Funerary Practice and Community Identities in the Bacong Region of Negros Island, Central Philippines

Alexandra De Leon*

ABSTRACT

This article is a study on community identities in the Bacong region during the Metal and Proto-Historic periods that introduces a new approach to examine jar burials in the Philippines. Guided by practice theory, it teases out nuances in funerary practice and examines two types – intentional and unintentional practice - that either deliberately or unconsciously reveal group affiliation, respectively. Intentional practices of affiliation are ways of doing that are consciously and deliberately undertaken to signal social relations and identities while unintentional practices of affiliation are habitual and almost unconscious acts performed in everyday life that unintentionally reflect group affiliation. Intentional practices of affiliation reveal nuances in community identities and social dynamics while unintentional practices provide insight into group affiliation and learning transmission. This study examines patterns of distribution in various attributes of mortuary styles from five Metal and three Proto-Historic period jar burial sites in Bacong in central Philippines. Analyses show that during the Metal period, patterns of intentional practices of affiliation as observed in high visibility attributes in grave arrangements, mortuary vessels, ceramic grave goods, and ritual ceremonies exhibit high degrees of similarity at four sites with one site exhibiting distinct traces of intentional practices. Hence, remains of intentional affiliative practices suggest high degrees of social interaction at the four sites with a deliberate strategy of creating and maintaining a cohesive community identity. In contrast, during the Proto-Historic period, conscious enactments of community are deemphasized and inclined towards social differentiation, as based on the lack of high visibility symbols and images of commonality and community in funerary material culture and traces of ritual ceremonies. In terms of unintentional practices of affiliation that are examined in low visibility technical styles of grave preparation and ceramic production, the investigation finds that technological transmission of production techniques and behavior is high, especially among potting groups in Magsuhot, as observed from high degrees of similarity in low visibility markers of mortuary ceramics. This suggests a close-knit enculturative background among technical production groups in Bacong, with teaching and learning transmission possibly occurring through close kinship

* Archaeology Division, National Museum of the Philippines. sandydeleon@gmail.com

and marriage systems. Unfortunately, a lack of comparable material for the Proto-Historic period provides no insight into later processes of enculturation. Overall, the findings suggest community identities transformed from the Metal to the Proto-Historic period in Bacong with weak indicators of cultural transmission between earlier and later period communities in intentional and unintentional practices of affiliation.

Key Words: Philippines, jar burials, ceramics, mortuary practice, community identities

INTRODUCTION

Striking localized expressions in funerary practice and material culture are notable during the Metal Age (ca. 500 BC – AD 1000) as observed in mortuary remains from geographically scattered burial sites in the Philippines (e.g. Dizon 1979; Dizon and Santiago 1996; Fox 1970; Kurjack, et al. 1971; Maceda 1966; Solheim 1952; Tenazas 1974; Thiel 1986). Following concepts of identity and style in archaeology (eg. Conkey and Hastorf 1993; Hegmon 1992, 1998; Jones 1997; Plog 1995; Sackett 1977, 1998; Wiessner 1983; Wobst 1977), the iconographic elements in burial jar decoration are active means by which ancient cultural groups signify their unique identities and communicate their difference from others. However, investigations concerning early social groups in the Philippines – their social interactions and identities are rarely examined. Consequently, there is a significant dearth of knowledge about Metal Age groups who left these scattered burials across the islands, what their communities were like in terms of group identities and social dynamics, the nature of their contacts with other groups, and how their cultures may have transformed over time.

Almost a decade of archaeological research in the Bacong region of Negros island in central Philippines (Fig. 1) has revealed jar burial sites that makes it possible to address questions concerning prehistoric communities, social interactions and their identities. The excavation of several burials, in either earthenware or stoneware vessels, suggests a long duration for jar burial practice in the region from the Metal to the Proto-Historic period (AD 1000 - 1521). Using concepts rooted in practice theory, this study investigates funerary remains from the Bacong region to understand the social construction of communities in late Philippine prehistory. It also aims to obtain insight into cultural continuities and transformations between Metal and Proto-Historic period communities in Bacong.

COMMUNITIES AND COMMUNITY IDENTITIES

Recent investigations of *communities* emphasize its dynamic nature and its constitution through the identities and social practices of its members (Harris 2014; Mac Sweeney 2011; Yaeger and Canuto 2000). Communities, as defined by Yaeger and Canuto (2000: 5), are "dynamic and socially constituted institutions contingent upon human agency for its creation and continued existence". The social practices, beliefs, and lived experience shared by members within a community create a perception of commonality, which in turn creates a sense of cohesion and shared

identity. This sense of commonality, this sense of 'us', is a mental construct built symbolically through shared experience and social practice in the community, and can only be created and recreated through constant social and cultural negotiation.

This conception of community is rooted in practice theory (Bourdieu 1977; Giddens 1984; Ortner 1984) which maintains that practices (the things people do) are cultural constructions driven by the recursive connections between social structures and agents. A critical notion in practice theory is the concept of *habitus*, the embodied set of predispositions (thoughts, perceptions, expressions, actions) learned from upbringing and lived experience, that govern how people behave and act in certain situations (Bourdieu 1977). As the cultural embodiment of structures during socialization, habitus is manifested in practice. These practices are shared and transmitted within a community and reflect "cultural diacritics" and multiple levels of group identities (Stark 2006: 21). Crucially, these practices, referred to by Yaeger (2000) as "practices of affiliation", contribute to the creation of a sense of commonality that is fundamental to the existence of a community.

With the concept of community and their identities tied to social practice, archaeological investigations of group affiliation and social boundaries over the last two decades examine patterned traces of social practice in archaeological remains and material culture. Archaeologists and ethnoarchaeologists developed approaches to find correlations between discrete material signatures of social practice and social units such as "ethnic groups" (Jones 1997), "communities of practice" (Minar and Crown 2001), and "communities" (Yaeger and Canuto 2000). There are distinctions however to social practices of affiliation: sometimes they are undertaken in an unintentional, habitual, almost unconscious manner, and sometimes they are consciously planned and deliberately intended to signal social relations and community identities (Lightfoot, et al. 1998: 202; Pauketat 2001: 8). These differences between unintentional and intentional practices can be pursued to investigate nuances in social relationships and learning transmission within and between social groups.

Social practices of affiliation that are habitual and unintentional "seem so natural that they are not open to conscious debate or dispute" (Yaeger 2000: 129). Mundane acts of everyday life are habitually performed without much thoughtful reflection, yet nonetheless, foster a sense of commonality among members of a community. Knowledge of habitual practices are learned from participation in daily life through interactions with members of the community. More specialized knowledge on specific activities - the development of skills, know-how on techniques and processes - are obtained from training and apprenticeship in certain learning communities (Stark, et al. 2008b: 5). Aspects of skills and techniques that are learned at a young age can be carried into adulthood later in life as individuals move into other communities through trade or intermarriage

(e.g. Gosselain 2000, 2011). Conventionally undertaken in private spaces, habitual practices tend to leave minimal traces or not easily visible marks in material culture. Investigations of habitual practice in archaeology and ethnoarchaeology focus on examining traces of production techniques and operational sequences using practice based frameworks such as "anthropology of technology" (Dietler and Herbich 1998; Hegmon 1998; Stark 2006) and "communities of practice"(Minar and Crown 2001; Sassaman and Rudolphi 2001) that is combined with "situated learning theory" (Lave and Wenger 1991; Wenger 1998). These approaches track technological similarities and variation across geographic regions, and not only identify technological traditions and innovations, but also help understand the social contexts of learning and learning transmission within and across generations (Stark, et al. 2008a). Thus, investigation of unintentional and habitual social practice, the traces of techniques and sequences, can provide insight into group affiliation and learning transmission.

Intentional social practices, in contrast to habitual social practices, are ways of doing that are consciously and intentionally undertaken to signal social relations and identities. Mac Sweeney (2011: 37) delves on this idea further with the notion of 'enactments of community' that she defines as "practices and activities through which a community consciously emphasizes its perceived togetherness and promotes the ideology of group solidarity". Since social cohesion is never automatic, certain deliberate enactments are necessary to create a sense of commonality and community identity. Intentional acts of affiliation can take many forms but will in common feature participation of a significant portion of the community, are invested with social significance and symbolism, and demonstrate a sense of sameness in spatial features and material culture (Mac Sweeney 2011). Typically performed in public space with material culture that is meant to be seen, deliberate practices are intended to be highly visible. Archaeologically, a sense of sameness or commonality is investigated through stylistic approaches that find aesthetic similarities in various types of contextual and material evidence across a region. There is a long history of investigation and debate on style in archaeology (eg. Carr and Neitzel 1995b; Conkey and Hastorf 1993; Hegmon 1992, 1998; Jones 1997; Plog 1995; Sackett 1977, 1998; Wiessner 1983, 1984; Wobst 1977) and style remains an important approach for archaeologists to define "groups" and to determine the nature of social relationships between groups. More recent practice based approaches to investigate style help caution against uncritical linking of style with social groups and thus a suite of evidence is examined to infer social practice from material remains.

Both modes of social practices of affiliation, the unintentional and intentional, offer clues for identifying past communities as well as insight into social relations and shared learning frameworks. Funerary rituals are specific social practices that involve a series of unintentional and intentional affiliative activities. As Hull (2014:

164) states, rituals encompass "a range of activities from mundane acts of daily life to episodic or unique spectacles…". Funerary practice is constituted by intentional performative acts and unintentional preparatory activities: intentional practices involve funerary ritual performance and attendant material culture while unintentional practices include the series of preparatory activities undertaken prior to performance of funerary rites such as preparation of the graves and ritual material culture. These intentional and unintentional practices are embodiments of social structures that leave partial traces in the archaeological record and offer opportunities to address questions about past communities and the creation, maintenance and transformation of group identities.

This research uses mortuary remains from the site of Bacong in central Philippines to investigate the social construction of small-scale island communities from the Metal to the Proto-Historic period. It utilizes funerary remains to determine ideologies of commonality and a sense of community manifested in traces of intentional and unintentional mortuary practices of affiliation. Intentional funerary practices of affiliation, that puts emphasis on the idea of community and its visibility, is examined from remains of performative ritual and visual styles of material culture to identify community affiliations and social dynamics within and between communities. Unintentional funerary practices of affiliation, focused on routinary practices of production, is examined from almost invisible vestiges of pre-ritual preparatory activities such as grave preparation and ceramic production to understand shared learning within and between groups. Evidence from the various Bacong burial sites are then compared to determine how community identities transformed through time in the Philippines.

UNDERSTANDING COMMUNITY IDENTITIES THROUGH MORTUARY REMAINS

To carry out this investigation, mortuary styles of burial sites in the Bacong region are examined for traces of social practice, more specifically funerary practice, from which community identities are inferred. Mortuary styles comprised of characteristic features and attributes of burial sites are examined for evidence of (1) intentional and (2) unintentional practices of affiliation to gain insight into the nature and degrees of social interaction and past community identity. The goal of the study is to first, determine patterns of distribution between sites; second, understand degrees of social interaction between sites; and third, make inferences on the social relations and dynamics between groups during the Metal and Proto-Historic period. These are altogether utilized to interpret aspects of social

construction, maintenance and transformation of community identities in the Bacong region from the Metal to the Protohistoric Periods.

The investigation of mortuary styles is guided by stylistic studies in archaeology. Studies of style in archaeology are rooted in the notion that stylistic attributes in material culture reflect patterns of group affiliation and intersocietal exchanges (Sackett 1977; Wobst 1977). Style, however, is a broad concept, and the daunting amount of archaeological literature on style over the last decades reflects the intense debates regarding the definitions, kinds, functions and applications of style in our field (e.g. Carr and Neitzel 1995a; Conkey and Hastorf 1993; Hegmon 1992, 1995, 1998; Plog 1995; Sackett 1977, 1982, 1985, 1998; Stark 1998; Wiessner 1983, 1984, 1985, 1990; Wobst 1977). Despite these wide-ranging debates, archaeologists frequently study stylistic attributes of material remains in order firstly, to define groups based on the material remains of social practice and secondly, to determine the nature of social relationships between groups. The similarities in material remains indicate that group members engaged in similar pursuits and experiences. In studies of social interaction, styles are also examined in order to establish linkages between groups on various scales.

Scholars agree that stylistic analysis requires a consideration of several kinds of stylistic variation that play important roles in social contexts (Carr and Neitzel 1995b; Hegmon 1992, 1998; Stark 1998). In this study, stylistic variables of visibility and distribution are considered in relation to understanding intentional and unintentional practices of affiliation. In studies by Carr (1995) and Voss and Young (1995) that integrate the diverse concepts on style in archaeology, including Wobst's (1977) information exchange theory, and other concepts of stylistic behavior such as assertive and emblemic (Wiessner 1983, 1984, 1985), and isochrestic styles (Sackett 1977, 1982), visibility and distribution of stylistic attributes are, among other things, important variables that intersect with social behavior and choice at various phenomenological levels. One of the tenets Carr (1995) and Voss and Young (1995) elaborate in their work is the idea that stylistic variables reflect both active and passive social interaction processes, wherein more active social processes (e.g. active interaction and identity maintenance) correspond to higher attribute visibility, while more passive processes (e.g. enculturation) tend toward low attribute visibility. Thus, active and intentional practices of affiliation will tend to be reflected in visible and emblemic style, while passive unintentional practices of affiliation will be manifested in isochrestic, almost invisible material styles. By examining the distribution of both high and low visibility attributes of mortuary style, it is possible to ascertain aspects of community identity and exchange relations between different communities.

Intentional practices of affiliation, those practices that are deliberately and consciously enacted to create and communicate the idea of community and a sense

of belonging, include the performative spectacle of ritual ceremonies and the highly visible imagery created by funerary material culture. Archaeologically, remains of intentional funerary ritual practices are interpreted from various attributes in grave arrangements, ceramic form and decoration, grave goods, bodily treatment, and other ritual evidence. The patterns of distribution in traces of active and highly visible ritual acts and material culture are then utilized to infer group affiliation, degrees of social interaction, and the dynamics of community cohesion, where relatively greater similarity in visible ritual remains suggests a higher tendency for communities to emphasize commonality, belonging and group solidarity. Conversely, greater variability in the archaeological traces of intentional practices of affiliation indicates a greater tendency for communities to emphasize individuality over community.

Meanwhile, unintentional practices of affiliation - the things people do with no deliberate intent to signal the idea of community, but nonetheless inadvertently reveals group membership – encompass the preparatory activities undertaken prior to the performance of funerary rituals that are often undertaken without spectacle. These include activities such as, the preparation of ritual space and the production of necessary ceremonial objects. Because such activities or processes are presumably undertaken passively in relative privacy removed from public theater and are not aimed toward actively communicating the notion of community, unlike intentional practices of affiliation, unintentional practices tend to lack highly visible or iconographic imagery. Consequently, traces of unintentional practices are inclined to be almost invisible or of low visibility. In the production of mortuary ceramics for example, an unintentional practice of affiliation is the characteristic way community potters temper vessels with rice chaff, cow dung or river sand or the manner in which potters shape vessels into wares with thick mouth rims. In performing these operational tasks of pottery production, a potter is not particularly concerned with visual or symbolic display, and thus, the traces of such practices in raw material composition or mouth rim thicknesses for instance tend to be subtle or not easily visible to the naked eye. Crucially, the patterns observed in preparatory activities or production processes can inform on group membership and enculturation processes in the community. For the investigation of unintentional practices in the Bacong burials, features of grave preparation and ceramic production processes are examined. Traces of grave preparation are investigated from grave cuts, linings and jar stabilizers while ceramic production techniques of shaping, decoration, and firing are examined, noting attributes such as vessel rim profiles, lip profiles, wall thicknesses, shaping and decoration tools. The distribution of passive, low visibility attributes are then used to infer group membership and enculturation processes, where greater similarities within and between sites in low visibility ritual preparatory acts suggests a greater instance for shared learning and enculturation within and

between communities. On the other hand, greater heterogeneity in attributes of unintentional practices of affiliation within and between sites indicate a lack of shared learning and apprenticeship within and between communities.

Guided by Carr (1995) and Voss and Young's (1995) ideas on relative visibility of attributes and distribution, attributes of intentional and unintentional practices of affiliation are determined from patterns of similarities and variations in mortuary features between sites. Patterns of distribution range from uniform to clinal to discrete for either high (intentional practices of affiliation) or low (unintentional practices of affiliation) visibility attributes. Distribution is uniform when an attribute occurs uniformly over several sites; clinal when an attribute follows a gradient of change across sites; discrete when an attribute differs between sites and exhibits a threshold/boundary between sites; and, random when an attribute occurs randomly across sites. Table 1 presents the proposed interpretation of observed patterns from the study area.

Table 1. Interpretive table for patterns of distribution in mortuary features

Mortuary Features	Distribution between sites	Degree of interaction between sites	Possible Interpretation
Intentional practices of Affiliation/High Visibility Attributes: Grave arrangements, Mortuary vessels, Ceramic grave goods, Glass and iron artifacts, ritual evidence	Discrete	Low	Distinct community identities; Little interaction (trade or intermarriage) between groups
	Clinal	Moderate	Shared identities between groups with signaling for individual/local identities; Continuous interaction (trade or intermarriage) between groups
	Uniform	High	Collective community identity; cohesion/unity between units; Extensive interaction (trade and intermarriage) between units
	Random	?	Individual identity?
Unintentional Practices of Affiliation/Low Visibility Attributes: Grave preparation and Ceramic production	Discrete	Low	No Shared learning or passive interaction between groups: No interaction (trade or intermarriage) between groups
	Clinal	Moderate or Low	Some shared learning between groups; Some interaction (trade or intermarriage) between groups
	Uniform	High	Substantial shared learning between groups; Intermarriage or trade between groups
	Random	?	Individual identity? Artist?

THE BACONG REGION AND THE FUNERARY SITES

The Bacong region is located on southeastern Negros island in central Philippines (Fig. 1). The significance of Bacong for Philippine Metal Age research was first recognized in the 1970s during excavations of massive and elaborately decorated jar burials by Lionel Chiong of Silliman University (Cadelina and Perez 1985) and Rosa Tenazas (1974, 1977, 1979) of the University of San Carlos. The excavations were focused on *barangay* Magsuhot although pothunters looted similar sites across Bacong in *barangays* Liptong, Malabago, Balayag Manok and Buntod. An excavation was also carried out in Magsuhot by Maria Lorenza Dalupan in the 1980s as part of the Bais Archaeological Project (Hutterer 1982; Junker 1999.) Archaeological excavations in the area ceased after these projects, although examinations of the mortuary ceramics were undertaken by Rolando Mascuñana (1986) in the 1980s. Archaeological investigations resumed in 2010 under the initiative of the Bacong Archaeological Project (BAP), a collaboration between the National Museum of the Philippines, the University of Illinois at Chicago, and the Municipal Government of Bacong (Dizon, et al. 2010; Dizon, et al. 2016; Dizon, et al. 2019; Dizon, et al. 2011; Jago-on, et al. 2012; Vitales and Peñalosa 2011; Vitales, et al. 2010). The recent investigations revealed several sites relatively dated from the Metal Age, Proto-Historic, and the Historic Period (AD 1521 to modern times). There are five Metal Age burial sites that are concentrated in *barangays* Magsuhot, Liptong and Buntod at elevations between 200 and 300 meters above sea level, with the Sarono, Tañac, Yucor1, and Vergaño sites located between Lagnasan and Mamalbal creek while Soldevillo is located south of Mamalbal creek. The Metal Age sites contain earthenware burial jars and small pots, iron implements and glass ornaments. Imported ceramics, such as stoneware and porcelain that are typical of post-AD 1000 sites, do not occur at these sites. Significantly, three noteworthy Proto-Historic period burial sites were reported by locals and subsequently investigated by BAP team members (but not excavated). The three sites – Arado, Buntod1 and Combado, are located south of the Mamalbal creek closer to the Malangwa river, at elevations between 70 to 230 meters above sea level. The three sites are considered post-AD 1000 since all contain trade ceramics including Chinese whiteware and celadon. Their markedly different locations at lower elevations east and south of the Metal Age sites indicates spatial distinctions between Metal and Proto-Historic social groups that are the subject of this study. Although these three Proto-Historic period funerary sites were not systematically excavated, these still hold important information concerning funerary practices after AD 1000 in Bacong and are thus included in this study. This paper focuses on eight funerary sites from the Metal and Proto-Historic periods.

The acquisition of suitable material for radiocarbon dating has proven problematic for the BAP, as four samples submitted for carbon dating all failed for lack of dateable content. The Bacong region lies within the Cuerdos de Negros volcanic system and is comprised of the Tupi and Taal formations that are characterized by acidic soils with a soil ph ranging from 5.0 to 6.0 (PhilRice 2014). The acidic nature of the soils in Bacong is a likely cause of poor preservation of organic matter at the archaeological sites, and thus charcoal and organic material are difficult to encounter at the sites.

Regardless, Dalupan's excavations at the Solamillo site in Magsuhot (Hutterer and Macdonald 1982; Junker 1999) that is located about 200 meters east of Tenazas' 1974 excavation, produced a cultural layer (2B) associated with the jar burials and are radiocarbon dated to 1820 +/- 270 BP. This puts a first century BC to third century AD date for burial sites of the BAP that have obvious parallels in mortuary ceramic styles with those from Solamillo. BAP burial sites with earthenware ceramics that have characteristic stylistic affinity with those from Solamillo such as appliquéd and scalloped decorations (described further below) include the Sarono, Tañac, Vergaño and Yucor1 burial sites. These four sites are attributed to the Metal Age. A fifth site, the Soldevillo site, yielded grave burial ceramics that are distinctly different from Solamillo and the four sites mentioned above, and is uncertain age. The lack of carbon dates from Soldevillo creates a dating issue although, an assessment of the artifact assemblage found here, which includes glass beads and iron tools, coupled with an absence of trade ceramics, may suggest that the Soldevillo burial is relatively dated to the Metal Period (500 BC – AD 1000). Three other Bacong mortuary sites are associated with Chinese ceramics and are designated as belonging to the Proto-Historic period. The first of two sites, the Buntod1 and Combado sites both potentially date to the late thirteenth century AD based on late Southern Sung Dynasty (AD 1127–1279) Qingbai[1] ware (whiteware) from the burials while the Arado site possibly dates to the 16th century AD based on the type of stoneware dragon jar from the site (Valdes, et al. 1992). See Table 2 for a summary.

