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**On the cover:**  
Mixed tools from Gullukho, Figure 9c from Babul Roy’s article on p. 90.
Contents

i  Foreword

1  Comets, Cults, and Coins: A material-theoretic framework for the archaeoastronomical study of the Book of Revelation
Rafael Dy-Liacco

23  Place Names, Seascape and Cartography of Marine Rights: Cases of claims to places on the reef of Batasan in Bohol
Eulalio R. Guiel III

61  Determination of Oriental Tradeware Ceramics: A proposed system for identifying and documenting pottery in Philippine archaeological sites
Rhayan G. Melendres

79  Microlithic Sites of Mandla (Madhya Pradesh: India) and the Problem of Schematic Generalisation in Prehistoric Archaeology
Babul Roy

BOOK REVIEWS

111  Expansion of Austronesian Languages and their Speakers during the Neolithic as Inferred from Archaeological Evidence and Genetic Diversity in Southeast Asia and Discussed in Five Journals.
Review by Michelle S. Eusebio

Review by Al Parreno

Review by Rhayan Melendres

Review by Ma. Kathryn Ann B. Manalo

Review by MCM Santamaria

Review by Joan Tara Reyes

Review by Kate Lim
Foreword

Hukay Volume 17 contains four articles and several book reviews. The articles included in this volume are interesting for the authors have looked at archaeology and heritage from behind different lenses. A common theme in two of these articles is how people see the world and the process of owning it by assigning names and meanings to land formations, bodies of water, and movements of celestial bodies.

Rafael Dy-Liacco in his article *Comets, Cults, and Coins: A material-theoretic framework for the archaeoastronomical study of the Book of Revelation* has provided sufficient evidence that the human engagement with the physical environment goes beyond what is known and what is here on earth. The attempt to understand what Dy-Liacco terms as the ‘astral landscape’ is captured on Roman coins. The act of incorporating astral events in everyday objects gave legitimacy to Roman authority. This article also demonstrated that the Book of Revelation can be dated through the synthesis of data from multiple sources. Dy-Liacco’s article should have a wide appeal to scholars in archaeology, theology, astrology, and astronomy because all four disciplines merge to produce material evidence for how humans make sense of the world around them including the night sky.

‘Owning’ parts of the landscape is best described in Eulalio R. Guieb III’s article *Place names, seascape and cartography of marine rights: Cases of claims to places on the reef of Batasan in Bohol*. Guieb illustrates that integral to understanding resources allocation, directional locations, and boundary maintenance is to recognise the locals’ perception of how spaces and places fit in their view of the landscape. What is also interesting about this article is that the environmental map is in fact a ‘cartography of rights’ because ‘owning’ is possessing information about the place and its resources. This article shows how physical geography influences social dynamics. Places are tied to local histories, ascribing them with symbolic functions and temporal dimensions. This article is significant to archaeologists because it provides new avenues to understanding how people could have viewed and incorporated the physical environment in their daily lives in the past. In addition, learning the local geo-ecology offers people involved in heritage studies new
approaches to eco-cultural management and tourism.

Rhayan Melendres proposes a method in identifying foreign ceramics recovered from Philippine sites in his article *Determination of Oriental Tradeware Ceramics: A proposed system for identifying and documenting pottery in Philippine archaeological sites*. Although a similar method has been practised in the Philippines, Melendres’ contribution is to define formally the system. Babul Roy discusses microliths and the continuing tradition in *Microlithic Sites of Mandla* (Madhya Pradesh: India) and the Problem of Schematic Generalisation in Prehistoric Archaeology.

One of the reviews included in this issue is not a book review but a look at how selected journals treat a particular topic. Michelle Eusebio looks at the development of the discourse on Austronesian expansion in the last 15 years.

We would like to thank the Ateneo De Manila University Press, National University of Singapore Press, and JAS Arqueologis S.L.U for the complimentary copies of the books reviewed in this volume.

We mourn the passing of Dato' Adi bin Haji Taha. He was formerly the Director-General of Museums and Antiquities in Muzium Negara (National Museum), Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia. He will be missed.

Grace Barretto-Tesoro

*Hukay* Editor
Comets, Cults, and Coins:
A material-theoretic framework for the archaeoastronomical study of the Book of Revelation

Rafael Dy-Liacco

Abstract

Here I outline a material-theoretic framework for an archaeoastronomical study of the New Testament Book of Revelation. I begin with basic principles of materiality theory. I then argue that carefully observed celestial objects, as part of the material landscape, are on par with human-used structures. Thus, I develop a deeper notion of the “astral landscape.” Within this framework, I fit the basic Annaliste paradigm of three levels of space-time, and propose what I call a “cognitive-heuristic approach” to the study of this cognitive-material structure. Finally, employing data from astronomical software and the iconography of Roman coins, I show that this cognitive-heuristic approach allows an understanding of the New Testament Book of Revelation as a case of ancient prophetic sky reading.

Introduction: Materiality theory and the materiality of the “sky-scape”

Two concepts form the basis for this study: (1) Structures, artefacts, and other materials of human use form a material medium that extends human cognition; and (2) Objects in this medium may be thought of as possessing a “social life” or “secondary agency” (Taylor 2008:314). In regard to the first concept, Timothy Taylor, relying on Michael Rowlands (2004), points out that “Although things cannot themselves experience remembering,…, they can embody and extend memory” (Taylor 2008:309).
I make use of this point in the analysis of Roman imperial coins in relation to the Book of Revelation. The second concept comes into play when I consider how these coins and their usage not only materialised the Roman imperial will and cosmology, but—in a way unintended by the issuing authorities—became material basis for expression of the Jewish and early Christian world views as well.

But beyond extending memory, the material extension of cognition also plays a profound role in human activity. Referencing Maurice Godelier, Taylor points out that “objects are things without which one cannot actually be a man or a woman, a police officer or a priest…” (Taylor 2008:309). In other words, the cognitive value of the material medium goes beyond the signification of meaning, to the meaning itself. This point has implications when considering the significance of texts in relation to their being descriptions of “reality.” In the words of Anders Andrén, “since all oral presentation is linear in both time and space, the text must also preserve this linearity….Artifacts, in contrast, are the world…” (Andrén 1998:148ff, cited in Taylor 2008:305). In this regard, I show that the Book of Revelation reflects its material context in ways not yet fully pointed out by standard historical-critical Biblical studies.

In light of all the preceding points, the carefully observed material landscape is also part of the material medium that extends human cognition. For example, consider iconic mountains and the human sense of a “sacred.” In sky-reading traditions—whether of the Mayas or of Australian aboriginals—this cognitive extension includes the sky in a material way (see Ruggles 2005:esp. 3 in relation to Australian aboriginals). The sun, for example, usually is not thought of as an artefact, structure, or material object of human use. But consider what happens when megaliths or other structures are intentionally aligned with the rising or the setting of the sun on certain dates. Take, in particular, the way that the Temple of Kukulkan in Chichen Itza catches the late afternoon sunlight at the equinoxes. As described by Anthony F. Aveni (2001), the monumental pyramid is aligned in such a way that the optical effect of a slithering or feathered serpent (a kukulkan) appears stretching down its steps. In this case, the fullest understanding of this Maya pyramid is inseparable not only from an understanding of the Maya feathered serpent, but also inseparable from an understanding of the Maya sun – its path through the sky, its changing position on the horizon throughout the year, and its place in the Maya cosmology.

This argument for including carefully observed celestial objects in
the material medium applies not only to the sun, moon, stars, and planets. It applies to other kinds of carefully observed celestial phenomena as well; in particular, I argue, to comet apparitions. Including phenomena as evanescent as comet apparitions is not untoward. Taylor (2008: 302) notes an entire class of transient but nonetheless material phenomena: “The least durable manifestations of material culture are things like ice cubes and ice sculptures, whose existence has either to be ascertained from experiencing an instance of occurrence or indirectly inferred from a plastic ice cube tray or a photograph…”. Thus, given that one aspect of the cognitive-material medium is the carefully observed landscape, comet apparitions—at least as carefully observed celestial events—make up part of that medium too. If their observation can be inferred from other more durable clues or imprints in the material record, then the transitory nature of the apparitions themselves does not militate against their inclusion, even if they were once-in-a-lifetime happenings.

The “astral landscape” and the cognitive-heuristic approach to “total history”

The inclusion of the carefully observed landscape—especially the “sky-scape” of celestial objects—in the material medium that extends human cognition, suggests that profound ties may be elucidated between cosmologies and the material landscapes that they inhabit. The Annaliste concept of “total history,” with its concern for mentalités and for the three levels of space-time that these world views inhabit, provides a basic structure for these ties. Here I appropriate these general concepts, but prescind from in-depth engagement with Annaliste historical study itself. The Annaliste structure provides useful concepts for handling the ties between world views and material landscapes (for a basic introduction to the Annaliste paradigm and to other archaeological engagements with it, see Bintlfiff 1991). But here, materiality theory provides the basic understanding for elucidating those ties.

Indeed, as articulated by Lambros Malafouris (2010:51 Fig. 1b), material engagement theory, in addition to the two principles mentioned at the start of this article, contains a third: “… the hypothesis of enactive signification,… explores the nature of the material sign not as a representational mechanism but as a semiotic conflation and co-habitation through matter that enacts and brings forth the world,…”. In other words, cosmologies not only reflect and inhabit (or are extended by or into) the material landscape, they create that landscape. This proposition makes
sense, even when considering the celestial landscape. Thus, for example, in the world that was created at Chichen Itza, the equinoctial sun attains a significance that is explained in full only cosmologically. There the sun and its motion were made a part of or were incorporated into the material medium, just as artefacts, structures, and sacred mountains are incorporated into the material medium of human traditions. The result is an “astral landscape.” Minus that material incorporation, the equinoctial Maya sun would not have quite the impression that it does upon the human mind.

The significance of this third basic principle for the concept of “total history” is immediate. Different cultures that share the same objective landscape may recognise that landscape—that is, “create” it—in different ways. Indeed, when these cultures look at the same object in that landscape, not only cultural values but entire cosmologies may clash. This insight in turn suggests that from the point of view of mentalité, the categories of space-time in “total history” cannot be populated by material objects defined in a categorical manner, with definitions or descriptions applying equally across cultures. Indeed, historians have already recognised that a multiplicity of conflicting interpretive memories exist intra-culturally as well. E.g., see the discussion of the issue in Confino (1997).

This point is especially true when applied to the material context of the Book of Revelation. As I shall show, the comet that inspired the proclamation of Caesar’s divinity in one tradition became, in its material iconography, the inspiration for a heavenly but unholy beast in another tradition. Moreover, the notion that no Jews or Christians ever engaged in sky reading turns out simply not to be true.¹ Thus what has populated each level of space-time for each culture must be discovered by the researcher; it cannot simply be received from that culture’s current self-view. As seen, ancient texts in themselves are not enough to uncover the ancient world; one must go to the material landscape itself. That landscape yields an irreplaceable understanding of the ancient “reality” of which the texts are only partial reflections. Thus materiality theory suggests not only a cognitive, but also a heuristic (or, loosely speaking, scientific) approach within the framework of “total history.” In this approach, no presumed “memory” of the past is off limits to critical

¹ The study of early Jewish and Christian astrology is relatively new, yet the literature is already quite large. For the classic article in the field, see Charlesworth (1977).
questioning. I call this approach the cognitive-heuristic method of materiality theory.

This approach has further implications for one’s way of research and interpretation. In concluding his overview of materiality theory, Taylor (2008: 315) mentions that the theory “revives old-style ancient and prehistoric art connoisseurship” that looks at “the tangible qualities of material and style in the creating of cultural life”. Here I pick up on the themes of aesthetic and sense-oriented appreciation, as elements in the cognitive-material approach. For archaeoastronomical research, the cognitive-heuristic approach—in addition to library, “lab” (i.e. computer), and field (i.e. archaeological site) studies—calls for phenomenological studies, especially of the “sky-scape.” Here I make a distinction between a phenomenological sense of the observed sky, versus the understanding of the astral landscape of a particular culture. The archaeoastronomer needs the first in order to obtain a realistic sense of the second.²

For example, geophysicists have claimed that chapter 1 of the Old Testament Book of Ezekiel describes auroral lights (for the latest proposal, see Guskova et al. 2010). Clearly, study of visual experiences of the aurora as reported or recorded by observers in a wide variety of cultural contexts, coupled with a close reading of the Biblical text in its original language, will help decide if indeed the description in Ezekiel chapter 1 correlates with that of an aurora. This essentially cognitive approach is highly heuristic. Thus, also clearly, the investigator’s own observation of the material object in question—i.e., auroral lights—will greatly aid in his or her investigative discrimination.

In this regard, while video footage of the aurora provides one objective means for study of the claim, it is also common knowledge that video does not capture all the subtleties of the aurora that the unaided human eye can see. Videos of the aurora do yield broad correlates to the “great cloud with brightness” in Ezekiel 1: 4, to the “wheels” in Ezekiel 1:15-21, to the “torches moving to and fro” in Ezekiel 1:13, and perhaps to the various coloured lights mentioned (New Revised Standard Version). The chapter is visually rich, however, and further optical resolution may be needed to further determine what in it corresponds to the phenomenological experience, and what may be ascribed to theological

² The interested reader might wish to compare, for example, the overall quality of the proposals related to Biblical astronomy put forward in Maunder (1908), with the quality of those put forward in Malina (1995). Maunder was an astronomer by profession and a Biblicist on the side, whereas Malina is a professional Biblicist.
There is also the practical need for the basic experience of seeing the aurora “out in the open.” If the geophysical explanation is correct, then for the prophet Ezekiel the great astral landscape became the equivalent of a temple. In which case, for the archaeoastronomer, seeing the aurora out in the open versus watching a video of the aurora, is akin to the difference between visiting a temple in its actual landscape, versus watching a walk-through of its virtual simulation, when the actual one still stands in the field.

As for implications on interpretation, although I have stressed that the researcher must remain aware of the multiplicity of traditions even within a single culture, Taylor (2008: 315) points out that materiality theory necessitates a grand narrative “of a sort that the postmodern project,..., decried”. As Taylor puts it, an overall generalising view about how materiality works across cultures is needed because:

... how the material world creates and affects human subjects and communities of subjects, and how these work on the world, and themselves, is likely to involve regularities.... If this were (or is) not so, then there could (or can) not be any such thing as a secure archaeological inference. (Taylor 2008:315)

In other words, valid insights asserted as such into particular cultures or traditions are impossible without a general sense of what one may validly look for, because such generalities are what cultures are made of. I believe the presumption here is a principle of uniformitarianism, but extended to the basic neuro-chemistry and neuro-cognitive structure of the human cognitive engine as it works individually and in society. Without a presumption of this kind, even a basic heuristic approach to the topic is impossible.

For the dissertation at the University of the Philippines that is to grow out of this study, such a grand narrative should include a study of cross-cultural associations of the aurora with the sense of the supernatural, as well as a study of cross-cultural associations of comet apparitions with omens of cosmic import. But for reasons of space, here I shall not go further into such an overview. Before proceeding to a demonstration of the analysis of the Book of Revelation, however, I should briefly underscore the difference between text-based socio-

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3 Biblicists disagree about the extent to which Ezekiel borrowed from Babylonian theological iconography. For an investigation into this question that I believe also has implications for the geophysical hypothesis see Kingsley (1992).
historical approaches to the topic, and the material cognitive-heuristic approach that I am using.

In a 1982 article that I believe deserves greater consideration by Bible scholars, Richard Oster calls upon these scholars and historians to find greater use for numismatics in their study of the early Christian social context (Oster 1982; see also Oster 1985-1986). After issuing his challenge, Oster begins with a point-by-point clarification of methodological issues. He starts with the question of the historical value of coins. He moves on to other questions, then tackles substantive issues in the early Christian social context. Drawing upon other historical studies, his article ultimately uses numismatics in order to support the historical assertions made or implied by ancient texts. J. Nelson Kraybill’s more recent book-length studies on the Book of Revelation also make use of ancient iconography (see Kraybill 1996, Kraybill 2010). Nonetheless, this usage mainly helps support the study of the early Christian social context based on the study of ancient texts, as seen in the light of modern theories of social analysis.

Undoubtedly this kind of work helps paint the grand view of things. Kraybill and especially Oster’s works are valuable resources for my own investigation. However, in the material-theoretic approach, though ancient texts are also used, the materiality of the ancient landscape takes centre stage. Moreover, I believe that the cognitive-heuristic approach of materiality theory allows a re-presenting of the ancient landscape in a way not otherwise available to the preceding method, and thereby invites new hypotheses for testing.

The comet of 44 B.C. and the comet denarius

In 44 B.C., about two months after Julius Caesar’s murder, a comet appeared in the northern skies. Visible across the northern hemisphere, the apparition lasted only a few days, according to Chinese and Korean records. It had a reddish-yellow colour (McIvor 2005:87). According to Pliny the Elder, Augustus later publicly acknowledged the belief held by “the common Sort” that this apparition had signalled the ascent of his uncle’s soul to the gods. Thus he had a star emblazoned on the head of the statue of Julius Caesar that stood in the Forum. As for Augustus himself, he too had been deeply impressed by the apparition (Pliny, Natural History: Book II, Ch. XXV). Indeed, though it was already some 20 years after the celestial event, Augustus also had an imperial coin struck with
an icon of the comet (McIvor 2005:87). The obverse of the coin shows the head of the emperor and his title “Caesar Augustus.” The reverse shows an eight-rayed star, with the top ray feathered, giving the impression of a comet, and across the face the proclamation: “Divine Julius.” The circulation of the coin proclaimed the divinity of the Caesars, and thereby their right to be worshipped. Thus a comet, normally seen as an omen of doom, was transformed into a heavenly imprimatur on Roman rule. As Pliny put it: “In the whole of the World, in only one Place, namely Rome, a Comet is worshipped” (Pliny, *Natural History*: Book II, Ch. XXV) (Figure 1).

![Figure 1. The comet of 44 B.C. memorialised in the imperial coinage](image_url) [AN632776001 © the Trustees of the British Museum (britishmuseum.org)].

**The comet denarius in the Pax Romana**

How might this coin have impinged on the cognitive sensibilities of denizens of the empire, those who were enjoying the *Pax Romana*? First, there was no escaping its daily usage. Use of the Roman silver coin, or denarius, pervaded all corners of the empire. In the western half, the coinage of conquered states was demonetised and replaced by the denarius standard; while in the eastern half, local silver coins were allowed, but exchanged at discount values for the Roman coin (Hill 1899:85-87). In a New Testament tale, when Jesus demands to be shown a denarius, one is immediately produced with Caesar’s head and title on it. “Give to Caesar what is Caesar’s,” Jesus admonishes (see Matthew 22:19-21; Mark 12:15-17; Luke 20:24-25). Anywhere in the empire, to strike one’s own gold coinage was considered a declaration of rebellion, while the issuance of unauthorised silver was potentially treasonous. In short, to reject the imperial coinage was to declare one’s freedom from Rome (Hill 1899:87). Indeed, when it comes to metals in the form of coins, Taylor, relying on Richard Seaford (2004), highlights the point that the intrinsic value of the metal is “overtaken by a more abstractly socially conferred value... based on quantity (thus negotiability) and the stamp and the state
authority behind the stamp…” (Taylor 2008:308). Thus Caesar’s coin not only had to be handled every day, but, by the necessity of that very reality, it became—in the realm of événements—the daily material reminder of the fact of Caesar’s rule and power.

Moreover, the coin not only highlights that Augustus holds that power, but that he, as Caesar, is the personage in whom that power resides. Its reverse side carries his illustrious uncle’s name, and thereby highlights both Augustus’s succession and his bloodline. Thus the coin yields the sense that Augustus’s rule participates in some kind of grand permanency. It makes this cognitive engagement in a way that only a metal object that obtains its value by virtue of its universally recognised use and iconography can do. The denizen who handles the coin is thus brought into the realm of moyen durée. Here only the Roman Caesars rule. The coin thus obtains a secondary agency. Taylor brings up the notions of primary and secondary agency in the context of materiality theory. The first kind of agency applies to people, the second to things. Citing Christopher Gosden’s study of Maori meeting houses, Taylor quotes: “a Maori meeting house is a materialization of the group’s power and intentions to affect others” (Gosden 2004:36f, cited in Taylor 2008:306). The coin, in like manner, materialises Rome’s intention to be the only stable authority.

But the rule of Caesar (in the realm of événements) and the authority of Rome (in the moyen durée) attain another level of meaning altogether in the image of the comet. On the coin, Augustus Caesar is literally the earthly half of the “divine Julius,” the one who has ascended to heaven as a comet, and who now has his place among the stars and the immortals. As the poet Ovid put it, recounting the death of Julius:

...kindly Venus, although seen by none,
stood in the middle of the Senate-house,
and caught from the dying limbs and trunk
of her own Caesar his departing soul.
She did not give it time so that it could
dissolve in air, but bore it quickly up,
toward all the stars of heaven; and on the way,
she saw it gleam and blaze and set it free.
Above the moon it mounted into heaven,
leaving behind a long and fiery trail,
and as a star it glittered in the sky.

(Metamorphoses: XV 884-894)
For Ovid, as for “the common Sort,” the comet is Caesar’s divinised soul. On the coin it becomes Augustus’s soul as well, and fundamentally the soul of Rome. In this way the denizen’s cognitive sensibility is now brought into the realm of the gods – in short, into the realm of imperial cosmology. This is by virtue of the space-time of the celestial \textit{longue durée}. The coin, indeed, creates a world.

