

The Connectivity between the Archaeology of the Philippines and Taiwan: Past and Future

Ellen Hsieh*

INTRODUCTION

Since the early twentieth century, archaeologists and ethnologists have noted the connections between Taiwan and the Philippine Islands, especially Luzon and the Batanes. The islands are geographically close to each other and share similar historical paths and cultural elements. When Tadao Kano defined seven prehistoric cultural sequences for Taiwan in the 1940s, discoveries from the Philippines were critical references in his research (Kano 1984). Since then, scholars have explored such connections from various angles. Hung (2019) noted that recent archaeological studies reveal flows of raw materials, final products, ideas, technologies, and people across the Bashi Channel, attesting to mutual and continuous interactions among these islanders from the Paleolithic Period to the Late Iron Age. The research papers in this special volume corroborate this statement from three different perspectives. Sequentially, northern Taiwan and the Philippines were formally bonded together under the Spanish colonial network for a short period, and even after Taiwan became Qing territory and the native Austronesians in this region were not active in overseas activities anymore, the islands were still interwoven in the same maritime networks that deeply influenced their following developments. Studying archaeology from both Taiwanese and Filipino sides benefits not only from directly comparable data but also ways of thinking about movements of people, things, and ideas over the past thousand years.

* Ph.D. Assistant Professor, Institute of Anthropology, National Tsing Hua University.
ehsieh@mx.nthu.edu.tw

ARCHAEOLOGY ACROSS THE BASHI CHANNEL

The first article takes us to the Cagayan, the northernmost region of Luzon. Facing the Batanes Islands and southern Taiwan, the estuary of the Cagayan River was not only a temporary post of mysterious Japanese pirates during the early modern period but also a key access point for people traveling between Luzon and Taiwan for thousand years. Kazuhiko Tanaka's 'Chronology and Origins of Pottery in Northern Luzon, the Philippines, from the Late Neolithic to the Metal Age' discusses the transition of archaeological cultures in Northern Luzon between two critical periods and the relationships among people of prehistoric Luzon, the Batanes, and Taiwan. During the Neolithic Period, the landscape of the Cagayan region was not a fertile fluvial plain but a huge swampy marsh. Shell middens, thus, constitute the most common archaeological evidence. By carefully comparing the pottery excavated in the Catugan shell midden site with other sites in the Cagayan Valley, namely Magapit and Bangag I shell midden sites, the chronology of Catugan is defined. Tanaka highlights a distinct change in pottery manufacturing traditions in the Cagayan Valley around 2000 BP. The red-slipped pottery of the Late Neolithic period and the black and brown pottery with the herringbone-shaped decoration of the Metal Age should be associated with a different group of people. He further argues that these two archaeological cultures in Northern Luzon represent two waves of migration from Taiwan. The former tradition came from the east coast of Taiwan, as supported by previous research (Bellwood, et al. 2011; Hung 2005). As to the latter tradition, Tanaka speculates that it was possibly from southwest of Taiwan, especially related to people of the Neolithic Fengpitou Culture (c. 3500-2000 BP). He further considers how the eruption of Mt. Iraya on Batan Island may have broken the connection between southeast Taiwan and Luzon. Later, another group of people from southwest Taiwan came to settle down and developed iron-making technology from other unknown sources.

Tanaka's observation redirects our attention from southeast to southwest Taiwan in tracing its connections with the Philippines. Such a theory, both exciting and inspiring, definitely requires further investigation. His research reminds scholars who work on the Neolithic black pottery traditions in Taiwan to pay more attention to archaeology in the Philippines. In recent years, Kuo (2019) also highlighted that various characteristics of artifacts from Late and Final Neolithic Taiwan could be found in the northern Philippines, including the gray-black pottery culture from central Taiwan. However, she believed that most of these southern expansions happened occasionally, rather than a result of a systematic cultural transmission. In addition, more study about the formation of the Metal Age in both Taiwan and the Philippines is also necessary. Based on new discoveries in the Jiuxianglan site, Hung and Chao (2016) have overthrown the previous understanding of Taiwan's Metal age and argued that its earliest stage

can be traced to 400 BCE-200 CE in southeast Taiwan. They also have suggested that this metal technology was strongly linked to the south of Mainland Southeast Asia and the Philippines, instead of China. Such a connection would strengthen the relationship between Taiwan and the Philippines, facilitating interaction across the Bashi Channel and beyond in the next thousand years.