[1] as identified by National Museum of the Philippines ceramics specialist B. Orillaneda

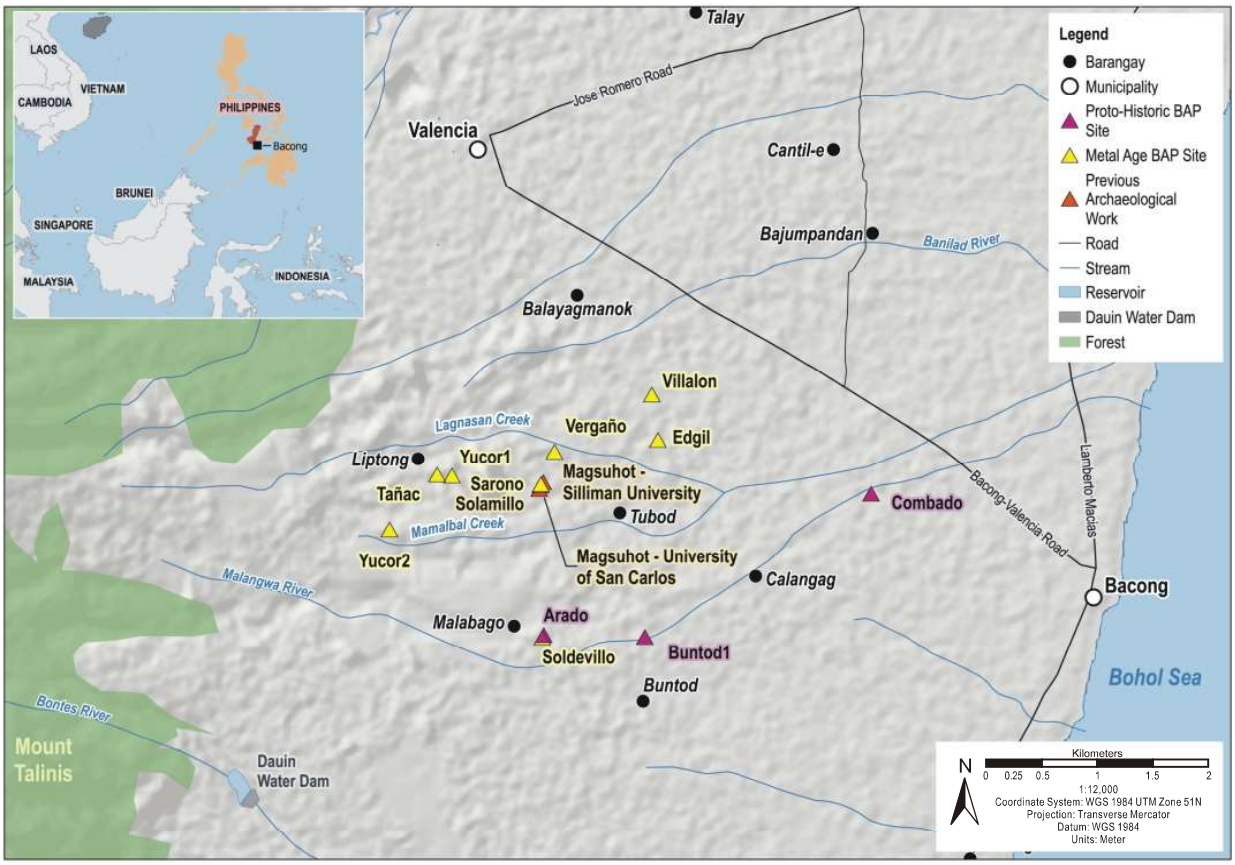

Fig. 1: Location of Bacong archaeological sites on southeastern Negros island in central Philippines. Prepared by P.D. Hernandez.

Table 2. Bacong Region Jar Burial Sites and Associated Dates

Period	Site	Associated Dates
Metal	Sarono	1820 ± 270 BP *
	Tañac	1820 ± 270 BP *
	Vergaño	1820 ± 270 BP *
	Yucor1	1820 ± 270 BP *
	Soldevillo	unknown
Proto-Historic	Arado	Stoneware dragon jar, 16th century AD
	Buntod1	Southern Song qingpai whiteware, AD 1127-1279
	Combado	Southern Song qingpai whiteware, AD 1127-1279

*radiocarbon date from Solamillo site excavation with similar ceramic types (M.L. Dalupan in Junker 1990:484)

Broadly, each of the jar burial sites from the Metal to the Protohistoric Period contain one to three ceramic mortuary jars that are buried with grave goods that may include ceramic wares, iron tools and ornaments of glass, stone or shell. The sites are described further in the next section, but the nature of skeletal remains found inside the mortuary vessels are poorly preserved, sometimes almost completely decayed, which make age and sex determination challenging. In addition, associations of grave goods with specific burials and individuals are also difficult to ascertain. Perhaps some jars now empty of human remains, held some in the past but have since decomposed because of poor preservation conditions at the sites. Nevertheless, certain burial jars contained some teeth that allowed for a general age assessment of the human remains at the time of death (Bautista 2010) (see Table 3).

Table 3: Distribution of human remains across the Bacong burial sites*

Period	Site	Human Remains	Age and MNI
Metal	Sarono	Jar 2: skeletal remains of at least 1 individual and 2 crania	2 adults (1 possibly male)
	Tañac	Coffin: teeth fragments, very few skeletal remains (fragmented)	1 adult
	Yucor1	Jar 1: deciduous teeth	Jar 1: 2 juveniles
		Jar 3: adult long bones and deciduous teeth	Jar 3: 1 adult & 1 juvenile
	Vergaño	Jar 1: long bone fragments	1 individual
	Soldevillo	Jar 2: deciduous teeth	1 juvenile
Proto-Historic	Arado	human remains reported	at least 1 individual
	Buntod1	human remains reported	at least 1 individual
	Combado	human remains reported	at least 1 individual

*analysis of human remains by A. Bautista and H. Bautista, archaeologists at the National Museum of the Philippines

The data examined in this study includes the contextual and artifactual remains at the eight Bacong burial sites mentioned above. The ceramic assemblage examined include 235 vessels comprised of mortuary vessels, globular pots, long pots, open-bottom vessels, footed dishes, and bowls (Table 4). All the pots are from mortuary contexts and the assemblage includes several whole or reconstructable vessels and potsherds. Colors of all vessels generally range from red to brown to very dark brown though some may be red-slipped originally that may have faded due to weathering.

Table 4: Distribution of ceramic types across Bacong burial sites

Period	Site	Mortuary Vessels	Associated vessels									Total
			Tall-necked Globular pot	Short-necked Globular pot	Globular Pot (unknown neck)	Footed Dish	Open-bottomed vessels	Long Pot	Bowl	Everted Rim Pot (unknown body shape)	Chinese Ceramics	
Metal	Sarono	2	14	5		3	2	1	0			27
	Tañac	1	15	2		0	2	0	1			21
	Vergaño	2	37	22		4	1	4	0			70
	Yucor1	3	38	40	7	11	3	1	0			103
	Soldevillo	2						1	1	2		6
	Subtotal	10	104	69	7	18	8	7	2	2	0	227
Proto-Historic	Arado	1										1
	Buntod1	1									1	2
	Combado	3									2	5
	Subtotal	5									3	8
Total		15	104	69	7	18	8	7	2	2	3	235

PATTERNS IN INTENTIONAL FUNERARY PRACTICES OF AFFILIATION

Bacong Metal Age

During the Metal Age, two distinct funerary practices of affiliation are observed in the Bacong Region as defined by similarities and variation in visible attributes of grave arrangements, mortuary vessels, ceramic grave goods, bodily treatment, and ritual evidence. The first type of mortuary practice is represented by the Sarono, Tañac, Yucor 1 and Vergaño sites and for convenience is hereafter referred to as the "Magsuhot" type of burial practice. This is named after the barrio where the first of these burials were excavated by Chiong (Mascuñana 1986) and Tenazas (1974), and where some of these recent excavations are located. The second type is referred to as the Soldevillo type of funerary practice, also named after the site where the funerary practice is observed. Fig. 2 shows photographs and reconstructions of the various sites while Table 5 summarizes the features and distribution of intentional mortuary practices across the Bacong region. Following are descriptions of patterns observed in various features of visible funerary remains from the Metal Age.

Grave Arrangements: The Metal Age graves in the Bacong region all follow a similar burial template in that they are all comprised of earthenware mortuary vessels that hold the corporeal remains of the dead and are interred with grave goods that may include earthenware pots, iron tools, and glass ornaments (Fig. 2 & Table 5). More specifically, the burial at Sarono consists of two round flat-bottomed burial jars along with twenty-five pots that are placed on top and around the upper part of the jars without any iron or glass artifacts. At Tañac, the burial feature contains one large flat-bottomed rectangular coffin that is accompanied by twenty small pots along with one iron tool, one red glass bracelet, and thirty-five glass beads of various colors. At Yucor1, the burial is composed of three flat-bottomed round jars with a total of 100 small pots placed around the jars and interred with two iron tools and twenty-four glass beads. The burial at Vergaño is made up of two flat-bottomed burial vessels, one round and one rectangular, found with sixty-eight small pots. Fragments of an iron implement and twenty-nine glass beads of assorted colors are found inside the round burial jar. At Soldevillo (Fig. 2, bottom), two round-bottomed burial jars are found together with at least four small pots, two iron tools and 36 glass and stone beads are found all inside one of two burial jars.

The distribution patterns of grave arrangements across the five sites indicate that four burials at Sarono, Tañac, Yucor1, and Vergaño are highly similar while the Soldevillo burial is distinct. Graves at the four Magsuhot sites are alike in the

nature of grave arrangements, funerary vessels (as described further below), pot placements, and relatively large burial areas. In terms of grave arrangements, the four sites are all characterized by elaborate burials with flat-bottomed burial jars that are almost a meter in height and an abundant number of small pots clustered on top and around the jar lids. The burial jars are upright while the earthenware vessels lie either bottom-up, on their sides or bottom up with grave goods comprised of iron and glass objects buried inside the burial jars.

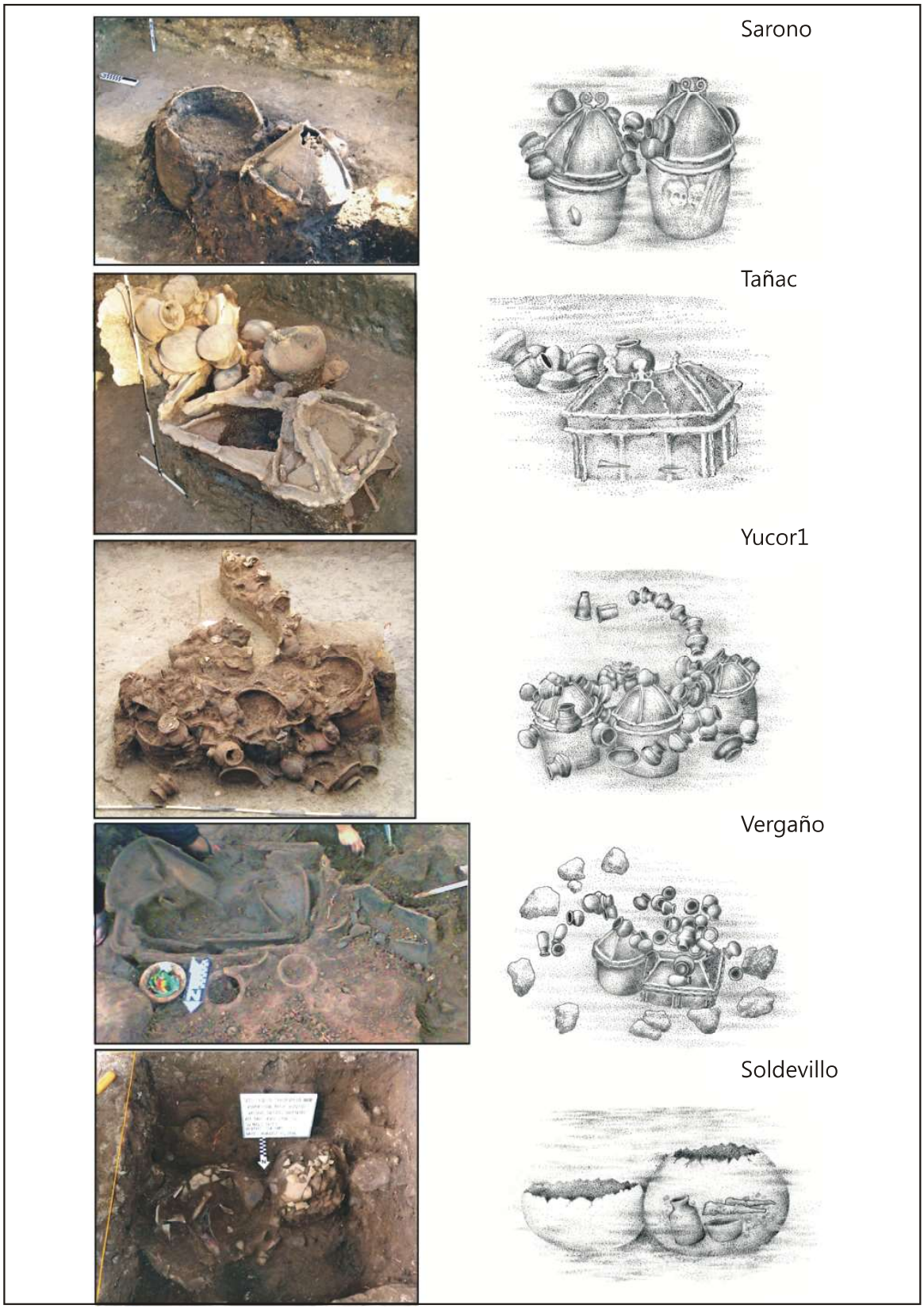

Fig. 2: The various Metal Age burial sites in Bacong (*left*), with artist reconstruction (*right*). Photographs by, *from top*: A. de Leon, E. Dizon, A. de Leon, T. Vitales and A. de Leon. Illustrations by E. Bersamira.

Table 5: Distribution of intentional funerary practices of affiliation in the Metal and Proto-Historic Period

Mortuary Features	Metal Period					Distribution across the Bacong Region
	Sarono	Tañac	Vergaño	Yucor 1	Soldevillo	
1. Grave Arrangements: a. Burial template	2 earthenware burial jars surrounded by numerous small pots	1 earthenware coffin surrounded by numerous small pots on top and around the coffin with glass ornaments and iron tools inside.	1 earthenware coffin and 1 earthenware jar surrounded by numerous small pots on top and around the burial vessels with glass ornaments and iron tools inside.	3 earthenware burial jars surrounded by numerous small pots on top and around the burial jars with glass ornaments and iron tools inside.	2 earthenware burial jars with small pots and iron tools inside 1 jar; rocks at the bottom for jar stabilization.	Burial template that involves placement of human remains in burial jars along with grave goods that include ceramic vessels, glass ornaments and iron tools is uniform across 5 sites.
b. Placement of grave goods	Pots placed on top/around burial jars	Pots placed mostly outside burial jars; other grave goods - iron tools & glass ornaments are placed inside the burial jar	Pots placed mostly outside burial jars; other grave goods - iron tools & glass ornaments are placed inside the burial jar	Pots placed mostly outside burial jars; other grave goods - iron tools & glass ornaments are placed inside the burial jar	Ceramics, glass beads & iron tools are placed inside jar	Highly similar at Sarono, Tañac, Vergaño, and Yucor1; Soldevillo follows a different practice.
c. Quantities of grave goods	2 jars, 25 pots, 0 iron, 0 glass beads	1 coffin, 20 pots, 2 iron, 35 beads & 1 bracelet	1 coffin, 1 jar, 68 pots, 1 iron, 29 beads	3 jars, 98 pots, 2 iron, 24 beads	2 jars, 4 pots, 2 iron, 36 beads	Variation in quantities of burial vessels & grave goods across all sites
2. Mortuary vessels: Form & decoration	Round, flat-bottomed burial jar with applied ribs decorated with scalloped cut-outs; detail on rib include single and double rows of scalloped cut-out decoration with three notches	Flat-bottomed coffin with applied ribs decorated with anthropomorphic features and single row of scalloped cut-outs with one notch	Flat-bottomed burial jar and coffin decorated with applied ribs decorated with three notches and plain and scalloped cut-outs, either single or double row.	Round, flat-bottomed burial jar with applied ribs decorated with single row of scalloped cut-outs and one or three notches	Plain round-bottomed jars with chiseled off rim and perforation at the bottom. Repurposed jars?	Form: Highly similar flat-bottomed burial vessels at Sarono, Tañac, Vergaño & Yucor1 with variants in form as either round or rectangular; distinct round bottomed jar with perforated base at Soldevillo. Decoration: Similarities in visual elements of burial vessels across 4 sites (applied ribs with scalloped cut-outs); variations in decorative detail such as rib notching, single or double row of cut-outs. Soldevillo distinct in its plain, undecorated jars.
3. Grave Goods: Ceramic form and decoration	25 small vessels including tall-necked and short-necked globular pots, bottle, open-bottom vessels, and footed dishes (no bowl). Open-bottomed vessels with narrow mouths, wide at the shoulder and taper towards the base; bottle with round bottom and narrows toward mouth.	20 small vessels including tall-necked and short-necked globular pots, open-bottomed vessels, and a bowl (no footed dish and bottle). Open-bottomed vessel with wide base that curves into a narrow opening on top.	68 small vessels including tall-necked and short-necked globular pots, bottles, open-bottomed vessels, and footed dishes (no bowl). Open-bottomed vessel with narrow mouth, wide carinated shoulder that tapers towards base; bottles with tall-necks and rounded bottoms.	100 small vessels including tall-necked and short-necked globular pots, bottle, open-bottomed vessels, and footed dishes (no bowl). Open-bottomed vessels of a tall, narrow cylinder type and type with wide base that curves into a tall narrow opening; bottle with tall neck; and collared and uncollared footed dishes.	1 flat-bottomed bottle, 1 bowl, 2 everted rimmed pots	Ceramic grave goods - Form: Highly similar forms of tall-necked and short-necked globular pots, and footed dishes across Sarono, Tañac, Vergaño & Yucor1 with variants in forms of open-bottomed vessels and bottles; distinct vessel forms at Soldevillo.

Table 5: Distribution of intentional funerary practices of affiliation in the Metal and Proto-Historic Period (cont.)

Mortuary Features	Metal Period					Distribution across the Bacong Region
	Sarono	Tañac	Vergaño	Yucor 1	Soldevillo	
3. Grave Goods: Ceramic form and decoration (con't.)	Decorations: carinations and shallow-grooves on tall-necked pots; perforated footed dishes. (No scalloped cut-out decoration on tall-necked pots; no incised line decorations on short-necked pots; no carinated and grooved footed dishes).	Decoration: carinations, scalloped cut-outs, and shallow grooves on tall-necked pots; incised lines on short-necked pot.	Decorations: carinations and shallow grooves on tall-necked pots; perforated, carinated and grooved footed dishes. (No scalloped cut-outs on tall-necked pots and no incised decoration on short-necked pots).	Decoration: carinations and scalloped cut-outs on tall-necked pots; incised lines on short-necked pot; perforated, carinated, and scalloped cut-outs on footed dishes. (No shallow groove decoration on tall-necked pots and footed dishes).	1 flat-bottomed bottle, 1 bowl, 2 everted rimmed pots	Ceramic grave goods - Decoration: Highly similar decorative repertoire across Sarono, Tañac, Vergaño & Yucor1 including scalloped, carinated, grooved, incised, and perforated decorations; variations in decorative elements such as absence or presence of some designs in certain sites; Soldevillo pots are all plain.
4. Grave Goods: Glass and Stone ornaments	none	35 orange, blue, red & yellow glass beads; 1 red glass bracelet	29 orange, red, & blue glass beads	24 yellow & red glass beads	22 red, blue, light blue, green, yellow glass beads; 14 quartz, garnet & amethyst beads	Highly similar Indo-Pacific type beads across 4 sites; but with distinct combination of colors, quantities and forms per site; glass bracelet only at Ta ñac; stone beads only at Soldevillo.
5. Grave Goods: Iron Tools	none	1 iron knife	1 iron knife	3 iron knives	2 iron chisels	Highly similar type of metal (iron) as grave goods across 4 sites; variation in tool types and sizes across sites.
6. Ritual Evidence:						
a. Ritual activities: Body treatment	Primary flexed burial; multiple burial; adult	Primary flexed burial (?)	Primary flexed burial (?)	Primary flexed burial; multiple burial; adult and juvenile	Not primary flexed burial; juvenile; possible secondary burial due to drain hole in jar	Uniform bodily treatment observed at Sarono & Yucor1 and presumably at Vergaño & Tañac (based on similarities in other attributes such as vessel size with Sarono & Yucor1); Distinct body treatment at Soldevillo.
Ritual for body treatment	Uncertain rites but potentially involves ritual for body treatment & placement of body in burial vessel.	Uncertain rites but potentially involves ritual for body treatment & placement of body in burial vessel.	Uncertain rites but potentially involves ritual for body treatment & placement of body in burial vessel.	Uncertain rites but potentially involves ritual for body treatment & placement of body in burial vessel.	Uncertain rites but likely involved body treatment and cleaning, placement in burial jar, extended period for draining of deceased body fluids and decay of body, exhumation and final placement of remains in burial jar.	Body treatment programs and rites across 5 sites are uncertain; activities are only assumed based on ethnohistoric accounts of primary and secondary burials. However, evidence for body treatment at Sarono, Tañac, Vergaño & Yucor1 indicates a flexed primary burial treatment that is not observed at Soldevillo. Soldevillo with evidence for possible secondary burial of a juvenile.

Table 5: Distribution of intentional funerary practices of affiliation in the Metal and Proto-Historic Period (cont.)