\textbf{The comet of 66 A.D. and the comet denarius in a Jewish and early Christian context}

Though the coin was issued ca. 24 B.C., we may presume that it remained in circulation as long as its metallic lifetime allowed it. Indeed, we still possess some of these coins in museums today. How might these coins have impinged upon the cognitive sensibilities of a Jewish-Christian in Judea in 66 A.D.? What would have been perceived as their blasphemous content is well known. But think further. The Jewish-Christian would still have possessed in recent memory the news of Nero Caesar’s bloody persecution of Roman Christians in 64-65 A.D. While in the present, the threat of war between Rome and Jerusalem would have constituted current gossip. Judaism and Christianity had not yet parted ways, and Christians still maintained headquarters in the holy city, although even here Jewish-Christians were beginning to suffer at the hands of fellow Jews as well. With persecutions and wars in the air, might these be the days of great tribulation that were to mark the end of the age?

Early in 66 A.D., in the hours before dawn, Halley’s Comet appeared in the skies above Jerusalem. It remained visible for about three months. According to Josephus, it hung like a sword above the city. In Jerusalem it was seen as one of many omens that had the effect of exciting “the unskillful” and “the common people,” but which the sacred scribes and the learned understood as reasons for trepidation (Josephus, \textit{The Jewish War}§6.288ff.). At the same time, in the political sphere, Jewish resentment at Roman rule teetered on the brink of revolt, festering with impulsive acts of rebellion. All-out war would break out in August.

Think back to our Jewish-Christian in 66 A.D. Blasphemous coin in hand, wild talk running through the holy city of a humanly unwinnable war, and a dreadful comet in the sky, these images or threats of impending disaster had come together all at once on all cognitive levels of space-time. Might the imperial legendry concerning Caesar’s comet also have come to the fore, though in worried whispers? How it had
arisen each night of its brief apparition “bright and clear” (Pliny, *Natural History*: Book II, Ch. XXV), perhaps even that it had blazed reddish-yellow? That it was the soul of Caesar ascending to the gods, and was now indeed—especially in its present manifestation—the soul of Rome itself, as the imperial coinage so insistently proclaimed? Might these cogitations have occasioned the memory of the following verses from Jewish scripture, verses often understood to be about the illustrious one who rebelled against God, by striving to be a god himself? These verses which, in this context of heightened cosmological sensibilities, might have sounded both like wish and like prophecy:

How you are fallen from heaven, O Day Star, son of Dawn! How you are cut down to the ground, you who laid the nations low! You said in your heart, “I will ascend to heaven; I will raise my throne above the stars of God; I will sit on the mount of assembly on the heights of Zaphon; I will ascend to the tops of the clouds, I will make myself like the Most High.” But you are brought down to Sheol, to the depths of the Pit.  

(Isaiah 14:12-15, New Revised Standard Version)

If so, then how does a Jewish-Christian community under siege battle the ruthless cosmology of an angry imperial “beast”? Raise a prophet, perhaps, a messenger of the one true God who can read the material signs of space-time? Chapter 12 of the Book of Revelation—the pivotal chapter of the entire end-of-the-age narrative—opens with these verses:

A great portent appeared in heaven: a woman clothed with the sun, with the moon under her feet, and on her head a crown of twelve stars. She was pregnant and was crying out in birth pangs, in the agony of giving birth. Then another portent appeared in heaven: a great red dragon, with seven heads and ten horns, and seven diadems on his heads. His tail swept down a third of the stars of heaven and threw them to the earth. Then the dragon stood before the woman who was about to bear a child, so that he might devour her child as soon as it was born.  

(Revelation 12:1-4, New Revised Standard Version)

Is this woman the archetypal mater dolorosa, or Shekinah of the Hebrews—the spirit of mother Israel herself—crowned with the twelve tribes, and giving birth to messiah Jesus? Is this great red dragon in the sky the comet of the divine Caesar, the mere mortal presumed to be a god, whose presumption to rule the world is now the soul of Rome itself? For
in the original Greek, the dragon’s colour is πυρρός (purrós) which means “red” as in fiery red; the noun πῦρ (pur) meaning “fire.” Moreover, its seven heads associate it on a primordial level with the ancient chaos monster, the enemy and opposer of divine cosmic order (Figure 2). Is this dragon’s attempt to devour the woman’s child at birth, the Roman crucifixion of Christ? In the succeeding verses, the dragon is frustrated, the woman flees into the wilderness (the typological domain of Israel’s wandering before entry into the Promised Land), and the dragon is thrown out of heaven onto the earth. But on earth “the dragon was angry with the woman, and went off to make war on the rest of her children, those who keep the commandments of God and hold the testimony of Jesus” (Revelation 12:17, New Revised Standard Version).

Figure 2. The chaos monster depicted as a seven-headed hydra in a seal impression [Frankfort 1955: Plate 45 No. 478]. The Mesopotamian seal dates to ca. 2300 B.C., but an archaeological find in an older layer depicting a similar theme indicates that the myth itself has even earlier roots (Frankfort 1934:8). The seven-headed beast resembles a serpent or dragon. It is the equivalent of the primordial chaos monster found in other ancient Near Eastern mythic traditions, including Tiamat of the Babylonians and Leviathan of the Hebrews.

How is this frustrated dragon going to carry out its threat of war against the nascent Jesus movement? At the end of Chapter 12, we are told that the dragon goes to stand on the shores of the sea. Then at the opening of Chapter 13, the prophet writes:

I saw a beast rising out of the sea, having ten horns and seven heads; and on its horns were ten diadems, and on its heads were blasphemous names. And the beast that I saw was like a leopard, its feet were like a bear’s, and its mouth was like a lion’s mouth. And the dragon gave it his power and his throne and great authority.

This beast is the mirror image of the dragon (“ten horns and seven heads” on the beast, compare the simple re-ordering of terms “seven heads and ten horns” on the dragon), but it comes “rising out of the sea.” In 66 A.D. Comet Halley first appeared in the region of the constellation of Aquarius, the god whose dwelling was in the watery abyss. This part of the sky was known as “the waters” (Aratus, Phaenomena: 389). At that point in time the planet Mars shone nearby. Over the next weeks the comet moved out of “the waters,” eventually entering into the region of the constellation Hydra, the sea-serpent. Here, as it grew to maximum brightness, it made a close pass to the planet Saturn. It then quickly faded from view. But for the brief appearance of the planet Mercury, Mars and Saturn were the only other planets visible in the sky during the hours of the night when Comet Halley was visible (Figure 3).

Comets, Cults, and Coins

Figure 3. Path of Comet Halley in 66 A.D. This sky map was produced using the Cartes du Ciel software and the 66 A.D. ephemerides for Comet Halley (Yeomans and Kiang 1981:643). The path of Comet Halley begins at left on 31 January 66 A.D.

At a previous critical point in Israelite history, the night sky lit up and the prophet Ezekiel experienced the astral landscape as the temple of his god. The tradition obtained much theological nurturance from his testimony. But now, at this critical point in Israelite history, what does this sea-beast rising up out of “the waters” portend? How is the Jewish-Christian prophet to read this astral matter? According to Pliny, who drew upon a common regional sky reading tradition that traced back at
least to the Babylonians, in order to properly read the meaning of a comet, one must see what the comet looks like [i.e., “resembling a long sword” (Josephus, The Jewish War §6.289)], at what part of the sky it first appears (i.e., “the waters”), and to what part it travels (i.e., Hydra, the sea-serpent). One must also see what other celestial bodies come into its proximity (Pliny, Natural History: Book II, Ch. XXV). Here, we see the comet coming into the proximity of Mars (in the region of Capricornus), and Saturn (in the region of Virgo). Indeed, these planets mark the beginning and the end of the cometary path. As to the portentous quality of the planets, according to Pliny, the planets Jupiter and Venus are beneficent, whereas the planets Mars and Saturn are maleficent (Pliny, Natural History: Book II, Ch. VIII; see also Ptolemy, Tetrabiblos: Book I, Ch. V). Thus, to our Jewish-Christian in 66 A.D., the comet above Jerusalem and its celestial path, read correctly, boded ill.

Thus given the direction of the sky reading, peculiar parallels between the celestial path of the comet and then current imperial iconography must have struck the imagination of our Jewish-Christian sky reader (for that is now what we are supposing that he was), and must have further confirmed him in his reading. Another Roman coin, also issued during the reign of Augustus, showed on its obverse the helmeted head of Mars, the god of war, and on its reverse, the shield of the war god emblazoned with what must have appeared to our sky reader as the same blasphemous eight-rayed star (Figure 4). Indeed, in the Book of Revelation, the portent of war marks the sea-beast’s rising: “it [the sea-beast] was allowed to make war on the saints and to conquer them. It was given authority over every tribe and people and language and nation, and all the inhabitants of the earth will worship it” (Revelation 13:7-8, New Revised Standard Version).

Figure 4. Mars, god of war, with an eight-rayed star on his shield [AN633007001 © The Trustees of the British Museum (britishmuseum.org)]]
This close pass to the planet Mars at the start of the comet’s path occurs in the region of Capricornus (the sea-goat). Augustus, who had officially connected Julius to the comet of 44 B.C., is known to have identified his own destiny with this sign of the zodiac. Another coin that he issued shows his profile on the obverse, and on the reverse, Capricornus straddling a globe (Figure 5). What might this have meant to our sky reader, seeing the comet of 66 A.D. passing Mars in this sign of the zodiac? Revelation also speaks about a third beast, who rises out of the earth, and who induces the peoples of the earth into blasphemous worship of the sea-beast: “Then I saw another beast that rose out of the earth; it had two horns like a lamb and it spoke like a dragon. It exercises all the authority of the first beast on its behalf, and it makes the earth and its inhabitants worship the first beast, whose mortal wound had been healed” (Revelation 13:11-12).

Figure 5. Capricornus, Augustus’ self-identified zodiac sign, straddling the globe [AN632762001 © The Trustees of the British Museum (britishmuseum.org)]

Finally, at the end of its path, as the comet of 66 A.D. slid down the length of the constellation of Hydra, it passed in between the constellation of Virgo, the woman, and the constellation of Crater, the cup. Here it made its closest pass to the planet Saturn. According to Ptolemy, if two ill-omened planets are in the sky together, then one will cancel the effects of the other (in today’s math, much like two negatives cancel each other to make a positive) (Tetrabiblos: Book II, Ch. VII).4

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4 Ptolemy’s birth in all likelihood post dates 70 A.D., and he is said to have lived 78 years (see Ashmand 1822:xx). Today his Tetrabiblos is generally recognised as a 2nd century text. As pointed out by an anonymous reviewer, this means that its writing post dates the appearance of Comet Halley in 66 A.D. by nearly a century. The reading of the planets Venus and Jupiter as generally benefic, and of Mars and Saturn as generally malefic, appears to date back at least to the Babylonians (see the more detailed discussion in Rochberg 2010:135-142). However, as suggested by the reviewer, it is not known if in this instance this detail belongs to the more ancient tradition, or arose after 66 A.D.
Indeed, bringing an end to the narrative that began with the sea-beast that rose out of the sea, the author of Revelation hears an angelic voice pronouncing the divine comeuppance:

“Come, I will show you the judgment of the great whore who is seated on many waters, with whom the kings of the earth have committed fornication, and with the wine of whose fornication the inhabitants of the earth have become drunk.” …I saw a woman sitting on a scarlet beast that was full of blasphemous names, and it had seven heads and ten horns. The woman was clothed in purple and scarlet, and adorned with gold and jewels and pearls, holding in her hand a golden cup full of abominations and the impurities of her fornication;….”


Thus the visionary sense of the celestial display ends with the picture of a woman who is the crude anti-type to the heavenly mater dolorosa seen earlier.5 Riding the sea-beast, she luxuriates in excessive wealth. This cometary display was over by early March, 66 A.D. Later that year, Vespasian led the imperial armies into Judea, quelling any opposition that he encountered, and setting Jerusalem under siege. But in the wake of the outbreak of inter-Roman fighting, he returned to the capital in order to assume the emperorship. Leaving his son Titus in charge of the Judean campaign, he quickly brought an end to the Roman civil war. Titus destroyed Jerusalem in 70 A.D. Apparently, the divine comeuppance, which was promised upon the beast-riding woman, would have to wait. However, lest the reader not understand the divine promise, the author of Revelation also apparently added an explanatory gloss to his initial vision of the anti-type woman: “This calls for a mind that has wisdom: the seven heads are seven mountains on which the woman is seated; …” (Revelation 17:9, New Revised Standard Version: italics mine). Shortly after the end of both the Roman civil war and the Judean campaign, the new emperor issued a coin that celebrated the re-established Roman peace. The obverse shows the new emperor; the reverse shows the goddess Rome languidly seated on the fabled seven hills (Figure 6).

5 One Mesopotamian notion of the goddess Ishtar was that of heavenly harlot (see Harris 1991:271-272, who cites Jacobsen 1976:140; see also the more general discussion of Ishtar’s association with sex and the crossing of social boundaries in Harris 1991). For the tantalising possibility that the constellation Virgo was at some point in time associated with Ishtar in the Ancient Near East, see Rogers (1998).
Conclusion

Thus the first comet/dragon once dwelt in the heavens, and once made war against the heavenly archetypes. But now a second comet/beast rises out of the sea, and makes war against the saints, receives the power, throne, and authority of the first comet/dragon. And a third beast—a cross between a lamb and a dragon—causes the world to worship the second beast. Even so, the Roman empire rose up, and every Roman emperor after Julius, beginning with Augustus, inherited Caesar’s power, throne, authority, and even his supposed divinity. This much, given as conclusion, is discernible from the text itself, given even the slightest sense of its context. Yet in the field of Biblical scholarship, the actual point in time to which this seemingly obvious interpretation refers has remained a matter of much debate.

Indeed, for those who have studied it, no matter how astute one’s literary exegesis of the text or social analysis of its context, these are limited by our lack of sure knowledge of the original dating of the text itself. The reason for this floating quality of the text is that its reading still manages to elude the best of grips, and to slip into a dreamscape of bewildering images—it is like a hallucinatory romp through imagined other worlds (Gentry 1989:10-14). Gentry (ibid.), wrestling with his confessional conundrums, gives an exemplary collection of commentary by exegetes on the difficulty of this interpretive problem. Here I reproduce two such comments: “the Revelation...is by common consent one of the most difficult of all the books of the Bible. It is full of strange symbolism.... The result is that for many modern men Revelation remains a closed book” (Morris 1969:15, cited in Gentry 1989:11); and “The key to the interpretation disappeared with the generation to which the book was
addressed..., and apart from any clue to its immediate reference, it was little else but a maze of inexplicable mysteries” (Swete 1906: cxix, cited in Gentry 1989:14). In short, though a sense of the text is easy enough to get, the meaning of its details elude us.

But I believe that in the light of a more fundamental material-theoretic approach, what may be the earliest original part of the text reflects the dark flip side of an equally material Pax Romana. Thus the Book lines up with a very material structure; one that includes a demonstrable and datable ancient astral landscape. I realise that I am no Biblical expert. Yet the four-way correlation between ancient iconography, ancient celestial event, ancient text, and ancient history is too strong to put down to coincidence. Biblical scholarship has for some time proposed two possible dates for the origination of the Book of Revelation: ca. 70 A.D. and ca. 90 A.D. The second dating currently enjoys the majority position, though opinion on the matter tends to swing like a slow pendulum. But I believe that the four-way correlation outlined here shows that the major visions in the Book are originally rooted in an eyewitness to the events going into and coming out of 66-70 A.D. In my forthcoming dissertation, I hope to show the further likelihood of an early Jewish-Christian sky reading practice, but which was rooted in an older Jewish sky reading tradition that dated back at least to Ezekiel, and which ultimately was located in the Jerusalem temple.

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Place Names, Seascape and Cartography of Marine Rights: Case of claims to places on the reef of Batasan in Bohol

Eulalio R. Guieb III

Abstract

The essay looks into how islanders of Batasan in Bohol delineate the geographic distinctions of their environment. Islanders identify places to define markers that describe their environment’s geo-ecological features, provide maritime directions, frame physical and social boundaries, and set limits of marine activities. Such delineations indicate varying degrees of rights and claims. I also address in this essay how codes of access and exclusion reconfigure the physical and social environment of the island. A sense of ownership of what I term as ‘village-encoded local ecological knowledge’ predisposes villagers to claim access to these resources. Central here is how they incorporate this knowledge into issues of tenure and the allocation of use rights that, in the process, rearrange divisions among islanders and between groups of islanders and non-village individuals, organisations and institutions. In the end, islanders’ narrative geography frames their socio-economic practices as they navigate the political terrain of resource rights allocation.

“Who gets what environment—and why?”
(Low and Gleeson 1998:2)

Introduction

One of the most interesting stories that I gathered during my
exploratory visit to Batasan Island in Bohol in 2002 was the ‘discovery’, in separate instances, of two submerged reefs near the island by hook-and-line fishers (mamasolay) from the village. One reef, called Takot Emong (Emong’s Reef) by Batasan islanders, was named after Emong Ranario (born 1908) and the other after Adring (real name: Andres Dolera; born 1924). Emong, based on the oral narrative of his son Fredo and friend Adring, chanced upon a reef submerged between 15-20m under water in the mid-1920s when his sinker tapped the reef’s coral heads during one of his fishing trips. My underwater reef survey in 2005 showed that the reef was mainly rubble, indicating that it is a dead reef. Adring narrated that he located in 1938, while searching for fishing grounds, a reef that would later be called by Batasan islanders as Takot Adring (Adring’s Reef), also by way of tapping submerged coral heads through his line sinker. Takot Adring sits between the islands of Batasan and Ubay, but jurisdictionally belongs to the latter. Moreover, residents describe the south promontory of Batasan Island as a dancing beachhead because its direction changes depending on where the monsoon winds blow its sands. These accounts opened up for me a floodgate of narratives about sites that carry the names of some of the villagers’ ancestors or places with denotational or symbolic ascriptions pertaining to the geographic and ecological features of Batasan’s seascape.

What is striking about these narratives is that Batasan islanders frame the story of their village not only with reference to time-pegged moments in their history, e.g., World War II, typhoons that struck the islands, or the reign of a village tyrant. Rather, their stories are also framed, in several instances, with reference to places, i.e., within named or unnamed and claimed or contested places of the island. The spatial strategy of storytelling, I believe, underscores the significance of places as markers of local history in relation to a knowledge system pertaining to the utilisation of resources, which I term in this essay as ‘village-encoded local ecological knowledge’. This narrative geography is, I contend, a historiography that frames the socio-economic practices of islanders as they navigate the political terrain of resource rights allocation.

In this essay, I ask how Batasan islanders’ delineation of the geographic distinctions of their environment indicates varying degrees of marine rights and claims. I follow Hviding’s (1996) contention that natural geographic and ecological markers are important distinguishing features that organise the socio-cultural environment of villages, which feed into what more recent scholarship in political ecology describes as
socio-natural arrangements (Bryant 2000; Escobar 2001) within interdependent social-ecological systems (Folke et al. 2007). Socio-natural arrangements pertain to processes by human society to reshape and reinterpret nature, rendering the ‘objective’ nature a social construct (Pepper 1993). Escobar (1999: 5) argues that “nature is differently experienced according to one’s social position and that it is differently produced by different groups or in different historical periods.” The men and women of society and their social relations give meaning and value to place and nature.

Society and nature are interdependent social-ecological systems (Folke et al. 2007). The social (human society) and the ecological (nature) are not just linked; they are, according to Folke et al. (2007), interconnected and they co-evolve across spatial and temporal scales. Several scholars have stressed the complex ties that link the natural-physical environment with the specificities of place and time, and that locally encoded knowledge systems about nature in specific places are neither static nor stable, one reason of which is that place, or a sense of place, is informed by underlying structures of power (e.g., Agnew and Duncan 1989; Agrawal 1998; Casey 1996; Escobar 2001; Geertz 1983; Harvey 1996; Johnson 1992; Massey 1995, 1997; Ostrom 1990; Prazniak and Dirlik 2001; Rosaldo 1988; Rose 1995; Scott 1998; Watts 2000).

The relationship established by people with their natural environment informs and is informed by their interaction with other people. In this essay, I illustrate that villagers’ knowledge of place is not only a map of the distinctive features of their marine resources, but is also—to use Blomley’s term (1998: 570)—a code of access and exclusion. Knowledge of place reflects a geography of rights that both islanders and non-islanders continuously reshape in the context of linked relationships among households, villages and different multi-sited communities of interests. The quotation at the beginning of this essay—“who gets what environment—and why?” (Low and Gleeson 1998: 2)—is, therefore, critical for understanding property rights regimes in the context of villages’ simultaneous involvement in resource extraction and conservation.

Section 1 presents a short description of the island of Batasan. Section 2 examines toponyms based on geo-ecological features of the island and its marine environment, and how a sense of ownership of the encoded knowledge about places constitutes differentiated access and use rights. Section 3 discusses toponyms derived from ancestors’ names, and
looks into how certain claims to places configure the villages’ demographic and social environment, which in some ways reflect the distribution of particular rights or claims among certain individuals.

The research site

Batasan is a small, elongated sand bar, which is under the jurisdiction of the municipality of Tubigon in Bohol (Figures 1 and 2). Settlers artificially created the island by piling corals. Based on my GIS calculation, its length is roughly 900m, while its width ranges from 200-500m. The island rests on a large reef flat that measures about 260 hectares. The island can be reached in about 30 or 40 minutes by small motorised boat from the town centre of Tubigon on the mainland.

