes, overall explicit affect about indigenous people remained largely positive throughout the administrative CAD. Contrarily, clerical writers' explicit affect toward indigenous people saw a marked drop off in positive affect between the 1500s and 1600s. This growing ambivalence between the *religiosos* and indigenous people may have been a function of many things, including processes of negotiation between indigenous people, priests, and Catholic Doctrine that resulted in the emergence of a uniquely Bicolano Catholicism. This content analysis of the CAD reveals connections between indigenous agency, colonial perceptions of indigenous resistance, and how this perception may have influenced governance.

6.3 Key Findings: Osteobiographies of Care of TP1B1 and T2B2, Bombon Church Site

TP1B1, an indigenous subadult who lived, died, and was buried at the Bombon church site in the pre-Spanish 7th century, and T2B2, an indigenous subadult who lived, died, and was buried in the early Spanish period, were examined through the creation of osteobiographies of care to

answer the question: “How did the skeletonized lifeways and mortuary treatment of subadults buried in the Bombon church site change before and after Spanish colonization?”

Analysis of TP1B1 focused on an advanced dental caries, which held immediate implications for TP1B1’s eating habits and cascading implications for TP1B1’s ability to fully participate in social, economic, and/or cultural activities that likely would have been important for their development into an adult and full community member.

Analysis of T2B2 focused on cranial porotic lesions of varying degrees of severity and healing, which suggested that T2B2 experienced multiple episodes of physiological stress. Exact etiology could not be diagnosed, but most causative illnesses would have caused T2B2 to experience limiting if not incapacitating symptoms. The varying degrees of healing of their lesions suggested that T2B2’s carers provided intermittent direct supportive care during multiple instances over time, reflecting the efficacy and sustained nature of their care.

This chapter also examined TP1B1 and T2B2’s mortuary treatment as care. TP1B1’s mortuary treatment reflected a family of means, willing to sacrifice significant resources to provide spiritual and metaphysical care for their child in death, as they did with nutritional effort and resources in life. The particulars of T2B2’s burial reflect the agency of T2B2’s carers in navigating and shaping the hybridization of Catholic and indigenous burial practices.

Notably, this process of hybridization extended past the life, death, and burial of T2B2. Trench 5 at the Bombon church site revealed individualss that were likely inhumed after T2B2’s burial. One of the burials included a grave good, a stone pendant, demonstrating that different

people integrated in different facets of Catholic and indigenous burial practices across time and space, even within the Bombon church site, in a largely non-linear fashion. The evidence of indigenous agency continues into the modern day, apparent through the uniquely Bicolano Catholicism practiced today.

6.4 Contributions

The results discussed above demonstrate the utility of a postcolonial hybridity approach. Examining ostensibly Spanish documents revealed dynamism in how indigenous people were described and a growing ambivalence between indigenous people and religious–but not government–writers. Content analysis, particularly affect extraction, emerges as a compelling complement to other historiographical approaches to Early Modern Spanish Empire documents, through its ability to surface colonial anxieties, related governance strategies, and suggestions of indigenous agency. Close examination of the burials of TP1B1 and T2B2 suggested continuities in agency and caregiving practices in both the deep historic and early Spanish periods in Bicol. Together, the two lines of evidence demonstrate the value of novel combinations of data in researching regions and/or periods that have been historically understudied

Tensions between indigenous people and clerics and hybrid burial practices both suggest that indigenous Bicolanos of the Early Modern Period actively transformed Catholicism as a means to resist, accommodate, and co-opt colonizing phenomena and processes. Thus, these case studies, though very small in scale, reveal evidence of indigenous agency and the beginnings of person-scale narratives about navigating and negotiating colonialism in Early Modern Bicol.

6.5 Recommendations for Future Research

Future archival content analysis and/or bioarchaeological research on Early Modern Bicol would benefit greatly from larger sample sizes. Methodologically speaking, microscopic and chemical analyses could greatly complement and benefit the osteobiographies of care presented in this dissertation and any others developed in the future.

6.6 Conclusion

This dissertation aimed to examine how materials from Early Modern Bicol that might otherwise be uncritically relegated to an 'indigenous' or 'Spanish' people category may instead demonstrate a dynamic negotiation between and beyond those people categories. Spanish documents written about the Camarines in the 1500s and 1600s were analyzed using content analysis, revealing dynamism in how indigenous people were conceptualized and growing tensions between indigenous people and religious clerics over time. Osteobiographies of care about one pre-Spanish and one early Spanish period burial of subadults were developed, revealing continuities in care practices and dynamic burial practices over time. These case studies demonstrate the analytical value of a postcolonial hybridity approach by surfacing evidence of indigenous agency and dynamic negotiations of colonialism in materials that might otherwise be uncritically placed in a single people category.

Appendix A. Complete Coding Protocol

Code Number	Code	Color Code
1	People category names referring to indigenous peoples	Red
1.1	Indios	Red
1.2	Naturales	Red
1.3	Ethnonyms/geographic names	Red
1.3.1	Bikolanos/de los Camarines	Red
1.3.2	Cagayanos	Red
1.3.3	Moros	Red
1.3.4	Pampangos	Red
1.3.5	Tagalos	Red
1.4	Mezclados	Red
2	Catholic rituals	Purple
2.1	One-time rites	Purple
2.1.1	Bautismo	Purple
2.1.2	Casamiento	Purple
2.1.3	Ritos funerarios	Purple
2.2	Regular rites	Purple
2.2.1	Confesión	Purple
2.2.2	Limosna	Purple
2.2.3	Misa	Purple
2.3	Perversions/failures of Catholic rituals	Purple
3	Negative affect	Blue