Mortuary Features	Metal Period					Distribution across the Bacong Region
	Sarono	Tañac	Vergaño	Yucor 1	Soldevillo	
Ritual for burial	Burial ritual - transport of mortuary vessels, incense burning, offering/partaking of food and drink; placement of offering (vessels) on top or around burial vessels.	Burial ritual - transport of mortuary vessels, incense burning, offering/partaking of food; placement of offering (vessels) on top or around burial vessels.	Burial ritual - transport of mortuary vessels, incense burning, offering/partaking of food and drink; placement of offering (vessels) on top or around burial vessels.	Burial ritual - transport of mortuary vessels, incense burning, offering/partaking of food and drink; placement of offering (vessels) on top or around burial vessels.	Burial ritual - transport of burial jar to burial ground, offering of food and drink, placement of offering/ vessels inside burial jars. Presumed extended rites for body decay and final rites for exhumation and final burial.	Evidence for parts of burial ceremony at Sarono, Tañac, Vergaño & Yucor1 are based on mortuary vessel sizes and weight, ceramic forms and placements in the grave. These are all highly similar at Sarono, Tañac, Vergaño & Yucor 1; Soldevillo has similar ceremonial activities except no incense burning.
b. Community participation	Labor for transport and burial of jars; offering food and drink for dead and subsequent placement of pots on burial jars/grave;	Labor for transport and burial of jars; offering food for dead and subsequent placement of pots on burial jars/grave;	Labor for transport and burial of jars; offering food and drink for dead and subsequent placement of pots on burial jars/grave;	Labor for transport and burial of jars; offering food and drink for dead and subsequent placement of pots on burial jars/grave;	Labor for transport and burial of jars; offering food and drink for dead and subsequent placement of pots inside burial jars/grave;	Heavy and large mortuary vessels (more people for transport) and quantities of grave goods (more people to offer) across Sarono, Tañac, Vergaño & Yucor1; relatively lighter vessels and lesser vessel quantities at Soldevillo thus, lesser community participation.
c. Burial ritual duration	- Body treatment process (primary flexed burial) takes relatively shorter time (compared to secondary burial). Rites for body treatment and whether public participated in such rituals is uncertain.	- Body treatment process (primary flexed burial) takes relatively shorter time (compared to secondary burial). Rites for body treatment and whether public participated in such rituals is uncertain.	- Body treatment process (primary flexed burial) takes relatively shorter J28time (compared to secondary burial). Rites for body treatment and whether public participated in such rituals is uncertain.	- Body treatment process (primary flexed burial) takes relatively shorter time (compared to secondary burial). Rites for body treatment and whether public participated in such rituals is uncertain.	- Body treatment process is carried out over an extended period (compared to primary burial treatment). Although rites for body treatment at Soldevillo is difficult to determine from available data.	Ritual duration: Relatively longer funerary ceremonies across Sarono, Ta ñac, Vergaño & Yucor1 based on large sizes of mortuary vessels (more time to transport vessels) and quantities of grave goods (more time for offering rites); relatively shorter ritual duration at Soldevillo but with extended duration and phases for body decay, exhumation and final burial.
	- Burial ritual is relatively longer based on more ritual activities (see 6a), heavier mortuary vessels (thus heavier to carry and requires longer time), and larger quantities of containers (thus longer time for offerings and placing into graves.	- Burial ritual is relatively longer based on more ritual activities (see 7a), heavier mortuary vessels (thus heavier to carry and requires longer time), and larger quantities of containers (thus longer time for offerings and placing into graves.	- Burial ritual is relatively longer based on more ritual activities (see 7a), heavier mortuary vessels (thus heavier to carry and requires longer time), and larger quantities of containers (thus longer time for offerings and placing into graves.	- Burial ritual is relatively longer based on more ritual activities (see 7a), heavier mortuary vessels (thus heavier to carry and requires longer time), and larger quantities of containers (thus longer time for offerings and placing into graves.	- Burial ceremony appears to be relatively shorter based on lesser activities, lighter mortuary vessels (thus easier to carry in less time), and much lesser quantities of ceramics (thus lesser time for offerings and partaking of food and drink during funerary ceremonies).	

Table 5: Distribution of intentional funerary practices of affiliation in the Metal and Proto-Historic Period (cont.)

Mortuary Features	ProtoHistoric Period			Distribution across the Bacong region
	Buntod1	Combado	Arado	
1. Grave Arrangements: a. Burial template	1 round-bottomed earthenware burial jar with tradeware used as lid	3 round-bottomed earthenware burial jars placed side by side; grave goods placed inside burial jar.	1 stoneware dragon jar	Similar across 3 sites (and previous Metal period sites) but variations occur in presence or absence of grave goods is observed.
b. Placement of grave goods	no grave goods reported	Grave goods placed inside burial jar	no grave goods reported	Placement of grave goods: Inside burial jar at Combado; other sites with no grave goods.
c. Ritual space	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown
2. Mortuary vessels: Form & decoration	1 round-bottomed earthenware burial jar	3 polished, everted rimmed, round-bottomed earthenware burial jars	1 stoneware dragon jar	Similarity between Buntod1 and Combado in the use of earthenware vessels to bury the dead (but no information on form/decoration of Buntod vessel); variation in quantities between Buntod1 & Combado; distinct (stoneware jar) at Arado.
3. Grave Goods: Tradeware	Qingbai (whiteware) dish	Qingbai whiteware bowl and celadon dish	none reported	Similarity between Buntod1 and Combado in the use of Qingpai dish but variation occurs in additional tradeware at Combado; Arado distinct with no tradeware as grave goods.
4. Grave Goods: Shell		Shell bracelets		Distinct at Combado

Table 5: Distribution of intentional funerary practices of affiliation in the Metal and Proto-Historic Period (cont.)

Mortuary Features	ProtoHistoric Period			Distribution across the Bacong region
	Buntod1	Combado	Arado	
5. Ritual Evidence:				
a. Ritual activities: Body Treatment	Not flexed primary burial. Possible secondary burial (adult)? Possible primary burial (juvenile)?	Not flexed primary burial. Possible secondary burial (adult)? Possible primary burial (juvenile)?	Not flexed primary burial. Possible secondary burial (adult)? Possible primary burial (juvenile)?	Highly similar across sites; different from Metal age Magsuhot; similar aspects with Soldevillo.
Ritual for body treatment	- Rites for body treatment is uncertain. Possible secondary body treatment for adults or primary burial treatment for juveniles.	- Rites for body treatment is uncertain. Possible secondary body treatment for adults or primary burial treatment for juveniles.	- Rites for body treatment is uncertain. Possible secondary body treatment for adults or primary burial treatment for juveniles.	Potentially similar secondary burial treatment across 3 sites (based on jar size); No similarity with Metal age Magsuhot. Possible affinity with Soldevillo in secondary burial treatment (though jars do not have drain holes)? - Potentially similar but uncertain
Ritual for burial	- Burial rites may involve transport to grave site, laying of jars at burial site.	- Burial rites may involve transport to grave site, laying of jars at burial site, and offering of goods for the dead.	- Burial rites may involve transport to grave site, laying of jars at burial site.	
b. Community participation	Relatively less community participation with smaller burial jar, no funerary offerings	Relatively more community participation with more burial jars and some funerary offerings	Relatively less community participation with smaller burial jar, no funerary offerings	Funerary rites possibly participated by more people at Combado compared to Arado and Buntod1; but collectively much less community participation than Metal age Magsuhot based on smaller jar sizes (less people to transport), lesser quantities of ritual vessels & grave goods (less people to offer).

Table 5: Distribution of intentional funerary practices of affiliation in the Metal and Proto-Historic Period (cont.)

Mortuary Features	ProtoHistoric Period			Distribution across the Bacong region
	Buntod1	Combado	Arado	
c. Ritual duration	Relatively short ritual duration with smaller burial jar, no funerary offerings	Relatively long ritual duration with more burial jars and more ritual offerings	Relatively short ritual duration with smaller burial jar, no funerary offerings	Funerary rites are possibly longer at Combado compared to Arado and Buntod1; but all have relatively shorter duration than Metal age Magsuhot based on smaller jar sizes (less time to transport), lesser quantities of ritual vessels & grave goods (less time for offering rites) with possibly longer rites at Combado.

In comparison, the burial at Soldevillo consists of two plain, round bottomed burial jars. The burial contains four ceramic grave goods, a number that is significantly lower compared to the Magsuhot type burials. Furthermore, the ceramic, iron and glass burial goods are altogether found inside the burial jar, rather than outside the burial jars. Additionally, rocks are found at the bottom of the jars at Soldevillo presumably to stabilize the round-bottomed vessels from tipping over. Overall, the Soldevillo burial is characterized by simple, unelaborate funerary arrangements with fewer quantities of grave goods.

However, despite the high degree of similarity in grave arrangements and placement of small pots across the Magsuhot type sites, variabilities in grave arrangements exist. The differences are observed in the numbers and types of jars (either round or rectangular), the number of associated small pots, and how all the jars and pots are arranged at the burial site. For instance, Sarono holds two round burial jars, Tañac contains one rectangular coffin, Yucor1 has three round burial jars, and Vergaño contains one rectangular coffin and one round jar. The number of small vessels also vary at each site where Sarono, Tañac, Yucor1, and Vergaño contain 25, 20, 100, and 68 pieces, respectively. Lay-outs of small pots vary and include clusters around the lids, clusters on one side of the lids, clusters that spread out randomly away from jars. Causes of the variation at each mortuary site are unknowable but may possibly relate to some temporal or socio-cultural variabilities such as variation in numbers of deceased family members, a level of social differentiation, or expressions of individual or family identities. Despite the inter-site variabilities at the Magsuhot sites, overall, the nature of burial arrangements and the visual character of remains at Sarono, Tañac, Yucor1 and Vergaño are highly similar while grave arrangements at Soldevillo exhibits a distinctly different aesthetic.

Mortuary Vessels: As with distribution patterns observed in grave arrangements, Magsuhot and Soldevillo each form two discrete groups of earthenware mortuary vessels during the Metal Age. Mortuary containers from Sarono, Tañac, Vergaño, and Yucor 1 are defined primarily by their flat-bottomed form and appliquéd rib decoration (Fig. 3) while Soldevillo burial jars are characteristically round-bottomed and chiseled-off at the rim (after firing) (Fig. 4).

In terms of form, Magsuhot funerary vessels are either round- or rectangular-shaped, with truncated conical lids for round jars and gabled-roof type covers for rectangular vessels. They are all massive, where the round jars are about 80 to 90 cm tall and are 37 to 48 cm wide at the rim (Table 6) and coffins measure about 70 cm long, 40 cm wide, and are 27 to 40 cm in height (Table 7). The mortuary containers are all thick-walled and heavy, with thicknesses that range from 1 to 2.2 cm and a weight of about 52 kilos (for one round jar as previously measured by Tenazas in 1974).

In terms of decoration, both round and rectangular vessels have appliquéd ribs that are either plain or decorated with scalloped or lenticular cut-outs and notches (Fig. 5). The ribs are located on vessel bodies, longitudinally from top to bottom or around the top, as collars about 8-10 cm under the mouth rim. On lids, the ribs are applied horizontally above the rim as collars and vertically, converging on top into elaborate embellishments. However, while the appliquéd ribs are a uniform visual feature across burial vessels in Magsuhot, a closer look at its finer details reveal variations within the assemblage. Ribs can be plain or decorated with either a single or double row of scalloped and notched cut-outs along the edges of the ribs (Fig. 5). At Sarono for example, Jar 1 ribs are cut-out with scallop design and three notches while Jar 2 has two rows of scallop cut-outs and three notches (Fig. 6). Notably, the decorations on the lid and the bottom can differ as with Jar 1 at Yucor 1 where the lid is decorated with a single row of scalloped cut-outs with a single notch while the bottom collar has a single row of scalloped cut-outs with two notches.

Table 6: Attributes of Bacong Region burial jars, measurements in cm

		Sarono		Yucor1			Vergaño	Soldevillo	
Burial Jar Attributes		**Jar 1**	**Jar 2**	**Jar 1**	**Jar 2**	**Jar 3**	**Jar 1**	**Jar 1**	**Jar 2**
Cover	Height	42	47	34	?	?	?	no lid	no lid
	Rim Diameter	45	48	48	46	?	45		
	Max Diameter (collar)	49	53	54	?	?	?		
	Wall thickness	1	1.1	1.3	1.1		1.1 - 1.3		
	Decoration - Rib	Scallop design with three notches	Double row scallop design with three notches	Scallop design with single notch	Scallop design with single notch (collar) and plain vertical ribs through top	Scallop design with single notch (collar) and plain vertical ribs through top	Scallop design with three notches (collar) and plain vertical ribs through top		
	Embellishments	Two curlicues on top	Two curlicues on top	Plain	Plain	Two curlicues on top	Plain		
Body	Height	49.5	53.5	55.5	> 46	?	?	16	32
	Rim Diameter	37	48	43	?	?	40	28	19
	Max Diameter (collar)	48	57	54	?	?	?	32	43
	Base Diameter	36	43	46	44	49	46	n/a	n/a
	Wall thickness	1 - 2.2	1	.9 - 1.4	1.1 - 1.2	1.3 - 1.5	1.1 - 1.5	.3-1.0	.3-1.0
	Decoration - Rib	Scallop design with three notches (collar)	Double row scallop design with three notches (collar)	Scallop design with double notch (collar)	Scallop design with single notch (collar)	Scallop design with single notch (collar)	Scallop design with 3 notces (collar)/double vertical ribs on body	Plain, polished	Plain, polished
Height: Cover + Body		82	90	80	?	?	?		

Table 7: Attributes of Bacong Region burial coffins, measurements in cm

Coffin Attributes		Vergaño	Tañac
Cover:	Height	27.5	40
	Width	38	41
	Length	72.5	71
	Wall thickness	1.1 - 1.5	1.3 - 1.6
	Decoration - Rib	Scallop design with four notches	Scallop design with one notch
	Embellishments		Four anthropomorphic figures
Body:	Height	19.5	40
	Width	45	39
	Length	74	69
	Wall thickness	1.1 - 1.5 cm	1.3 - 1.7
	Decoration - Rib	Scallop design with two notches	Scallop design with one notch

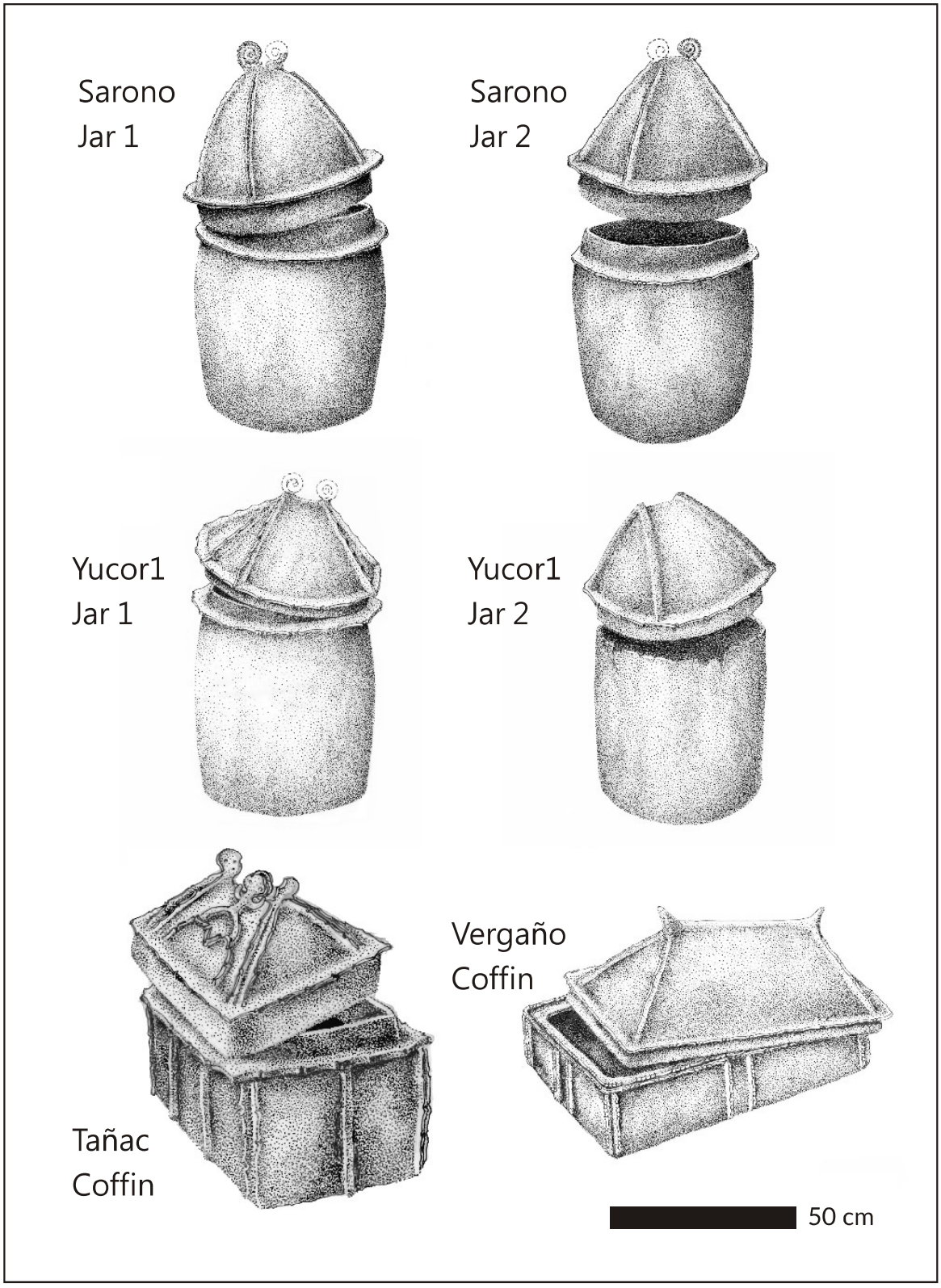

Fig. 3: Round jars and rectangular coffins at Magsuhot. Illustrations by E. Bersamira.

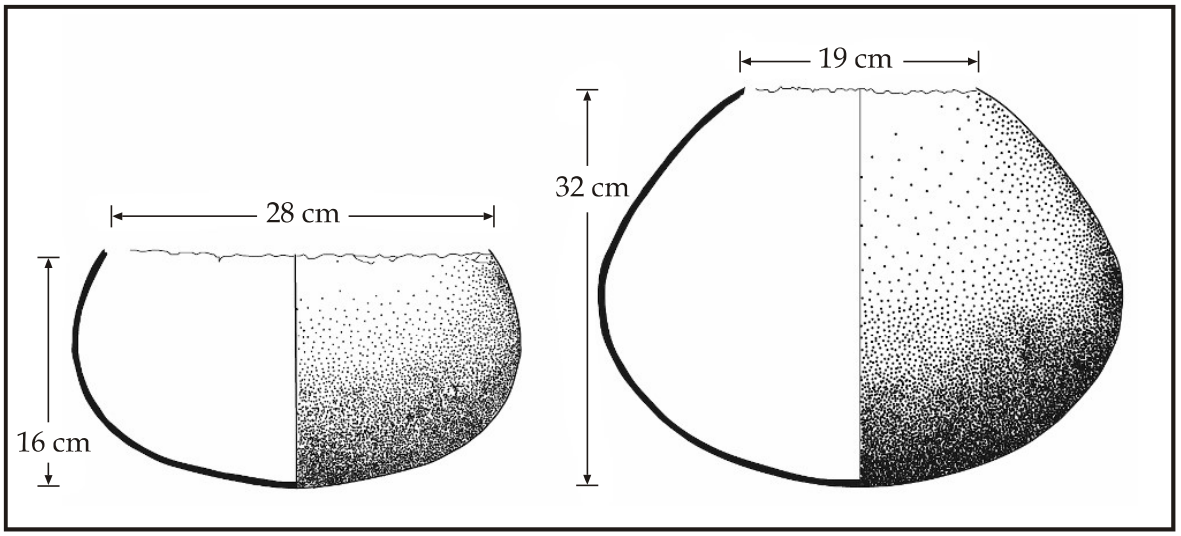

Fig. 4: Burial jars at Soldevillo. Illustration by E. Bersamira.

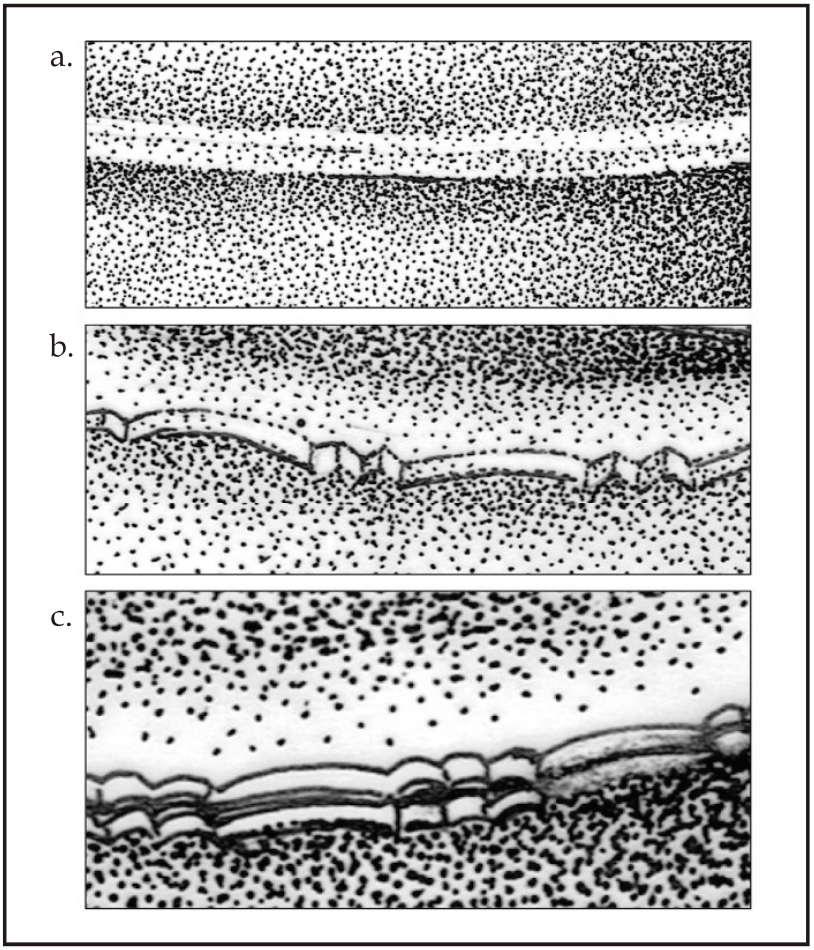

Fig. 5: Types of appliqued ribs and collars, *top to bottom*: a) plain, b) single row scalloped and notched cut-outs, and, c) double row scalloped and notched cut-outs. Illustration by E. Bersamira.