Figure 1. Location of Batasan Island, Tubigon, Bohol on Danajon Bank

Batasan is comparatively poor in a relatively well-off municipality. It ranks the fourth poorest among Tubigon’s 34 villages in terms of households with income under the poverty threshold (33% Batasan households) (Bohol PPDO 2004; BLDF 2008; LPRAP 2005), or a monthly income of about or less than PhP5,853 (at 2005 levels) or approximately US$120 (NSCB 2007). The percentage of Batasan

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1 There were no available data about the size of Batasan’s reef. The figure I presented above is my own estimate based on data about the island’s mangrove forest, which, reports say, measures 52 hectares and comprises 20% of the reef flat (Batasan PCRA 1998; Haribon-PS-CRMP n.d.).
households under the poverty threshold, however, is lower than the municipal percentage (35%) and provincial percentage (61%) of income-deficient households (Bohol PPDO 2004; BLDF 2008).

Tubigon is one of three major political, economic and educational centres in the province; the other two centres are the province’s capital city, Tagbilaran, situated on the southern mainland, and the municipality of Talibon on the northern part of the province. Tubigon has a port that connects the province to Cebu, the regional centre of Central Visayas. It is Bohol’s secondary port (next to Tagbilaran City’s).

Batasan is one of 40 islands that lie on or near Danajon Bank,
located off northwestern Bohol (Green et al. 2004) (Figure 1).² Danajon Bank is the only double barrier reef in the Philippines, and is one of only three such sites in the Indo-Pacific (Pichon 1977). It reaches a length of about 135km (PS 2004). The outer reef is called the Caubyan Reef and the inner reef the Calituban Reef (Pichon 1977; Christie et al. 2006). The bank has a high degree of diversity in its marine flora and fauna, which makes it one of the major fishing grounds in the Visayas (Christie et al. 2006). Its coral reef and mangrove areas are the largest in the Central Visayas region (Green et al. 2004). Some parts of the bank’s reefs are considered fair in status (25% to 49.9% live coral cover) (Green et al. 2004), although the overall reef condition is considered degraded (Christie et al. 2006). Many of the reefs of Danajon Bank are exposed during low tide.

Like many fishing grounds in the Philippines, Danajon Bank faces a host of serious threats, e.g., extremely high fishing pressure largely through destructive, unsustainable and illegal fishing methods; overfishing; degraded overall reef condition; sediment accumulation; conversion of mangroves into other uses; and high population density and poverty incidence in communities around the bank (Christie et al. 2006; Green et al. 2003, 2004). About 68% of households in ten municipalities in northwestern Bohol that have territorial jurisdiction over portions of Danajon Bank have cash income under the poverty threshold (Bohol PPDO 2004; BLDF 2008).

Four provinces have administrative jurisdiction over Danajon Bank: Bohol, Cebu, Leyte and Southern Leyte (Aumentado n.d.; Christie et al. 2006). This politico-administrative delineation has implications for the implementation and management of a territorially shared resource base.

Batasan established in 1998 a 21-hectare no-take marine protected area (MPA), although the formal barangay and municipal ordinances and

² Spanish and American historical records indicate the shores off north and northwestern Bohol as two geographic coasts: Danajon Bank and Northwest Bank (de Arana 1879; United States Allied Geographical Section 1944; United States Coast and Geodetic Survey 1902; United States Department of Commerce 1940; Bureau of Coast and Geodetic Survey 1953). The study by Pichon (1977) and documents that came out beginning in the 2000s describe Northwest Bank as part of Danajon Bank (e.g., Aumentado n.d.; Christie et al. 2006; Green et al. 2000, 2002, 2004). Working within the framework of an ecosystem-based approach in the management of resources, the two coasts are integrated for a more holistic management of the fisheries and communities in the northwestern and northern regions of Bohol, which cover Batasan. Contemporary maps about the area, however, produced by the government’s mapping bureau (the National Mapping and Resource Information Authority or NAMRIA) continue to label Danajon Bank and Northwest Bank separately, which I indicated in Figure 1.
resolutions were issued in 1999 (Figure 3). The MPA was facilitated by the partnership of Project Seahorse (PS) and Haribon Foundation. PS is an international marine conservation organisation based in Canada and the United Kingdom, with an established organisation in the Central Visayas region in the Philippines that focuses on marine environmental research and advocacy. Haribon is one of the Philippines’ largest non-governmental organisations dedicated to environmental protection, conservation of critical habitats, sustainable use of natural resources and the preservation of the culture of indigenous Filipino cultural communities. On Danajon Bank, there are at least 60 MPAs (Christie et al. 2006), 33 of which (all no-take) have been facilitated or supported by PS-Haribon (PSF 2006).

Batasan is presently considered an initial component of the National Integrated Protected Areas System (NIPAS) of the country.

Figure 3. Directional terms indicating spatial orientation of Batasan

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3 These documents include the following: 1) Batasan Barangay Ordinance No. 1, series of 1999; 2) Batasan Barangay Resolution No. 1, series of 1999; 3) Tubigon Municipal Council Resolution No. 99-27, series of 1999; and 4) Tubigon Office of the Mayor (1999) endorsing the barangay resolution of Batasan on the establishment of its MPA.
(PAWB 2004). The NIPAS Act of 1992, or Republic Act No. 7586, provides the criteria and processes for the selection of several categories of protected areas, and the island is designated for inclusion as a nationally legislated protected area. Batasan’s inclusion into NIPAS has implications for the use and management of the island’s marine environment and for the contest among villagers over tenure within their settlements and rights to the resources of their island.

Based on the household census I conducted in 2004, fishing is the main source of livelihood for practically all the 212 households in Batasan. It is difficult to estimate the number of fishers engaged in specific methods as fishers in Batasan may simultaneously fish with various gear or target specific species, depending on and according to the lunar cycle, tidal levels, wind directions, sea currents, fish migration or movement patterns, and market demands. Classification of fishers is also difficult to ascertain as fishers in Batasan may classify themselves according to the gear used or the target species. Many fishers, nevertheless, specialise in specific fishing methods or target species even if they simultaneously or alternately engage in other methods of fishing. Table 1 provides an estimate of the different types of fishers in Batasan based on how they classified themselves on the census that I conducted in 2004.

The gear that Batasan fishers use are generally those that are allowed in municipal waters (within 15km from the shoreline). Types of fishing based on gear include spear fishing (pana), lantern fishing (panuô or panô), net fishing (pokot, including panikbong and yabyab), line fishing (pasol, including palanggre or bottom-set longline and subid or troll line), pot or trap fishing (e.g., timing and panggal), dive fishing (manawom, with or without compressor units), and corral fishing (bunsod). Based on target species, types of fishing include blue crab fishing (panlambay), fishing for tropical or aquarium fish (panimilya), and squid fishing (pangnokos).

Fishers cover the entire Batasan reef for their fishing. Sites are selected based on target species, gear used, distance from the island, and other geographic and ecological factors. They also go to fishing grounds outside their island-barangay (Figure 1), specifically those under the jurisdiction of the municipalities of Tubigon (off the villages of Ubay, Calawrinyo or Clariño, Balicog, Kanlangi, Bagongbanua, Calamosi, Tambulian, Pangapasan, Inanoran, Cabgan and Tubaon), Clarin (especially in Silo-siloan and Madietpet), Inabanga (on the shores of Coameng and Bugatosan), and Calape (near Mantatao Island). Batasan fishers also compete with fishers from other islands and coastal villages.
Table 1. Types of fishers in Batasan based on household census conducted by the author in 2004. Note. Enumeration is by single response of working individuals who indicated a specific type of fishing as either a full-time activity or a primary source of cash income.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types of Fisher</th>
<th>Number of individuals</th>
<th>Percentage of fisher population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Spear fisher (mamanaay)</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>17.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blue crab fisher (manlambayay)</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>13.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lantern fisher (manoay)</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>11.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Net fisher (mamokotay)</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>10.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Timing pot/trap fisher (manimingay)</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>8.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aquarium fish collector (manimilyaay)</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>7.81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Line fisher, incl. Those using palanggre or chain or long line (mamasolay)</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>7.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Squid fisher using troll line (manubiray)</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>6.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fishing, general (managatay)</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>5.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corral fisher (mamunsoray)</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others: (species-specific or other gear)</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>7.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grouper (3) (pugapo)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compressor diver (3)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White clam fisher (4) (manambayang)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shellfish diver (4) (manawom kinhason)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panggal trap fisher (2) (mamanggalay)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fisher targeting garfish (bawo) (2) (pamalong)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sea urchin fisher (2) (manuyom)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>269</strong></td>
<td><strong>99.99</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
who come to their reef. They include those coming from the municipalities of Tubigon (the islands of Mocaboc, Ubay and Pangapasan), Clarin (mainland and the island of Tangaran), and Inabanga (the islands of Coameng, Hambungan and Taoran).

The wide expanse of the reef of Batasan is primarily a gleaning haven. Gleaning (locally termed panginhas), carried out by both men and women and by children, is an important source of household income. Batasan’s reef is home to an estimated minimum of 364 species of seashell species based on identification by recognised expert gleaners and shell divers from the island.4 Some of the commonly gleaned shellfish species include top shellfish (amongpong and samong), strombus conchs (aninikad and saang), tritons and murex shells (gang-gang, sodlay-sodlay and honsoy-honsoy), pheasant shells and periwinkles (laway-laway), vanikoro snails (taktakon), thorny oysters (tikod-tikod), nerites (sihi), cowries and egg cowries (sigay and poki), scallops (iskalop), abalone (kapenan), rock shells (guba-guba), ark shells (litob), sea mussels (amahong), moon snails (buwan-buwan), ceriths and turrids (sanggoreyong or sanggarelyong), Venus and Lucina clams (kilos and bug-atan), asphis clams (tamislat), soft-shell clams (tambayang), winged oysters (brownlip), horse conchs (posik), tree oysters (wasay-wasay), pearl oysters (tipay), and pen shells (tab).5 Batasan gleaners also regularly collect sea cucumber (bat or balatan6, or trepang or beche-de-mar as it is known in the market), crustaceans such as blue crab (lambay), the spaghetti-like egg mass of sea hare (dongsol, a sea slug species) called lukot, Caulerpa (lató), wild seaweed (gusó), and sea urchin (tuyom). Many of these gleaned species have great value in both the international market and the tourism industry in Cebu, either as processed products or as materials for the production of handcrafted products (C. Campos, personal communication, 2005; S. Pongcol, personal communication, 2005, and R. Saavedra, personal communication, 2005). Gleaned resources with low economic value serve as food for those who cannot afford meat and

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4 My informant fishers, S. Pongcol (2004, 2005) and R. Mejares (2005a, 2005b) and I consulted Abbot’s (1991) illustrated guide book to seashells, which served as our reference to identify the families and species of shellfish that occur in Batasan.

5 Local names of these shellfish species are not precisely equivalent to the English names. A single local name may apply to several species in the scientific literature, and conversely several local names may apply where there is only one scientific name for a species. This highlights interesting differences in classification between the scientific community and local knowledge, but this variance in nomenclature and taxonomy is beyond the scope of this study.

6 I use the term bat, instead of balat or balatan; all refer to sea cucumbers. Bat is the term commonly used by Batasan islanders to refer to the various species of sea cucumbers that they collect.
Batasan, however, is also to a significant degree a village of wage labourers employed in jobs found outside the island. Wage labourers are working in growth areas in the Visayas and Mindanao, although some also work in Metro Manila and urban centres in Luzon; they work in factories, market stalls, department stores, construction and transport services, export processing zones, and various seasonal or odd jobs (e.g., as porters, drivers, errand persons). Batasan women who work away from the island are mainly employed as househelpers. Entrepreneurs are generally traders of various marine resources found on the island’s reefs, and trading is a significant economic activity on the island.

Field observations, interviews, focused group discussions, validation workshops and resource mappings during preliminary trips to the site (summers of 2002 and 2003) and my fieldwork from 2004 to 2005, using the same methods, provided insights on the different issues that I discuss in this study. In 2002, six key informants from the village identified historically and economically significant marine spots in Batasan. In 2003 and 2004, the same informants accompanied me to these places, which I marked on my GPS unit for mapping purposes. Figures 2 and 3 identify named places and distinctive directional orientations of Batasan, respectively.

Geo-ecological markers: Mapping places and encoding local ecological knowledge

In general, places in Batasan with historic or economic significance might be named (Figure 2) by islanders themselves, yet not be the object of strong individual claims of rights. They named many of these places based on their features, characteristics or utility. Names are often reflections of resource potential. These names indicate islanders’ knowledge of their marine environment, as informed by their constant use of these places. This ecological knowledge forms one of the bases of the choice of extraction sites by villagers and the location of their respective no-take marine protected areas or MPAs.

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8 Takot Adring is not mentioned in the two maps. Eighty-year-old Adring himself volunteered the location of the site, but requested not to identify the site in any map that I will produce.
Sayer (1995) argues that it is possible to have significant control or influence over a thing without necessarily owning it. In the case of named places with no strong individual claims of rights, I contend that what villagers own is neither the place nor the resources in the place, but the information about the place and its resources. Names, in this sense, provide “a unique way of encoding information” (Cruikshank 1990:63). A sense of ownership of what I term as ‘village-encoded local ecological knowledge’ predisposes villagers to claim access to these resources. Central here is how they incorporate this knowledge into issues of tenure and the allocation of use rights that, in the process, rearrange divisions among islanders and between groups of islanders and non-village individuals, organisations and institutions. In the end, division of encoded knowledge reconstitutes social relations among a wide range of players engaged in the use and management of local resources.

Derivation of place names: Identifying ecological features

Islanders identify named places in Batasan to define markers that describe their environment’s geo-ecological features, provide maritime directions, frame physical and social boundaries, and set limits of marine and terrestrial activities. Some places in Batasan derive their names from certain ecological features of the sea (e.g., water current, and presence of corals and sand) or shoreline (shape and contour). For fishers and gleaners, knowledge about the ecological features of the marine environment provides them with a general sense of where to locate and collect which species, and the appropriate fishing methods to use.

Examples include a reef crest named Likiron, a curved angle or corner that serves as a turning area (likiron) for boats. A reef patch called Takot Tang-Tang has the appearance of pulling away from (tang-tang) the main reef. Paril sa Atbang is a sea wall that runs close to 2 kilometres in length; the seawall is a pile of corals brought to the reef edge by strong waves. It is called Paril sa Atbang (sea wall on the front shore) to differentiate it from another sea wall at the back of the island (Paril sa Luyó), which was formed only in the 1980s when the island was hit by a strong typhoon. A sea channel is called Masog or Masug for its strong current; masog or masug is derived from makusog, the root word of which is kusog, which means ‘strong’. Migrating fish pass through this channel, which is opportune for permanent barriers such as fish corrals. The head of a politically influential family in Batasan has secured a portion of the reef near this sea channel for his permanent fish corral. The contour of a
reef crest, called Mailok—shaped like an armpit (ilo)—also provides a suitable location for fish corrals. One male elderly of Batasan described this place as an area believed by some residents of Batasan as home to small sharks that guard precious pearls that thrive aplenty underwater. At the time of field research, a village council member, who is a son of the owner of the fish corral on Masog, had claimed a portion of Mailok for his two permanent fish corrals, which he uses alternately depending on the monsoon winds. Like all fish corral owners, he pays the annual permit fees at the municipal fisheries office. Hence, he enjoys some form of territorial control on portions of the fishing ground, one of which is to disallow some types of fishing that tend to limit the entry of fish into his fish corral. A fish corral is an example of a device that informs fishers of the owner’s jurisdiction over the territory and the presence of certain fishing restrictions near the site. I discuss in the latter part of this essay a conflict involving two families that resulted from alleged violations on fishing restrictions near this type of fishing structure.

Because of the presence of good corals, Mailok is also preferred by gleaners and various types of fishers: spear fishers (mamanaay); drive-in net fishers (manikbungay); fishers using traps and pots to catch wrasses (manimingay); gill net fishers targeting big fish species (mamokotay pokot panagko); lantern fishers collecting sea cucumbers and seahorses (manoay or manugaay); and collectors of tropical fish (manimilyaay), giant clams, and the highly valued Noble Tugonia shells (manambayang). Many named places in Batasan with reef features similar to Mailok are considered economically important fishing grounds by villagers from Batasan and nearby islands.

Places are also named based on the extent or depth of fishing grounds and various parts of the reef environment. Most of Batasan’s fishing grounds, such as shoals (awo or awong), crests and reef patches, are named using this system. Examples include Awo Dako (Big Shoal), Awo sa Tunghaon Mabaw (shallow shoal at Tunghaon), Awo sa Tunghaon Lawom (deep shoal at Tunghaon), Kanjaru Mabaw (Shallow Kanjaru), Kanjaru Lawom (Deep Kanjaru), Kaungan Dako (Big Kaungan), Maybanak Dako (Big Maybanak), and Maybanak Gamay (Small Maybanak).

I must emphasise a few points about some of these shoals. Awo sa Kaungan used to be a favourite site of blast fishers from Batasan and nearby islands such as Coameng, Hambungan, Mocaboc and Bilangbilangan. 'Way tuog ang isda diri sa una (Fish never got a chance to sleep or
rest in this site)’ was how fishers described the place to signify the intensity of blast fishing in the site. Awo Dako was the extraction site of tropical fish by non-Batasan fishers who used cyanide in their fishing, which was a major conflict during the 1980s. Fishers from Sta. Rosa, an island which is part of Mactan (Opon in Cebu), got rich from catching bluefish, an expensive tropical fish, in Awo Dako. Awo Dako continues to be a favourite spot of tropical fish collectors, double-gill-net fishers and fishers using mobile or movable fish corrals.

Fishers and gleaners adapt fishing methods and gleaning tools based on their knowledge of the estimated size and depth of these places. In several instances, fishing devices set at sea constitute a degree of territorial claim. For example, small marker buoys attached with kerosene lamps and set at sea during the night suggest the presence of crab bottom gill nets, and serve as warning devices not to trespass the fishing site, at least while the nets or crab traps are in place. Remnants of a fish corral, such as standing bamboo stakes, are indicators (timailhan) that an owner has not completely abandoned his fish corral site. Some submerged reefs are closely guarded secrets by spear fishers who dive in these areas to catch and collect fish, mollusks and shell species with high commercial value.

**Directional terms: Estimating measurements, and framing islands and reefs**

Named places also derive their identification from directional terms that provide the spatial orientation of sites, e.g., ubáy or ubayon (beside), tungâ (middle), lawis (beachhead), tumóy (endpoint), atbang (front), and luyó (back) (Figure 3). These directional terms define the spatial relation of places.

An island-village that lies northeast off the reef of Batasan is called Ubay (which means ‘beside’ Batasan) (Figure 2). Two reefs lying beside Batasan’s main reef flat are called Ubayon Uno and Ubayon Dos (Ubayon One and Ubayon Two). Ubayon Uno (or first reef beside the main reef) is the site of Batasan’s no-take MPA. A reef patch beside Ubayon Uno is called Takot Ubayon. Because of its proximity to the marine reserve, Takot Ubayon is preferred by net fishers (mamokotay), pot fishers (mamanggalay), compressor fishers (kompesoray) and aquarium fish collectors. Opposite Takot Ubayon is the controversial Bunsod Tiago, which stands on a crest of Batasan’s main reef (Figure 4). This reef crest is a highly contested site because of the presence of good corals, which
makes it a good site for fishing. Further, this reef crest is beside a sea channel where migrating fish pass; the fish corral often traps some of these migrating fish species. Because it is also near the location of the MPA, islanders are of the opinion that the reef crest where Bunsod Tiago stands is an ideal site to trap fish that swim from the MPA zone.

The second reef or Ubayon Dos (also called Ubayon Ubây) lies on a sea channel that separates the reefs of Batasan and the island-village of Ubay. Ubayon Ubây is preferred by aquarium fish collectors, hook-and-line fishers, drive-in net fishers, squid fishers and spear fishers. Squid fishers from nearby Hambungan Island are often sighted in this area using illegally sized mesh nets. Two fish corrals owned by the father of a village official stand on this site.

**Lawis-tumóy promontories: Demarcating boundaries, zoning entries and exits**

The term *lawis* generally refers to a beachhead, promontory, cape, peninsula or tip of an island (Cabonce 1983; Garcia 1990). On Batasan’s reef flat, one fishing ground that forms a series of promontories is called Lawis-Lawis, but is also often called by its proper name Kanjaru, which used to be a popular site for blast fishing. One of the reefs of Lawis-Lawis (Lawis-LawisGamay) is said to have been claimed by a certain Pilo, a resident of Batasan who has long since passed away. Kanjaru is a site preferred by aquarium fish collectors, reef gleaners (*manginhasay*) and fishers using mobile fish corrals (*mamunsoray*). There also stands on Kanjaru a permanent fish corral established by a former village official. The Marine Aquarium Council (MAC), an international organisation that promotes non-destructive collection practices, has identified Kanjaru as one of the major collection sites for Batasan aquarium fish collectors. In 2004, the organisation erected three concrete posts on the site to designate it as a fishing zone for MAC-accredited fishers. The fishing ground, despite being demarcated as collection sites of MAC-accredited fishers from Batasan, is also open to non-MAC aquarium fish collectors and all other types of fishers from the island. The sea channel beside it is a favourite spot for gill net fishers targeting big species of fish.

On Batasan’s island itself, residents differentiate the two promontories on its tips (Figure 3). The first *lawis* promontory maintains its *lawis* label, while the opposite *lawis* is called *tumóy* (end tip) to designate it as the island’s endpoint. In this sense, the original *lawis* is the ‘entrance’ to the island, while the *tumóy* serves as the backdoor of the
island, which is also called Lawis Norte by residents. The younger generation of islanders calls the main beachhead Lawis Beach.