TOWARD A BROADER MARITIME ZONE

In the second article, Nida T. Cuevas and Eusebio Z. Dizon explore the maritime networks in Asian waters around the ninth to tenth century CE from a unique archaeological site in the jungle of another corner of Luzon. Entitled 'The Community Utilization of Ceramics in Sarcophagus Burials from Mt. Kamhantik site, Mulanay, Quezon Province, southeastern Luzon, Philippines,' their study introduces the carved receptacles or sarcophagus group, which is the only case of this kind of burial practice in the Philippines. They conducted a wide range of comparative studies to understand the potential relationships between this site and the outside world. Among the associated materials, including glass beads, gold, and other metal goods, ceramics were highlighted. The stylistic analysis of the decorative technology applied on the Kamhantik earthenware shows its possible connection with Bali, Indonesia. Moreover, Chinese Changsha glazed wares suggest that people at the site were involved in the dynamic maritime networks triggered by the expansion of Srivijaya at the time. Together with other archaeological evidence for interactions between the Philippines and maritime Southeast Asia, such as the Butuan boats and the Laguna copperplate inscription, Cuevas and Dizon argue that the sacred space on Mt. Kamhantik could be considered evidence of Indic religion practices in the region.

When examining social and political developments in maritime Southeast Asia at the turn of the second millennium, scholars usually concentrate on evidence from the Strait of Malacca and the Indonesia Peninsula, whereas the few pieces of evidence from the Philippines are easily ignored. This oversight makes it seem that the Philippines remained 'prehistoric' and silent compared to other parts of Southeast Asia due to its distance from the Indian world, not to mention Taiwan. This second case shows that Luzon was one of the destinations for the ancient voyagers at the time. However, it is worth noting that although Cuevas and Dizon contextualize the Mt. Kamhantik site with the region's broader political development, they do not infer that the people of the site belong to a particular complex society. In addition, the authors only link the site with people from south of the Philippines and do not address the potential relationships between their discovery of Kamhantik sarcophagus burials and the Qilin Megalithic Culture in eastern Taiwan characterized by non-portable sarcophagus burials (Yeh 2008),

such as those at the Changkuang site and the Fengpin Konghsia site. Because the general dates of the Megalithic elements in eastern Taiwan are much earlier than those in Southeast Asia and Oceania (3300-2400 BP (Kuo 2014)), their overseas connections are ambiguous (Hung 2019). Nevertheless, Sakai (2012) argued that the single standing stone, another megalithic element in Taiwan, indicates a key origin point for megalithic cultures in the Austronesian world. Thus, in addition to finding the connections southward, the authors might also consider eastern Taiwan in the future.

BACK TO THE LOCAL

Further south from Luzon, although the Visayas are well-known for their intensive connection between and beyond the region during the late prehistorical period of the Philippines (1000- 1521 CE), Alexandra De Leon's 'Funerary Practice and Community Identities in the Bacong Region of Negros Island, Central Philippines' invites us to pay attention to the long-term development of local technology and community identities within a relatively small region on Negros. Like Cuevas and Dizon's paper, imported goods such as glass beads, stoneware, and porcelain are discussed. However, these materials become key parameters of local funerary practice in De Leon's study. Based on practice theory, she argues that the attributions of ceramic burial jars and their associated contexts reveal evidence of group affiliation. Regardless of the uncertain archaeological contexts of some jar burials and the limited number of samples, De Leon was able to extract a considerable amount of mortuary information based on precise observation and detailed comparisons, such as bodily treatment of human remains, funerary rites, the relative duration of funerary rituals and community participation. Developing a preliminary assessment of the suggested model of intentional and unintentional practices, De Leon determines that during the Metal Age, burial practices in four out of the five sites represent substantial identity sharing, despite slight variations within each site. In contrast, in the following proto-historical period, the diversity of the jar burials suggests social differentiation or class identities, echoing previous research on Negros (Bacus 1999). In addition, the comparison of local ceramics from the two periods does not indicate a clear cultural transmission--that is to say, the transition between the middle to late Metal Age and the proto-historical period is unclear. Nevertheless, the application of theory and methodology in this research is innovative, and potentially it could be used with other types of materials.

In contrast to sourcing the origins of imported goods and ideas to identify overseas connections, investigating the development of local communities is another critical topic in Southeast Asia during the second millennium. Studying

how imported materials were incorporated in local contexts is a valuable direction to understand social development, but locally made potteries have received less attention. Even though some earlier studies indicated that an influx of the trade ceramics from China and Mainland Southeast Asia caused a general decline of indigenous ceramic industry (Fox 1967), more recent studies have shown that a focus on local potteries found within these broader maritime networks is essential for investigating social configurations from the late prehistorical to the historical period (Bacus 2003; Hsieh 2017). Ethnoarchaeological efforts to connect still-living pottery-making traditions with topics such as cultural transmission and identity formation in the Philippines (Cano 2012; Melendres 2017) are certainly an inspiration for Taiwanese archaeology, where similar situations also appeared.