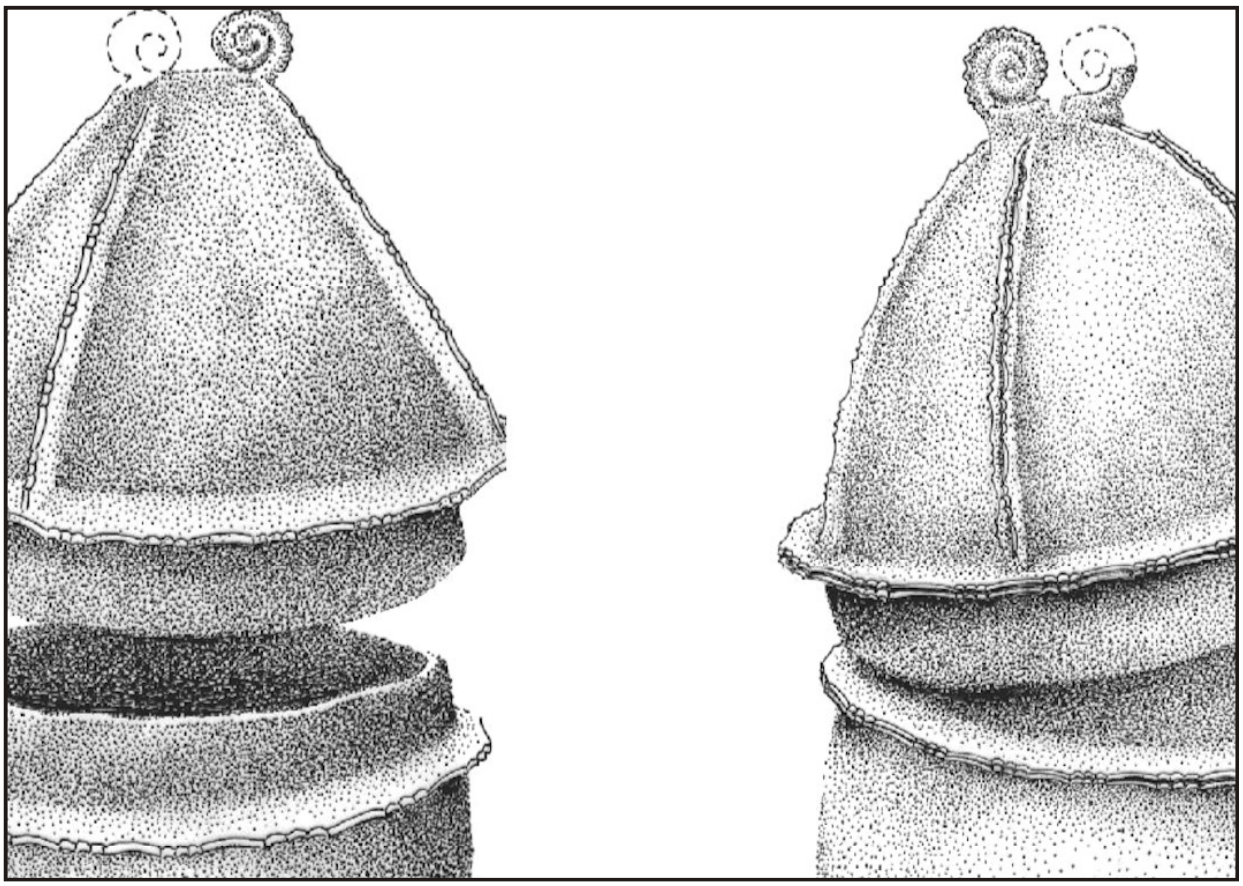

Fig. 6: Detail on applied ribs on Sarono burial jars. Jar 1 (*left*) shows a single row of scalloped cut-out and three notches on the rib while Jar 2 (*right*) has double row of scallop cut-outs and three notches. Illustration by E. Bersamira.

Furthermore, additional decorative features occur in Magsuhot vessels. Some vessels contain embellishments on top of the lids also vary: several have curlicues on top akin to a rooster's crown (Fig. 3, top and center left), others are simply plain (Fig. 3, center right), and there are jars with anthropomorphic figures (Fig. 3, bottom left) or simple, plain gabled roof type covers (Fig. 3, bottom right). Embellishments such as curlicues are also observed in jars excavated by Chiong (Mascuñana 1986) and Tenazas (1974) but anthropomorphic embellishments on burial jars and coffins are, thus far, rare. Regardless, the anthropomorphic and zoomorphic embellishments on mortuary vessels may represent aspects of cosmological beliefs as remarked on by some researchers. For instance, Tenazas (1974, 1978) suggests how a tripartite worldview of sky/heaven, earth/present world, and the underworld is represented in Magsuhot ceramic motifs of rooster, carabao, and lizards, respectively. Barretto-Tesoro (2020) associates bird and reptile motifs with the long-standing cosmologies of Austronesians in island Southeast Asia. Furthermore, Tenazas (1974) suggests that anthropomorphic

vessels are possibly related to beliefs concerning fertility and sexuality. Additionally, Magsuhot jars and coffins with their conical lids and gabled roof covers are also symbolically likened to log coffins with roof- like covers that are found across the central Philippine provinces of Romblon, Cebu and Bohol (Tenazas 1973). Indeed, the pervasiveness of log coffins and ship imagery in mortuary culture across Southeast Asia and the Pacific are held to serve as 'ships of the dead' into the afterlife (Ballard, et al. 2004; Barretto-Tesoro 2020; Szabo, et al. 2008). These suggest that human and animal iconography encoded in Magsuhot pottery represent belief systems shared across the community. However, despite this commonality across Magsuhot in utilization of anthropomorphic and zoomorphic motifs in mortuary material culture, there is also data for variability within Magsuhot as observed in variations in embellishments of mortuary vessels, where motifs chosen as decorations on each burial vessel can be plain, zoomorphic or anthropomorphic. These variations in design choice potentially suggest some level of social differentiation within the community or a representation of the dead's individual or family identity.

On the other hand, the Soldevillo burial jars are characterized by their rounded bottoms and chiseled-off rim (Fig. 4 and 7). Plain and undecorated, the jars are polished smooth with a matte surface. Jar 1 is 28 cm wide at the mouth, 16 cm tall and 32 cm at its widest point. Jar 2 is 19 cm wide, 32 cm tall, and 43 cm at its widest point. Notably, the Soldevillo burial jars consist of a 7mm diameter perforation at the bottom (Fig. 8) which has implications for bodily treatment of the deceased. This is discussed in the section on bodily treatment below. Regardless, in terms of overall vessel form and decoration, the Soldevillo burial jars vary greatly from Magsuhot vessels as based on its smaller size, rounded-bottom form, chiseled-off rim, and plain decoration.

Fig. 7: Exterior (*left*) and interior (*right*) view of Soldevillo Jar 2 fragment showing chiseled-off rim. Photograph by A. de Leon.

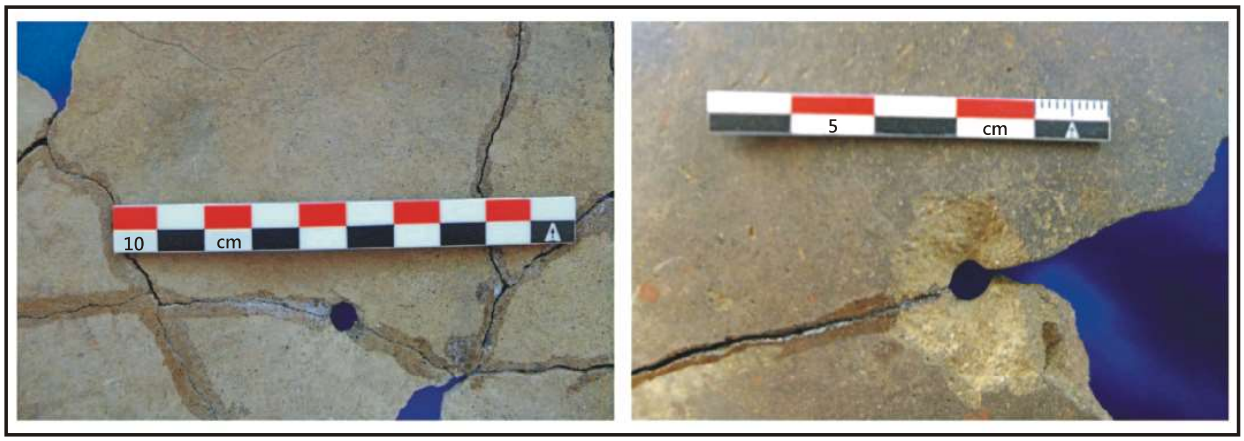

Fig. 8: Perforations at the bottom of Soldevillo burial jars. Photographs by A. de Leon.

Ceramic Grave Goods: The patterns in forms and decoration of ceramic grave goods in Bacong also show two discrete groups that follow the earlier distinction between Magsuhot and Soldevillo (Table 5). Of 217 ceramic vessels associated with burials during the Metal Age, 213 pots belong to the Magsuhot group (Table 4, excluding mortuary vessels). The Magsuhot ceramic assemblage includes six general types: tall- and short-necked globular pots, long pots, footed dishes, bowls, and open-bottom pots (Fig. 9 and see Table 8 for basic vessel measurements). Globular pots are round-bottomed with everted rims, 10 to 18 cm wide at the mouth and 9.4 to 20 cm tall, that are either tall-necked or short-necked. Tall-necked pots have neck heights that range from 2 to 4.5 cm while short-necked pots have neck heights that fall between 0.2 to 1.5 cm. Footed dishes are shallow bowls on pedestals that are 14 to 28 cm wide and are 6.5 to 10 cm tall, while bowls are similar containers, 21 cm in diameter and 8 cm in height, but lack pedestals. Long pots are vessels that are taller than they are wide, with vessel heights that are at least twice as long as vessel diameter. They range from 5.5 to 12 cm wide at the mouth and are 17.5 to 23.5 in height. Open-bottomed vessels are those with openings both at the top and at the base, measuring from 5.5 to 7.0 cm wide at the mouth and 17 to 22 cm tall. These vessel classifications follow or are modifications of previous studies of Magsuhot ceramics (Tenazas 1974; Mascuñana 1986). Notably, there are several variants in ceramic forms and decoration that are reported in Mascuñana (1986) and Tenazas (1974) that do not occur in the current study sample such as perforated globular pots, conical open-bottomed vessels, and zoomorphic/anthropomorphic vessels. In terms of decorations, Magsuhot vessel designs include scalloped or lenticular cut-outs or impressions, carinations, shallow grooves, incised lines, and perforations.

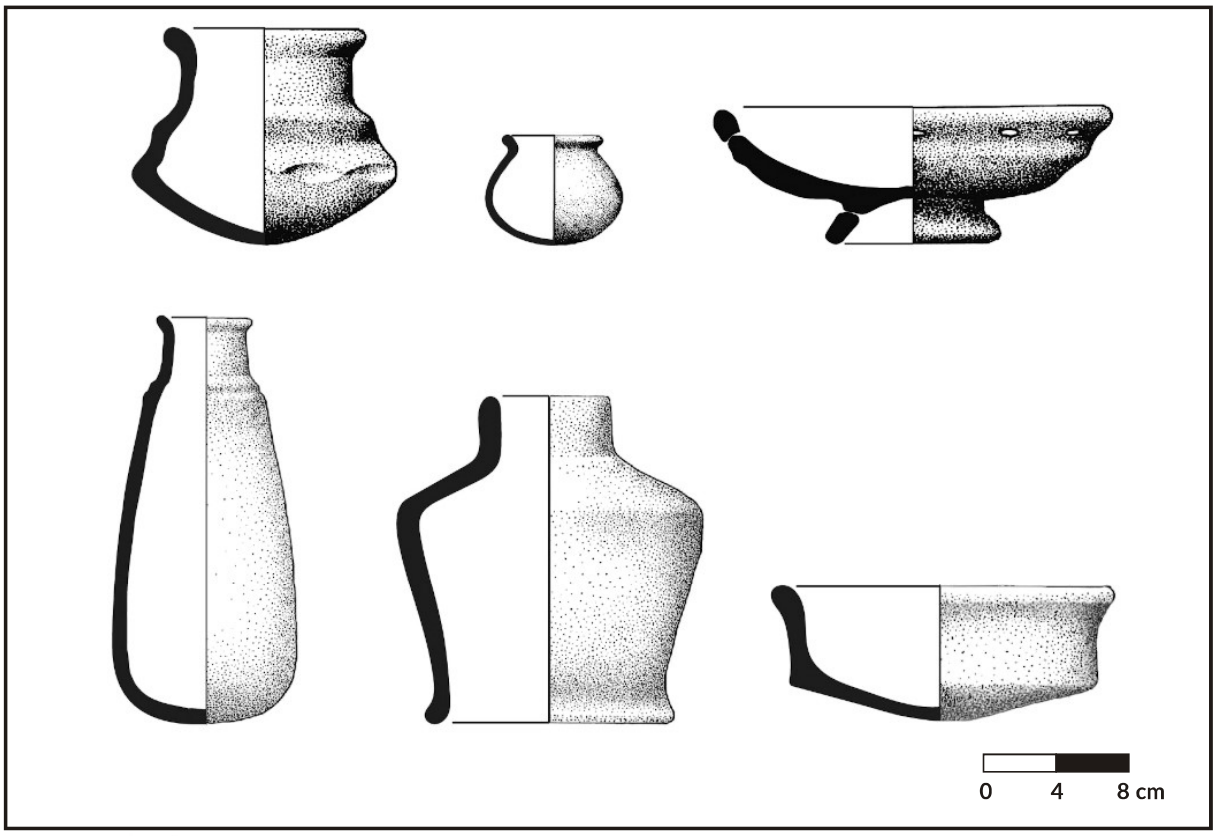

Fig. 9: Types of Bacong ceramic grave goods, *clockwise from top left*: Tall-necked globular pot, short-necked globular pot, footed dish, bowl, open-bottomed pot, and long pot. Illustrations by E. Bersamira.

Table 8. Measurements of small Magsuhot ceramic grave goods

	Tall-Necked Globular Pots				Short-Necked Globular Pots				Long Pots		
Sites	Sarono	Tañac	Vergaño	Yucor 1	Sarono	Tañac	Vergaño	Yucor 1	Sarono	Vergaño	Yucor 1
Rim Diameter											
n	14	15	30	37	5	2	18	40		4	1
Min-Max	10 - 15	11 - 16	11 - 18	10 - 16	10 - 15.5	14 - 15	10 - 15	10 - 18		5.5 - 12	11
Mean	13.321	12.967	13.383	12.770	12.400	14.500	12.139	13.200		9.125	11
Std Dev	1.4089	1.3947	1.6952	1.3824	2.1036	0.7071	1.7047	1.9768		2.7195	
Rim Thickness											
n	14	15	30	38	5	2	18	39		4	1
Min-Max	.6 - 1.2	.65 - 1.2	.7 - 1.3	.58 - 1.4	.6 - .9	.3 - 1.2	.7 - 1.0	.6 - 1.4		.7 - .95	1.0
Mean	0.8786	0.9833	0.9007	1.0100	0.7920	0.7500	0.8472	1.0462		0.7875	1.0
Std Dev	0.13114	0.15774	0.14472	0.22407	0.12377	0.63640	0.09560	0.20596		0.11815	
Max Diameter											
n	3	5	4	15	2	1	5	6	1	4	1
Min-Max	14 - 18.4	16 - 18	15 - 22	11.4 - 19	11.5 - 19.0	24.5	14 - 15	12 - 15.5	16.5	10 - 14	14
Mean	10.633	16.500	17.125	15.893	15.530	24.5	14.700	13.833	16.5	12.5	14
Std Dev	2.3245	0.8660	3.3260	2.0440	5.1619		0.4472	1.3663		1.7321	
Thickness											
n	13	10	26	36	5		14	37	1	4	1
Min-Max	.3 - .9	.35 - .90	.7 - 1.3	.3 - .8	0.5 - 1.5		.4 - .8	.4 - 1.0	0.48	.7 - .9	0.7
Mean	0.5192	0.5389	0.9007	0.5361	0.8200		0.5871	0.5505	0.48	0.775	0.7
Std Dev	0.17505	0.17638	0.14472	0.12341	0.43243		0.11919	0.13149		0.9574	
Jar Height											
n	3	6	4	13	2	1	4	6		4	1
Min-Max	13.5 - 17.5	12 - 16.2	13.5 - 20	9.4 - 20	10.5 - 17.6	19.5	13 - 14.5	11.5 - 14		17.5 - 23.5	18.5
Mean	15.333	13.450	15.875	13.923	14.050	19.5	13.375	12.75		20.250	18.5
Std Dev	2.0207	1.5017	2.9745	3.1167	5.0205		0.75	0.8803		2.5981	
Foot Ring Diameter											
n											
Min-Max											
Mean											
Std Dev											
Foot Ring Height											
n											
Min-Max											
Mean											
Std Dev											
Foot Ring Thickness											
n											
Min-Max											
Mean											
Std Dev											

Table 8. Measurements of small Magsuhot ceramic grave goods (con't.)

	Footed Dishes			Footed Dish with Collar	Open-bottomed Vessels				Bowl
Sites	Sarono	Vergaño	Yucor 1	Yucor 1	Sarono	Tañac	Vergaño	Yucor 1	Tañac
Rim Diameter									
n	3	4	8	2	2	2	1	3	1
Min-Max	19 - 20.5	23 - 28	14 - 23	18 - 23	5.5 - 6	6	7	6 - 7	21
Mean	19.500	24.75	19.5	20.5	5.750	6.0	7.0	6.333	21.000
Std Dev	0.8660	2.21	3.0706	3.5355	0.3536			0.5774	
Rim Thickness									
n	2	4	8	1	2	2	1	3	1
Min-Max	.8 - .9	1 - 1.2	.9 - 1.4	1	.4 - .8	.9 - 1.0	0.8	.8 - 1.1	1.3
Mean	0.85	1.1	1.1525	1	0.6	0.95	0.8	0.9333	1.3
Std Dev	0.07071	0.11547	0.17661		0.28284	0.07071		0.15275	
Max Diameter									
n	2	3	6	2	2	2	1	2	1
Min-Max	19 - 20.5	23 - 28	16 - 23	19.5 - 28	15.5 - 16.0	16 - 16.5	17	12.5 - 14	21
Mean	19.75	25	20.33	23.750	15.750	16.250	17	13.25	21
Std Dev	1.0607	2.6458	2.5033	6.0104	0.3536	0.3536		1.0607	
Thickness									
n	2	4	6	1	2	2	1	3	1
Min-Max	.9 - 1.0	1 - 1.2	.8 - 1.5	1.3	.84 - 1.1	1.1 - 1.26	0.8	.75 - 1.3	1.3
Mean	0.95	1.075	1.1550	1.3	0.97	1.18	0.8	1.0167	1.3
Std Dev	0.07071	0.9574	0.26106		0.18385	0.11314		0.27538	
Jar Height									
n	2	2	4	2	2	2	1	2	
Min-Max	6.5 - 6.7	7.0 - 8.0	6.5 - 8.2	9.2 - 10.0	17.6 - 22	17 - 22	19	20 - 20.5	
Mean	6.60	7.5	7.550	9.600	19.8	19.5	19	20.250	
Std Dev	0.1414	0.7071	0.7594	0.5657	3.11	3.5355		0.3536	
Foot Ring Diameter									
n	3	3	4	2				1	
Min-Max	12.5 - 16	10 - 16	10 - 14	13 - 13.5				12.5	
Mean	14.5	13.833	12.5	13.250				12.5	
Std Dev	1.8028	3.32	1.9149	0.3536					
Foot Ring Height									
n	2	2	4	2				2	
Min-Max	3 - 4	3 - 5	2 - 4	4				2 - 3	
Mean	3.6	3.9	3.43	4				2.25	
Std Dev	0.424	1.153	0.866	0.000				0.354	
Foot Ring Thickness									
n	3	3	3	2		2		2	
Min-Max	1	1	1	1.0		1		1 - 2	
Mean	0.87	1.03	1.27	1.10		1.25		0.55	
Std Dev	0.153	0.153	0.153	0.000		0.212		0.354	

Fig. 10: Examples of variations in Magsuhot small vessel types: A. tall-necked globular pots: a. grooved neck globular body, b. grooved neck carinated body, c. carinated neck with carinated body decorated with scalloped cut-outs and notches, d. carinated shoulder and carinated body, and e. carinated neck globular body; B. short-necked globular pots: a. plain, b. incised cross-hatched design, c. incised z design, d. incised cross-hatched design, and e. plain narrow short-necked globular pot; C. footed dishes: a. perforated rim and foot, b. grooved and perforated on rim and perforated foot, c. carinated with perforated foot, d. collared, and e-g. plain and perforated foot; D. open-bottomed pots: a. cylinder, b-d. convex-conical, e. wide carinated shoulder tapered bottom, f. wide shoulder with scalloped design; and E. long pots: a. tall-necked grooved, b. tall-necked carinated, and c. plain (broken near neck/rim). Illustrations by E. Bersamira and photographs by A. de Leon.

In terms of distribution, most Magsuhot vessel types are found across Sarono, Tañac, Vergaño, and Yucor 1 (Table 4 and 9). The exception is Tañac, which has the only bowl in the Magsuhot assemblage and does not have any long pot or footed dish in the burial. In terms of vessel decoration, designs are found at almost all sites with certain designs occurring only at some sites and not at others. Examples of such formal and decorative variation include how forms for open-bottomed pots and long pots across the Magsuhot sites are mostly distinct for each site (see Fig. 10, D and E); scalloped cut-out decorations on tall-necked globular pots are only found at Tañac and Yucor1 and not present in Sarono and Vergaño (Table 9); grooved designs on tall-necked pots do not occur at Yucor1, and, how incised decoration on short-necked globular pots are all different at the four sites (Fig. 10, B). These variabilities indicate that, while the Magsuhot ceramics are generally visually homogeneous in type and decoration, differences in finer details of the ceramics occur between sites. There are potentially multiple reasons for these variations, both temporal and cultural, and further investigations are needed. However, some possible cultural reasons for variabilities in form and decoration of small pots in Magsuhot is that certain designs such as grooves or lenticular cut-outs/impressions may be tied to certain familial units or kin groups and that the designs may represent identity assertion of individuals or families in Magsuhot.

Table 9. Summary of Magsuhot small vessel types and quantities

Vessel Type & Variation	Sarono	Tanac	Vergano	Yucor1	Total
1. Tall-Necked Globular Pot					
Grooved shoulder, globular body	4	1	1		6
Grooved shoulder, carinated body	3	1	1		5
Carinated shoulder, globular body			1	6	7
Carinated shoulder with scalloped cut-outs on carination		3		14	17
Carinated shoulder, carinated body		3	3		6
Carinated shoulder, unknown body				11	11
Carinated shoulder, unknown body	2	4	10		16
Grooved shoulder, unknown body	2		7		9
Unknown shoulder and body	2	3		7	12
Unknown shoulder, carinated body	1		14		15
Sub-total	14	15	37	38	104
2. Short Necked Globular Pot					
Plain	5	1	21	37	64
Incised		1	1	2	4
Grooved				1	1
Sub-total	5	2	22	40	69
3. Globular Pot (unknown neck)				7	7
4. Footed Dish					
Plain, rounded	1		1		
Plain, rounded with perforated foot	2		2		
Grooved and perforated rim			1		
Carinated and perforated				9	
Collared footed dish				2	
Sub-total	3	0	4	11	18
5. Open-bottomed vessel					
Straight-sided, cylinder type				1	1
Convex/conical tapers toward top		2		2	4
Wide carinated shoulder tapered bottom			1		1
Wide carinated shoulder with scalloped design	2				2
Sub-total	2	2	1	3	8
6. Long Pots					
Tall-necked, grooved shoulder			2		2
Tall-necked, carinated shoulder			2	1	3
Plain	1				1
Sub-total	1	0	4	1	6
7. Bowl					
Carinated bowl	0	1	0	0	1
Total	25	20	68	100	213

The second group of ceramic grave goods, Soldevillo, comprises a narrower range of vessel types with only four vessels, including one long pot, one bowl and two other unknown types of pots (Table 4 and 5). Globular pots, footed dishes, open-bottomed pots akin to Magsuhot do not occur in this group. Soldevillo ceramics are all plain and undecorated and bear no formal or decorative affinity with Magsuhot vessels (Fig. 11). The long pot is distinctly squarish in shape while the bowl is uncarinated. Carination, grooves and scalloped cut-outs do not occur at Soldevillo.