Batasan’s lawis beachhead is what is left of the sand bar after early residents piled corals one on top of another to form a more ‘stable’ settlement in the 1930s. The beachhead is shaped like a pendulum. As mentioned earlier, the beachhead changes directions depending on where it is blown by seasonal shifts of the two dominant wind directions in the country, the northeast monsoon (amihan) from December to May and the southwest monsoon (habagat) from June to November.

The beachhead-endpoint (lawis-tumóy) differentiation is tied to the production and exchange relations of the people with the mainland and nearby islands. Privileging one lawis as the ‘entrance’ to the island is indicative of how islanders organise the spatial orientation of the island, which is more oriented toward its exchange relations with the mainland than its production relations with nearby islands. The lawis beachhead of Batasan points in the direction of the poblacion (centre) of Tubigon, which is the municipality that administratively covers Batasan. The town centre is roughly 7–8km from the island. Batasan residents send their children to the poblacion of Tubigon for their high school education. In this regard, the beachhead—the designated ‘entrance’ to Batasan—emphasises the island’s relations with the economic, political and cultural centre.

The tumóy endtip, on the other hand, faces the vast reef, which is the site of almost all resource extraction activities of islanders. Beyond the reef are other islands whose residents fish or glean on several sites of Batasan’s reef. Villagers also engage in some form of economic exchange with residents of these islands (e.g., trading of aquarium fish and sea cucumber), but not on the scale of exchange with Tubigon and other town centres on the mainland. In this sense, the tumóy endtip is mainly the extraction or production side, the ‘backdoor’ to the island.

Part of the reef on the tumóy endtip is Batasan’s 52-hectare mangrove forest (Figure 2), which is considered government-owned. This mangrove forest was initiated in the mid-1990s by the Department of Environment and Natural Resources, with residents of the island contracted by the government agency to reforest the area (Haribon-PS-CRMP, n.d.). Even though Batasan residents were involved in the planting of these mangroves, they do not consider themselves as having ownership rights over these mangrove trees. Some gleaners, mainly those who are often cash-deprived, uprooted some of the mangrove propagules
that were planted on Awo Tiyay and Awo Kalda (C. Pongcol, personal communication, 2005). Gleaners said that these two shoals are customary gleaning sites, and the mangroves impinged on what they believed are their territorial rights to these places.

Mangroves, however, that are located on the shore directly adjacent to residences of villagers are considered the property of the owner of the residence (Figure 2). Based on the property survey I conducted in 2004, seventy households or 33% of total village households, own a total of 18,943 mangroves trees, with ownership ranging between 2 and 2,000 trees (240 ± 474.30). Mangroves considered to be communally owned are those planted by schoolchildren, particularly those lining the premises of the school grounds.

In the above examples, an area’s topography not only indicates physical characteristics or specific elements of the environment but may also frame zones of production and exchange that delineate the island’s entrance and backdoor. This spatial distinction is further highlighted by how villagers distinguish the ‘front’ and ‘back’ of the island, which I tackle in the next sub-section.

**Atbang-luyó dichotomy: Geo-referencing zones of production and exchange**

The distinctive emphasis on exchange relations is manifest in the way Batasan residents use another set of spatial markers: the front-back (atbang-luyó) dichotomy (Figure 3). Atbang means front, while luyó means rear. An invisible line divides the island in two along its entire length. The part of the island and reef that faces the town centre on the mainland is referred to as the front zone of the island; the opposite side is the island’s backshore. Which side is the front and which is the back ascribes the economic and social geo-referencing of islanders’ activities in the village.

The front is the zone of much movement of people and resources. The front organises fishers’ exchange relations with market players, while the back establishes production relations among island dwellers. Conceptually defined based on conditions of exchange and extraction, villagers’ front-back dichotomy of the island establishes the market-influenced orientation of the island, and the socially delineated zones of different types and levels of intra-village and inter-island interaction. In this regard, the front-back zoning of the island and the reef is a conceptual grid that is manifested in the way Batasan islanders use and make sense
of their marine environment.

The front shore of Batasan funnels the movement of people and resources. It faces the town centre of Tubigon. The front zone covers the route used by Batasan residents to reach the mainland, where they sell much of their marine catch and buy all the goods they need back on the island. Every day, island traders, fishers and other residents go to the mainland for several reasons. Every day, traders take the route to the mainland to sell marine products during market days (*tabo*) in the different town centres of central Bohol (e.g., the coastal municipalities of Tubigon, Clarin, Inabanga, Calape and Buenavista; and the interior towns of Sagbayan, Carmen and Catigbian); in Tagbilaran, the provincial capital; or the regional centre in Cebu. Most use their own boats to go to mainland Bohol, but a few take any of the two passenger boats that ferry people daily to the town centre. These passenger boats leave the island early in the morning, and then come back before noon. Most fishing boats generally come and go at this side of the island. In this regard, the *atbang* functions as Batasan’s gateway to the different town centres of the province.

The front shore is likewise the zone of economic and social activities of the residents of Batasan. Depending on tide levels, monsoon winds and the lunar cycle, the whole day on the front shore is characterised by non-stop fishing by different types of fishers alternately using various fishing methods or devices. Evenings and into the wee hours of the morning at the front shore are times for yet other types of fishing. The front shore is also often used by fishers, both during the day and the night, as their path of exit from and re-entry to the island for most of their fishing or gleaning trips around and beyond the reef. Moreover, fishers anchor their boats more often on the front shore than at the back for the practical reason that it is much easier and cheaper to access the route to the mainland from the front shore than from the back. Moreover, fishers sleep overnight on their boats anchored on the front shore to safeguard their boat’s engine from thieves. They pass away time by either listening to the radio or conversing with other islanders who are likewise spending the night on their boats. There is, thus, the constant presence of people on the front shore. The whole community itself functions as patrol guards of the MPA, which is also located on the front zone of the island, for the entire duration of the day and night, and at various natural and social seasons of the year.

The front shore is also the preferred locale for festivities and
Place Names, Seascape and Cartography of Marine Rights

family gatherings. Families, their friends, relatives, and guests eat on boats, together with other islanders on their respective boats, all gathered on the waters at the front shore. They do this on special occasions, particularly during the feast days of San Pablo and San Juan, the annual fiesta celebrations, and family gatherings like birthdays and anniversaries. During important events, marine sports like boat racing are held on the front shore. Hence, the atbang is associated with most of the important social functions of Batasan islanders.

Although several types of fishing are conducted along the front shore, fishing is much more intensive and productive at the back of the island, the luyó. “If you are in need of money, go fish at the back,” is a common saying on the island. The back zone is also sometimes used as a relatively permanent anchoring area, but only if anchoring for several days or weeks, or to take refuge during strong southwesterly winds striking the island. Seldom is the back zone used by residents for any of the important social occasions or special events observed on the island, except as a route for the fluvial parade commemorating the annual feasts of San Juan and San Pablo. Residents also say that some surreptitious activities take place at the back zone to escape notice and disapproval by the community. Examples of these activities, according to residents, include illegal fishing, alleged selling of illegal substances (reportedly illegal drugs among the youth), and meeting with somebody other than a marriage partner or between two young unmarried individuals in a secret relationship. The luyó and the northern section (tumóy) of the island’s huge reef are also the preferred extraction sites of fishers from other islands. Some of these fishers use illegal fishing methods, which usually go unnoticed because of the vast expanse of the back zone.

Let me now turn to a brief discussion of how the front-back zones played a role in the selection of Batasan’s marine protected area.

Putting conservation sites in place: The spatial logic of Batasan’s marine protected area

Residents and officials of Batasan approved in 1998 the

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9 My arguments here have been enriched by several discussions with members of two people’s organisations that helped facilitate the establishment of the MPA in the village: the United Batasan Fishers’ Association or UBFA, and the Kapunan sa Kababaihang Alagad sa Katawhan sa Batasan (KAKBA or Association of the Women of Batasan). Most members of both organisations were either barangay officials of Batasan during the field work or have held political posts in the past. Many of them have also been involved actively in church-based activities on the island.
establishment of an MPA on one of the reefs under its jurisdiction. Islanders chose Ubayon Ubây as the most appropriate site, which lies opposite or ‘in front’ (atbang) of the island (Figures 2 and 3). Another reef, Takot Luyó, located at the back of the island (luyó), was a favoured site by members of PS-Haribon that supported the project, but was not considered an ideal site by the islanders. Takot Luyó has three shoals (awo) and a long seawall (paril), which is about 2km in length. The seawall was formed by a strong typhoon that hit the area sometime in the 1980s. The seawall is a pile of corals brought to the reef edge by strong waves caused by the typhoon. Observed during the fish and benthic cover survey were coral collectors (manghakutay-bato) extracting dead corals. Dead corals are gathered and sold to islanders as construction materials. This is also a favourite site of hook-and-line fishers, blue crab fishers, lantern fishers collecting sea cucumbers, and gill net fishers targeting big fish species. A fish cage owned by a major trader in Batasan is also located in this area. Fishers from other islands also pass through this area on their way to the town centre of Clarin; they usually fish while in transit (panubid ug bawo, troll-line fishing targeting needlefish).

Islanders, nevertheless, chose the reef at the atbang as the more appropriate MPA site. According to residents who were proponents of the MPA, if the MPA were sited at the back, protecting it from poachers would have been much more difficult given the limited resources Batasan has at its disposal.

The location of the MPA on the island’s front side provides villagers with a natural way of patrolling the restricted zone. One good proof was when my dive team and I used a newly painted boat for a biological survey of the MPA. In less than 20 minutes of staying on the site, we saw a fisher from the island paddling his way towards us with the intention of apprehending us for what he initially thought was an incident of ‘unapproved research’ in the restricted zone. He said that he could only recognise human figures in underwater suits from where he was on the island, but the boat that we were using was unfamiliar to him. Islanders are used to seeing researchers on the site, and they recognise, even from afar, the design and colour of the official boat that the team uses. At that time, our boat was under maintenance and we borrowed a newly painted boat from one of the islanders. The unfamiliar boat made him suspect that we were researchers from another group; we were the only village-approved researchers at that time. In the afternoon, I learned from the village chief that he, too, became suspicious when he could not
recognise the boat from where he was watching us from his house. He added that had we gone off elsewhere, he would have called on village guards to run after us. Knowing that we had a scheduled survey that morning, he also had a hunch that we were, indeed, those on the site. Another instance was when my team and I, together with some villagers, recognised an unfamiliar boat anchored in the MPA site and human figures in diving suits snorkelling in the restricted zone. We rushed to the site and saw non-villagers constructing what looked like a frame for a fish cage. They were accompanied by the son of the village chief, who informed us of a research project by a different group, something which villagers had no knowledge about. The project became a major issue on the island that set off a series of heated dialogues between and among residents, village officials, municipal and provincial officials, a research organisation, and international donor organisations.

The choice of the MPA site, I believe, suggests Batasan islanders’ calculation of self-interest based on their knowledge of their marine environment—that is, shifting access and use rights that would least impact on their fishing. Ubayon Ubây, at that time, was one of the most degraded fishing grounds because of intense blast fishing conducted on the reef from the 1950s until the early 1990s, and has become one of the least preferred fishing grounds by islanders. Losing the reef and giving up their use rights on the reef for the establishment of an MPA was, thus, one of the practical considerations by the islanders. The reef on the island’s rear, on the other hand, was considered more appropriate by NGO members as a site for the MPA because of its relatively healthier biophysical conditions and, thus, better chances of project success. It was, however, one of the many preferred fishing grounds of islanders. Giving up this site meant losing one of their sources of household income; thus, fishers and gleaners were not willing to give up their rights to this site. Choosing the reef in front of the island was the preferred choice of islanders because they had on the site the least interests to surrender.

Villagers’ distinction of the island’s atbang-luyó illustrates how a community’s dynamic knowledge of the ecological conditions and demarcations of their marine environment and the social boundaries of resource use and exchange may provide functional options for the selection of sites of negotiated marine conservation schemes such as a no-take MPA.

To summarise, the process of geo-referencing places affirms and revises existing and envisioned practices of marine resource use and
conservation. Village-encoded local ecological knowledge structures resource use practices that frame places as ecological and social zones of production, extraction and exchange, of accommodation and contestation. Encoded information provides villagers with a range of access claims and use rights that may not necessarily indicate ownership of places as such.

**Toponyms and people: Mapping demography and encoding claimed places**

I now turn to places named after specific persons, and how these places reflect the social geography of the islands and, to a certain extent, the negotiated territorial arrangements of villagers. In several instances, naming a place designates proper names of users of resources, which may or may not predict forms of ownership or rights of a person to a place. First, it may simply be (1) a way of recognising a person’s occupancy, not necessarily ownership, of a place, (2) a marker of a preferred site for fishing, gleaning or transit, or (3) a token of acknowledgement of a person’s ‘discovery’ of a site. Second, places may be named after persons to designate ownership of a place from which emanates a degree of territorial control and a range of rights. Apparently, the scale of production technology and the ties of a particular resource to commercial markets other than for subsistence influence the degree of territorial claim and character of relations of ownership. With either of the two possibilities mentioned above, named places in Batasan include reef patches, shoals, passageways, natural geo-ecological features, and sites of fish corrals (*bunsod*) and fish shelters (*amatong*). I offer examples below to illustrate these two possibilities.

**Mapping demographic history: Remembering ancestors, acknowledging occupancy**

As mentioned earlier, two submerged reefs off Batasan carry the names of two fishers from the island who chanced upon them in the 1920s and 1930s: Takot Emong and Takot Adring. Two shoals, Awo Tiyay and Awo Kalda, were named after two of the island’s women gleaners, Tiyay and Kalda, respectively, who were often seen gleaning shells on the sites, specifically during the 1950s until the 1970s. Awo Tiyay is preferred by double-gill net fishers and reef gleaners, particularly those collecting Noble Tugonia white clams (*tambayang*). It is also frequented by Batasan residents to extract sand and dead corals, which they use as construction materials for their houses, rainwater tanks, and a fish shelter called
Batong Keloy (Keloy’s Rocks) is a site claimed by a resident of Batasan named Keloy (Tranquilino Inge nte). Keloy piled up corals which formed the base of his hut (payag) where he kept watch over his fish corral. The hut he constructed on this pile of corals served as a resting place (pahulayan) for fishers, particularly reef gleaners and torch or lantern fishers. Batong Keloy was also fondly called dangpanan, which means a place sought for rest, temporary shelter or protection. Keloy has long passed away. The pile of corals was allegedly collected by residents of nearby Ubay Island. There are no more any indications that the site had once been the site of a fish corral and way station of fishers.

Bakhaw ni Fausto is a site where mangroves planted by another Batasan resident, Fausto Pongcol, are located. This short strip of mangroves served as a marker for Fausto to help him identify his location in the sea. He planted these mangroves to aid him in his fishing because, at that time, he was starting to lose his eyesight.

Neither the above-identified fishers and gleaners nor any member of their families claimed the reefs, shoals or fishing grounds near these sites. Having them named after these persons by their contemporaries did not confer on them or any of their relatives and descendants any special privilege or entitlement to the use of the fishing ground or gleaning area. Fishers from Batasan and nearby coastal and island villages have access to the sites without any need to seek their consent. In fact, Emong, Adring and their descendants willingly gave instructions to fishers on how to locate ‘their’ reefs, providing them with landmarks that best identify the sites. Tiyay and Kalda had also accepted gleaners from the island and other villages into their namesake shoals.

The shoals of Tiyay and Kalda, moreover, were favourite sites of Batasan residents for their fish shelters called amatong, which are best located in tidal areas with a sandy bottom that remain filled with seawater even at low tide. An amatong is a loosely knit structure of mangrove branches, and corals, rocks or stones. Because not much capital is needed to construct this type of fish shelter, almost anyone can engage in this method of fishing. Grouper fingerlings (for mariculture grow out) are the most common harvest.

A female Batasan owner likens the amatong to a piggy bank (S. Mejares, personal communication, 2004). She compares the maintenance of the unit to how a farmer maintains his rice fields to ensure a good
harvest. Regardless of economic standing, anyone can maintain this kind of fish shelter provided one is hardworking enough, because a person needs to invest time and patience to make it work. Every other day, an owner has to check if the rocks are properly in place, and clear the shelter of any debris that may gather or accumulate over time. Wave action may dislodge the rocks, close the shelter, and trap the fish inside. In some cases, wave action may dislocate the rocks and ruin the shelter. Maintaining a clean amatong lures fish to stay inside it. “You will like it if you are industrious; you will loathe it if you are lazy” (S. Mejares, personal communication, 2004).

Amatong owners in Batasan were not required to ask permission from Tiyay and Kalda to construct their units on their namesake sites. Fishers, however, have gradually shifted their amatong sites nearer their residences (Figure 2) because of past incidents of poaching and fishing using cyanide (koskos) or natural poison (e.g., tubli) by local residents and fishers from other islands. At present, most of these fish shelters are hidden in mangrove tidal flats, although Awo Tiyay continues to be a preferred site for some amatong owners in Batasan.

All anchoring sites in Batasan remain nameless, except for two named after residents of Batasan (Dunggoanan ni Tayong or Tayong’s Anchoring Site and Dan Oro or Oro’s Path). Anchoring sites in Batasan are called dunggoanan, and the term provides a clue about the nature of these sites. Generally, the term dunggoanan connotes relative transience. The term suggests the temporary anchoring of a fishing vessel or boat, and connotes the vessel’s continuing or continuous transit. It is a point used by people transiting in an area. A dunggoanan, in this regard, suggests a brief interval of rest (N. Javier, personal communication, 2003).

The use of Batasan residents of the term dunggoanan reflects the more frequent change of anchoring points, which is dictated by the natural ecological feature of the island. A fisher in Batasan frequently changes his boat’s dunggoanan as the tide changes. As the tide recedes, he has to tow the boat farther from the shore. Every hour or so, the anchoring site changes as the tide continues to ebb. During low tide, the farthest anchorage is on the reef crest about 150-400m from the island. The reverse is true during the flow of tide. The anchorage gets closer to the house as the tide enters. The anchoring site during high tide is eventually right against one’s house. This anchorage, however, lasts only a while as the tide turns in three or four hours.
Fish corrals: Fishing devices, devising fishing rights

I have mentioned earlier the presence of fish corrals (bunsod) on some sites in Batasan. Let me briefly discuss here the operation of fish corrals before I proceed with other aspects of named places to illustrate the dynamic of marine rights among islanders with respect to the use of sites for this particular fishing device.

A fish corral is a guiding barrier constructed of bamboo and nylon nets or chicken wire, which are set by means of regularly spaced stakes or posts in tidal waters or along the natural paths of fish. Fish corrals are variously shaped so as to direct the movements of fish into a chamber or desired area (Dugan et al. 2003; Umali 1950). Fish corrals are named after the recognised owner of the device.

There are two types of fish corral: the permanent trap and the mobile type. A permanent fish corral, locally called bunsod pasagad or bunsod dumpil, is usually set in deeper portions of the inter-tidal zone. Because of its large size, only persons with enough capital can initiate and sustain this type of fishing. It was popular in the Philippines from the 1940s until the 1980s. The decline in its popularity was mainly due to increasing capital costs and the introduction of new methods of fishing (Eggan et al. 1956; Thomas 1999). The mobile type or bunsod ponot, on the other hand, is smaller in size and, thus, requires less capital. It is constructed in shallow waters, stays there for two to seven days, and is either moved to other sites or rested for a few days for cleaning and repair. Mobile fish corrals continue to be popular among some fishers in Batasan.

10 Unless indicated otherwise, data in this section about fish corrals were from interviews with residents of Batasan: A. Dolera (2005), F. Lariba (2005), S. Oldenaria (2005), A. Rebucas (2005a, 2005b), S. Rebucas (2005), and S. Tulang (2005). Except for Lariba and Tulang, all interviews are or have been corral fish owners, all of whom have held or been appointed local political positions in the past.

11 Umali (1950) provided no clear distinction between dumpil and ponot. He described the bunsod-dumpil in the Visayas as generally referring to fish corrals that were semi-circular in shape and consisted of two strips of split bamboo matting, while the ponot was the general term used for various types of fish corrals in the Visayas and Palawan. In Ubay, however, a coastal municipality in northeast Bohol, the dumpil of the pre- and post-WW2 period referred to small mobile fish corrals (Umali1950), while my informants from Jandayan Island in Getafe, Bohol describe their dumpil as the permanent type and their mobile-type fish corral they call ponot. These distinctions need to be made clear so as not to create confusion with other studies that may interchange the use of these terminologies for the different types of fish corral. For variations of fish corral in the Visayas during the American colonial period, see Aguirre (1916), Capistrano (1915), Kangleon (1916), Locsin (1915), Palencia (1915), Tingson (1916) and Torralba (1916).
In Batasan, sites with permanent fish corrals are sometimes called *tan-anan*. These areas cover the intertidal zone, principally the tidal flats on the shore, at times extending to the reef crest and fringes, particularly those that are near sea channels or on sites where schools of fish are known to pass or congregate. These sites are generally off-limits to other fishers, but fish corral owners sometimes allow other fishers access to the site depending on various circumstances.

Mobile-type fish corrals do not provide owners of the device with territorial control over sites where they are set. Permanent fish corrals, on the other hand, require permits for their operation. As mentioned earlier, a fish corral owner pays an annual fee at the municipal fisheries office. The owner enjoys some form of territorial control on portions of the fishing ground near his or her fish corral. The presence of permanent fish corrals on some portions of the coast means zoning off the site to some types of fishing, especially structures that may block the entry of fish into the corral’s chambers. Although no specific measure of distance applies, the principle behind an owner’s imposed restrictions is to secure the potential gains that could be derived from this form of fishing.