UNDER THE NAMES OF FORMOSA AND LAS FILIPINAS

For a long time, the archaeological discussion surrounding Taiwan and the Philippines was limited to the prehistorical period. However, European colonial agendas incorporated Formosa (Taiwan) and Las Filipinas into the early modern global systems, and there are several rationales for considering these islands together. During this time, the islands were not at the peripheries of a mandala system but were reoriented as focal points for Asian-Pacific networks. Direct connections between the islands in this historical- archaeology context can be found in the discovery of Todos Los Santos Church in Keelung, Taiwan (Cruz Berrocal, et al. 2020; Tsang, et al. 2021). Although the victory of Koxinga that had turned Taiwan into a Han-dominated society seemed to differentiate the trajectories of Taiwan and the Philippines, colonial experiences of various groups of people provide valuable data to understand subsequent developments in both countries. In lowland Taiwan and the Philippines, European colonialism triggered the formation of hybrid societies (Hsieh 2017). During the early modern period, the Hokkien communities who migrated to both Taiwan and the Philippines were deeply entangled. Therefore, the studies of Hokkien, or Hokkein-related material culture in Taiwan, can facilitate and contextualize similar findings in the Philippines. For example, Nogami (2017) traced a Hokkien trade network from Nagasaki to the Americas by looking at Hizen porcelain in Taiwan and the Philippines. On the other hand, research about Sangleys in the Philippines can help to reevaluate the influence of Chinese colonists in early Taiwan. In addition, finding traces of indigenous communities living in proximity to the colonists but not appearing in historical documents is equally challenging in both Taiwan and the Philippines. Scholars from multiple disciplines could collaborate to develop a theoretical framework that is more suitable for understanding continuities and changes for these people (Acabado and Hsieh 2020).

Even for groups that were far from the direct colonial control, such as the Ifugaos in Luzon and Kavalans in Yilan, archaeological evidence has shown that people in these areas were not isolated and also experienced a certain degree of cultural changes during this same period (Acabado, et al. 2019; Hsieh 2012; Hsieh 2021; Lapeña and Acabado 2017; Wang and Marwick 2020). Frameworks such as ‘the art of not being governed’ (Scott 2009) offer a way to consider how these groups placed themselves in a changing world. New collaborations will be instrumental in relating the archaeological and historical research to contemporary societies. For example, archaeologists and anthropologists conducting research in the mountainous area of Ifugao in the Philippines are cooperating with others working on the comparable traditional Tayal region in Taiwan. This new project attempts to engage the local ethnic community from the beginning. We look forward to seeing more development in this direction.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Back in 2005, when the first volume of the *Journal of Austronesian Studies* was issued, this lasting connection between Taiwan and the Philippines was highlighted. Over the years since, more research has shown how Southeast Asia has been part of an open system, and that the Philippines and Taiwan are critical components of networks in the region. Archaeological data generated from islands in both countries are comparable and linkable in many cases. Thus, each needs this wider perspective in order to more fully understand their local meanings. The papers in this volume not only provide new perspectives and research questions for the Philippines and Taiwan, but also for their global implications. Together with the research of the historical period, these contributions encourage us to break through linguistic and national boundaries to open up a broader field for the next generation in archaeology.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Acabado, Stephen B., and Ellen Hsieh

- 2020 East and Southeast Asia at the Age of Contact: Post-1500 Archaeology of Asia. *In Handbook of Global Historical Archaeology*. J. Charles E. Orser, P. Funari, S. Lawrence, J. Symonds, and A. Zarankin, eds. Pp. 698-711. London: Routledge.

Acabado, Stephen B., et al.

- 2019 The Short History of the Ifugao Rice Terraces: A Local Response to the Spanish Conquest. *Journal of Field Archaeology* 44(3):195-214.

Bacus, Elisabeth A.

- 1999 Prestige and Potency: Political Economies of Protohistoric Visayan Polities. *Archeological Papers of the American Anthropological Association* 9(1):67-87.

—

- 2003 Styles of Alliance?: Decorated Earthenwares in Late Prehisotry and Portohistoric Philippine Polities. *In Earthenware in Southeast Asia*. J. Miksic, ed. Pp. 39-51. Singapore: Singapore University Press.

Bellwood, P., et al.

- 2011 Are 'Cultures' Inherited? Multidisciplinary Perspectives on the Origins and Migrations of Austronesian-Speaking Peoples Prior to 1000 BC. *In Investigating Archaeological Cultures: Material Culture, Variability, and Transmission*. B.W. Roberts and M.V. Linden, eds. Pp. 321-354. New York: Springer.

Cano, Jenny Ruth Moral

- 2012 Crafting Community, Reconstructing Identities, and Performing Traditions: Ethnoarchaeology of Burnay pottery tradition and community integration in Vigan Ilocos, Sur, Philippines, Department of Anthropology, The University of Arizona.

Cruz Berrocal, María , et al.