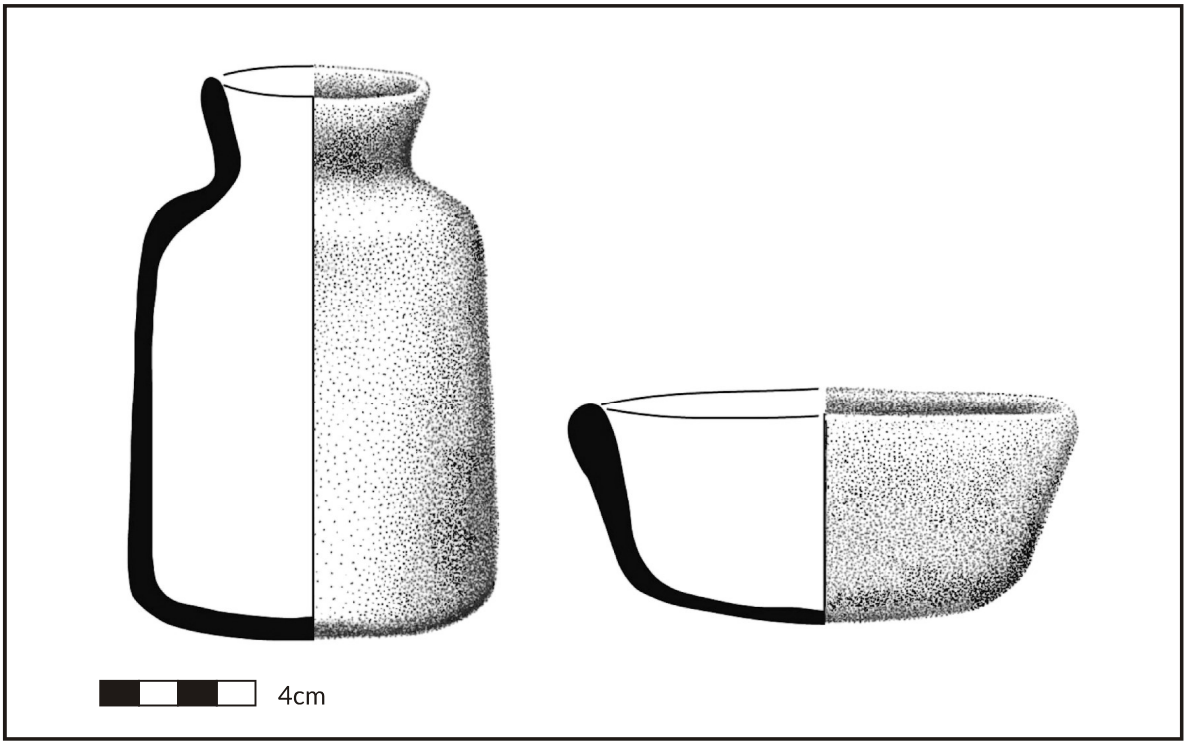

Fig. 11: Soldevillo small vessel types: long pot, *left* and bowl, *right*. Illustration by E. Bersamira.

In sum, the patterns observed in ceramic grave goods during the Metal Age indicate two discrete groupings. The assemblage is dominated by the first group, the Magsuhot vessels that, in general, exhibit almost uniform formal types and decorative attributes across the Bacong Region. However, variations occur in certain forms, and especially in combinations of decorative details across Magsuhot sites. The second group of ceramics, that is only represented by the Soldevillo site, constitutes a small number of the Metal Age assemblage that is significantly distinct from Magsuhot ceramics.

Grave Goods: The types of grave goods buried with the dead during the Metal Age encompass ornaments made of glass and stone and iron tools. The distribution of grave goods across the region, unlike the patterns observed above, do not show discrete patterns between the Magsuhot sites and Soldevillo. Instead,

commonalities in the types and forms of grave goods occur between Magsuhot and Soldevillo with each site keeping some distinct characteristic in type, form, or quantity of grave goods (Table 5).

Ornaments recovered from the burial sites include 110 glass beads, one glass bracelet, and 14 stone beads (Fig. 12). Glass beads are the most frequent ornament encountered in the burials which are mostly small and monochromatic beads typical of Indo-Pacific beads that are produced through a drawing technique (Francis 1990). However, there are also a few glass beads that are made through coiling and stone lapidary techniques. Chemical analysis of the glass beads indicates that most of the beads are of a mineral soda alumina type 1 composition that is produced in South Asia, either in South India or Sri Lanka (De Leon, et al. 2018). A different type of glass ornament, a red opaque glass bracelet is also included in the assemblage although it is limited to a single piece. Another type of ornament uncovered in Bacong are stone beads such as garnet, amethyst, and clear quartz pieces. As examined through a scanning electron microscope (SEM) by Alison Carter[2], the stone beads are diamond-drilled as is typical of South Asian stone bead manufacturing traditions (A. Carter, pers. comm., 2 May 2019). The distribution of ornaments in Bacong are discussed below.

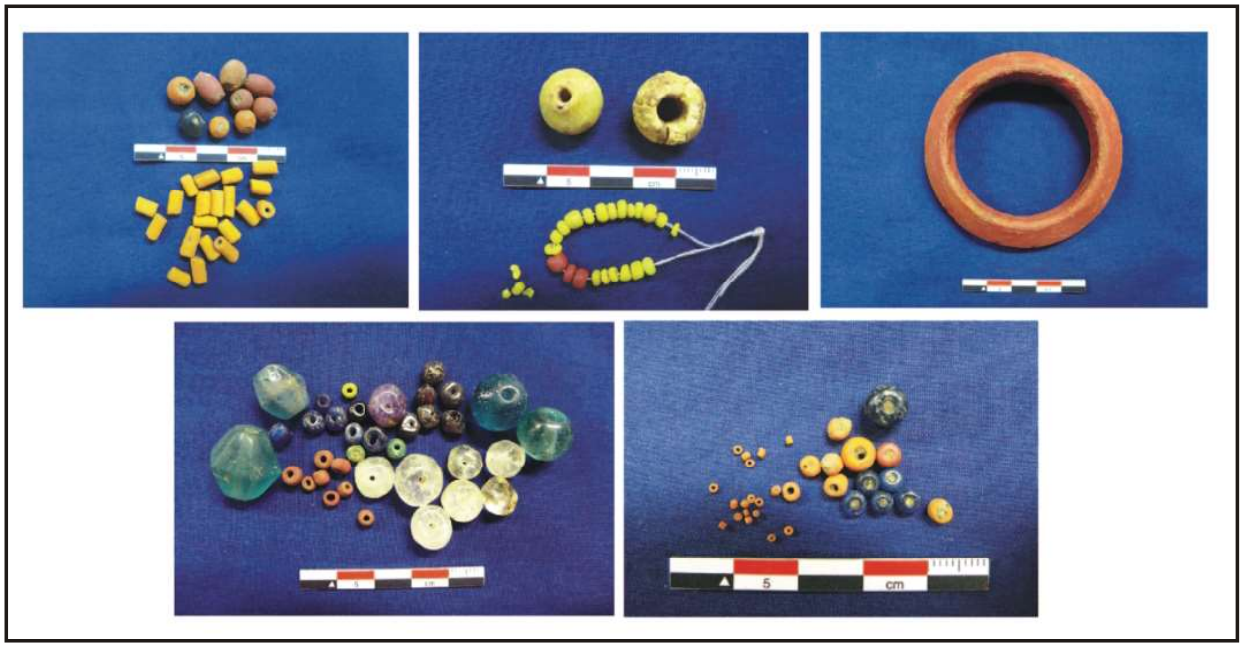

Fig. 12: Glass and stone ornaments from the Bacong burial sites, *clockwise from top left*: Vergaño (glass beads), Yucor1 (glass beads), Tañac (glass bracelet), Tañac (glass beads), and Soldevillo (glass and stone beads). Photographs by A. de Leon.

[2] Southeast Asian archaeologist and beads specialist, University of Oregon Department of Anthropology

Except for Sarono, four burial sites hold glass ornaments: Tañac, Yucor1, Vergaño, and Soldevillo each have 35, 24, 29 and 22 pieces of glass beads, respectively. At three sites of Tañac, Yucor1, and Vergaño, orange and yellow beads dominate (over 80% of the beads) while at Soldevillo blue and red are the most common. Significant variabilities in form and color combinations are observed across mortuary sites. At Tañac and Vergaño, orange glass beads dominate but the most common form is tubular in Vergaño and oblate in Tañac. At Yucor1, the beads are all oblate though yellow is the most common color. Meanwhile, at Soldevillo the glass beads come in more diverse colors of blue, light blue, red, green, and yellow, and in more complex forms of trunconical hexagonal bicone and large oblate. Thus, while the burial sites share similar types of beads (Indo-Pacific type), the distribution patterns of the glass beads in terms of forms, colors, and quantities are distinct at each burial site.

The distinctiveness of ornamental assemblages at each site is additionally exhibited by the fact that only Tañac holds a glass bracelet and only Soldevillo contains stone beads. The Soldevillo burial jar yielded 14 stone beads such as garnet, amethyst and clear quartz crystal that are thus far only found here and not in other Bacong burials. The significance - social, economic, political or ritual - of the variations in ornament types, colors, and quantities across the region is uncertain but it is apparent that differences exist between sites across Bacong.

Iron implements found inside the burial jars in Bacong include seven pieces. The forms of the implements comprise tanged knives (Fig. 13, a-c), a bolo-type knife (Fig. 13, d), and chisels (Fig. 13, e-f). Apart from the Sarono burial, which contains no iron grave goods, all other burial sites were found with one to three pieces of iron tools: Vergaño has a tanged knife (Fig. 13, a), Yucor1 has three tools including two tanged knives (Fig. 13, b-c) and one with unknown form (not pictured), Tañac has one bolo type knife (Fig. 13, d), and Soldevillo has two chisels (Fig. 13, e-f). Based on these data, the broad patterns of iron tool distribution demonstrate a commonality in the use of iron tools as funerary goods across Magsuhot and Soldevillo sites, with a preference for tanged knives and bolos at Magsuhot sites and chisels at Soldevillo. Because of the state of preservation at the sites, information on gender and age of the dead are limited and thus the bio-social significance of the funerary evidence and grave goods are uncertain at this point.

Fig. 13: Some iron implements recovered from the Bacong burial sites: *a*, Vergaño; *b-c*, Yucor1; *d*, Tañac; and, *e-f,* Soldevillo sites. Photographs by A. de Leon and N.T. Cuevas.

Ritual Evidence: Ethnographic data and ethnohistoric accounts reveal that mortuary rituals in the Philippines are complex, highly variable events that involve many stages and that are difficult to completely reconstruct from archaeological remains (Barretto 2000). Mortuary remains from the Bacong jar burial sites, while unable to provide a complete picture of funerary rites, can provide clues through archaeological contexts and ceramics. Three aspects of funerary rites examined in this paper for evidence of past mortuary rituals, include: a) ritual activities, b) relative duration, and c) relative degree of community participation. Patterns of variation in the three aspects are described below.

a. Ritual activities:

The investigation of past ritual activities is limited to evidence for two ritual phases, that of bodily treatment of the dead and that of burial rites.

Bodily Treatment of Human Remains: There is limited information that can be derived for understanding body treatment during the Metal Age in Bacong due to

poor rates of preservation at the sites. Processes to prepare the body of the dead for burial, such as cleaning and the provision of aromatic treatments of the deceased body, are difficult to determine. However, the limited amount of human remains at some burial sites does offer some general information on past bodily treatment. Human skeletal remains inside Jar 2 at Sarono and at Jar 3 of Yucor1 indicates primary jar burial was practiced at Magsuhot based on the position of bones inside the jar. At Sarono specifically, the cranium and leg bones show that the dead individual was buried in an anatomically flexed body position (Fig. 14). The skeletal remains at Sarono are embedded in highly compacted and concretized deposits but the position of skeletal remains such as vertebrae, arm, hand and feet bones also coincide with a flexed position. However, apart from the presence of two crania in one jar, all the other skeletal remains indicate only one individual was buried inside the jar. The second cranium found in Jar 2 further suggests a mortuary practice of reburial, where a previously buried individual, possibly an ancestor or related family member, was reburied during funerary rites administered to a more recently deceased individual.

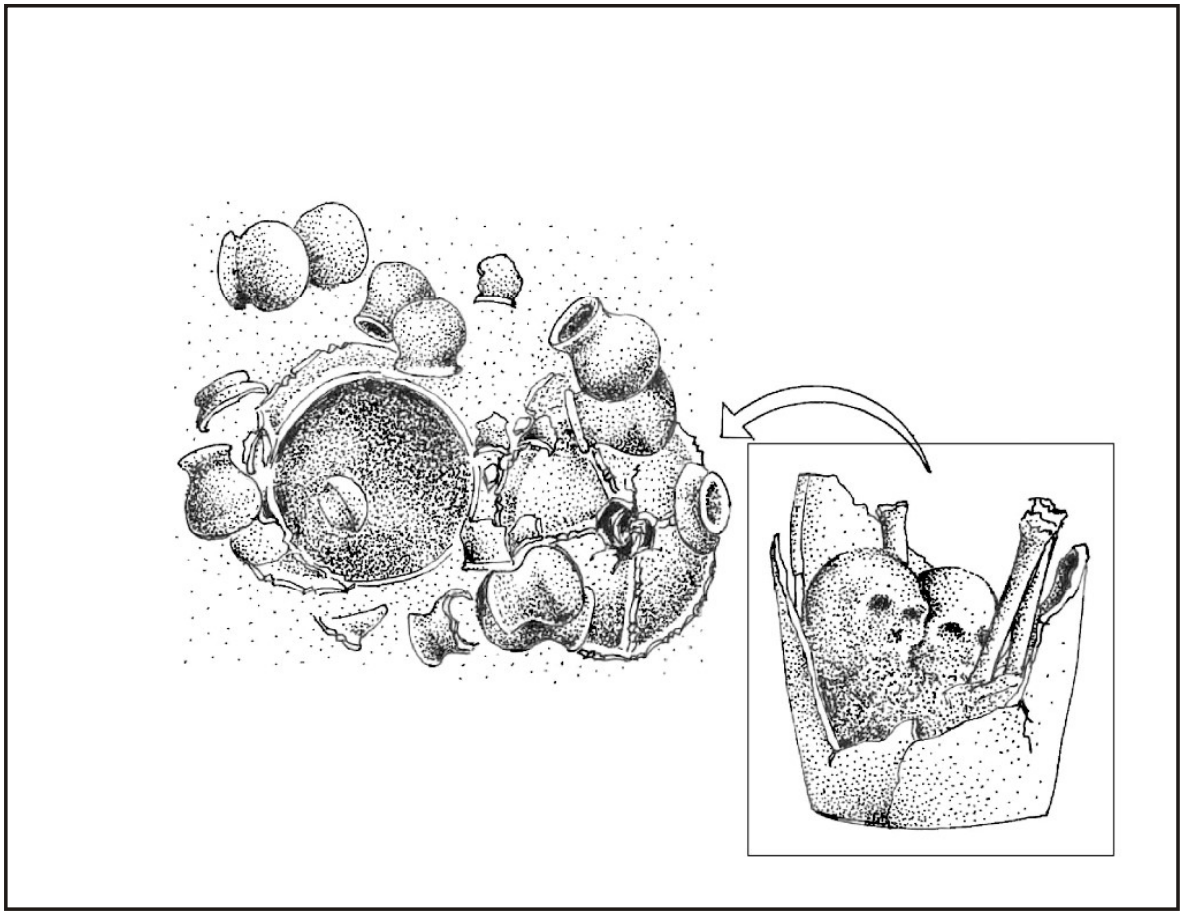

Fig. 14: Top view of Sarono burial. Inset, remains of flexed burial position and possible reburial of second crania inside Jar 2 at the Sarono site (for easy reference, Jar 2 base diameter is 43 cm, mouth diameter is 48 cm, and jar height is 53.5 cm). Illustration by E. Bersamira.

No direct evidence for primary burial was observed at Tañac and Vergaño due to the badly decomposed skeletal remains. Given the general similarities in burial vessel sizes and most other mortuary attributes between the four Magsuhot sites, it is highly possible that a primary flexed jar burial was similarly practiced at Tañac and Vergaño, although secondary burial practice is not written off. Previous excavations by Tenazas also revealed primary burial body treatment at Magsuhot. Tenazas (1974) raised the possibility of dismemberment prior to placement of human remains inside the burial jar in an anatomically correct position, but no evidence for dismemberment, that often involves chopmarks around joints of limb bones that occur at the time of death (Raemsch 1993), is so far observed. Additionally, Tenazas found remains of three individuals, including an adult female, a juvenile and an infant, that indicate multiple burial was a practice in Magsuhot. The burial of more than one individual in one jar is also seen at Yucor 1 where Jar 1 holds remains of at least two juveniles and Jar 3 contains remains of one adult and one juvenile. Single interments also occur as observed at Vergaño and at Tañac. Thus, in summary, funerary practice at Magsuhot includes primary flexed jar burial practice, of single or multiple individuals, and possibly reburial.

In contrast, the evidence for bodily treatment at Soldevillo suggests a practice of secondary burial treatment for a juvenile. Deciduous dental remains from the burial jar indicate that the deceased was a sub-adult and the possible evidence for secondary burial treatment is derived from perforations at the bottom of the burial jars (Fig. 8). As observed in ethnographic mortuary contexts, perforations allow fluids to seep out of a burial container while the body of the deceased is undergoing decomposition (e.g. Jocano 1970). After some time when the flesh of the corpse has decayed, remaining bones are cleaned and the dead individual is subsequently, accorded final secondary burial rites. The perforation at the bottom of the Soldevillo burial jars thus suggests that the burial was in a transitory stage of secondary burial treatment when the dead's body is undergoing decay.

Overall, the patterns for bodily treatment in Bacong indicates a primary flexed jar burial practice at Magsuhot and a possible secondary burial practice at Soldevillo. Primary and secondary burials are mortuary practices that involve distinct bodily treatment phases and durations where primary jar burial involves a 'single stage burial' with the 'entire body being placed in a jar' (Fox 1970: 67; Lloyd-Smith 2008: 112-113) whereas secondary burial 'involves human skeletal remains broken up in a way presupposing major disintegration of the flesh and ligaments after primary burial' (Harrisson 1967: 167). The differential practice in bodily treatment points to, among other things, variations in belief concerning transition and the period of liminality of the deceased's spirit into the afterlife (Hertz 1960 [1907]; Metcalf and Huntington 1991; Van Gennep 1960 [1909]) between Magsuhot and Soldevillo.

Funerary Rites: Elements of funerary rites are inferred from the forms of ceramic grave goods, the size of burial jars, and placements of ceramics. Firstly, the forms of the small pots from the burial sites suggest potential functions the objects may have played in mortuary rites. Although vessel use is only firmly established through evidence-based functional investigations, broad inferences on use can be derived from vessel form. The range of ceramic pots from the Bacong burials suggest a broad set of funerary activities. For instance, globular pots (either tall-necked or short-necked), footed dishes and bowls can hold material or votive offerings, such as food or other objects. While no plant and animal remains were recovered from the recent BAP excavations, earlier investigations by Tenazas (1974) yielded remains of pig and chicken inside some vessels. Furthermore, open-bottomed pots, with openings on top and at the bottom, can be used as incense burners when placed over a burning plant, resin or other ritually significant material, with smoke coming out on top. Additionally, long pots, with their long bodies and narrow openings, are useful for holding ceremonial liquids. Given these, the various forms of small vessels found in Magsuhot sites indicate that offerings, possibly of food and drink and potentially some ceremonial partaking of food and drink, and incense burning transpired during funerary rituals.

On the other hand, Soldevillo presents a narrower range of ceramic vessels. The types of ceramic vessels found here include bowl and long pot forms. Similar to Magsuhot, the forms suggest that some material offering or partaking of food and drink occurred during Soldevillo funerary ceremonies. However, the limited forms (no tall- or short-necked globular pots, no footed dishes) and quantities suggest more limited offering and partaking activities in funerary rites. Furthermore, the lack of open-bottomed pots suggests an absence of incense burning component during Soldevillo funerary rites. Thus, the narrow range of ceramic grave goods at Soldevillo suggests a funerary ritual program here that is relatively more limited as compared with Magsuhot.

Secondly, the size of the mortuary vessels may be indicative of transport requirements during funerary rituals. The large size of the Magsuhot burial jars, at almost a meter high and half a meter wide, suggests that several people were required to carry and transport the burials jars to the gravesite. One round burial jar, according to Tenazas (1974) weighs about 52 kilos and the immense weight is estimated to require at least four to six people to carry at least one jar. In contrast, the Soldevillo burial jars are much shorter (32 cm at its tallest), less wide (32 to 40 cm at its widest point) and less thick (0.3 to 1.0 cm) (Table 6). Although no weight data was collected, the smaller size of the Soldevillo jars suggests that relatively less number of people are needed to carry the burials to the grave site.

Thirdly, the arrangements of ceramic grave goods in the burial site may provide additional clues to stages of funerary ritual programs. At the Magsuhot

sites, the small vessels are found in varied positions and directions at the burial sites, i.e., sideways, bottom-up and bottom-down positions, in arcs near the burial jars or on top and around the burial jars. The positions of the pots are inferred to represent their original placement during the end of past funeral rites and not significantly affected by post-depositional process. This inference is based on the regularity and consistency of mostly upturned and sideways positions of pots across all Magsuhot sites excavated not only during the BAP investigations but also through sites excavated by Chiong (1986) and Tenazas (1974). For instance, there is a consistent pattern of footed dishes and bowls placed faced down or on its side rather than faced up that suggests such placements are deliberate and intentional and not simply a result of natural environmental processes. Thus, it is held that the grave arrangements likely reflect their original positions in the past, perhaps deliberately placed by mourners after offering and partaking segments of burial rites or before covering the graves. Nonetheless, there are questions as to whether the graves were completely covered up with soil or left partially exposed after the performance of funerary rites. At Sarono and Yucor1, there is evidence for partial burial of the jars in grave pits up to the upper part/mouth rim of the jar (as discussed in the grave preparation section below). However, the upper part of the burials, especially the section of the lids, exhibit no definitive features, grave cuts, or differences in sediment that indicate the graves were completely covered up after the performance of burial rites. The burials at Tañac and Vergaño are unable to provide insight on this because at Tañac the sediments are difficult to differentiate in terms of texture and color and at Vergaño the upper part of the grave was already removed due to road construction. Thus, there is still uncertainty as to whether the graves at Magsuhot were covered or left partially open after burial rites. Future excavations of Magsuhot sites should examine the grave contexts more carefully to address this uncertainty.