For example, the mobile-type of fish corral is not allowed to be set up near the permanent corral. Set gill nets (*pokot pahubas*), an impounding net that filters the catch during the receding tide, should also be set far from the structure. Spear fishers are allowed near a fish corral only during the receding or low tides (*hunas*). During high tide (*taob*) at any time of the day or night, spear fishers, gill net fishers (*mamokotay*) and lantern fishers are prohibited from going near a permanent fish corral, but those using hook-and-line (*pasol*), considered a passive method, may fish near the structure. Owners also allow gleaners to gather shells and other species near their fish corrals.

While these restrictions are not indicated in permits issued by the municipal government, islanders recognise these ‘rules’ imposed by owners. Not everyone, however, agrees with these prohibitions. They recognise the proprietary rights extended by the municipal government to operators on the sites of these permanent-type fish corral structures, but they contest the assumption of ‘rights’ by owners on sites near corrals. It is also a common practice in Batasan that apart from access and control of these areas, family members of fish corral owners are extended entitlements to ‘inherit’ rights to the site.

Aside from being a gauge of economic status, fish corral
ownership is also an indicator of village-level political hierarchy. In Batasan, present owners are mostly village officials or those who have held some form of political authority in the past.

Conflicts arising from a contestation of rights near fish corrals, nevertheless, are rare in Batasan, perhaps because islanders tend to negotiate fishing arrangements with operators of permanent fish corrals, in spite of the latter’s assumption of ‘rights’ to these sites. In cases of disputes, they usually settle the issue among themselves or bring the case to the village council in situations where conflicts seem irreconcilable among parties involved.

One controversial fish corral site in Batasan, which I have mentioned earlier, lies on a reef crest opposite the MPA site (Figure 4). This site is now named Bunsod Tiago, after its owner Santiago. There is a long-running conflict over this site among different families in Batasan, who are all socially regarded highly by islanders by virtue of their economic and political standing. The conflict dates back from shortly after World War II, and continues unresolved among involved parties, in spite of the intervention of the municipal mayor in 1989 to resolve the conflict.

![Figure 4. The guardhouse of the Batasan marine protected area (right) and a fish corral named Bunsod Tiago on a highly contested site on Batasan reef at low tide (Photo by E. R. Guieb III, 2005)](image)

Prevalent in conflicts over fish corrals is theft of fish from the collection chambers committed by villagers and residents of other villages. Conflicts ensuing from these incidents have, in some instances, led to violent clashes between families, with some family members resorting to physical harm against those suspected of or caught stealing the harvest. Owners constantly keep watch over their fish corrals, particularly when harvest time is near. They spend the night on their boats anchored near their property to protect the catch. Not only are fish
corrals vulnerable to theft; fish cages, increasingly popular among entrepreneurs in the island, have become targets of poachers as well. Thieves strike at the moment an owner lets his guard down. Theft is done underwater. Thieves usually slash the submerged nets of the collection chambers, and scoop the catch or let the fish swim to their nets. In most cases, not all the fish are collected, in order to escape notice. During the fieldwork, three incidents of poaching on fish corrals and cages were reported in Batasan. No one was apprehended as owners failed to identify perpetrators of these thefts. Our diving team was requested twice by owners to inspect the corral’s or cage’s collection chambers for any damage in the submerged nets.

One alleged poaching incident in August 1990 turned violent, leading to the killing of the suspected thief and another member of his family.\footnote{12 Because of the sensitive nature of the case, I am withholding the identity of my informants and the parties involved in this incident.} The case involved two families who are distant relatives. Family X found out that someone had slashed the net of the chamber of their fish corral. They suspected a member of Family Y of being the perpetrator of the theft. The suspect was once apprehended for illegal fishing by a son of the household head of Family X, who was a fish warden deputised by the municipal fisheries office. Family X suspected that revenge by Family Y could have been the motive behind the theft. On their way home after inspecting their fish corral, the fish warden, his father and two brothers ran into an uncle of the suspect, who teased the four for openly carrying a shotgun. The remark infuriated one of the brothers of the fish warden. Tempers flared, and a verbal tussle ensued. Fearing for his life, the suspect’s uncle ran away, but one of the brothers of the fish warden caught up with him, and shot him in the chest. Meanwhile, the suspect, who had received the news about the shooting, lay in wait for the four, ready with his fish blasting device, but missed his target when they passed by him. He ran inside his house, picked up a knife and wounded the fish warden who had run after him. The fish warden, younger and stronger, was able to grab the knife from the suspect, and stabbed him several times in the stomach. It was only then that neighbours were able to intervene in the scuffle. Two members of Family Y—the suspect and his uncle—died a gruesome death at the hands of Family X. Those involved in the crime served their sentence, but Family Y believes that the punishment was not enough to repair the wrong committed by distant relatives.
Summary: Contextualising rights in delineated environments

I have shown in this essay that the knowledge that villagers of Batasan have about the distinctive features of their marine environment results from, and is likewise informed by, a history of localised experiences of accessing these places. Many places, named or unnamed, may not exhibit strong individual claims of rights, but village codes of access and exclusion mark the use of resources found therein. Islanders’ knowledge of the physical geography of their places generates a map of their social environment that configures zones of production, extraction and exchange upon which certain rights are exercised. At the same time, rights to claimed territories, which can likewise be named or unnamed, arise from and give birth to village-level economic and political differentiation among individuals and groups. As in many islands and coastal villages in the Philippines, distinctions are found in the particularities of owning or controlling parties and in the scale of extraction or production (Jacinto and Castro 1994). The essay likewise emphasised the particularities of place-specific and time-circumscribed particularities of the construction of both named and unnamed places in Batasan. These particularities influence access to and control of the resource base. The environmental map of the islands, in this sense, is a cartography of rights that is produced by—and also produces—the political, economic and social topography of the villages.

Coded referents also apply to places that have no direct economic value. Historically significant places and those that are named mainly on the basis of their ecological and physical features or characteristics are often linked, in some ways and to a certain extent, to their economic value. Perhaps what needs further exploration is how, when and why islanders confer names on sites that are not exclusively bounded by their concomitant economic potential, but primarily or generally associated with, for instance, an environmental ethic other than the economic. Such an investigation challenges us to account for the other “ontological foundations of human practice in the world” (Hviding 1996: 180) situated within the specificities of a place. In this way, we establish the complex interconnection, not the dichotomy, between nature and society (Descola 1996, Escobar 1999).

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Place Names, Seascape and Cartography of Marine Rights


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Determination of Oriental Tradeware Ceramics: 
A proposed system for identifying and documenting pottery in Philippine archaeological sites 

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Abstract
There is a need to improve on the practice of analysing oriental tradeware ceramics found in Philippine archaeological sites. The current practices mostly depend on authority and the process of identification is not presented. Oriental tradeware ceramics, in this study, are defined as the porcelain and stoneware that originated from Asia specifically from the current nation states of China, Thailand, Vietnam and Burma. The first part of the paper is a review of oriental tradeware studies done in the Philippines as well as their documentation. Then, this research proposes a determination system for excavated oriental tradeware ceramics composed of two parts: identification and documentation. Reporting the cross referencing of available ceramic data and stating the level of confidence of the identification are some of the new steps added in this oriental tradeware ceramics determination system. Then, the database shall be encoded into a digital form for documentation.

Introduction

The study of ceramics is almost as old as the study of archaeology. Prior to the late 19th century, ceramics and other artefacts were collected by early antiquarians as curios and exotic objects (Daniel 1981; Fagan and

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This ceramic collection culture has been present in the Philippines since the early 20th century (Beyer 1947; Evangelista 1960; Locsin and Locsin 1967; Mijares 1998). With the increasing interest in archaeological techniques and the development of methodological or scientific approaches to archaeology, studies on artefact analysis such as ceramics have progressed and advanced beyond antiquarianism (Gibson and Wood 1990; Rice 1987; Sinopoli 1991).

One of the types of ceramics that particularly interest archaeologists in Southeast Asia is what is known as “oriental tradeware ceramics”. Oriental tradeware ceramics have long been valued objects in the interactions of cultures between China and Southeast Asia and also between China and polities farther west (Wang Gungwu 1998). In these areas, ceramics were in great demand. As an artefact of foreign origin to Nanhai polities (Andaya and Andaya 1982) such as Philippines and Indonesian cultures, Legeza (1978) noticed that tradeware ceramics of high-fired, resonant and glazed stonewares and porcelains originally embodied an alien and intrusive facet in the multi-layered indigenous cultures. But these polities were remarkably receptive and acquiescent to this intrusion and adopted the utilisation of these new materials.

Some of the trading partners of the makers of oriental tradeware ceramics were located in the Philippines. Because of this, the Philippine archipelago is well known for archeological sites with cornucopia of oriental tradeware ceramics both on land and shipwrecks (Beyer 1947; Locsin and Locsin 1967; Orillaneda 2008). Due to the dearth of written documents or accounts, the emergence of oriental tradeware ceramics together with indigenous cultural material found in early Filipino burial sites and habitation sites, as well as shipwrecks, serve as guideposts in the reconstruction of the movement, intensification, and development of early Philippine polities.

The analysis of oriental tradeware ceramics in the Philippines is not standardised. Most of the time, the identification is done and accepted without question because of the stature and name of the analyst or the person who identified the ceramics. This paper proposes a system of determination which allows non-specialists to learn how to analyse oriental tradeware ceramics and at the same time shows the basis of the identification of these wares. It will also review how oriental tradeware ceramics are studied and analysed in the Philippines before this proposal was developed.
Oriental Tradeware Ceramics Studies in the Philippines

Collection of oriental tradeware ceramics started even before the birth of Philippine archaeology since the pioneer antiquarians in the Philippines were foreigners who collected artefacts during their explorations and travels around the country (Beyer 1947; Evangelista 1971; Mijares 1998). As Renfrew and Bahn (2000) have explained, most of the earliest archaeologists came from industrialised Western societies whose economic and political dominance were believed to convey an automatic right to investigate wherever they wished. In the Philippines, investigations were initially artefact-collecting expeditions. As outlined in series of reviews, cultural materials were mostly retrieved from surface collections and salvage archaeology work in this early period in Philippine archaeology (Evangelista 1971; Mijares 1998; Ronquillo 1985; Santiago 2001).

In 1881, Alfred Marche (1887) traveled and explored various parts of Luzon, Catanduanes and Marinduque. Some of the ceramics he found were earthenware and stoneware burial jars from Boac, burial jars and urns from Islet Tres Reyes, a yellowish glazed stoneware burial jar from an undisclosed place in Marinduque, small jars and dishes from the Bathala Cave, porcelain and stoneware ceramics and burial urns from Pamintaan Cave, and dragon jars from Gasan (Beyer 1947). Marche brought back to France the artefacts he recovered from all these places he visited. They are now housed at the Musée de l’Homme in Paris, France.

Carl E. Guthe (1927) was a trained archaeologist, based at the University of Michigan, who carried out explorations in the Visayan Islands. The project started in 1921 when Dean C. Worcester returned to the United States with his private collections, mainly of porcelain pieces. The range of artefacts he collected included trade ceramics (dating from the 10th to the early 20th centuries), Philippine earthenware, various iron implements, shell, bracelets, glass, semi-precious stone beads and gold ornaments. Guthe’s recoveries were from graves and burial sites; some were surface finds and others were purchases. These artefacts as well as his meticulously kept journals now form part of the Asian Collection at the Museum of Anthropology at the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor.

Perhaps, the most prominent name among these pioneers in Philippine archaeology is that of Henry Otley Beyer. Beyer (1947) conducted archaeological surveys, investigations and collecting tours in
Luzon, Palawan, Mindanao and the Visayan Islands and these were reported in his seminal work “Outline Review of Philippine Archaeology by Islands and Provinces”. Beyer’s collection was divided in several portions; some are in the National Museum of the Philippines and at the Anthropology Museum of the University of the Philippines. A large amount of the collection including his books, pictures, ethnographic materials and others were bought by the National Library of Australia in 1972. A portion of the collection became part of the Roberto Villanueva collections which are presently exhibited at the Ayala Museum (Diem 2002).

Early collectors of tradeware ceramics in the Philippines were Americans, one of whom was Evett D. Hester (Evangelista 1971). Between 1930 and 1940, Hester acquired a large collection of trade ceramics recovered mostly from the Visayas, Palawan, and Sulu. The collection comprised mostly Song, Yuan, early Ming, and Thai ceramics. Roughly half of the Hester collection was donated to the Chicago (now Field) Museum of Natural History and the remainder was in part donated and in part sold to the University of Michigan Museum of Anthropology. A few pieces of exceptional artistic merit were placed on loan at the Speed Museum of Art at Louisville, Kentucky.

A considerable amount of oriental tradeware ceramics came from the burial sites in the Calatagan Peninsula, Batangas Province. These excavations were conducted by in 1930 by Janse (1941, 1944-1945, 1947) and Robert B. Fox (1959) in 1958 and 1960 to 1961. The material obtained by Fox is partly in the collections of the Zobel de Ayala Family, partly with the Lopez Memorial Museum and Library (Barretto-Tesoro 2007) and partly in the National Museum of the Philippines. A percentage of the ceramics of the Janse expedition were in the Peabody Museum in Harvard University (Aga-Oglu 1961).

Up to the 1950s, only two persons have worked systematically with the oriental tradeware ceramics in the Philippines. These were Dr. Beyer and Kamer Aga-Oglu (Fox 1959). In 1941, Kamer Aga-Oglu became the curator of the division of Orient of the University of Michigan Museum of Anthropology. She was a specialist in Far Eastern art history. She described for the first time a whole new range of East Asian ceramics that until then were unknown even among specialists. She documented the pre-European movement of these ceramics throughout the Pacific, West Asia and East Africa. She had a lot of publications regarding the
collection at the University of Michigan (Aga-Oglu 1946, 1948, 1949, 1950, 1955, 1961). In 1974, she was succeeded as curator by Dr. Karl Hutterer.

The period from the 1960s to 1970s was the heyday of ceramic collecting in the Philippines, as numerous sites were illicitly dug up. Imelda Marcos was among Manila’s most prominent collector of this period (Diem 2002). Based on the publication of Tantoco and Tantoco (1976), we know that Marcos’ collection consisted largely of beautiful examples of Filipino made earthenware and considerable tradeware ceramics from China, Thailand and Vietnam. The collection also included some superb examples of other oriental pottery antedating the wares traded into the Philippines such as Tang tomb figurines, Han period pottery and Ban Chiang painted pottery. Some of these ceramics were not really found in the Philippines and acquired by Mrs. Marcos abroad.

From 1961 to 1962, Leandro and Cecilia Locsin (1967) carried out controlled excavations at Santa Ana in Manila but not under the supervision of a trained archaeologist. The excavations and the artefacts specifically the trade ceramics were published in their book entitled “Oriental Ceramics Discovered in the Philippines”. In this book, they published what they recovered from Santa Ana as well as the other ceramics in their collections from other sites such those that were found in Puerto Galera, Mindoro, Verde Island, Batangas as well as some heirloom pieces that they purchased.

In 1968, Rosa Tenazas published a report on the excavations they conducted in Pila, Laguna from 1967 to 1968. The report discussed the excavation activities as well as the burials and related grave goods such as tradeware ceramics. All this activity in the field of oriental tradeware ceramics prompted Dr. John Pope to organise what became known as the Manila Trade Pottery Seminar which was held in March 1968 (Addis 1969). It was the first time that experts in so many connected studies had met together at a conference. They came from Taiwan, Japan, Indonesia, United States, Sweden, Germany and Philippines. In 1982, a book on the Arturo de Santos collections was published (Peralta 1982). The catalogue contained impressive Philippine earthenware pottery, Chinese, Vietnamese and Thai ceramics.

In the Philippines, ceramic exhibitions sometimes with a corresponding book or catalogue of that exhibition have focused on cataloguing particular products for example celadon or blue and white ceramics. Sometimes they highlight wares from specific kiln complexes
such as Zhangzhou wares and also on describing the forms, decorative features, stylistic influences and the technological processes by which the pieces were produced (Diem 2002). Examples of such ceramic books and catalogues are the following: “Zhangzhou Ware Found in the Philippines: Swatow Export Ceramics from Fujian 16\textsuperscript{th} – 17\textsuperscript{th} century” (Tan 2007), “Chinese and Vietnamese Blue and White Wares Found in the Philippines” (Gotuaco \textit{et al.} 1997); “Guandong Ceramics from Butuan and Other Philippine Sites” (Brown 1989); “Chinese and Southeast Asian Greenware Found in the Philippines” (OCSP 1991); ‘Chinese and Southeast Asian Whiteware Found in the Philippines” (OCSP 1993); and “Chinese and Annamese Ceramics Found in the Philippines and Indonesia” (Joseph 1973).

The problem with these exhibitions, books and catalogues is that the social context in which these ceramics were used by the ancient Filipinos is mostly hard to determine. This is because most of the specimens were from private collectors who normally buy from antique shops and illicit diggers or pot hunters. Also, we cannot be sure if some of these ceramics really came from the Philippines. According to Kenson Kwok (1993), over the past decades some Manila antique dealers have acquired part of their stocks from Hong Kong and the collectors themselves sometimes purchase them when they travel abroad. Moreover, they normally feature complete ceramics and sometimes ignore the broken pieces and small sherds which archaeologists normally encounter in Philippine sites.

In addition, Diem (2002) has argued that certain considerations tend to influence the selection of exhibits and specimen such as cost of publishing the illustrated catalogues, the perceived interests of the potential viewing public and catalogue purchasers, and the available space in exhibition galleries. Therefore, the more visually appealing and unusual ceramics tend to be selected rather than the modest or commonly found pieces.

Sometimes, ceramics and other artefacts from a particular site (normally in the case of shipwrecks) are also exhibited (and sometimes with a corresponding book or catalogue). It is good to know that most if not all of these trade ceramics were obtained from formal archaeological excavations. And when these pieces are published, the excavation method, analysis and other archaeological processes and artefacts are discussed. But Diem (2002) thinks that this approach of exhibiting ceramics from a particular site (i.e. from shipwrecks) tends to give a
skewed picture of the range of artefacts found in the site. This means that, once again, sometimes only the beautiful, unique and appealing are featured in the exhibition as well as in the book or catalogue. Examples of such books and catalogues are the following: “Discovery and Archaeological Excavation of a 16th Century Trading Vessel in the Philippines” (Goddio 1988); “The Pearl Road: Tales of Treasure Ships in the Philippines” (Loviny 1996); “Treasures of San Diego” (Desroche et al. 1997); “Weisses Gold” (Goddio 1997); and “Lost at Sea: The Strange Route of the Lena Shoal Junk” (Goddio et al. 2002).

With the development of archaeology in the Philippines, more sites associated with oriental tradeware ceramics have been found in the country. Thus, the understanding of oriental tradeware ceramics has broadened specially in terms of describing, inferring and explaining the ancient lifeways and culture of the Filipinos. Studies included the use of oriental trade ceramics in inferring political economy (Junker 2000), social status and stratification (Junker 2000), trade and social complexity (Nishimura 1992), trading network and patterns (Orillaneda 2008; Tatel 2002) and many more.

In documenting the oriental tradeware ceramics found in the Philippines, there are already some systems. For example, to compile the archaeological collection of H. Otley Beyer, mainly oriental tradeware ceramics, Natividad Noriega and Israel Cabanilla (n.d.) developed a recording system in which the information regarding particular ceramics was noted. Some of the information included: the locality where the ceramics were collected and the name of the collector, the price of the ceramic if it was purchased and many more. Also, it is applicable generally for complete pieces as it included metric dimensions of the ceramic and sometimes a sketch of the ceramic. This system is a good example of identification of ceramics by an expert or specialist because the provenance and dating of the ceramics were all made by H. Otley Beyer without explanation for the basis of his identification.

Another system of identification and documentation of oriental tradeware ceramics was that developed by the National Museum. The system included a form which seems like an extended version of the Beyer’s collection form. Again, the system relies on expert and specialist knowledge and is more applicable for whole pieces of ceramics.

In his masters thesis “Patterns of Eternal Exchange in Porta Vaga: Morphometric analysis of Excavated Tradeware Ceramics at Porta Vaga
Site, Cavite City”, Carlos Tatel Jr. (2002) focused on elucidating patterns of external exchange in Cavite Puerto by performing morphometric analysis of tradeware excavated at Porta Vaga in Cavite City. He is part of the team that excavated the site. He also identified the oriental tradeware ceramics found in the site with the aid of Professor Etsuko Miyata-Rodriguez. He cross referenced some of his ceramics but not all. Only few of the artefacts were photographed. He developed a ceramics database of the site using the data management module of the Statistica software. The ceramic attributes as represented by numeric codes are encoded in tabular form. The information is in numeric codes which makes it a bit hard to decipher them because legends are not clearly provided.

Another former student of the University of the Philippines-Archaeological Studies Program who developed a system of identification and documentation of tradeware ceramics was Bobby Orillaneda (2008). In his masters thesis “The Santa Cruz, Zambales Shipwreck Ceramics: Understanding Southeast Asian Ceramics Trade during the Late 15th Century CE”, he analysed the ceramic cargo of the Santa Cruz Shipwreck to address questions on long distance ceramic trade during the end of the 15th century. Results of his analyses prove that the Chinese resumed exporting ceramics during the Hongzhi years (1488 – 1505 C.E.) despite the ongoing trade ban and the final destination was the Philippines. He is part of the team that excavated the site. But it was Monique Crick, a ceramic specialist, who identified and classified the oriental tradeware ceramics. It was Orillaneda who cross referenced and matched some of the ceramics from the shipwreck to those found in Calatagan, Batangas. A lot of photographs were taken but he only showed the complete pieces. He developed a ceramics database of the site using Filemaker Pro software. The data are in words that is why it is easy to read the information. But the database is not included in the thesis. He could have provided a CD copy of the database so that other people can check out the ceramic assemblages of Santa Cruz shipwreck.