3.1	Dangerous	Blue
3.2	Lazy	Blue
3.3	Negative by nature	Blue
3.4	Rebellious/warlike	Blue
4	Positive affect	Yellow
4.1	Brave	Yellow
4.2	Loyal/obedient	Yellow
4.3	Material abundance	Yellow
4.4	Peaceful	Yellow
4.5	Servile/hardworking	Yellow
4.6	Skilled	Yellow
5	Clergy	Brown
5.1	Ordinario	Brown
5.2	Religiosos	Brown
5.2.1	Orden de San Agustín	Brown
5.2.2	Orden de San Francisco	Brown
5.2.3	Orden de Santo Domingo	Brown
5.3	Conflict between orders and ordinary	Brown
6	Treatment of indigenous people	Pink
6.1	As economic assets	Pink
6.1.1	Cooptation of indigenous technology	Pink
6.1.2	Encomienda system	Pink
6.1.3	Repartimiento	Pink

6.1.4	Slaves	Pink
6.2	Mistreatment	Pink
6.2.1	Mistreatment by clergy	Pink
6.2.2	Mistreatment by government officials	Pink
7	Conflict between Church and State	Teal
8	Disease	Green
9	Narratives	Orange
9.1	Conquest narrative	Orange
9.2	Conversion narrative	Orange

Appendix B. TP1B1 Skeletal Inventory

1= ≥75% Present = Complete,
2 = 25%-75% Present = Partial
3 = ≤25% Present = Fragmentary
Blank = missing

SKELETAL ELEMENT PRESENT	LEFT	RIGHT
Cranial		
Parietal	3	3
Occipital	1	
Temporal	1	1
TMJ	1	1
Sphenoid		2
Maxilla		2
Mandible	1	1
Postcranial Bones & Joint Surfaces		
Clavicle	1	1
Ilium	1	2
Ischium	1	1
Pubis	1	1
Acetabulum	1	1
Auricular Surface	1	2
Long Bones		
Humerus	3	1
Radius		3

Femur	1	2
Tibia	3	3
Fibula	2	2
Calcaneus		1
RIBS PRESENT	**# LEFT**	**# RIGHT**
Individual Ribs		
R1		1
Grouped Ribs		
R3-10	8	8
MANUAL ELEMENTS PRESENT	**# LEFT**	**# RIGHT**
Carpals		2
Phalanges		4
VERTEBRAE PRESENT	**CENTRUM**	**NEURAL ARCH**
Individual Vertebrae		
C1		1
C2	1	
C7	1	
L1	1	
Grouped Vertebrae		
C3-C6	4	4
T1-T9		2

Appendix C. T2B2 Skeletal Inventory

1= ≥75% Present = Complete,
2 = 25%-75% Present = Partial
3 = ≤25% Present = Fragmentary
Blank = missing

SKELETAL ELEMENT PRESENT	LEFT	RIGHT
Cranial		
Frontal	1	1
Parietal	1	1
Occipital	3	3
Temporal	1	1
TMJ	3	3
Zygomatic	1	1
Maxilla	1	1
Palatine	2	2
Mandible	1	1
Postcranial Bones & Joint Surfaces		
Clavicle	1	1
Scapula		
Body		2
Glenoid Fossa		2
Patella	1	1
Sacrum	1	1
Ilium	1	2

Ischium	1	1
Pubis	1	1
Auricular Surface	1	1
Long Bones		
Humerus		1
Radius	2	1
Ulna	2	1
Femur	1	1
Tibia	1	1
Fibula	1	1
Talus	1	1
Calcaneus	1	1
RIBS PRESENT	**# LEFT**	**# RIGHT**
Individual Ribs		
R1	1	1
R2		1
R11	1	1
Grouped Ribs		
R3-10	8	8
MANUAL ELEMENTS PRESENT	**# LEFT**	**# RIGHT**
Metacarpals	4	2
Phalanges	7	7
PEDAL ELEMENTS PRESENT	**# LEFT**	**# RIGHT**

Tarsals	2	2
Metatarsals		1
Phalanges	4	2
VERTEBRAE PRESENT	**CENTRUM**	**NEURAL ARCH**
Individual Vertebrae		
C1	1	1
C2	1	
C7	1	
T10	1	
T11	1	
T12	1	
L1	1	1
L2	1	1
L3	1	1
L4	1	1
L5	1	1
Grouped Vertebrae		
C3-C6	4	4
T1-T9	10	10
STERNUM PRESENT	**MANUBRIUM**	**BODY**
Sternum	1	2

Appendix D. Camaligan Commingled Remains Inventory by Skeletal Element

Skull			
Total = 658		**MNI = 34**	
Bone	**Left**	**Right**	**Unsided**
Complete skull			
Calavaria			1
Frontal	6	11	27
Parietal	61	78	125
Occipital	8	6	45
Temporal	32	26	7
Petrous			23
Maxilla			14
Mandible	34	31	6
Mental spine			29
Zygomatic			12
Fragments			49
Loose Teeth			27

Femora			
Total = 218		**MNI = 71**	
Element	**Left**	**Right**	**Unsided**
Heads	8	13	10
Diaphysis	71	68	
Diaphyseal Fragments			23
Condyles	4	3	
Condylar Fragments			18

Humeri			
Total = 139		MNI = 40	
Bone	**Left**	**Right**	**Unsided**
Complete	1	1	
Proximal end	2	2	6
Diaphysis	34	40	
Distal end	23	14	
Fragments			16

Radii			
Total = 64		MNI = 32	
Bone	**Left**	**Right**	**Unsided**
Complete	3	12	
Fragments	32	17	

Ulnae			
Total = 52		MNI = 17	
Bone	**Left**	**Right**	**Unsided**
Complete		1	
Proximal end	17	17	
Diaphysis	6	4	
Distal end	2	5	

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