Regardless, as stated above, the placement of the pots are held to be in relatively primary contexts. Although purely conjecture, the arrangements and placements possibly reflects activities performed during mortuary ceremonies when family, kin, and other community members gathered near or around the jars and made offerings contained in small pots, performed ceremonial consumption of food and drink, and subsequently laid down the small pots on top and around the jars after the offering segment of funerary rites. While the activities are generally similar across Magsuhot sites, the burials do not exhibit uniform placements. The spatial distribution of the pots across Sarono, Tañac, Yucor 1 and Vergaño (Fig. 2) exhibit variation. For instance, open-bottomed vessels at Yucor 1 are placed away from the jars at the end of pottery vessels lined up in an arc (Fig. 2) while similar type of vessels are found under the heap of pots on top of the coffin at Tañac, in between the two jars at Sarono towards the bottom of the grave pit, and on top of the coffin at Vergaño. The long pots are found on top of the open-bottom vessel at Sarono, along the sides at Vergaño (with none at Tañac). Footed dishes are placed

mostly faced down on the lid and on its side as observed at Sarono Vergaño and Yucor1. Globular pots are found on top and around the burial jars, mostly positioned over other small vessels. A general pattern where open bottomed vessels are placed first in the graves (except at Yucor 1), followed by the rest of the vessels in uncertain order. Despite the differences in placements and arrangements of pots, commonalities in types of ritual activities are apparent across Magsuhot sites.

Conversely, at Soldevillo, with a significantly lesser number of ceramic grave goods that are placed inside burial jars, funeral rites involved less time for mortuary offerings or partaking of food and drink. It is notable however, that because the burial at Soldevillo indicates a transitory and a still incomplete phase of mortuary treatment related to secondary burial practice, evidence of funerary rituals observed in the archaeological record are also not final and may not reflect the duration of final rites accorded to the dead.

b. Relative Duration of Funerary Rituals

The relative duration of funeral rites is inferred from a comparison of vessel quantities between sites. The basic assumption is that ceramic vessels of similar type found in burial sites were utilized in similar ways during ceremonies and thus represent similar funerary activities. The quantities of burial vessels and small ceramic pots at each site can then be compared with numbers from other sites and used as a basis to determine relative duration and length of funerary ceremonies. Consequently, quantities of burial jars and small ceramic goods found in one burial site can indicate if funerary rituals at another site are relatively longer or shorter based on higher or lesser numbers of ceramics. However, there are a considerable number of unknowns in Bacong burials including what the number of burial vessels at each site may represent, whether these represent single/multiple deceased individuals despite the absence of skeletal remains that have presumably decomposed or if some jars only held grave offerings and not human bodies. This uncertainty as to the significance of the number of jars limits the inferences on the duration of past funerary rituals. However, smaller ceramic grave goods can be reasonably assumed to hold offerings of food, drink or other objects that were used for offerings during funerary rites. With the small vessels weighing about .75 to 1.5 kilos, it is assumed that one mourner can each take their turn to hold one small vessel with both hands to carry and deposit to the grave. Only globular pots, long pots, footed dishes or bowls are considered since open-bottomed vessels are most probably used to burn incense and are not to offer.

Table 10 below summarizes the number of offering vessels (excluding jars and coffins) and estimated mourners at each site. Mourners at Magsuhot sites range from 18 to 97 with only four at Soldevillo. The data indicates that there are

significantly more mourners at the Magsuhot sites than at Soldevillo and this suggests that a pattern of relatively longer funerary rites is observed at Magsuhot compared to Soldevillo.

Table 10. Estimated number of offerers based on number of offering vessels

Sites	No. of Burial Jars & Coffins	No. of Ceramic Vessels for Offering*	Estimated number of offerers
Sarono	2	23	23
Tanac	1	18	18
Yucor 1	3	97	97
Vergano	2	67	67
Soldevillo	2	4	4

*total number of globular pots (tall-necked, short-necked and unknown neck), footed dish, long pot, and bowl

c. Evidence for community participation

Community participation in Bacong is also inferred from the patterns described above such as the size of the burial jars, the quantities of ritual pots, and the burial contexts and placement of pots. As discussed above, the patterns indicate that the Sarono, Tañac, Yucor 1 and Vergaño 1 sites contain relatively larger burial jars that require more people to carry and transport the mortuary vessels, significantly more quantities of ceramic grave goods for community members, perhaps close kin and family, to make offerings and deposit in the graves. These altogether suggest that a relatively greater degree of community participation occurred at Magsuhot sites compared to Soldevillo, which as the evidence shows, contain smaller and lighter jars and less quantities of small pots.

Additionally, the limited archaeological evidence does not indicate clear evidence for a shaman or religious person. However, it can be argued that with evidence for 1) a relatively lengthy and complex funerary ritual process, 2) that involved anthropomorphic and zoomorphic imagery, and 3) a series of activities that include incense burning, and ritual offering and consumption of food and drink, funerary activities at Magsuhot were possibly directed by a ritual specialist. More work on this can be undertaken in the future.

Bacong Proto-Historic Period

During the Proto-Historic period, patterns in intentional funerary practices of affiliation appear to show substantial variation from practices of the previous Metal period.

Grave Arrangements: At the thirteenth century AD sites of Combado and Buntod1, general similarities in funerary practices are observed where bodies of the dead are buried in burial jars, oftentimes with grave goods. The jar burial at Combado, that was discovered during quarrying operations in the lowland alluvial plains of Bacong, consists of three round bottomed earthenware burial jars, two of which were broken with only one almost intact jar remaining (Fig. 15). One of the three burial jars contained a whiteware bowl, a celadon dish, and shell bracelets; a second jar contained human bones while a third burial jar held no artifactual remains. Human bones found in the jar were reburied in the town cemetery and unexamined by archaeologists. Meanwhile, the burial at Buntod1, consists of one earthenware burial jar covered by a Qingbai dish on top. The skeletal remains found inside the jar were immediately reburied by the farmer finder and were also unstudied. No other grave goods were reported from the Buntod1 burial. The mortuary pattern at both sites indicate that similarities occur between the thirteenth century AD burial grave arrangements in terms of the utilization of burials jars to bury the dead with some grave goods, though clear variations exist in terms of the number of jars and the types and quantities of grave goods found in the burials.

At the later dated sixteenth century AD site of Arado, the jar burial consists of a single stoneware dragon jar (Fig. 16) and no lid or other artifacts were found with it (Dizon, et al. 2016). No traces of other grave artifacts were found in the burial jar. This burial follows a similar template with all other Bacong jar burials from the Metal period to the 13th century, although variations in mortuary vessel type occur, as explained below.

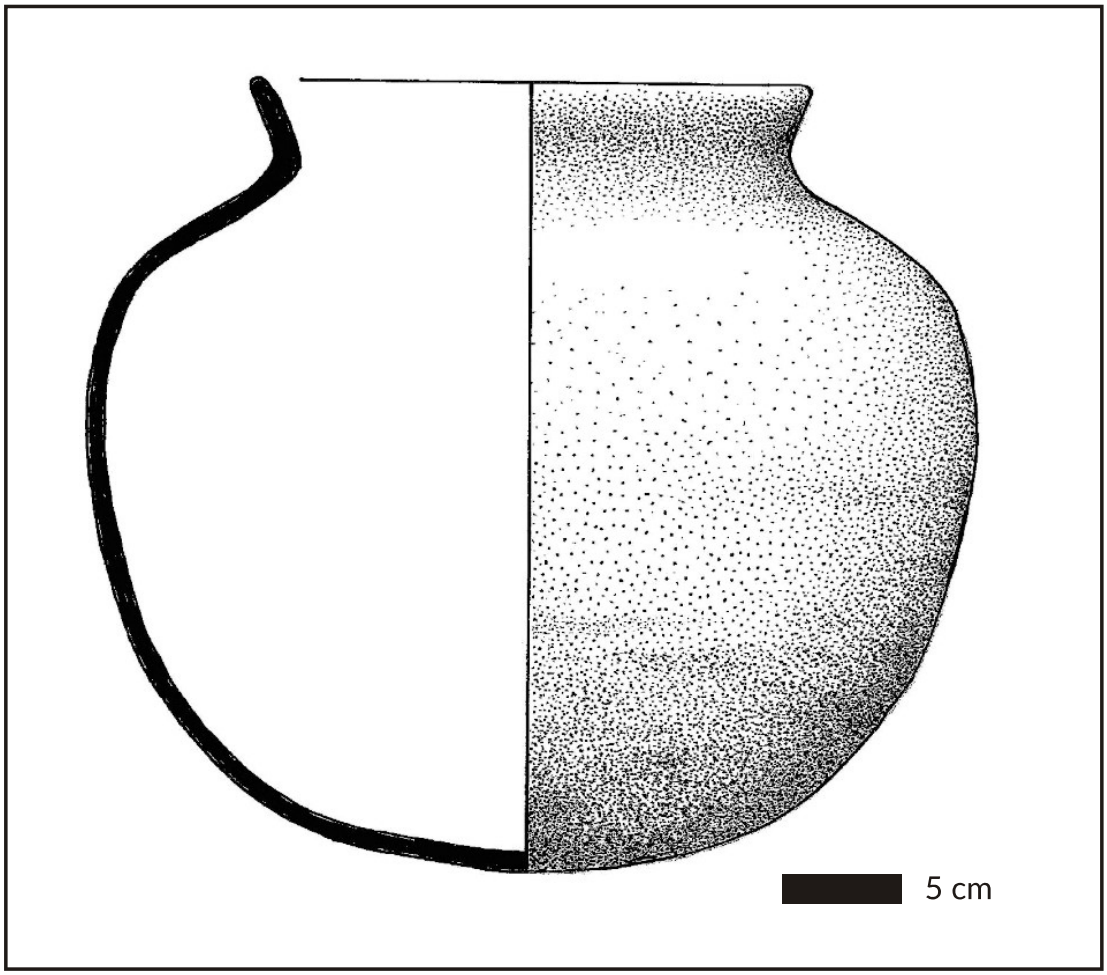

Fig. 15: One of three earthenware burial jars at the Combado jar burial site. Illustration by E. Bersamira.

Mortuary Vessels: In the thirteenth century AD, the burial jars used to bury the dead are made of earthenware as those found at both Combado and Buntod1. At Combado, only one of three reported earthenware burial jars was examined as the two other burial jars were broken and discarded by the finder. The examined burial jar, is an everted-rimmed earthenware vessel that is rounded at the base (Fig. 15). It is 24 cm wide at the mouth, is 35 cm tall and is 38 cm at its widest point. It is plain and polished smooth with a matte surface. No lids are reported from Combado. At Buntod1, the burial jar used is a plain earthenware jar covered by a white porcelain dish placed face down on the mouth of the jar. No photos or fragments of the earthen burial jar were inspected and thus no definitive information on the form, decoration, and other technical information are available on the earthenware burial jar from Buntod1. Regardless, based on reported information, thirteenth century AD communities similarly used earthenware burial jars as mortuary containers although variations in jar quantities are

observed between sites. Compared with the earlier Metal Period burial jars however, the Combado and Buntod1 burial vessels are plain and lack elaborate decorations and symbolic imagery across sites.

Centuries later, at Arado, the jar used for burials is an imported Chinese stoneware dragon jar (Fig. 16). These types of jars vary greatly and were produced initially in China and later in Vietnam and Thailand (Valdes, et al. 1992). Dragon jars appear in the Philippines between the twelfth and nineteenth century AD (Dueppen 2013; Nguyen Long 1992; Sinopoli, et al. 2006; Valdes, et al. 1992) however, the particular dragon jar at Arado, with modelled vertical dragons that have their necks forming the lug handles, is estimated to date to the sixteenth century (Valdes, et al. 1992: 124).

Fig. 16: Fragment of Chinese dragon jar used as burial urn at the Arado site. Photograph by E.Z. Dizon.

Ceramic grave goods: During the thirteenth century AD, small ceramic objects associated with the burials include imported stoneware bowls and dishes. At Buntod1, a Qingbai plate was found with the burial jar and reportedly used as a lid (Fig. 17). The plate is 21 cm in diameter. At Combado, two vessels, including

one celadon dish and a Qingbai bowl, were reportedly buried inside one burial jar as grave goods (Fig. 18). The Qingbai bowl is 17 cm wide at the mouth and 8.5 cm wide at the base while the celadon dish is 8 cm wide at the base. Found inside the burial jar, these vessels are potential containers of material or food offerings that were offered and buried with the dead. Meanwhile, in the sixteenth century AD, no small vessels were found inside the dragon jar at Arado. The patterns indicate that both the Combado and Buntod1 burials contain similar Qingpai type vessels either placed outside as lids or inside the jar presumably to hold offerings, although Combado has more pieces with an additional celadon dish included in its grave goods assemblage. Arado meanwhile lacks comparable associated ceramics.

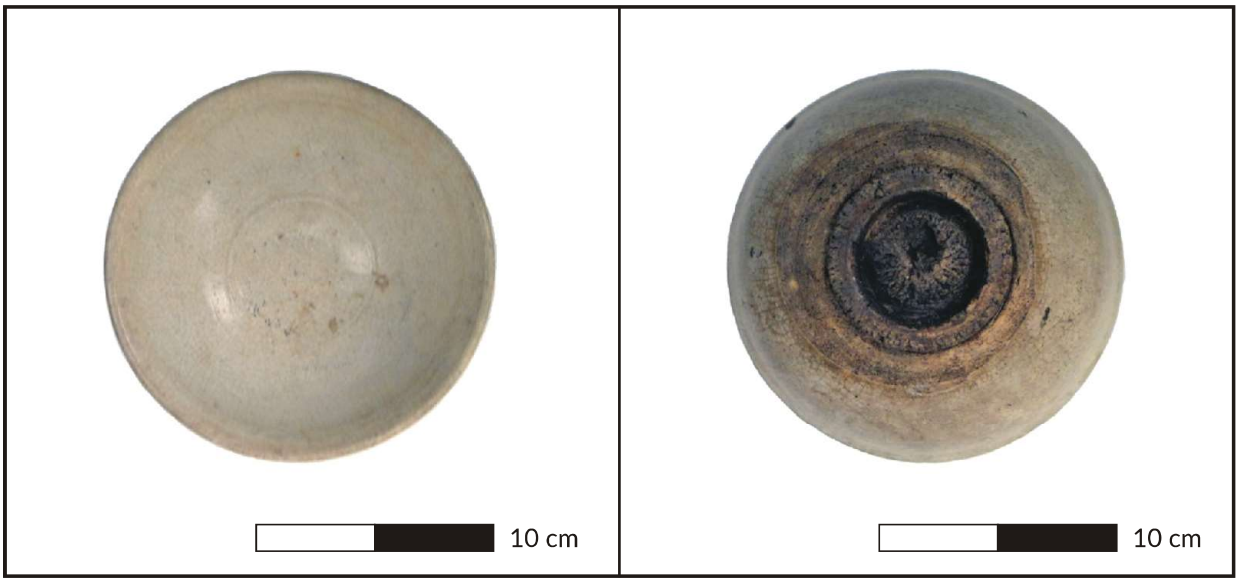

Fig. 17: Qingbai bowl used as cover for burial jar in Buntod1 (*top view, left and bottom view, right*). Photographs by A. de Leon.

Fig. 18: Chinese trade ceramics found inside Combado burial jar: celadon bowl fragments (left, top and bottom) and a Qingbai bowl (right, top and bottom). Photographs by E. Z. Dizon.

Grave Goods / Shell Ornaments: Of the three Proto-Historic Period sites, only the Combado burial contained non-ceramic grave goods. Several fragments of shell ornaments (Fig. 19) were buried along with the celadon and whiteware bowls. This is noteworthy considering that shell artifacts are often associated with Neolithic and Metal period sites in the Philippines (Fox 1970; Szabo 2004). However, it is also not rare as shell bracelets were also found in pre-Spanish burials at Plaza Independencia on Cebu Island (Mijares, et al. 2007). The other thirteenth century AD site of Buntod1 and the sixteenth century AD Arado did not yield similar material or other grave goods.

Fig. 19: Shell bracelets found inside the Combado burial jar with two tradeware ceramics. Photograph by E. Z. Dizon.

Ritual Evidence: Although the archaeological data is limited for the Proto-Historic period, the available remains can provide clues as to aspects or activities in funeral rites and compare if funerary rites are comparably shorter or longer and are characterized by relatively more or less participation from community members.

Bodily Treatment: The processes undertaken to treat bodies after death are difficult to determine especially since any human remains from the burial sites were unexamined. Regardless, based on the size of burial jars, it is highly likely that primary flexed jar burial practice was not followed in the Proto-Historic period as it was in Metal period Magsuhot. Instead, thirteenth to sixteenth century AD Bacong communities either practiced secondary burial treatment of adults (and/or juveniles) or primary burial of juveniles. Interestingly, no perforations are present in the examined burial jars, which denotes that the Proto-Historic burials are potentially final funerary treatments that are the culmination of lengthy secondary burial processes for bodies of the dead.

Ritual activities, relative duration of rituals, and community participation: The general form of small ceramic dishes and bowls at Combado and Buntod1 suggests that, as with the Metal Period sites, ritual offerings formed part of ceremonial rites in the thirteenth century. While no similar objects were recovered from archaeological remains at Arado, this does not necessarily negate ritual

offerings for sixteenth century mortuary practices as there are reports of contemporaneous jar burials on Negros island with grave goods (Beyer 1947). Regardless, despite these differences between the three Proto-Historic sites, the burials contain a narrow range of types of ceramics compared with Metal Period sites at Magsuhot and even Soldevillo. This indicates that funerary ceremonies in Proto-History were simpler when compared with the Metal Period, with lesser offering acts and no incense burning.

The reported placements of the Qingpai dish as a lid at Buntod1 and as offering containers at Combado, indicates potential differences in ritual activities between sites that may be confirmed in future systematic excavations. However, with current data, differences in vessel placements and forms at Combado and Buntod1 indicate variations in aspects of funeral rites during the thirteenth century AD. This disparity in the practice of ceramic placement between Combado and Buntod1 suggests that some degree of differentiation in mortuary ritual practice between thirteenth century AD Bacong communities. Additionally, the pot placement practices in Proto-History (both as lid and inside the burial jars) exhibits variation from Magsuhot (placed outside the burial jars) and Soldevillo (only inside the burial jars).

Furthermore, based on the relatively smaller size of the Combado burial jar and its presumably lighter weight as compared with Metal Period Magsuhot burial vessels, it seems that the number of people required for ritual transport of burial jars to the gravesite is reduced from the Metal to the Proto-Historic period. There is no comparable data with Buntod1 and Arado and so patterns of distribution within thirteenth to sixteenth century AD communities is uncertain.

With a reduction in quantities of grave goods and less elaborate ceremonial activities as compared with prior Metal Period sites, it follows that funerary rituals became relatively shorter in Proto-History and entailed less community involvement. This is observed at all Proto-Historic sites where the number of burial jars and small vessels range from one to five vessels (Table 5). With three burial jars and two small vessels, the Combado burial indicates a comparatively longer ritual duration with relatively more community participation compared to Buntod1 during the thirteenth century AD, and with the sixteenth century AD burial at Arado. Furthermore, when this all the Proto-Historic data is compared with the number of mortuary vessels, ceramic grave goods and other artifacts at the Metal Age Magsuhot sites, Proto-Historic period sites yield substantially less artifacts indicating shorter rituals with lesser numbers of ritual participants.

Overall, in comparison with Metal Age burial sites specifically at Magsuhot sites, Proto-Historic mortuary remains are characterized by 1) a reduction of or almost absent highly visible symbols and iconography in mortuary vessels and

grave goods, 2) lesser quantities in ceramic and other grave goods, 3) more limited performative ritual activities (such as offering and partaking of food and drink, and no incense burning) in funeral rites, 4) relatively shorter duration of funeral rituals, and 5) relatively lesser community participation (in burial jar transport and offering acts).

Patterns in Unintentional Funerary Practices of Affiliation

Bacong Metal Age

As with patterns observed in intentional practices of affiliation, two discrete groups of unintentional practices of affiliation occur during the Bacong Metal Age that correspond with the distinct groups identified above as Magsuhot and Soldevillo. Unintentional practices of affiliation are inferred from the traces of activities that are not intended to signal group affiliation such as grave preparation and mortuary ceramics production. Such activities are often routinary and leave nearly invisible or almost no traces in mortuary remains. Table 11 summarizes the attributes and distribution of unintentional mortuary practices of affiliation in the Bacong region.

Grave Preparation: The evidence for grave preparation comprise mortuary features such as grave pits, grave cuts and stones used as stabilizers for round bottomed jars. At the Sarono and Yucor1 burials, there is evidence for cuts into older compact ashy deposits to create grave pits just large enough to contain the burial jars (Fig. 20). The pits and cuts are discernible at Sarono and Yucor1 but are indistinct at Tañac and Vergaño. Furthermore, there is also some possible evidence at Vergaño for a grave lined with rocks and broken potsherds (Vitales 2010). This feature is not unusual as it was also observed by Tenazas (1974) in her excavations at Magsuhot.

Table 11: Distribution of unintentional funerary practices of affiliation in the Metal and Proto-Historic Period

	Metal Period					
Mortuary Features	**Sarono**	**Tañac**	**Vergaño**	**Yucor 1**	**Soldevillo**	**Distribution across the Bacong Region**
1. Grave Preparation	Grave pit	evidence not clear	lined with pottery fragments?	Grave pit, grave cuts	Stabilizing rocks at base	Similar features between Sarono and Yucor1; Soldevillo grave preparation process different from Magsuhot.
2. Ceramic Production						
a. Raw material sourcing	sand tempered	sand tempered	sand tempered	sand tempered	sand tempered	Similar across Bacong though further analysis needed.
b. Shaping technique	Burial jar/lid: coil slab technique and smoothed with a paddle and anvil	Coffin: slab technique and smoothed with a paddle and anvil.	Burial jar/lid: coil slab technique and smoothed with a paddle and anvil. Coffin: slab technique and smoothed with a paddle and anvil.	Burial jar/lid: coil slab technique and smoothed with a paddle and anvil.	Burial jar: coiling technique and smoothed with a paddle and anvil. Chiseling off rim for use as burial vessel.	Burial jar: Similar methods across Magsuhot sites; Soldevillo with some similarity in use of a coiling technique but variations in coil sizes occur and in chiseled off rim.
	Small pots: hand molded, and smoothed with a paddle and anvil.	Small pots: hand molded, and smoothed with a paddle and anvil.	Small pots: hand molded, and smoothed with a paddle and anvil.	Small pots: hand molded, and smoothed with a paddle and anvil.	Small pots: hand molded and smoothed with a paddle and anvil.	Small pots: General similarity in shaping methods across 5 sites.
c. Decorative techniques	Burial jars: excision using sharp tool, perhaps a knife	Burial jars/coffins: excision using sharp tool, perhaps a knife	Burial jars/coffins: excision using sharp tool, perhaps a knife	Burial jars: excision using sharp tool, perhaps a knife	No decorative techniques apart from polishing techniques on both jars and small ceramic grave goods.	Similar across Magsuhot sites with Soldevillo as an outlier.
	Small pots: scalloped design through excision technique with a sharp tool; incision using pointed tool; perforation performed sometimes before firing, sometimes after firing.	Small pots: scalloped design through excision technique with a sharp tool; incision using pointed tool; perforation performed sometimes before firing, sometimes after firing.	Small pots: scalloped design through excision technique with a sharp tool; incision using pointed tool; perforation performed sometimes before firing, sometimes after firing.	Small pots: scalloped design through excision technique with a sharp tool; incision using pointed tool; perforation performed sometimes before firing, sometimes after firing.		
d. Drying	Mat impressions on bottom of burial jar	Plain, no impressions on bottom of coffin	Plain, no impressions on bottom of burial jar and coffin	Leaf and mat impressions on burial jar base, third burial jar with plain base.	No traces of drying	Magsuhot with a combination of plain, leaf and mat impressed bases; No such traces on Soldevillo jars. No traces on both Magsuhot and Soldevillo small pots.
e. Firing technique	open firing technique	open firing technique	open firing technique	open firing technique	open firing technique	Uniform across the Bacong region

Table 11: Distribution of unintentional funerary practices of affiliation in the Metal and Proto-Historic Period (con't.)