**Determination of Oriental Tradeware Ceramics: The Proposed System**

For a system to be useful for non-specialist archaeologists, its components must be clearly explained, which in its sum will be the basis for the level of confidence of any identification. The following is the required information for the system:

*Artefact number/s* is/are the specimen number/s of the ceramics
that are written on the artefact/s and are recorded in the Archaeological Specimen Inventory Record known as Archaeology Form No. 5 of the National Museum. This is very important because if someone wants to validate your analysis, they can easily do so by simply locating the ceramic piece through its artefact number/s.

**Condition of the ceramic** refers to whether the artefact is a complete piece or just a sherd or sherds.

**Ceramic type** is subdivided into two: porcelain and stoneware. Porcelain is divided into blue and white and monochromes such as whiteware while stoneware is divided into celadon, brown ware, black ware, lead glaze ware and other coloured glazed stoneware. This typology was adopted from Orillaneda (2008).

The **artefact form** refers to the shape of the ceramics. For this research, the classification was based on Wang Qingzheng’s (2002) categorisation and Orillaneda’s typology (2008). The artefact form was classified into dish, tray, bowl, cup, incense burner and lamp, jar or jarlet, urn, vase, bottle, ewer, teapot and box.

**Part of the ceramic** is only applicable if the ceramic is broken into pieces. This is where the part of the vessel the sherd/s belong/s to is identified. It can be the rim, body, base, handle, spout, cover, or leg.

In the **description**, the unique characteristics of the ceramic or of the sherd/s such as the motif, marks, inscriptions, type of glaze, colour of the glaze, lines, and other designs that can be found in the ceramic or sherd/s are noted. If the ceramic is complete, some of its measurements like diameter, height, and others are noted.

**Archaeological Context** refers to the context in the archaeological site where the oriental ceramic was unearthed. It can be burial, midden, or just found in the general area or habitation area of the site. Also, it must be noted where in the site the artefact was found.

**Provenance** refers to the origin or source of the tradeware ceramic, meaning where it was manufactured. It can be China, Thailand, Vietnam or Burma. Sometimes, even the kiln sites or province where the ceramic was manufactured will also be determined and identified.

**Dating** refers to the associated time or date when the ceramic was manufactured. It will be expressed in –century CE (current era) form such as 13th to 14th century CE.
References refers to books, catalogues, and other bibliographic sources where information on these tradeware ceramics were published. This is where the name of the author, year of publication, and page number (or plate number) of the book where the oriental tradeware ceramics in question were also featured were noted. Moreover, if a ceramicist or ceramic researcher was the source of the dating and provenance of the ceramic, his or her name is included as well as the year when he or she identified the ceramic, sherd or sherds in question.

Level of confidence of the trade ceramics identification is where the researcher notes how much cross referencing was done on a particular sample. It ranges from very low to very high. The confidence level can then guide any reader as to how far an interpretation can be made based on the ceramics analysed.

In Remarks, the explanation for the level of confidence of identification is given. Sometimes additional information regarding the ceramic is discussed such as most recent works available for dating Chinese and Southeast Asian ceramics. Other similar ceramics but in different contexts and location are also enumerated here with the corresponding artefact number to show that a particular piece can be found elsewhere in the site.

Level of Confidence of the Trade Ceramics Identification

An important part of the system of identification is stating the level of confidence in the researcher’s identification of a piece of pottery. It indicates how sure is the author in the correctness of his identification for each ceramic or sherd/s. While common practice in ceramic determination or identification relies on the skill and reputation of the specialist, this research puts forward a system that can be applied by both specialist and non-specialist. For this system, premium is placed with cross-referencing of bibliographic sources such as kiln sites reports, catalogue of exhibitions and other books pertaining to the ceramic type. Also, ceramic specialists were consulted specially when analysing some “problematic” ceramic types. The level of confidence is operationalised as follows:

Very High – if the kiln site was identified and there are four or more publications regarding that ceramic. It will be specified by stating the specific kiln (sometimes just the country) and ceramic type and form and then VH in enclosed in brackets e.g. Longquan celadon dish with twin fish design [VH] or Chinese celadon dish with twin fish design [VH]
because the researcher found at least four sources as recorded in the database.

**High** - if there are up to three publications regarding a specific ceramic type but the specific kiln site is not yet identified. It will be specified by stating the possible country of origin and ceramic type and form and then H enclosed in brackets e.g. Chinese celadon dish with twin fish design [H].

**Moderate** – if the ceramic material and style was identified by a ceramic specialist but his/her analysis is not yet widely accepted in the field and there is still no publication about that particular ceramic. In short, if the researcher relied on a ceramic specialist. It will be specified by stating the possible kiln site (or country) and ceramic type and form and then the name of the ceramic specialist and the year and the words “pers. com.”, which means “personal communication” in brackets e.g. Guandong celadon dish [Diem, pers. com., 2002].

**Low** – if only the ceramic material and style was identified e.g. celadon dish

**Very Low** – if only the ceramic type or material was identified e.g. celadon

This author believes that an acceptable identification should have moderate to very high level of confidence. This is because it means that there is a basis for the identification such as bibliographic source and consultation with a ceramic specialist and not just simply relying on the personal knowledge of the researcher.

**Documentation of the Oriental Tradeware Ceramics Identification**

After the identification, images must be captured of all the ceramic, sherd, or sherds that were identified with their respective artefact number/s and scale of measurement. Then, they must be placed in a clear plastic bag with a sheet of paper containing all the information stated above.

The database of the oriental tradeware ceramics analysis shall be encoded using Microsoft Excel and Word 2003. The pictures of the ceramic, sherd or sherds should be hyperlinked for each entry and can be viewed by clicking the accession number/s. Afterwards, the database should be stored in a CD so that people can access the database to aid them in their determination of oriental tradeware ceramics from other sites.
Discussion, Summary and Prospects

Central to the process of doing archaeology is the necessity of understanding the chronological sequencing of archaeological entities and past events. For this reason, dating in the past has been one of the most crucial methodological problems facing archaeologists (Michaels 1989; Renfrew and Bahn 2000; Sinopoli 1991; Thomas and Kelly 2006). Oriental tradeware ceramics can be invaluable as a reference tool for dating the site, often providing a useful starting point for defining the historical parameters of a place (Guy 1994). The discovery of a recognised type of plate or jar indicates a maximum age.

Glazed ceramics, being highly valued in Southeast Asian societies for their exotic character and sometimes presumed supernatural attributes, may be expected to have a lengthy life before being discarded through wastage or being committed to a grave site. This may be characterised as the heirloom problem (Guy 1986). The database proposed in this paper is helpful in identifying the sequence and contemporaneity of the dating of the ceramics. This means the database gives a clear picture of the entire oriental ceramic assemblage. It can show which ceramics are contemporaneous with those others found in the same cultural layer and which ones are heirlooms. It also addresses the common practice in ceramic identification of associating pieces to certain Chinese dynasty which is too broad for useful dating or analysis (see Beyer 1947). For example, instead of saying a particular piece was created during the Ming Dynasty, the proposed system fine tunes the dating to early, mid, or late Ming since it reflects the latest data and discovery in ceramic archaeology and art history. The system will also bring to light in which context the oriental tradeware ceramics were used in the past by the people who occupied the site. It will show what trade ceramics were used as grave goods and which ones were found in other contexts such as in middens, hearths and in the habitation areas of the site.

Traditionally, oriental tradeware ceramic studies are the domain of art historians and antiquarians. There is nothing wrong with this but the demand of archaeology goes beyond the concerns of these researchers. Therefore, the approach proposed in this study can be seen as useful for it nurtures the confluence of art history and archaeology.

However, Diem (2002) noted that indigenous and trade ceramics are too often interpreted and represented through the lens of present-day
ideas about artistic value, quality, and function. Thus, some art historians and archaeologists make inappropriate comparisons between the types of pottery found in pre-colonial sites in the Philippines and fine Chinese ceramics that were manufactured for imperial use in official-sponsored kilns, or else with celebrated wares made at famous ceramic centres in China. From this perspective, low-fired earthenware and the products of Thai, Vietnamese, or “provincial” Chinese kilns are largely viewed as low-quality and as inferior wares. This kind of prejudice affects this research as well.

This present study relies on cross referencing of available published ceramic data. There is a bit of difficulty in looking for sources for stoneware jarlets and broken pieces of ceramics. This is because most of the books that are available normally use whole pieces of ceramics as illustrations. Also, published materials particularly in the Philippines tend to focus on the “beautiful,” unique items that are accumulated by antique ceramic collectors which tend to be whole pieces (Brown 1989; Gotuaco et al. 1997; OCSP 1993, 1991; Tan 2007). There is a publication on stoneware jars in the Philippines (Valdes et al. 1992) but it focuses on the big storage jars and heirloom pieces. Among those books that deal with private collection of individuals most if not all the featured ceramics are complete and are from the celebrated kiln sites (Peralta 1982; Locsin and Locsin 1967; Tantoco and Tantoco 1976).

Few studies have been made and published on Vietnamese and Burmese ceramics that is why the researcher only has a few sources for them. Most of the books that were published that can be found in the UP-ASP and the Oriental Ceramics Society of the Philippines (OCSP) library deal with Chinese and Thai ceramics. But it is also possible that the people who amassed these books and catalogues prefer Chinese and Thai ceramics, that is why they did not collect Vietnamese and Burmese ceramics books.

As a summary, the system of determination is composed of two parts namely: identification and documentation of oriental tradeware ceramics. The identification is written in tabular form wherein in each column information regarding the ceramic is noted. The information needed is the following: artefact number/s, condition of the ceramic, ceramic type, artefact form, part of the ceramic, description of the ceramic or sherd/s, archaeological context of the ceramic, provenance, dating, reference/s, remarks, and the level of confidence of the analysis. The system relies on the cross referencing of available ceramic data. Also, the
level of confidence of the identification for each ceramic or sherd/s will be
specified. The data will then be encoded in a database in digital form.

The system of documentation requires an image of all the ceramics
and sherds that will be analysed with corresponding identification
(accession number) and scale. Then, the image must be hyperlinked with
the database. Afterwards, the database should be stored in a CD so that it
will be accessible to people who want to access the database to aid them
in their determination of oriental tradeware ceramics from other sites.

A recommendation for future researchers of oriental tradeware
ceramics is to apply the proposed system in identifying and documenting
ceramics from as many sites as possible. In the process it can be improved
on and be made more user-friendly for non-specialists. It is the hope of
this researcher that it will help them understand better the site that they
are studying. It is recommended that the system of documentation may
be applied to other artefacts such as shells, stone tools, biological remains,
and other archaeological objects.

To test the system, this researcher has a forthcoming article which
will apply this proposed method of identifying and documenting oriental
tradeware ceramics to a particular assemblage from a specific
archaeological site. The tentative title is “Significance of Oriental
Tradeware Ceramics from Babo Balukbuk, Porac, Pampanga,
Philippines.”

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Museum.


Microlithic Sites of Mandla (Madhya Pradesh: India) and the Problem of Schematic Generalisation in Prehistoric Archaeology

Babul Roy1

Abstract

Microlithic sites that were recently discovered in Mandla can contribute to our knowledge regarding the function and continuity of stone tool technology. The question of whether the Mandla example is an isolated case or is an indication of prevalent complex cultural adaptation and regional transformation can still be debated. The latter assumption would challenge the conventional practice of archaeological generalisation. In view of the differential and composite cultural adaptation, it is argued that the practice of chronology construction on typo-technological ground could be a tricky business. In this article, a critical attention is invited on the archaeological practice of generalisation of cultural chronology and the reliability and limitations of typo-technological method – a method still overwhelmingly followed in India with large majority prehistoric archaeological sites found without any contextual/ stratigraphic and/or radiometric dating clues.

Introduction

Mesolithic culture (the cultural period of the Stone Age between the Palaeolithic and Neolithic periods marked by the appearance of microlithic tools) existed in India at least 10,000 years before present (De Terra and Chardin 1936; De Terra and Paterson 1939; Misra 1965, 1985, 1989, 2002,
2004; Rajaguru et al. 1980). Recent evidence, however, suggest that the microlithic tradition in the Indian sub-continent could be of a much earlier date at 35,000 years before present (Clarkson et al. 2009), continuing up to the early Iron Age time (Misra 1989) or even extend to the historical time (Cammiade 1924; Fairservis 1971; Gordon 1936; Krishnaswami 1947, 1953; Todd 1950). In 2001-2002, over a dozen of open air prehistoric sites containing microliths were discovered in Mandla (Madhya Pradesh: India) by the author. And for the first time the continuity of the microlithic tradition, at least as a technology, until the early 20th century has been proved (Roy 2003, 2008, 2009, 2011). Typologically, Mandla microliths are of non-geometric types (except crescent no other geometric type is found) and in the absence of pottery it represents a pre-Neolithic stage of microlithic culture. Although several sites are found to be of microliths only, some sites contain microliths associated with large Palaeolithic tool types.

In many places throughout the world contemporary tribes in isolated pockets were found to use stone tool technology until modern times (Blundell 2006; Conte and Romero 2008; Deraniyagala 1988, 1992; Seitsonen 2004; Sillitoe and Hardy 2003). And it is now well understood that technology or culture change was not uniform across time and space. Recent advances in anthropological archaeological research have been critical on classic archaeological practices of broad-based generalisations and phase-based chronology over local site-based chronology as determinant of social and environmental processes (e.g. Bird and Frankel 1991; Dolitsky 1985; Lourandos 1993; Plog and Hantman 1990). In Indian context, it has been argued that it would be unscientific to draw a uniform pattern of development for the different regional clusters of archaeological sites. And that the Indian archaeologists often mistakenly try to draw evolutionary trajectory from chopper-chopping culture, as if it started in India all over again several thousand years after the same had happened in Europe and also as if it had passed through the same stages of Stone Age chronology as recorded elsewhere in the world (Bhattacharya 2004).

In the absence of rapid globalisation means, the co-existence of cultures of different levels of development, as found in contemporary India and elsewhere, perhaps had been much more widespread in prehistoric time, particularly towards the later part of the period. This inevitably would pose challenges to the practice of generalising evolutionary chronology. Any given local situation could be far more
complex than what could be generally seen. Contemporary ethnological condition in Mandla substantiates a picture of composite (i.e. a common cultural/ethnic group using diverse technology/economic pursuits exploring diverse ecological resources across local topographic and/or seasonal variations) as well as differential techno-economic adaptations at different micro-regional contexts (i.e. either different sections/sub-groups of a common cultural/ethnic group or completely separate groups using completely separate sets of technology/economic pursuits as part of their adaptation to the specific local ecological setting in which they are found). In this article, a critical attention has been drawn to the archaeological practice of generalisation of cultural chronology and also to the reliability and limitation of typo-technological method.

**Mandla**

Mandla (22°12’ to 23°22’ N, 79°57’ to 81°45’ E) is one of the districts (local administrative division) constituting the Central Indian State of Madhya Pradesh. The district remained devoid of road communication until early 19th century (Rudman 1912). At present, forest comprises more than half of the area, distributed across four forest-ranges viz. Banjar (South), Jagmondal (East), Motinala (further East of Jagmondal) and Mandla (North). Tropical moist deciduous forest with two sub-types viz. eastern Sal or Sakhu (*Shorea robusta*) and the western mixed with Teak (*Tectona grandis*) divides the district into two major forest types. The river Narmada flows down from the northeast corner, winding around the Mandla town, and then flows towards Jabalpur on the North West. One of its major tributaries, Banjar, cuts its course through the adjoining district Balaghat on the south, and joins Narmada near the town of Mandla.

The soil of lateritic sandy loam type variably mixed up with small pebbles (*kankars*), locally called *barrah*, residual on plateaus/tablelands and on gentle hill slopes of foothills is suitable for minor-millet [*kodo* and *kutki* (*Paspalum scrobiculatum*)] and maize cultivation. The rugged plateaus of the northern and eastern Mandla are mainly of this type; with sufficient rainfall, *barrah* is quite productive for these crops. Rice and wheat are grown on the alluvial black cotton soil. Although found in all directions of the low lying pockets of the Narmada and its tributaries, the black cotton soil constitutes the large tracts of flat land on the south and southwest of Mandla town. This southern paddy and wheat growing areas are called *havelli*. A good number of huge village settlements are found in this pocket. In early 20th century some 200 closely clustered villages were
found there (Rudman 1912). On the immediate north of Mandla town there is a sizeable stretch of black soil. Another pocket of black soil of considerable size is found around Narayanganj Community Development block headquarters on the northwest of Mandla.

Gonds who speak a Dravidian language and the Baigas who speak Austro-Asiatic Kolarian are the two aboriginal tribes inhabiting the district. Now both of them have forgotten their original mother tongue and instead speak some local versions of Hindi (national language of India). The Gonds, who are numerically a large tribal group in India, occupy the entire central and eastern Madhya Pradesh, parts of Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Chattisgarh, Jharkhand and parts of West Bengal. They constitute nearly half of the total population of Mandla and are widely distributed in the district. Mandla has a long history of Rajput-Gond (Hinduised Gonds) rules. The present day territory of the Mandla district historically was a backward hinterland of Garha-Mandla kingdom at Garha (the present day district of Jabalpur). The capital of the Garha-Mandla kingdom was shifted from Garha (at Jabalpur) to Ramnagar-Mandla (at Mandla) in 1670c during the rule of Hirde Shah (Rudman 1912). Compared to the Gonds, the Baigas always remained a small group and techno-economically more primitive concentrated on the fringe areas of the eastern Madhya Pradesh and Chattisgarh. At present, the Baigas constitute about five per cent of the district’s population.

Until the 20th Century, the Baigas had been solely dependent on swidden cultivation, locally called bewar, supplemented by hunting, fishing and collecting forest products. The Gonds on the other hand have taken to ploughing quite way back in early 18th century or even before. Nicknamed kishan, meaning “the cultivators”, the Gonds traditionally practised a primitive form of plough cultivation called dhya. Unlike the more primitive bewar cultivation, the Gonds cut wood and shrubs from the nearby forest; bring them to dry on the plot and later burned them. Then they ploughed the ashes into the soil. The dhya method, arguably an intermediate between ploughing and bewar, could be an improved version of bewar cultivation in which ploughing was introduced. In 1869, about half of the Gonds practised plough cultivation, one-fourth dhya and one-fourth a combination of the two (McEldowney 1980). The district of Mandla is also inhabited by several Hindu farming castes (e.g. Lodhis and Kurmis), who have come from other districts of Madhya Pradesh and adjoining states. In the 17th century, Hirde Shah invited various Hindu castes into the district to take up agricultural activity (Rudman 1912).
Sites

Delineating the boundary of a prehistoric site may not be an easy job particularly when archaeological remains are found to be distributed in several clusters at different proximities. Foley (1981:163) has argued that the “archaeological record…should be viewed not as a system of structured sites, but as a pattern of continuous artefact distribution and density.” Precise geographical location of a tool assemblage is, however, an unfailing requirement to begin with any archaeological investigation. A total of 17 sites have been discovered in Mandla (Roy 2003, 2008, 2009) (Figures 1 and 2; Table 1). In this context, the term ‘site’ has been used for the location of archaeological remains found within a village jurisdiction either as scattered distribution or as a single or more than one cluster. A problem encountered in this practice is that in some cases adjacent sites have been recorded as separate sites, for being located in separate village areas. For example, the microlithic sites of Babaiha and Gadhar are separated by the Mandla-Jabolpur road that passes bisecting them.

Discussion on archaeological sites without reference to functional ecology would be same as discussing bare bone without flesh. Parkington (1980:73) introduced the concept of “place” as “the set of opportunities

Figure 1. Central Indian State of Madhya Pradesh where “Mandla” is located.
Figure 2. Prehistoric sites in Mandla (see Table 1 for prehistoric sites 1 to 13).

Table 1. Mandla Prehistoric Sites (see Figure 2 for physical location of sites).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Site</th>
<th>Coordinates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Ramnagar</td>
<td>80° 30' 48.86&quot; E and 22° 36' 28.46&quot; N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Ghughra</td>
<td>80° 26' 28.50&quot; to 43.31&quot; E and 22° 34' 09.62&quot; to 14.39&quot; N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Manadei</td>
<td>80° 19' 19.29&quot; to 54.61&quot; E and 22° 39' 12.02&quot; to 44.67&quot; N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Gonji Ryt.</td>
<td>80° 21' 25.62&quot; E and 22° 36' 45.89&quot; N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Bhaisadah</td>
<td>80° 18' 48.82&quot; to 53.58&quot; E and 22° 40' 26.81&quot; to 45.51&quot; N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Babaiha (Rat)</td>
<td>80° 19' 11.94&quot; to 31.50&quot; E and 22° 44' 13.19&quot; to 13.21&quot; N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Gadhar</td>
<td>80° 19' 07.44&quot; to 19' 12.40&quot; E and 22° 44' 19.74&quot; to 20.77&quot; N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Kunmha</td>
<td>80° 17' 08.70&quot; E and 22° 47' 53.48&quot; N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Chiri</td>
<td>80° 16' 35.11&quot; to 44.77&quot; E and 22° 48' 13.29&quot; to 22.71&quot; N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Partala</td>
<td>80° 17' 41.54&quot; to 19' 07.94&quot; E and 22° 49' 22.54&quot; to 49' 28.50&quot; N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Amdara</td>
<td>80° 19' 24.19&quot; E and 22° 49' 37.37&quot; N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Salhepani (Dobhi)</td>
<td>80° 22' 54.43&quot; E and 22° 48' 24.02&quot; N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Tarbani Dobhi</td>
<td>80° 24' 18.19&quot; to 18.21&quot; E and 22° 48' 48.01&quot; to 51.07&quot; N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Kachnari</td>
<td>80° 49' 47.99&quot; E and 22° 46' 49&quot; N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Kui Mal</td>
<td>80° 20' 40.34&quot; E and 22° 48' 40.42&quot; N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Gullu-Khoh</td>
<td>80° 36' 43.66&quot; E and 22° 38' 22.15&quot; N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Dongar Mandla</td>
<td>80° 36' 35&quot; to 37&quot; E and 22° 38' to 38' 20&quot; N</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
offered by the location of an assemblage and thus the likelihood of particular activities taking place there” to archaeological site, in which the “site” is “a geographical locus” which may remain unchanged whereas its “place” might have been. On the basis of geographical proximity (suggesting sites to be closely interacting) and strategic ecological location (suggesting similar resource utilising pattern) we can regroup Mandla sites into a few clusters (Table 2).