- 2020 The Study of European Migration in Asia-Pacific During the Early Modern Period: San Salvador de Isla Hermosa (Keelung, Taiwan). *International Journal of Historical Archaeolgy* 24:233-283.

Fox, Robert B.

- 1967 The Archeological Record of Chinese Influences in the Philippines. *Philippine Studies* 15(1):41-62.

Hsieh, Ellen

- 2012 A Historical Archaeological Study of Exotic Ceramics from the Ki-Wu-Lan Site (淇武蘭遺址上文化層的外來陶瓷：一個歷史考古學的研究 *Kiwulan yizhi sanwunhuacen de wailai taoci: Yige lizhi kaoguxue de yenjiu*). *Journal of Archaeology and Anthropology* 76:33-60.

—

- 2017 Early Spanish Colonialism in Manila, the Philippines: An historical archaeological viewpoint, *Archaeology*, UCLA.

—

- 2021 Keelung and Kavalan in the Seventeenth Century: Insights from the new archaeological discovery in Heping Island (十七世紀的雞籠與噶瑪蘭：由和平島考古新發現談起 *Shiqi shiji de Jilong yu Gamalan: You Heping Dao kaogu xinfaxian tanqi*). *Formosa Next to the Ocean International Conference*, National Cheng Kung University, Taianan, 2021.

Hung, Hsiao-Chun

- 2005 Neolithic Interaction between Taiwan and Northern Luzon: The pottery and jade evidence from the Cagayan Valley. *Journal of Austronesian Studies* 1(1):109-134.

—

- 2019 Ancient Interactions Between Eastern Taiwan and the Philippines -- from the Palaeolithic Age to Iron Age (臺灣東部與菲律賓群島的史前人群交流—從舊石器時代到鐵器時代 *Taiwan dongbu yu Feilubin qundao de shiqian renqun jiaoliu - Cong jiushiqi shidai dao tieqi shidai*). *Field Archaeology of Taiwan* 19(2):87-116.

Hung, Hsiao-chun, and Chin-yung Chao

- 2016 Taiwan's Early Metal Age and Southeast Asian Trading Systems. *Antiquity* 90(354):1537-1551.

Kano, Tadao

- 1984 Outline Review of the Taiwan Archaeology and Ethnology (臺灣考古學民族學概觀 *Taiwan kaoguxue minzuxue gaiguan*). Taipei: Taiwan Historica.

Kuo, Su-chiu

- 2014 Saopa, Its Cultural Subsistence and Relevance to the Chilin Culture (花蓮縣掃叭遺址的文化內涵—兼論麒麟文化 Hualianxian Saoba yizhi de wenhua neihan - Jianlun Qilin wenhua). *Field Archaeology of Taiwan* 17(2):1-58.

—

- 2019 *New Frontiers in the Neolithic Archaeology of Taiwan (5600-1800 BP): A Perspective of Maritime Cultural Interaction*. Singapore: Springer.

Lapeña, Queeny G., and Stephen B. Acabado

- 2017 Resistance through Rituals: The Role of “Native Pig” (*Sus scrofa*) in Ifugao Feasting and Socio-political Organization. *Journal of Archaeological Science: Reports* 13:583-594.

Melendres, Rhayan

- 2017 I Want to Make a Pot: Cultural Transmission and Learning Dynamics of Pottery Making in Gatbuca, Calumpit, Bulacan, Philippines. *Proceedings of the Society of Philippine Archaeologists* 8:1-16.

Nogami, Takenori

- 2017 The Trade Networks of Japanese Porcelain in the Asia-Pacific Region. *In Historical Archaeology of Early Modern Colonialism in Asia-Pacific-The Asia Pacific Region*. M.C. Berrocal and C.-h. Tsang, eds. Pp. 186-218. Gainesville: University Press of Florida.

Scott, James C.

- 2009 *The Art of Not Being Governed: An Anarchist History of Upland Southeast Asia*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Tsang, Cheng-hwa, Ellen Hsieh, and María Cruz Berrocal

- 2021 Final report: Fort San Salvador and Todos Los Santos Church Archaeological Project (聖薩爾瓦多城暨修道院考古發掘計畫成果報告書 Sheng saerwaduocheng ji siudaoyuan kaogu fajue jihua chenfgguo baogao shu).

Wang, Li-Ying, and Ben Marwick

- 2020 Trade ornaments as indicators of social changes resulting from indirect effects of colonialism in northeastern Taiwan. *Archaeological Research in Asia* 24:100226.

Yeh, Chang-Keng

2008 Studies of Megalithic Complexity in the Eastern Taiwan: Artifact, Type and Meaning (臺灣東部巨石文化之相關研究：遺物、類型與意義 Taiwan dongbu jushi wenhua zhi xiagguan yanjiu: Yiwu, leixing yu yiyi), Anthropology, National Taiwan University.