Mortuary Features	ProtoHistoric Period			Distribution across the Bacong region
	Buntod1	Combado	Arado	
1. Grave Preparation	Uncertain/No context	Uncertain/No context	Uncertain/No context	Uncertain
2. Ceramic Production:				
a. Raw material sourcing		sand tempered		
b. Shaping technique		coiling technique, further shaping with paddle and anvil		similar with Metal period Soldevillo
c. Decorative techniques		only polishing		similar with Metal period Soldevillo
d. Drying		no traces		
e. Firing technique		open firing		similar with Metal period Bacong

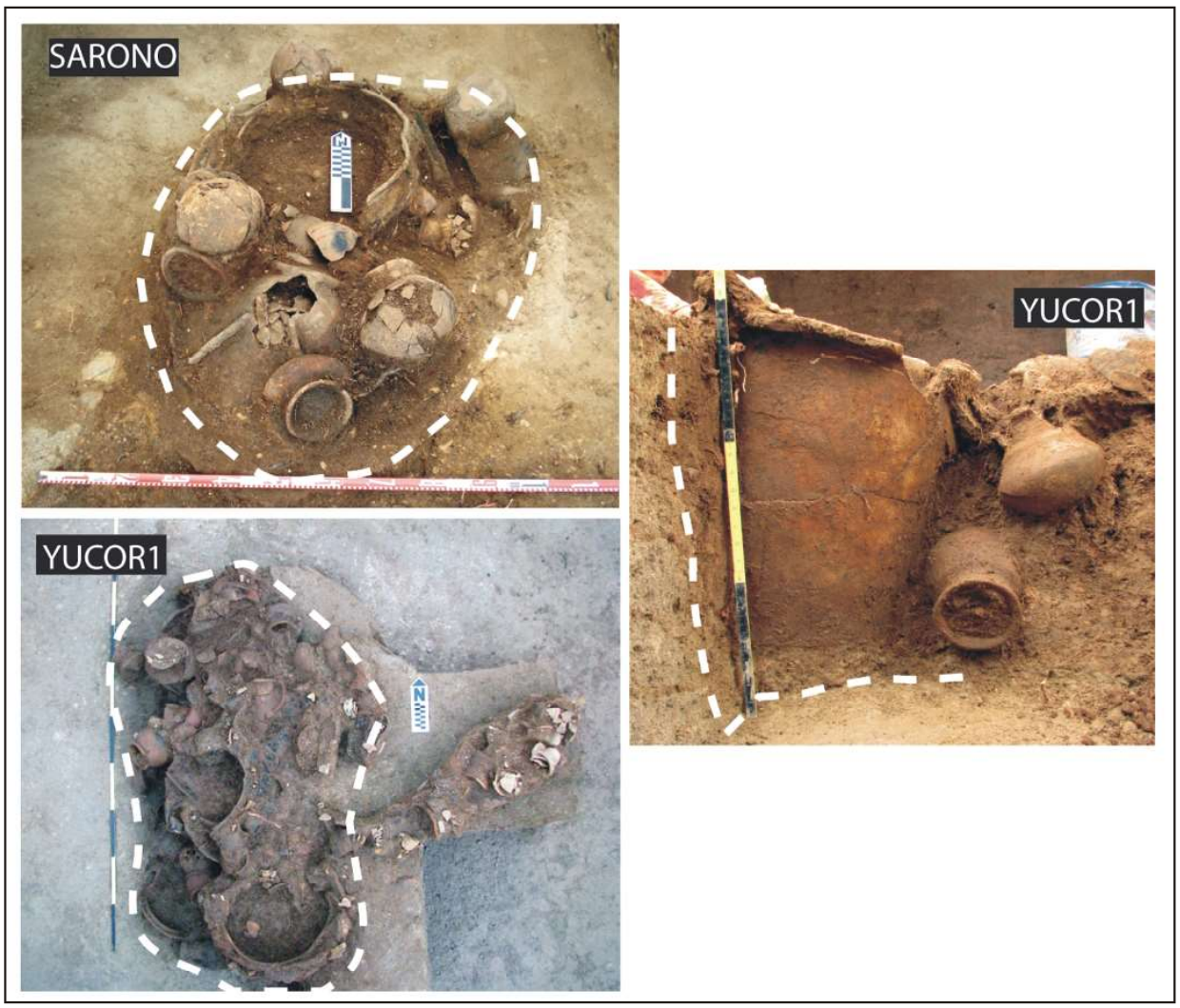

Fig. 20: Grave features at Magsuhot sites, as outlined in white, include: a) graves pits at Sarono (*top*, *left*) and Yucor1 (*bottom*, *left*) that cut into lighter colored, compact and clayey volcanic deposits, and 2) grave cuts at Yucor1 (*right*). Photographs by N.T. Cuevas.

Commonalities in grave pit features at Sarono and Yucor1 suggests that a systematic process was followed in the preparation of graves. The grave preparation process is highly likely undertaken prior to the performance of funerary rites, on the assumption that considerable time is needed to dig through compact clayey sediment to create a pit that is almost a meter deep and almost a meter by two meters wide. The process of digging out hardened deposits requires strength, learned skills, techniques, and knowledge of process which suggests that, at the very least, some of the people who dug the graves were potentially part-time specialists whom the community turned to during funerary events. The tools used to dig out the grave are unknown, but possibly involved metal implements. Furthermore, given that the grave pits appear to only have enough space for the

mortuary vessels which do not allow vessel bearers into the pit to lay them out on the ground, the part-time mortuary specialists possibly created a mechanism to lower the jars and coffins into the pit. The specialists were also most likely the people who covered up the graves (either partially or completely) with soil after the performance of funeral rites.

This process of grave digging at Magsuhot is not observed at Soldevillo, where evidence for grave cuts or pits were not found. Instead some rocks were found near the base and sides of the jar body, possibly to stabilize the round bottomed burial jar. This represents a grave preparation practice that is completely distinct from Magsuhot.

Ceramic Production: Mortuary ceramics from the Magsuhot archaeological sites are assumed to be specifically produced for mortuary ceremonies. The burial jars are understandably special vessels produced for funerary events, and likewise, the small pots are also created for mortuary purposes since no evidence for domestic use is found i.e., there is an absence of soot or marks often associated with continued use and reuse of pots in household contexts. In terms of production, Tenazas (1974) suggests that the Magsuhot burial jars were likely made by male potters due to their massive size and weight, although this is yet to be archaeologically established. In fact, many aspects of mortuary ceramic production especially related to organization and timing are yet to be fully investigated. However, the examination of production traces in funerary ceramics can provide insights on social affiliation and learning transmission in Bacong during the Metal Age.

Patterns in the production of mortuary ceramics in Bacong, i.e. burial jars and coffins and small ceramic grave goods, exhibit mostly distinct attributes between Magsuhot and Soldevillo in general, although variations occur in some technical aspects of production. Following are descriptions of patterns in aspects of ceramic technology in Bacong including material sourcing, shaping, decorating, drying and firing.

Material sourcing: Ceramics from the Bacong region during the Metal Age are, including both Magsuhot and Soldevillo, characteristically sand tempered with grains that range from fine to large. Compositional studies are yet to be undertaken to understand ceramic compositions and clay sources and sharing of clay recipes across the region.

Shaping: At Magsuhot, round burial jars are made through a slab coiling technique shaped further with paddle and anvil. The body of the burial jar is made using 10 - 15 cm large slabs of clay that are coiled around to form a cylinder (Fig. 21) that is shaped and thinned down into 0.9 to 2.2 cm thick walls, that are then

attached to the bottom part that is made of a flat, round shaped slab. External surfaces of the jar are polished smooth with an unknown polishing tool, subsequently, a 5 to 7 cm wide collar is applied around the body, just below the mouth rim. The collars are decorated through excisions along the edges of the collar, shaped into a series of scalloped cut-outs and notches, through the use of a sharp tool such as a knife. Similarly, truncated conical lids are also shaped by a slab coiling technique and are further molded using a paddle and anvil. Lid interiors reveal anvil and finger impressions especially toward the top section. The exterior surfaces of the lid are smoothed and polished and ribs are then applied horizontally just above the rim and vertically along the cone. Scalloped cut-outs and notches also decorate edges of the ribs and additional hand-molded and polished embellishments such as curlicues, points and zoomorphic designs are applied on top of the lids. On the other hand, rectangular burial jars are made through a purely slab technique. Slabs that form the sides and bottom are shaped and subsequently joined together to form a coffin shaped container. Coffins vessel walls range from 1.1 to 1.7 cm in thickness (Table 7). Once formed and smoothed, ribs are applied on the coffin that are then excised with a variation of the scalloped and notched decoration. Additional decorative details are applied on top of the lid that are hand-formed and polished into points or anthropomorphic figures.

Meanwhile, at Soldevillo, the burial jars are repurposed vessels that were possibly initially used for storage purposes based on form and not originally intended as mortuary containers. For utilization as a burial vessel, the jars are refashioned by chiseling off mouth rims with the use of a sharp tool (Fig. 7). Regardless of prior purpose, the Soldevillo jars are fashioned through coiling and paddle and anvil techniques, with narrower coils that measure about 7cm wide and a vessel thickness ranging from 0.3 to 1.0 cm (Table 6). In sum, the patterns for forming burial jars at Magsuhot and Soldevillo exhibit general similarity in the use of a coiling technique however, Maguhot exhibits wider coils and thicker walls compared to Soldevillo. Coffins shaped through a slab technique are distinct and only occur at Magsuhot and not at Soldevillo.

Small ceramic pots at the Magsuhot sites are all hand molded and shaped with paddle and anvil. For globular and long pots, the bottom part of the vessel is shaped first and subsequently added with extra coils of clay to form the upper body/shoulder and rims of the vessel, as observed in joint marks on necks and shoulders where rims are attached to vessels and on carinated parts. A paddle and anvil is then used to further shape the pots based on traces of anvil and finger impressions inside the vessels. For footed dishes, the plate and pedestals are shaped separately and joined together after shaping. Most have uneven surfaces and are roughly smoothed using the hand as observed in finger impressions on the dish surface. There are however some footed dishes that are evenly shaped, apparently thinned and smoothed with the use of a paddle and anvil, further

smoothed with a polishing tool. Meanwhile, open-bottomed pots are formed through a coiling technique. The small vessels at Soldevillo are made through similar forming processes of hand molding, adding of extra coils of clay for the rim and upper vessel part, and further shaped by paddle and anvil. The shaping process of Magsuhot and Soldevillo ceramic grave goods (except for the open bottomed pots) follow highly similar techniques.

However, although there are similarities in shaping techniques of small ceramics at Magsuhot and Soldevillo in general, evidence of distinct shaping traditions are observed in rim profiles of small pots. Several mouth rims observed in small vessels (especially globular pots) across Magsuhot exhibit rim profiles that are flared and internally concave, either with round or flat lips (e.g. Fig. 22). These types of rims are absent at Soldevillo, where only rounded or thickened rims occur (Fig. 11). This reflects nuances in the distinctiveness of shaping traditions and learning networks between Magsuhot and Soldevillo communities wherein any social interaction or shared learning between potters from these communities seems absent.

Fig. 21: Traces of coil slabs inside a Magsuhot type burial jar. Photograph by A.S. de Leon.

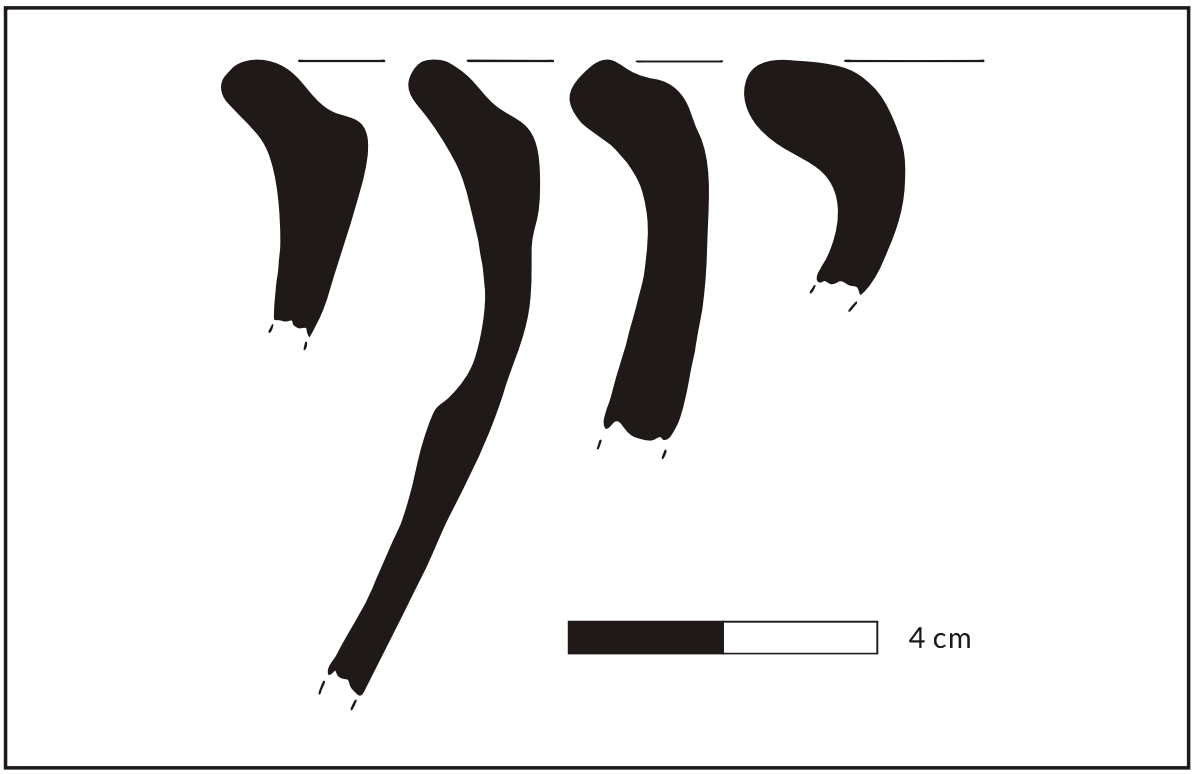

Fig. 22: Examples of rim and lip profiles of tall-necked globular pots at Vergaño: first and second rim from left, rounded lip with internally concave rims; third from left, flat lipped with internally concave rim; right, round-lipped rim. Illustration by A. de Leon.

As briefly mentioned above, some footed dishes at Magsuhot are obviously crude and roughly made. These crude pieces are characterized by uneven surfaces and thicknesses, visible finger or anvil depressions, a lopsided form, and rough perforations cut after vessel firing (Fig. 23). The overall rough appearance of crude dishes suggests these were made by novice, non-specialist potters. Given the ritual contexts of the vessels, it is possible these were specifically made by novice potters, perhaps family members of the deceased who produced pots for offerings in Magsuhot mortuary ceremonies.

Fig. 23: Examples of crudely made (*top and center*) and finely polished and finished (*bottom)* footed dishes from Sarono, Vergaño and Yucor1. Photographs by A. de Leon.

Decorative Techniques: Potters from Magsuhot and Soldevillo both polished most vessels to create a polished matte surface. However, the decorative repertoire at Magsuhot is more expansive and wide-ranging and includes appliqué, excised, impressed, grooved and incised techniques. Some evidence of slipping is found in some pots though most have flaked off and the prevalence of the technique is uncertain. The tool used for excision is sharp and is most likely a metal knife as observed in most scalloped on burial jars and small vessels. Although scalloped designs on some small vessels appear to be created by pressing the thumb into the pot. Decorative incisions found in some globular pots are made by a pointed tool, perhaps metal or a stick that is about 1 to 2 mm thick at the pointed end.

Drying: After shaping, the pots are dried for an unknown period but interestingly, the bottoms on some of the round burial jars at Magsuhot show mat

and leaf impressions (see Fig. 24 for examples). Some jars excavated by Chiong (Mascuñana 1986) also exhibit the same type of impressions and even include marks of bamboo slats. These differences may indicate different drying areas in the production workshop, or different workshops of different potters that can be studied in the future for insight into ceramic production systems at Magsuhot. There is no data from Soldevillo on drying marks.

Firing Technique: Cross sections of sherds mostly show unoxidized cores which indicate the use of open firing techniques for burial vessels and small pots from Magsuhot and Soldevillo. This is unsurprising, since open firing rather than closed or kiln based firing systems were used throughout most of the Philippine islands in late prehistory. Although there are reports of Philippine-made highly fired stoneware jars in the 16th century (Nguyen Long 1992), thus far there is no archaeological evidence for early historic period kilns. According to historical accounts closed kilns were introduced much later during the late 18th and early 19th century AD (Cano 2012).

Fig. 24: Mat (*left*) and leaf (*right*) impressions at the bottom of the burial jar from Sarono and Yucor1. Photographs by A. de Leon.

Overall, evidence for ceramic production in Bacong show some general similarities across the five Bacong jar burial sites in the use of coiling methods to shape round burial jars, in employing hand-molding along with paddle and anvil tools to form small ceramics, in the way vessels are polished and fired in open areas. However, patterns of variations in various ceramic attributes indicate Magsuhot and Soldevillo have discrete practices in the production of mortuary vessels for instance in the use of slab methods to form burial coffins, the sizes of coils used, the thicknesses of vessels, in the subtle ways rims of small pots are shaped to have internally concave rims, in the ways Magsuhot potters decorate jars and small pots through discrete excised, impressed, incised, molded and perforated decorative techniques, and in the way burial jars are dried on mats and other outdoor surfaces.

Bacong Proto-Historic Period

The traces of pre-ritual activities in Proto-History are limited by the lack of contextual archaeological data and limited material remains. Regardless, available information on mortuary attributes provide insights into unintentional practices of affiliation during the Proto-Historic Period in Bacong.

Grave Preparation: Because the burials were not found in their archaeological contexts, practices to prepare graves (if any) are uncertain. Whether the jars are buried in graves or not, or whether they were stabilized with rocks is indeterminate from currently available information.

Ceramic Production: The examination of ceramic production techniques for the Proto-Historic period is limited to only one earthenware burial jar. The Combado earthenware burial jar has a rim profile that is parallel and a lip profile that is rounded with a rim thickness of 7 mm (Fig. 15). It is shaped by hand, fashioned through a coiling technique, and further shaped with a paddle and anvil. The interior of the jar shows consistent anvil impressions throughout the inside of the jar but coil marks are no longer clearly visible since anvil impressions have mostly removed traces, there are discernible traces of horizontal bands inside the jar that are about 7-8 cm wide. After shaping, the exterior surface of the jar is polished smoothed with an unknown but likely hard material such as a smooth stone or shell. No other decorative techniques are used on the vessel. As with other pottery produced in Bacong, the Combado jar is fired through open firing techniques based on the unoxidized core observed in sherd cross section. In general, pottery production practices in Proto-History are broadly similar with earlier Metal Age practices in general aspects such as coiling techniques in burial jar production (especially with Soldevillo), in polishing the burial jar smooth with a matte texture, and with the use of open-firing technology. However, there are subtle differences in how Proto-Historic potters shape pots compared to Metal Age potters: in Proto-History, potters use fine-grained sand as raw material for burial vessels, vessel walls are thinner, and everted rim and lip profiles are simply rounded and parallel. This indicates variation in terms of ceramic production practices and an overall weak technical affinity between Magsuhot and Soldevillo. This has implications in the nature of social interaction and learning transmission between Magsuhot and Soldevillo groups in the Metal Age and between Metal and Proto-Historic period communities in Bacong. This is discussed in the next section.

Intentional and Unintentional Funerary Practices and Community Identities in the Bacong Region from the Metal to the Proto-Historic Period in Bacong

The traces of intentional and unintentional practices of affiliation indicate that mortuary practices in Bacong during the Metal Age were dominated by the Magsuhot type of funerary practice with a small representation for the Soldevillo type of funerary practice. However, the contemporaneity of Soldevillo and Magsuhot is uncertain because the dating for Soldevillo is currently problematic. Whether Soldevillo represents an outlier within the Magsuhot group or represents another social group that existed earlier or later than Magsuhot, can only be addressed by the acquisition of dateable material from similar types of burials. Nevertheless, despite this problem, this study finds several insights concerning past community identities in Bacong.

On intentional practices of affiliation and community identity in Bacong

Based on the examination of mortuary attributes from various Metal period sites in Bacong, it is observed that generally high degrees of similarities occur in grave arrangements, material culture such as mortuary vessels and small ceramic grave goods, and ritual evidence between Sarono, Tañac, Yucor 1 and Vergaño (see Table 12 for summary). This indicates that high degrees of social interaction occurred between members of the Magsuhot community.