Table 2. Primary prehistoric sites in Mandla by ecological setting.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ecological setting</th>
<th>Sites</th>
<th>Distance from the river</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>(i) Babaiha, Gadhar, Biaisadah, Gonjhi Ryt. (Mandla), and Manadei (ii) Chiri and Kumha</td>
<td>(i) Less than 1 km (ii) 1 to 2 km</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>Sites very close Narmada and surrounded by expanded flat alluvium, the most fertile cultivated lands (i) Ghugra</td>
<td>(i) Less than 1 km</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>Sites in the interiors of forest not close to Narmada/ any tributary (i) Partala and Amdra (ii) Kui, Salhepani (Dobhi), and TarbaniDobhi (iii) Dongar-Mandla, Gullu-kloh, and Kachnari</td>
<td>(i) 5 to 10 km (ii) More than 10 km (iii) More than 20 km</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Gadar, Babaiha, Biaisadah and Gonjhi Ryt. (Mandla) could be treated as one group being adjacent and also being located in the same ecology, very close to river as well as forest. Kumha, Chiri and Manadei could be included in this group, but they are too far away to be treated as closely interacting sites. Similarly, Kui, Tarbani Dobhi and Salhepani (Dobhi) being adjacent and located in similar forested ecology form another group. Partala and Amdra, ecologically come close to the Dobhi group, but they are at midpoint between Chiri and Kumha on one side and the Dobhi group on the other. Of the remaining sites, Ghugra right at the south bank of the Narmada, a small patch of barrah, surrounded by
vast plain areas of black soil and being far from any forest is a unique one. Kachnari on the open *barrah* plateau at far end on the northeastern border of the district and Gullu-Kho on the edge of forest are the other sites. The Ramnagar site, however, is a river shore deposition. Ecological settings of some of the sites or group of sites are shown in Figures 3 to 6.

**Figure 3**: Ghugra prehistoric site. Microliths found scattered in a small pocket of red lateritic *barrah* land surrounded by fertile agricultural lands. The present day forests are found on the east and northeast directions at a distance more than 2 kilometres.

**Figure 4**: Dhobi (Tarbani & Shalepani) prehistoric sites found in clusters (1 & 2) in red lateritic *barrah* land exposed in between thick forests.
Microlithic Sites of Mandla

Open air archaeological site may not always be a primary site, but could be a secondary one that has recently got exposed through sheet wash process. Mandla surface findings of microlithic assemblages are, however, primary activity areas, ever exposed, lay scattered on the residual lateritic soil of barely a few inch depth overlaying solid bedrock, except in case of Salhepani (Dobhi) where microliths were partly found on

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**Figure 5**: Prehistoric sites of Babaiha (1a & 1b) and Gadhar (2). The sites are equally accessible to both forest and river ecology.

**Figure 6**: Prehistoric sites of Kumha (1), Chiri(2) and Partala (3a to 3f). The Chiri and Kumha sites are close to both forest and river ecology, while the Partala site is in the interiors of forest.
an exposed rock bench. The vast tracts of fertile black soil as well as the
dense forests of the district are virtually devoid of microlithic remains.
Elsewhere in Narmada basin, microliths have been found in alluvial black
cotton soil of the Post-Pleistocene aggradations (De Terra and De Chardin
1936; Krishnaswami 1947). Such stratigraphic findings from Mandla are
yet to be discovered and the same could be of immense importance in
establishing the upper limit of the tradition.

Microlithic remains are found in barrah land usually on the edge of
forest (i.e. foot hills) than being right at the middle (i.e. up hills). Their
virtual absence in heavily cultivated flat lands is conspicuous. In this
context the following possible hypothetical situations could be assumed:
First, settlement of hunting-gathering community was suitable in forested
barrah on the foot hills for both subsistence and habitation compared to
open ground. The flat alluvium virtually remained vacant until the
cultivating communities colonised it at a later historical time. The second
possibility could be that once the microliths using hunter-gatherers lived
in the entire region extending from flat plains to forested barrah. And
eventually a section of them adopted cultivation and settled down on
alluvium. The conservative section who continued hunting-gatherings
remained in forests and pushed further and further with successive
expansion of the farming population either by internal reproduction or by
migration. Or a more advanced group of farmers successively forced the
local hunter-gatherers to retire further and further into the inaccessible
forests.

The first possibility, as mentioned above does not quite comply
with the distribution of sites. Microlithic site in Ghugra found right in the
middle of vast flat agricultural fields clearly defies the same. The second
possibility instead fits well with the distribution of sites. Assuming that
agricultural expansion occupied the fertile lands where subsequent
civilisations grew, any previous archaeological deposits over there had
been destroyed by the onslaught of successive developments. On the
other hand in forests where Paleolithic and Mesolithic cultures flourished
successfully, but no subsequent civilisation emerged, the archaeological
remains survived more or less undisturbed. In Mandla, in several places,
as one move from intensively cultivated area to the area only recently
brought under cultivation and further up to less cultivated barrah, one
would come across more and more stone tools. In Partala, microliths are
found in concentrated clusters in barrah lands. The same is often found on
the edge of a cultivated area, but almost scarce right at the middle of it.
Some of the Mandla sites contained hundred percent microliths, usually of non-geometric type (except crescent no other geometric type has been found), while in other sites microliths found associated with large tools in different proportion. The large tools found are usually of the Middle Palaeolithic types, such as blades and flakes (Figure 7). Few of the large tools are in the category of Chopper-Chopping. Sites like Babaiha, Bhainsadah and Chiri contained pure microliths and yielded no large tools (Figure 8). Partala, Gullu-Kho and Manadei have yielded tools of

**Figure 7.** Blade/Blade-core from Manadei *(Measurements: (a) 12.5x6.8x4 cm (b) 9.5x4.8x4.2 cm (c) 13x5.8x4.2 cm)*

**Figure 8.** Microliths from Chiri *(Scale in centimetres)*
mixed types (Figures 9a-9c). In Manadei, large core tools and typologically Middle Paleolithic flakes and blades literally outnumbered the microlithic remains. And many of the large tools recovered from Manadei are thickly patinated leaving the working edge beyond recognition, which denote their greater antiquity in comparison to the relatively fresh microliths found in the same site under similar exposed condition. Many large tools, however, are found equally fresh. A broad
grouping of the Mandla sites on the basis of tool assemblages is presented in Table 3.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sites</th>
<th>Tool Assemblages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I Manadei, Partala, and Gullu-Khoh</td>
<td>Large tools and microliths</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II Ramnagar</td>
<td>Predominantly large tools</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III Amdara, Babaiha (Rat), Bhaïsadah, Chiri, Dongar Mandla, Gadhar, Ghughra, Gonjhi Ryt., Kachnari, Kui Mal, Kunmha, Salhepani(Dobbi), and Tarbani Dobhi</td>
<td>Predominantly microliths, large tools almost rare</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From Archaeological to Ethnological Present

Landscape and ecology and ecological resources of any region not really affected either by recent human activities or by any major tectonic upheaval expectedly would not much change over in just a few hundred years. The archaeological sites in Mandla, having continued until recently, give us an opportunity to understand the adaptation of Stone Age culture/technology in ecological perspective. Given the fact that Mandla ecology did not change much from the time of foragers armed with microliths roamed free, the Stone Age culture of the region and its resource utilisation pattern could be reconstructed drawing parallels from contemporary situations. In prehistoric archaeological research, open air site receives less attention over the well preserved stratified one. But, in understanding Stone Age culture in living ecological perspective [i.e. Perkington’s (1980) concept of “place”] such sites may have greater potentials, as we will see in the Mandla case.

Prehistoric Cultural Continuity

In Mandla, mixed association of “large tools and microliths” as well as homogeneous “microliths only” have been discovered, but there were no homogeneous large tools as yet. Microlithic assemblage often contains large tools of earlier phase (Mishra et al. 2002; Mohanty 1988; Ota 1986 cited in Misra 2001). In fact, the assignment of Mesolithic sites to a specific assemblage is given on the basis of microliths, which constitute only a small percentage of the total tool types (see Perdaen et al. 2008). However, in case of open air sites in Mandla, the possibility of mixing up of large tools from earlier culture with microliths of later period cannot be
ruled out.

Archaeological evidence for continuous occupation of a site over a long period could be convincing in case of *in situ* stratigraphic deposits. But, in open air sites such evidence are either absolutely lacking or are not credibly worthy. In the absence of stratified data, separating the two components as to have been deposited at different times is not possible, as was reported from Orissa (Mishra et al. 2002). But, in Mandla, it is significant that the evidence is convincing about the occupancy of Stone Age men of different cultural phases and time. Some of the tools discarded by earlier people were clearly reused by later groups. Fresh flaking marks are evident on some of the highly patinated large tools of the earlier phase. In some cases, up to three, even four, successive flaking is clearly evident. There were convincing evidence for using early large tools as raw material in microliths production at a much later date (Roy 2009, 2011).

**Continuity in Ethnological Present**

Primitive traits are still surviving among Mandla aboriginals, particularly among the Baigas. Two different types of Baiga arrows are known, “those for ordinary uses being tipped with a plain iron head, and feathered from the wing of the peafowl, while those intended for poisoning and deadly work have a loose head, round which the poison is wrapped, and which remains in the wound…”(Elwin 1939: 84). The latter type assumed to be structurally similar to a stoned-tipped arrow. Verrier Elwin had mentioned Baiga use of *Aconitum* for *ex*, one of the deadliest of vegetative poisons, which could make even a simple pointed stick an effective projectile. In India the primitive technique of fire making continued among many isolated tribes (e.g. Kadar) until the early 20th century (Sankara Menon 1931). The Baigas in Mandla are still using it. Elwin (1939:43) described the Baiga method of fire making by ‘strike-a-lights’ set consisting of steel, quartz, and a lump of simul cotton as tinder as well as the more primitive methods of fire making by rubbing (i.e. by fire-saw and fire-drill). The stone type used such as chert and quartz locally called *chai-pathar*, remained the same that was used in microlithic industry. A poor Baiga even today not only find a firebox costly but also the old method to be convenient to light fire under all-weather condition.

Gonds, the only other aboriginal tribe in the district, are more advanced compared to the Baigas and are more widely distributed. They are found throughout Central India and adjoining places (Figures 10 and
Linguistic and cultural evidence suggest Gonds possibly entered Central India from south relatively recently (Russel and Hira Lal 1916). The Dravidian migration had entered India along with Neolithic farming (Cordaux et al. 2003; Gadgil et al. 1997; Watkins et al. 1999). Any hypothesis suggesting Dravidian speaking Gonds to be the early microliths producers could be ruled out, except a rare possibility that the Gonds were originally not a pre-Dravidian population but only adopted the Dravidian language. On the other hand the Austro-Asiatic speakers constitute the earliest substratum of peopling India (Cordaux et al. 2003; Edwin et al. 2002; Elwin 1939; Gadgil et al. 1997; Hutton 1931; Kumar and Reddy 2003; Majumder 2001; Venkatachar 1931). The Baigas of this linguistic group naturally constitute an ancient people. Due to similarities of the Baiga tongue with that of the Chatrishgarhia type and the hilly Mandla and Maikhal range of Balaghat being the most inhospitable tract, Russel and Hira Lal (1916 cited in Elwin 1939) assumed that it would be
rather unrealistic to think that the Baigas had settled this tract first and then migrated to Chattishgarh fertile plain. Nevertheless, in view of the numerous sites of microlithic remains, the region was possibly colonised at a much earlier date. And the Baigas being the oldest population perhaps were the earliest occupants.

Contemporary Subsistence Pattern

The contemporary Mandla exhibits an interesting example of co-existence of different levels of economic adaptations regarding the cultivation of principal crops in its diverse micro-ecological settings. And if we go by a generalised chronology of the introduction of different crop cultivations in the district, the following broad trends are evident. The principal crop traditionally grown in the region is kodo (millets). This is still the most widely cultivated and also the principal food in tribal Mandla. Some poor quality paddy species perhaps were introduced in ancient times. The history of real paddy cultivation, however, is a recent one, possibly in 16th / 17th century (see Rudman 1912). Perhaps not quite old as paddy, some ancient varieties of wheat were also cultivated in some pockets. Maize was possibly introduced in early British India. Of late, in the 1960s high yielding paddy and in the 1980s high yielding wheat varieties have been introduced.

The overall cropping history as mentioned above, however, has no conformity across all villages. Maize is comparatively a recent introduction, but yet most widely distributed. On the other hand the old varieties of paddy and wheat find entry much earlier, but remained confined only in a few suitable pockets.

On the South of the Mandla city where land is flat, the villages are quite advanced with 1960s green revolution where the people produce surpluse food grains of paddy and wheat. Kodo and maize cultivation become a thing of the past in these villages. In villages in the north, where the land is rugged poor barrah type, the advanced paddy and wheat cultivations have yet to start. These northern villages are continuing with traditional kodo cultivation along with maize, barring occasional paddy grown here and there by the stream-sides. The food grains produced in these villages are barely enough for subsistence. As reported by the local people, until the 1950s when the forest was open without any regulatory measures, the people in forest villages were free with hunting and gathering to supplement their millet and maize based subsistence. Today only some minor non-timber forest products, for which there is no
administrative prohibition, are harnessed.

There is a spectrum of different local economic adaptations and history of progress involving the different ethnic groups (e.g. Baigas, Gonds, Hindu castes, etc.) and villages in the district. The broad scenario is that the Baigas usually occupy the forest villages at the one end and the caste Hindu population the fertile agricultural lands on the other. The Gonds, historically the early cultivators in the region, now occupy an intermediate position between them.

**Prehistoric Differential and Composite Adaptation**

Classic archaeological descriptions of Neolithic transition in a series of predictable steps have recently been debated. Mesolithic foraging and Neolithic farming are no longer considered as two discrete cultures (Robb and Miracle 2007). In prehistoric past, by all probabilities, both ecological and cultural diversity might have been more diverse. Under such a condition differential adaptation by using different tool assemblage such as ‘only microliths’, ‘only large tools’, ‘different combinations of large tools and microliths’ perhaps was a reality. There could be either different cultural groups adapting to different ecological niches or a common cultural group diversifying adaptation with seasonal change.

The advent of Holocene brought drastic changes on the availability of large animals, whose scarcity was further confounded by sudden increase in hunter-gathers population (see Misra 2001), while at the same time the climate change resulted increase in fishes and avian species (see Haberle and David 2004; Patton 1993; Peters and Driesch 1993; Rick and Glassow 1999). Fishing and fowling-based Mesolithic economy in terminal Pleistocene or at the beginning of the current geological epoch, Holocene, is already a well recognised fact (see Cooper 1997; Martz 2003; Sahu et al. 2008).

Microliths certainly were efficient and gainful for more mobile Mesolithic hunter-gathers, especially in harnessing small size terrestrial, aquatic and avian species. In Mandla, microlithic sites (e.g. Babaiha, Bhaisadah) found very close to Narmada River are quite huge in size in terms of the extent of land area. Compared to them, sites in the interiors of forest [e.g. Partala, Tarbani Dobhi, Salhepani (Dobhi)] are smaller. It is interesting to note that in Manadei, the relatively older large tools were found close to the forest, while relatively new microliths at the other end
of the same site were close to the river. Some sites (e.g. Gullu-Kho) have yielded mixed type of tools that were equally new suggesting that they were contemporary and as such suggest for a composite subsistence pattern. The strategic location of large site at close proximity to the Narmada River perhaps indicates successful dependency on water ecology. And elsewhere, microliths perhaps were employed in fowling and in hunting of small games. Instead of two discrete economy/culture based on fishing and fowling, seasonal movement of microliths-using hunter-gatherers alternately exploring river and forest based ecology also could be a possibility. The microliths-using Mandla folk might have had occupied a few large sites by the river side during certain periods of time, while in other times they scattered in several smaller units in the interiors of forest. Economic diversity in contemporary Mandla substantiates diverse economic adaptation in the past (Table 4).

Table 4. Composite Economic Adaptations (Prehistoric and Modern Comparison)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ecology</th>
<th>Technology/tool assemblage (prehistoric)</th>
<th>Economy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Prehistoric</td>
<td>Modern/Contemporary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Major river side areas</td>
<td>Usually Microliths</td>
<td>Predominant fishing + fowling + gatherings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Growing of rice and wheat only</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Major river side areas</td>
<td>-do-</td>
<td>Predominant fishing + wild cereal use/practice of limited growing of cereals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Predominant rice + occasional millet and maize</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Major river side areas</td>
<td>Stone Sickle, Grinding Stone, etc. + Microliths</td>
<td>Predominant fishing and fowling but with substantial growing of cereals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Predominant growing millets and maize + occasional rice and wheat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hilly forested areas</td>
<td>Predominant Large Tools + Microliths</td>
<td>Predominant hunting of large and small game animals + gatherings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Predominant growing millets and maize + occasional paddy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hilly forested areas</td>
<td>Predominant Microliths + Large Tools</td>
<td>Predominant fowling and hunting of small game animals + occasional large game hunting + gatherings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Growing millets and maize only</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Neolithic Absence

Neolithic sites have been discovered in Vindhyan plateau south of the Gangetic plain (Sharma et al. 1980), but conspicuously there is total absence of them on the other side right up to the Satpura range. No Neolithic site, as such, is discovered from this belt, barring a few stray cases of stone Celts found in isolation in Jabalpur (Le Mesurier 1861) and in Bundelkhand (Theobold 1861). The possibility for destruction of Neolithic remains by subsequent cultural development cannot be completely ruled out. However, so far no trace of any Neolithic evidence is found in Mandla. And in view of the fact that traces of microliths are occasionally found even in heavily disturbed cultivated area but nothing such of Neolithic, Neolithic nonexistence is fairly conclusive.

There could be several possible explanations for the absence of Neolithic development in this region. Mostly being scarce in soil quality, rugged, thickly forested and having erratic rain fall, the region perhaps was not suitable for the early Neolithic farming. But, the region was appropriate for Mesolithic hunting-gatherings, and, therefore, the well settled hunter-gatherers never got impressed by crop growing.

Early Neolithic cultivation indeed was not much advantageous over hunting-gatherings, at least under all ecological conditions. Specific local cultural (i.e. adaptation and values), environmental (i.e. forest, flora-fauna, soil type, hydrology) and demographic (i.e. population pressure) factors might have played roles in early Neolithic spread (see Cohen 1977 cited in Dhavalikar 1988; Patterson et al. 2010; Smith 1972; Zvelebil 1986). Rigidity of hunting-gathering community adopting farming has been well argued in terms of a number of models of hunter-gatherers: Sahlin's ‘original affluent society’, Woodburn’s ‘immediate-return economic system’, Bird-David’s ‘giving environment’, Marxist’s ‘foraging mode of production’, and of late Barnard’s ‘foraging mode of thought’ (Barnard 2007).

Use of political motivation/force to enforce hunting-gathering or marginal farming communities into agriculture may not be altogether an absurd idea. Verrier Elwin in his book “The Baiga” made the detailed documentation on the efforts and difficulties that the British Administration once adopted and encountered to bring the axe cultivating Baigas into more advantageous ploughing. Food production as a way of life is not a magnet that automatically attracts hunter-gatherers to participate in it actively (Dhavalikar 1988). It has been argued
that if primitive forest dwelling hunter-gatherers linked themselves with settled agricultural people by supplying labour, or if they have developed a symbiotic relationship between them, then the hunter-gatherer economy never developed or evolved into agricultural state (Bhattacharya 2000, 2004). The absence of Neolithic site in Central Indian Vindhiyan and Satpura Ranges could, therefore, be explained in terms of local ecology, social history and cultural adaptation.

**Problem with Chronological Trajectory**

A large majority of the prehistoric archaeological sites in India are either open air or exposed sites without any viable contextual or/and radiometric dating clues. Interpretations of open air prehistoric materials are, therefore, heavily relied on typo-technological analysis and matching them with datable archaeological findings from elsewhere. Some typical examples are as follows:

(i) Acheulian sequence discovered in Africa could not be distinguished in India in terms of stratigraphy. However, purely on matrix analysis the Acheulian sub-sections have been reconstructed, as if in India this tradition had evolved following the same sequence as found in Africa (Joshi and Marathe 1976, 1977, 1985; Marathe 1980).

(ii) Stone Age artefacts typologically belonging to different phase right from Lower Palaeolithic to Upper Palaeolithic periods have been discovered from Gunjung district of Andhra Pradesh (Raju 1983, 1988). Despite of their being found in the same geographical region under similar exposed condition and being equally new, chronology right from Lower Palaeolithic to Upper Palaeolithic Age spanning over a period of hundred thousand years has been assigned to the deposits that have been differentiated purely on the basis of typology of tool assemblage.

(iii) Microlithic cultural remains of Baster region has been assigned to be Early Mesolithic on the basis of typology of tool assemblages such as non-geometric microliths and absence of pottery (see Cooper 1997).