Table 12: Interpretation of Intentional Funerary Practices of Affiliation in the Metal and Proto-Historic Period

	Metal Period	
Mortuary Features/Attributes:	**Distribution:**	**Interpretation:**
1. Grave Arrangements:		
Burial template:	Burial template (burial jars to hold bodies of the dead accompanied by grave goods including ceramic vessels, glass ornaments and iron tools) is highly similar across 5 sites.	Some social interaction and shared ancestry (?) across Bacong Metal period sites
Placement of grave goods	HIghly similar at Sarono, Tañac, Vergaño, and Yucor1; Soldevillo follows a different practice.	Close social interaction, distinct community signaling and social cohesion across Sarono, Tanac, Vergano and Yucor1; Soldevillo an outlier with no social interaction with Magsuhot.
Quantities and types/forms of grave goods	Variation in quantities of burial vessels & grave goods across all sites	Signaling of social differentiation, unit/family identity
2. Mortuary vessels: Form	Form: Highly similar flat-bottomed burial vessels at Sarono, Tañac, Vergaño & Yucor1 with variants in form as either round or rectangular; distinct round bottomed jar with perforated base at Soldevillo.	Close social interaction, distinct community signaling and social cohesion across Sarono, Tanac, Vergano and Yucor1; variants signaling of social differentiation, individual or family identity; Soldevillo an outlier
Decoration	Decoration: Similarities in visual elements of burial vessels across 4 sites (applied ribs with scalloped cut-outs); variations in decorative detail such as rib notching, single or double row of cut-outs. Soldevillo distinct in its plain, undecorated jars.	Close social interaction, distinct community signaling and social cohesion across Sarono, Tanac, Vergano and Yucor1; variants signaling of social differentiation, identity, temporal variability; Soldevillo an outlier
3. Grave Goods: Ceramic Form	Ceramic grave goods - Form: Highly similar vessel tall-necked and short-necked globular pots, and footed dishes across Sarono, Tañac, Vergaño & Yucor1 with variants in forms of open-bottomed vessels and bottles; distinct vessel forms at Soldevillo.	Close social interaction, distinct community signaling and social cohesion across Sarono, Tanac, Vergano and Yucor1; variants signaling of social differentiation, individual or family identity; Soldevillo an outlier
Decoration	Ceramic grave goods - Decoration: Highly similar decorative repertoire across Sarono, Tañac, Vergaño & Yucor1 including scalloped, carinated, grooved, incised, and perforated decorations; variations in decorative elements such as absence or presence of some designs in certain sites.	Close social interaction, distinct community signaling and social cohesion across Sarono, Tanac, Vergano and Yucor1; variants signaling of social differentiation, identity; Soldevillo an outlier

Table 12: Interpretation of Intentional Funerary Practices of Affiliation in the Metal and Proto-Historic Period (con't.)

	Metal Period	
Mortuary Features/Attributes:	**Distribution:**	**Interpretation:**
4. Grave Goods: Glass Type, form and color	Highly similar Indo-Pacific type beads across 4 sites; but with distinct combination of colors, quantities and forms per site; glass bracelet only at Tañac; stone beads only at Soldevillo.	Some social interaction/connection across Bacong metal period sites; with closer social interaction between Magsuhot sites though variants signal some social differentiation, individual/family identity within Magsuhot; Soldevillo exhibits some connection with Magsuhot but presence of stone beads represent temporal or cultural variation?
5. Grave Goods: Iron tools Form	Highly similar type of metal (iron) as grave goods across 4 sites; variation in tool types and sizes across sites.	Close social interaction across Bacong metal period sites; variation due to temporal or cultural factors - distinct element of identity/social differentiation
6. Ritual Evidence:		
a. Ritual activities: Body treatment	Uniform bodily treatment observed at Sarono & Yucor1 (primary flexed jar burial) and presumably at Vergaño & Tañ ac (based on similaritities in other attributes such as vessel size with Sarono & Yucor1); Distinct body treatment at Soldevillo.	Close social interaction between Magsuhot sites; Soldevillo an outlier/different group.
Ritual for burial	Evidence for parts of burial ceremony at Sarono, Tañac, Vergaño & Yucor1 are based on mortuary vessel sizes and weight, ceramic forms and placements in the grave. These are all highly similar at Sarono, Tañac, Vergaño & Yucor 1; Soldevillo has similar ceremonial activities except no incense burning.	Close social interaction between Magsuhot sites; Soldevillo an outlier/different group.
b. Community participation	Heavy and large mortuary vessels (more people for transport) and quantities of grave goods (more people to offer) across Sarono, Tañac, Vergaño & Yucor1; relatively lighter vessels and lesser vessel quantities at Soldevillo thus, lesser community participation.	Close social interaction between Magsuhot sites; Soldevillo an outlier/different group.
c. Burial ritual duration	Relatively longer funerary ceremonies across Sarono, Tañac, Vergaño & Yucor1 based on large sizes of mortuary vessels (more time to transport vessels) and quantities of grave goods (more time for offering rites); relatively shorter ritual duration at Soldevillo but with extended duration and phases for body decay, exhumation and final burial.	Close social interaction between Magsuhot sites; Soldevillo an outlier/different group.

Table 12: Interpretation of Intentional Funerary Practices of Affiliation in the Metal and Proto-Historic Period (con't.)

	Proto-Historic Period	
Mortuary Features/Attributes:	**Distribution:**	**Interpretation:**
1. Grave Arrangements: a. Burial template	Similar across 3 sites (and previous Metal period sites) but variations occur in presence or absence of grave goods is observed.	Some social interaction between Buntod1 and Combado (13th cent AD) sites though variants signal social differentiation. All three sites bear some connection with previous Metal Age sites in burial templates.
b. Placement of grave goods	Placement of grave goods: Some sites do not contain grave goods	Weak degree of social interaction between Buntod1 and Combado
2. Mortuary vessels: Form & decoration	Similarity between Buntod1 and Combado in the use of earthenware vessels to bury the dead (but no information on form/decoration of Buntod1 vessel); variation in quantities between Buntod1 & Combado; distinct (stoneware jar) at Arado.	Some social interaction between Buntod1 and Combado (13th cent. AD) though variants signal social differentiation. Lack of highly visible symbols and icons in material culture suggest weak signaling of sense of belonging and community identity .
3. Grave Goods: Tradeware	Similarity between Buntod1 and Combado in the use of Qingpai dish but variation occurs in additional tradeware at Combado; Arado distinct with no tradeware as grave goods.	Some social interaction between Buntod1 and Combado (13th cent. AD) though variants signal social differentiation.
4. Grave Goods: Shell	Only present at Combado	Social differentiation between Buntod1 and Combado
5. Ritual Evidence:		
a. Ritual activities: Body Treatment	Highly similar across sites; different from Metal age Magsuhot; similar aspects with Soldevillo.	Strong social interaction/connection between Proto-Historic sites; weak social connection with Metal period Magsuhot; some social connection with Soldevillo?
Ritual for body treatment & Ritual for burial	Unknown body treatment and burial rites at Arado, Buntod1 and Combado possibly secondary burial treatment for adults and juveniles or primary burial for juveniles based on jar size (possible affinity with Soldevillo though no evidence for drain holes; also no similarity with Metal age Magsuhot).	-
b. Community participation	Funerary rites possibly participated by more people at Combado compared to Arado and Buntod1; but collectively much less community participation than Metal age Magsuhot based on smaller jar sizes (less people to transport), lesser quantities of ritual vessels & grave goods (less people to offer).	Some social interaction between Buntod1 and Combado (13th cent. AD); but variation between Buntod1 and Combado suggests social differentiation; weak social connection with Magsuhot; possibly some social connection with earlier period Soldevillo (Metal period) and later period Arado (16th cent. AD)?
c. Ritual duration	Funerary rites possibly longer at Combado compared to Arado and Buntod1; but all are relatively shorter than Metal age Magsuhot based on smaller jar sizes (less time to transport), lesser quantities of ritual vessels & grave goods (less time for offering rites) with possibly longer rites at Combado.	Some social interaction between Buntod1 and Combado (13th cent. AD); but variation between Buntod and Combado suggests social differentiation; weak social connection with Magsuhot; possibly some social connection with earlier period Soldevillo (Metal period) and later period Arado (16th cent. AD)?

Furthermore, the high degrees of commonality in visual elements of Magsuhot funerary practice that is evident in funerary material culture forms and decoration (such as burial jars, coffins and small ceramics) and ritual performance and activities, suggests a subscription by group members (family and kin of the deceased) to symbols of Magsuhot community markers or identifiers. In deliberately using the Magsuhot community's signature visuals, the family of the deceased signify their sense of belonging and membership with the community. In participating in funerary rites and activities, members also communicate their affiliation with the Magsuhot community. The visual spectacle of ritual performance and imagery of community symbols in material culture across the various Magsuhot sites fosters the idea of commonality, belonging, togetherness, and solidarity - a community identity, that is perpetually created and recreated through mortuary practice.

The data also indicate that patterns of variation exist between the different Magsuhot sites in terms of fine decorative details of mortuary artifacts (including mortuary vessels, small ceramic grave goods and other glass and iron artifacts) and in some aspects of burial rites (ritual activities, ritual duration and community participation) based on differences in types, quantities and placements of small ceramics. There are several potential temporal and/or cultural causes for the differential patterns across Magsuhot, but some degree of social differentiation within the Magsuhot community is possible. For instance, the numbers of jars and small vessels are possibly affected by the size of the family and the number of very close kin within the community or the finer decorative details in burial jars and coffins and small ceramics possibly reflects some rank, age, gender and individual/family identity within the Magsuhot community. The nuances of such variabilities can potentially be explored when burial sites with better preserved skeletal data are excavated in future research. Regardless, the variabilities exhibited in finer details of mortuary remains potentially reflects an allowance or flexibility within the cohesive Magsuhot community for individual or familial expressions of identity.

Overall, the high degrees of similarity in pervasive visual imagery of ritual and material culture across Magsuhot, indicates high degrees of interaction, a strong sense of commonality and community, and cohesive social dynamics among the Magsuhot community members. At the same time, the evidence for variabilities between the sites also suggest that, within this cooperative and cohesive communal environment, individuals and families were allowed to express their identities.

By the Proto-Historic period, over a thousand years later, intentional practices of affiliation in Bacong are transformed. The limited data from Buntod1, Combado and Arado suggests a significant reduction in visual elements of community and

commonality in Bacong. Although earthenware burial jars are similarly utilized to bury the dead at the thirteenth century AD sites of Buntod1 and Combado, the jars are plain and undecorated and devoid of any common images or symbols. With lesser quantities of funerary material culture, it also appears that funerary ritual performance, ritual duration and community participation are sparser compared to the earlier Metal period. The apparent reduction in the use of visual symbols of community implies a reduced emphasis on notions of community and togetherness in the Proto-Historic period. Instead, differentiation is more emphasized as variation occurs between Buntod1 and Combado in types and quantities of burial jars and associated grave goods. While similar variations in types and quantities of material culture are observed during the Metal period, an overarching visual of commonality and community is present in Magsuhot material culture that is lacking in mortuary remains from the Proto-Historic period.

This tendency for social differentiation rather than commonality that is observed in Proto-Historic Bacong is not unexpected when considering that contemporaneous communities from the early to mid-second millennium AD on Negros island exhibit evidence for diverse social classes. Excavations in Dumaguete (Bacus 1999), about 10 kilometers north of Bacong, and Tanjay (Junker 1999, 2018), about 85 kilometers northwest of Bacong, demonstrate differential access to prestige goods in both household and burial contexts, and the mortuary evidence specifically reflect either elite, non-elite or warrior (*datu*, *oripun* and *timawa* in Bacus 1999) status. Towards the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, there is an intensification in competition for foreign luxury goods as sources of status-enhancing wealth and political currency. Foreign trade objects gain local social and cultural meanings and burials for the period reflect individual wealth and status. This appears to be suggested at the Buntod1 and Combado burials, although this is tentative and based on limited mortuary data. The idea of social differentiation during Bacong Proto-History can be investigated further in future research.

On unintentional practices of affiliation and shared learning in Bacong

During the Metal period, unintentional practices of affiliation as observed from traces of grave preparation and mortuary ceramic production show relatively high degrees of similarity between Sarono, Tañac, Yucor 1 and Vergaño. Table 13 summarizes the distribution patterns and interpretations for unintentional practices of affiliation. In terms of grave preparation, Sarono and Yucor1 exhibit cuts into lower level deposits to create grave pits where burial jars and coffins are laid down. Although Tañac and Vergaño show no clear evidence for similar features, it is assumed that all four Magsuhot sites followed a systematic process in grave preparation based on the high degrees of similarity in almost all mortuary features across the four sites. As suggested above, some of the people who prepared and dug-up the graves can possibly be part-time specialists whom the

community turned to during funerary events. For example, in Jocano's (1970: 186) ethnographic account of preparation for an underground burial among the Sulod, he recounts how a group of nine men dug a grave pit into which a coffin will be buried. Among the nine men, an elder man in the group selected the site to be dug up and ensured the place selected was dry and hard. This indicates that within a group who provide labor for pre-burial activities, some part-time specialists have more knowledge and experience on technical considerations and requirements for grave preparation.

Table 13: Interpretation of unintentional funerary practices of affiliation in the Metal and Proto-Historic Period

Mortuary Features/Attributes:	Distribution across Bacong	Interpretation
Metal Period		
1. Grave Preparation	Similar at Sarono and Yucor1; assumed similarity with Tanac and Vergano due to similarity in other aspects; Soldevillo grave preparation process different from Magsuhot.	Close social interaction within Magsuhot sites; shared learning and apprenticeship among part-time grave specialists. Soldevillo an outlier.
2. Ceramic Production		
a. Raw material sourcing	Similar across Bacong though further analysis needed.	
b. Shaping technique	Burial jar: Similar methods across Magsuhot sites; Soldevillo with some similarity in use of a coiling technique but variations in coil sizes occur and in chiseled off rim.	Close social interaction among Magsuhot potters; shared learning and apprenticeship among Magsuhot potters; Soldevillo an outlier.
	Small pots: General similarity in shaping methods across 5 sites.	Some shared learning/ancestry?
c. Decorative techniques	Similar across Magsuhot sites with Soldevillo as an outlier.	Close social interaction among Magsuhot potters; shared learning and apprenticeship among Magsuhot potters; Soldevillo an outlier.
d. Drying	Magsuhot with a combination of plain, leaf and mat impressed bases; No such traces on Soldevillo jars. No traces on both Magsuhot and Soldevillo small pots.	Close social interaction among Magsuhot potters; shared learning and apprenticeship among Magsuhot potters; Soldevillo an outlier.
e. Firing technique	Uniform across the Bacong region	Some shared learning/ancestry?
Proto-Historic Period		
1. Grave Preparation	Uncertain	unknown
2. Ceramic Production:		
a. Raw material sourcing	unknown	-
b. Shaping technique	similar with Metal period Soldevillo	some ancestral connection with Soldevillo?
c. Decorative techniques	similar with Metal period Soldevillo	some ancestral connection with Soldevillo?
d. Drying	unknown	-
e. Firing technique	similar with Metal period Bacong/Philippines	some shared ancestry?

The patterns in unintentional practices of ceramic production such as shaping and decorating also exhibit highly similar techniques across Magsuhot. At Sarono, Tañac, Yucor 1 and Vergaño, coil-slab and slab-techniques are used to fashion round jars and rectangular coffins, respectively, that are additionally shaped and smoothened with paddle and anvil tools. Meanwhile, production of small ceramics utilize hand molding processes that entail coiling and further shaping with a paddle and anvil and the high similarities are exhibited in various ceramic attributes across sites. Furthermore, the techniques and apparent tools used to create the decorations on the burial vessels and small pots are similar across sites, for example the use of sharp tools to cut-out scalloped designs on burial jar ribs, use of both excision and impression technique to create scalloped designs on small ceramics, and the use of pointed tool to create incised designs. Although the organization of mortuary ceramic production (whether potters are household specialists or not) is still unknown, the similarity in technical attributes of ceramics found across the four sites indicate that Magsuhot potters shared a common enculturative background. Ceramic technological traditions are maintained through systems of teaching and learning and are affected by various vectors of transmission such as kinship and marriage (Bowser and Patton 2008; Minar and Crown 2001; Stark, et al. 2008a). While systems of enculturation within the Magsuhot community are yet to be investigated, the patterns of unintentional practices of affiliation in ceramic production indicates a strong tradition of learning transmission, sharing, and cooperation in Magsuhot.

For the Proto-Historic period, there is a limited study sample consisting of only one earthenware burial jar and a complete absence of earthenware ceramic grave goods. This precludes the examination of patterns of unintentional practices of affiliation in Proto-Historic ceramic production.

This especially becomes a more difficult subject of investigation in later periods as imported higher-fired stoneware and porcelain become more commonly used as mortuary receptacles especially towards the middle of the second millennium AD in the islands (as seen in Arado and also in Tanjay and Dumaguete). Nevertheless, when compared with Metal period Magsuhot burial jars that are fashioned through coil slab techniques, the Combado burial jar that is shaped through a coiling technique with narrow coils, exhibits limited technical affinity with Magsuhot mortuary vessels. The very weak formal and technical affinities between Magsuhot and Proto-Historic period ceramics suggests an absence of cultural transmission and continuity between Metal Age and Proto-Historic communities in Bacong. This is logical given that over a thousand years separate these communities. This is a matter that can be investigated further with well-provenanced samples in the future.

CONCLUSION

The investigation of Metal age social groups in the Philippines and their cultural practices have long been limited by a combination of several factors that include poor environmental conditions for archaeological preservation, an archaeological record that is overwhelmingly predisposed toward mortuary over habitation data, an absence of supporting information from documentary records and historical accounts, and research programs focused on short-term, single site investigations rather than long-term regional research initiatives. This has led to a big gap in understanding of Metal age groups and their cultures, their identities, the nature of their social interaction and social dynamics among other things. This investigation is a new attempt to gain insight into Metal age communities utilizing practice based methods in the analysis of mortuary remains. Based on findings from this study, the framework can be replicated in investigations of mortuary sites in the Philippines and elsewhere.

The study significantly finds that, based on evidence from traces of intentional practices of affiliation, the idea of community was actively constructed and maintained in Magsuhot during the Bacong Metal period however this changed in the subsequent Proto-Historic period as remains for conscious enactments of community and commonality diminished. As discussed above, members of the Magsuhot community consciously created and perpetuated a member's sense of belonging and group identity through visual imagery in funerary ritual theater and stylized material culture. Consequently, during the Proto-Historic period, mortuary rituals become less performative and material culture plain with reduced markers of commonality. The pattern in Proto-History tends toward variation in features of mortuary style. Social differentiation appears to be highlighted, the idea of community is not consciously created, but instead deemphasized after AD 1000. It is possible though that mortuary markers for community were displayed through other material culture (e.g. textile, etc.) that has since decomposed or through intangible practice such as dirges or laments that is irrecoverable in archaeological deposits. Nonetheless, in terms of the limited archaeological evidence, markers for commonality in Proto-History are weak and almost invisible. The reasons for why the sense of commonality and community identity changed in Bacong from the Metal to the Proto-Historic is uncertain. Studies of community identity by Mac Sweeney (2011) at Aphrodisias and Beycesultan in Turkey suggest that particular moments in history warrant people in a community to come together during periods of external political threats or when faced with an unstable environment. So far, there is no available historical or archaeological data to suggest periods of political aggression in Bacong during the early first millennium AD considering that skeletal remains (when available) rarely indicate violent death and that metal tools recovered from archaeological

sites for the period include bolos, knives and chisels, which are implements that are typically used for day to day subsistence such as agriculture or woodworking. Thus, based on current data, the idea of Magsuhot communities coming together against threats in the early first millennium AD is unlikely. However, environmental threats from volcanic activity are potential reasons for Magsuhot community identity to crystallize. The history of volcanic activity in Bacong is largely unexamined but excavations at the Villalon (Jago-on, et al. 2012) and Edgil (Dizon, et al. 2019) sites in Bacong (Fig. 2), that are located at lower elevations, reveal that Metal age remains were buried under almost two meters of volcanic ash. This suggests that environmental instability from volcanic activity was a real threat in the past and is a potential reason for people in Magsuhot to coalesce and confront shared difficulties as a community. This certainly necessitates further work particularly in understanding the prehistoric environment in Bacong. Meanwhile, in the Proto-Historic period as discussed above, the change in notions of community into an ethos of social differentiation and individualism coincides with archaeological and historical evidence of rapid social and political transformation among neighboring communities on Negros, especially as competition for wealth status and political power intensified towards the mid-second millennium AD. However, considering the limitations of archaeological data from the Proto-Historic period, excavation of burial sites with good archaeological contexts as well as settlement data are necessary.

Furthermore, the investigation of unintentional practices of affiliation through traces of ceramic production finds evidence for shared learning and transmission of pottery techniques and behaviors among Magsuhot potters particularly in terms of techniques for shaping ceramics. Unfortunately, the limited sample from the Proto-Historic period did not allow for a similar assessment. What is interesting though is that ceramic technological systems in the later period share weak similarities in unintentional attributes, which suggests a lack of continuity between Metal period Magsuhot and Proto-Historic communities in Bacong. While further work is necessary, these preliminary findings indicate the utility of this approach.

In conclusion, jar burial practice is a widespread phenomenon in the rest of Island Southeast Asia (Bulbeck 2017) and the results from this study shows the huge potential researchers can learn about social groups as far back as the late Neolithic. The investigation of intentional and unintentional practices of affiliation in mortuary styles can generate nuanced understanding of social interactions, community dynamics and community identities. Despite the problems and biases in the archaeological record with a lack of settlement data and historical records, this type of research is one way to derive more insight into past communities in the Philippines and island Southeast Asia.

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菲律賓中部內格羅斯島 Bacong 地區喪葬實踐與社群認同

Alexandra De Leon*

本文是對金屬器和原史時期 Bacong 地區社群身份認同的研究，介紹了一種檢視菲律賓甕棺葬的新方法。在實踐理論的指導下，本文梳理了喪葬實踐中的細微差別，並研究了刻意和非刻意兩種分別對應特意或不自覺揭示群體歸屬的實踐類型。刻意的從屬實踐是透過有自覺和特意採取的方式來表示社會關係和身份，而不自覺的從屬行為是日常生活中習慣性的、幾乎無自覺的行為，無意中反映了群體從屬關係。刻意的從屬實踐揭示了社區認同和社會動態的細微差別，而非刻意的實踐則提供了對群體從屬關係和學習傳播的洞察。本研究調查了菲律賓中部 Bacong 的五個金屬器時期和三個原史時期甕棺墓地的喪葬風格各種屬性的分佈模式。分析表明：金屬器時期的四個地點，在墓葬配置、葬具、陶瓷隨葬品和宗教儀式中觀察到的刻意從屬實踐模式表現出高度的相似性，而另外一個地點呈現出有區別的刻意實踐痕跡。因此，刻意的從屬實踐的遺留説明了這四個地點具有高度的社會互動，具有創造和維持有凝聚力的社群身份認同的深思熟慮的策略。相比之下，在原史時期，基於喪葬物質文化中缺乏高度可見的共同性和社群性符號和形象，以及宗教儀式的痕跡，社群的意識制定被淡化並傾向於社會分化。在墓葬整備和陶器生產的低能見度技術風格中考察的非刻意的從屬實踐方面，調查發現生產技術和行為的技術傳播率很高，特別是 Magsuhot 的陶器製作群體，從低能見度標誌的喪葬陶器中存在高度相似性。這暗示 Bacong 的技術生產群體之間透過緊密的親屬關係和婚姻制度傳播教與學而有著緊密的濡化基底。不幸的是，原史時期缺乏可比對的材料，無法洞察後來的濡化過程。總體而言，研究結果表明，自金屬器時代至原史時期，Bacong 的社群認同在早期和晚期社群之間，在刻意和非刻意的從屬實踐中，其文化傳播的指標性較弱。

關鍵詞：菲律賓，甕棺葬，陶瓷器，喪葬實踐，社群認同

* 菲律賓國家博物館考古組。 sandydeleon@gmail.com