(iv) In Garo Hills, Meghalaya, despite that large tool specimens found in association of Neolithic Celts without any reference to stratigraphy, efforts have been made to separate Palaeolithic assignments purely on typo-technological basis (see Sharma 1972, Sharma 1986 cited in Medhi 1990), although some scholars criticised them to be Neolithic stone debitage instead (Ghosh 1977 cited in Medhi 1990).
Historical continuation of microlithic tradition in Mandla without passing through the subsequent stages of cultural development and similar findings from elsewhere suggest that the practice of labelling archaeological findings simply on typo-technological ground and the attempt to fit them to any fixed trajectory could be a misleading practice. Such a practice certainly could ignore the more complex local history of culture change. Diffusion of culture from its place of origin to the farthest place was not same in different prehistoric ages. With the progressive improvements in communication down the history the diffusion process certainly has ever become quicker. Broad temporal and spatial variation in prehistoric cultural chronology at any given point of time is fairly evident. Quite independent to this broad trend, differential ecological adaptation determines more complex local cultural variation even within a narrow geographical space (Figure 12).

Figure 12. Spatial & Temporal Dimensions of Cultural Evolution (Schematic)
(1) Palaeolithic transformed into Neolithic, (2) Mesolithic transformed into modern cultivation, (3) Mesolithic hunting-gathering continued as modern day hunting-gathering, (4) Palaeolithic transformed into modern cultivation, (5) Palaeolithic hunting-gathering continued as modern day hunting-gathering

Note: Stone Age cultures perhaps did not spread uniformly across the space, and that the rate of diffusion of technology or material culture was slower at the beginning, which turned fast to very fast as we move upward from pre-history to history and to modern time.
Stone Age technology/culture of different levels might have coexisted under different ecological conditions. Plausibly there could be specific pockets rich with large game animals for early Palaeolithic hunting-gathering subsistence to continue, while elsewhere Mesolithic hunting-gathering emerged more successful. There is no logical justification that in all places Palaeolithic would gradually transform into Mesolithic. The Mesolithic hunting-gathering emerged in response to specific ecological change perhaps was not equally efficient in all conditions. Similarly, in some other pockets Mesolithic never evolved, but the Palaeolithic continued as a well set economy. In such places, either the Palaeolithic gradually transformed/evolved into Neolithic or into some other later stage of development.

Instead of punctuated ending of technology/tradition gradual replacement by newer one is more a possibility. Tools and technology of earlier stage are often found to continue in the next stage of development or even beyond. However, more complex adaptation of combination of technology/tradition of two or more different levels could make the archaeological practice of generalisation a further complicated business. Mere presence of a combination of Neolithic and Mesolithic tools in any industry may not always be a transitional phase between the Mesolithic and Neolithic. Under specific local ecological condition a combination of technologies could instead be a successful adaptation. It is now well understood that early farming alone was insufficient to procure total subsistence requiring people other secondary economic pursuits (such as hunting-gatherings). Continuation of Palaeolithic/Mesolithic hunting technology along with Neolithic axe cultivation for a considerable long period of time as successful adaptation could be possible in some local ecological conditions. Therefore, ‘what is transitional’ must be established with sufficient evidence in each local context. The proto-Neolithic industry of a region, particularly if not found in well stratified context, was a short transitional phase between the Mesolithic and Neolithic or it was just a mixed technological adaptation under its specific local environmental condition that survived for considerable long period of time could always be an issue of debate in archaeological interpretation.

In aboriginal India, the way of life and the economic pattern of both the older and younger Stone Ages had been continuing until recently (Furer-Haimendorf 1948). Even in 21st century India, functional coexistence of prehistoric (e.g. bullock-cart) and modern technology (e.g. computer) is a common occurrence. Differential regional basis of
evolution of microlithic cultures in India is evident. Based on geo-ecological situation, the Indian microlithic sites have been categorised into some distinct functional clusters; and according to Bhattacharya (2004) culture change in all these different ecological zones did not follow any single pattern that could be explained through the conventional scheme of culture change. Gordon (1950) generalised Indian Mesolithic developments in accordance to specific local situations and suggested four broad trends:

(i) In areas microliths, having been the type-tool of the Mesolithic, continued with the introduction of pottery and agriculture into the Neolithic;

(ii) In areas where ground and polished stone axes were absent, microliths remained the type-tool along with bone implements and the earliest traces of copper;

(iii) In areas which were affected by the culture of early city-dwellers, microliths lose their diversity of form and were superseded by the ribbon-flake utility blade (found on all Harappa Culture sites), and finally

(iv) In more remote jungle areas the true microliths continued to be used down into early historic times.

Julian Steward’s (1902-1972) multilinear evolution that suggests separate schemes of evolution under different broad ecological conditions of the world has been criticised for being essentially not much different than the Maorganian unilinear scheme, but has opened a new tradition of evolution thinking in ecological perspective. Since then the construction of regional scheme of evolution under specific geo-ecological, socio-political and historical conditions gained prevalence. What in the early 1950’s D. H. Gordon (1950) and more recently D. K. Bhattacharya (2004) suggested for Indian Mesolithic, in a sense, is the ecological perspective of evolution. The details of any local cultural chronology, however, could be far more complex given the complex regional ecological setting. In the context of Mandla, differential and composite economic adaptations are quite evident in contemporary ethnographic existence. Whereas the complexity of prehistoric cultural adaptation per se chronology of the region could be assumed from the following postulations:

a. Microlithic technology or tradition continued until modern time (Roy 2008, 2009).

b. Large tool using culture had been there before the microliths using
culture was introduced. Heavily patinated large tools and comparatively fresh microliths are clear proof of this.

c. Successive occupation of a site is evident. However, much of the large tool cultural remains perhaps got lost as subsequent microliths using people reused them beyond recognition (see Roy 2011).

d. Introduction of microliths did not completely replace the tradition of large tools. Equally fresh large tools and microliths in some sites do substantiate this postulation. Large tools continued to be in use in different combination with microliths perhaps as an adaptation under specific ecological condition.

**Conclusion**

In Mandla, the microlithic tradition probably had continued from Mesolithic period to modern time without passing through intermediate stages (e.g. Neolithic) of development. The evidence of using modern material like the electric porcelain in microlith manufacturing in Mandla is a rare finding documenting historical or/and contemporary uses of Stone Age technology.

Continuation of archaic tradition, even technology, down to modern time invites several questions. The important one to be asked is whether such examples are exceptional cases having no general implication in our understandings of human culture change; or that such were widespread until recently that have got lost with the spread of civilisation, phenomenally rapidly towards the end, and thus having greater implication. The modern means of communication has rendered the fastest ever globalisation and homogenisation processes. Cultural diversity certainly was much greater in the past than today, at least from the Mesolithic/Neolithic times onward. Historical continuance of prehistoric technology or tradition in remote geographical places hitherto received little attention. Assuming greater cultural diversity existence as one move backward into prehistory, such now surviving cultural forms in remote pockets apparently have much greater significance in our understanding of human cultural adaptation and progress.

The traditional practice of tagging archaeological site by assigning relative date on typo-technological ground and the practice of generalising cultural sequence in archaeology found to be problematic, particularly in view of the “differential progress” and the “differential and composite cultural adaptations”. The broad regional variation in
prehistoric cultural chronology is well understood. Neolithic in Africa, Asia and Europe are never seen to be contemporary. However, the complex regional variation, particularly owing to specific local ecological adaptation, could render any practice of generalisation a complicated business. Social and environmental processes determining the complexity of local chronology have been recognised in recent Anthropological Archaeological research (see Bird and Frankel 1991; Dolitsky 1985; Lourandos 1993; Plog and Hantman 1990) and is being reiterated once again. Contemporary Mandla is quite suggestive that switching over from one technology level to another was not uniform even within a narrow spatial confine.

Reconstruction of phase-based cultural chronology also could be a difficult task when the archaeological remains are found only in fraction, not quite representing the whole problem. It is quite obvious that any cross section of the present day Mandla situation in regard to the history of crop cultivation would be utterly non-representative to the larger situation of the region. The practice of archaeological chronology construction (i.e. schematic generalisation) cannot ignore this problem.

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Microlithic Sites of Mandla

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BOOK REVIEWS

Expansion of Austronesian Languages and their Speakers during the Neolithic as Inferred from Archaeological Evidence and Genetic Diversity in Southeast Asia and Discussed in Five Journals

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Abstract

This paper is a journal review on Austronesian expansion in Southeast Asia. Most archaeological research in the Neolithic Age sites across Island Southeast Asia are geared toward supporting or disproving the hypotheses on the origins and dispersal of Austronesian-speaking people. The most mainstream is the “Out of Taiwan” hypothesis, which is a part of the larger farming/language dispersal hypothesis (Bellwood 2005). The geographical scope of this hypothesis explains the geographical focus of this analysis. On the other hand, the most popular alternative to this hypothesis is known as the “Nusantao Maritime Trading and Communication Networks” hypothesis (Solheim et al. 2007). The discourse on the Austronesian expansion in Southeast Asia during the Neolithic was tracked down in the last 15 years, from 1996 to 2010, in American Journal of Physical Anthropology, American Anthropologist, Current Anthropology, Molecular Biology and Evolution, and Antiquity. The focus is on articles discussing bioarchaeology, genetics, and material culture for examining how the two subfields of anthropology, which are bioanthropology and archaeology, covered this discourse. This analysis discusses the treatment of the topic and trends across the five journals, across time, and across subfields and disciplines. Then, general comparisons across categories and concluding remarks follow.

Introduction

This paper is a journal analysis on Austronesian expansion in Southeast Asia. Most archaeological researches in the Neolithic sites...
across Southeast Asia and Taiwan are geared toward supporting or disproving the hypotheses on the origins and dispersal of Austronesian-speaking people. The most mainstream among these hypotheses is the “Out of Taiwan” hypothesis, where the main proponent is Peter Bellwood. According to this hypothesis, around 5500/6000 years ago, the proto-Austronesian speaking agriculturists from China migrated to Taiwan, and ~4000 years ago, the Austronesian-speaking people migrated from Taiwan to Island Southeast Asia. This hypothesis is part of the larger farming/language dispersal hypothesis (Bellwood 2005). The geographical scope of this hypothesis explains the geographical focus of this analysis. However, there is a notion that the Austronesian-speaking people also moved into the Mainland Southeast Asia (Malay Peninsula and Vietnam; Blust 1984-1985, as cited in Bellwood 1996), since at least two of the Austronesian languages are spoken in that area by two ethnic groups (Bellwood et al. 2006). Taiwan is crucial as the hypothetical origin of the Austronesian-speaking people (Bellwood 2005). Although its political affiliation is East Asia, Bellwood (2005) included Taiwan in the Island Southeast Asia. These explain why researches from Mainland Southeast Asia and Taiwan are also included in this analysis, aside from those in Island Southeast Asia. Not everyone agrees with the Out of Taiwan hypotheses. The most popular alternative, where the main proponent is Wilhelm Solheim II, is known as the “Nusantao Maritime Trading and Communication Networks.” According to this hypothesis, the Austronesian-speaking people are called Nusantao and their homeland is in the islands of southern Philippines and eastern Indonesia (Solheim et al. 2007).

In relation to the discourse on the Austronesian expansion in Southeast Asia during the Neolithic, the analyst wanted to track how this issue was tackled in the last 15 years, from 1996-2010, in American Journal of Physical Anthropology, American Anthropologist, Current Anthropology, Molecular Biology and Evolution, and Antiquity. For the purpose of this paper, the author of this paper is referred to as the “analyst,” not to be confused with “author(s)” of works referred in the discussion. The focus is on articles discussing bioarchaeology, genetics, and material culture for examining how the two subfields of anthropology, which are bioanthropology and archaeology, covered this issue. Aside from the three leading American anthropology journals, two other journals that cover the two subfields were chosen. Molecular Biology and Evolution journal covers genetics of not only humans but also of domesticated plants and animals. Also, Antiquity has a worldwide coverage on
archaeology (especially prehistory). The other subfield, which is linguistic anthropology, is also mentioned in the discussion as being incorporated in interdisciplinary articles.

This analysis discusses the treatment of the topic and trends across the five journals, across time, and across subfields and disciplines. Then, general comparisons across categories and concluding remarks follow.

Methodology

Articles pertaining to the topic were searched in Wiley Interscience database for American Anthropologist and American Journal of Physical Anthropology, JSTOR database for Current Anthropology, Oxford Journals database for Molecular Biology and Evolution, and Antiquity website. Keywords used for searching are Austronesian, Southeast Asia, Neolithic, mid-Holocene, and expansion. Taking notes in index cards was done for convenient sorting according to categories (journal, period, and subfield), comparison, and looking for trends. Articles published online from 1996-2010 and gathered from the journal databases until February 8, 2011 were included in this analysis.

Across Journals

*American Anthropologist*

The Austronesian expansion is minimally discussed in the pages of American Anthropologist. Only four articles were found. It is not even a featured topic. Austronesian as a language family is included in the social structural dimension of emerging synthesis with a worldwide coverage (Jones 2003). By integrating all four subfields of anthropology, Jones (2003) took demic expansion further by incorporating kinship systems and proposed his version of culture areas. He lamented that the syntheses on expansions only include the three subfields and cultural anthropology has often been neglected. Coincidentally, his manuscript is the only one that encompasses the four subfields. Instead of expansion of Austronesian-speaking farmers, Kealhofer (2002) investigated the development of agro-ecosystems in Southeast Asia. She suggested that there is too much focus on Austronesian expansions coupled with the spread of agriculture. Her perspective could be a critique against archaeologists who do research in Southeast Asia who do not come from the four-field tradition of American anthropology. That American Anthropologist is published by the American Anthropological Association could be one reason why non-US educated
archaeologists do not publish in that journal, resulting in the few manuscripts being published in the 15 years reviewed. Many archaeologists researching in Southeast Asia were educated in Europe, and it is well-known that European archaeology has a different tradition and perspectives from those of American archaeology. Two proceedings with chapters on Austronesian expansion (with critiques, supporting and contradicting evidences) were published in this journal (Anderson 2008; Dolukhanov 2001). As a result, Austronesian expansion during the Neolithic as a central issue was never discussed in this journal in the span of 15 years.

**Current Anthropology**

In contrast to American Anthropologist, Current Anthropology has the most number of manuscripts that tackle Austronesian expansion. Nine manuscripts were found. The claim of the journal as a transnational one (www.jstor.org/page/journal/curranth/about.html) could be one reason behind this, where archaeologists working in Southeast Asia are more comfortable in publishing with this journal. Southeast Asia as a region is not necessarily the focus of discussion with respect to Austronesian expansion, but it is included. This journal is an excellent venue to keep updated with recent developments and debates about this topic. For example, environmental factors affected the movement of agriculture (Dewar 2003) and rice-based agriculture might have been adopted by hunter gatherers already engaged in plant management (Barton 2009). Bellwood (2009a) presented his perspective on the spread of early food-producing populations. Large syntheses and research articles are often accompanied by commentaries from other researchers and the authors are allowed to comment to the replies (Barton 2009; Bellwood 2009a; Dewar 2003; Donohue and Denham 2010; Terrell et al. 2001). While Bellwood (2009a), for example, equated the spread of agriculture with the spread of people through a worldwide synthesis, Donohue and Denham (2010) offered a supporting alternative framework and others offered alternative perspectives (e.g., Barton 2009; Dewar 2003; Terrell et al. 2001). Bellwood is often strongly critiqued with respect to his hypothesis; however, he is given the opportunity to reply. He strongly replies by saying that the contents of the papers are misinformed, problematic, and denigrate the farming/language dispersal hypothesis (Bellwood 2009b; Donohue and Denham 2010; Terrell et al. 2001). Two of the articles observed in this analysis are multidisciplinary syntheses of information from archaeology,
linguistics, and genetics (Donohue and Denham 2010; Terrell et al. 2001). Bellwood (2009a) excluded genetics, since he thought that it will not reveal a full picture of his hypothesis. Donohue and Denham (2010) also incorporated information from crop domestication histories. Bellwood’s (2005) book expounding on the spread of agriculture along with people and language, and another book on the alternative theory of Austronesian expansion were reviewed (McCorriston 2006; Terrell 1999). Research updates from a multidisciplinary conference on Austronesian and other language groups were also reported (Bellwood and Sanchez-Mazas 2005). Although Austronesian expansion in the Island Southeast Asia during the Neolithic as a focus of discussion is only found in one article (Donohue and Denham 2010), this topic is highlighted in most articles found in this journal, especially those with accompanying comments.

*American Journal of Physical Anthropology*

As the official “flagship” journal of the American Association of Physical Anthropologists, the *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* covers related research on primate/human morphology past and present, in addition to genetics-based research that explores primate and human history and variation. However, all eight articles pertaining to Austronesian expansion are based on genetics research except those by Matsumura and Hudson (2005) and Turner (2006). It was expected that a substantial number of articles on the morphological analysis of ancient human remains would be found. Matsumura and Hudson (2005) used dental evidence to support the two layer immigration hypothesis, where one of the layers pertains to the migration of the Austronesian-speaking people during the Neolithic. The problems most commonly mentioned by the articles are limited information on indigenous Southeast Asians, and Taiwan and Island Southeast Asia areas are poorly studied genetically. Genetic diversity studies explore genetic relationships across populations (Parra et al. 1999), and the peopling history of a specific area (Lertrit et al. 2008; Miranda et al. 2003; Sewerin et al. 2002). One of the major findings observed is that there are existing major differences between populations on mainland Southeast Asia and the insular islands (Parra et al. 1999). The surprising result on Ami people in Taiwan, a suspected ancestral population, is another striking finding (Sewerin et al. 2002). The Ami people lack genetic affinity with other Austronesian-speaking populations, leading to the possibility that they are not Austronesian-speaking people. The research by Lertrit et al. (2008) is not focused on the Austronesian expansion, per se, since the subject area is focused on a
different language family (Austro-Asiatic) that occurs principally in Mainland Southeast Asia. What is unique with their work, however, is that it is the only study to publish aDNA purportedly derived from ancient human remains. A model of human migration and the influence of language on genetic diversity were also presented in two global-based studies (Belle and Barbujani 2007; Dugoujon et al. 2004). Generally, Austronesian expansion during the Neolithic is central only to one article, which provided dental perspectives. The rest of the articles only reference the Austronesian expansion in the discussion or a minor component in a bigger picture.

Molecular Biology and Evolution

Molecular Biology and Evolution covers not only human genetics but also genetic-based work in many groups of animals and plants. Only seven articles on human population genetics are found in this journal that addressed issues of the Austronesian expansion. Articles on the genetic diversity of domesticated plants and animals that would support or contradict theories of Austronesian expansion were expected by the analyst, but they were not observed in this journal. It is noticeable also that articles that do focus on Austronesian expansion were all published in the last five years (2006-2010). New geographical areas were investigated for their genetic diversity and history to shed insights on settlement history (Hill et al. 2006; Karafet et al. 2010; Peng et al. 2010; Mona et al. 2009; Tabbada et al. 2010; van Oven et al. 2010), addressing the problem of the lack of genetic data from some areas of Southeast Asia. Human migrations preceding the Neolithic Austronesian expansion were investigated using genetic data collected from across the Southeast Asian region (Soares et al. 2008). The majority of articles have results showing evidences of admixture, with dominant signatures of older migrations present in the overall genetic diversity reported (Hill et al. 2006; Karafet et al. 2010; Mona et al. 2009; Soares et al. 2008; Tabbada et al. 2010). Unexpectedly, two articles demonstrate that signatures of Neolithic expansion are only a minor contribution (Karafet et al. 2010; Tabbada et al. 2010). In contrast, it is also unexpected that one population shows dominant signatures of Austronesian expansion along both matrilineal and patrilineal lines (van Oven et al. 2010). Findings from mainland populations seem to disprove the Austronesian expansion hypothesis from the Island Southeast Asia to the Mainland Southeast Asia and support another hypothesis of Nusantao Maritime Trading and Communication networks (Peng et al. 2010). In summary, the fact that this
journal only published articles related to Austronesian expansion in the Southeast Asia in the last five years means that it had filled the gaps in the genetic data from the region. The topic is not necessarily central to these articles, since genetic diversity and history had also shed insights on earlier human migrations in the Southeast Asian region.

**Antiquity**

Since *Antiquity* has a worldwide coverage of all archaeological periods, the analyst expected that the majority of articles on Austronesian expansion might be found in this journal. However, only eight articles were found. One possible reason is that there are a lot of other archaeology journals that cover both worldwide and regional issues. Austronesian expansion is only a minor component in Bellwood’s (1996) worldwide synthesis, critique, and integration of findings from archaeology, linguistics, and genetics. Environmental changes in Southeast China, for example, were investigated as an alternative backdrop for the expansion of Austronesian-speaking people into Southeast Asia (Jiao 2005). Findings from material remains excavated from associated sites support the migration of Austronesian-speaking people from Southeast China and Taiwan to Southeast Asia (Chi and Hung 2010; Fuller et al. 2007; Piper et al. 2009; Rolett et al. 1999), two of which integrated their models with the spread of rice agriculture (Chi and Hung 2010; Fuller et al. 2007). However, Fuller et al. (2007) argued that the spread of agriculture in East Asia is a longer process than what is proposed with the Austronesian expansion, but their work is still consistent with the proposed route from Southeast China to Taiwan and Island Southeast Asia. In addition, investigations resulting to associated technology and art that actually preceded the Neolithic expansion are also published in this journal (O’Connor and Veth 2004; O’Connor et al. 2010). In summary, it is not a surprise that the Austronesian expansion in Island Southeast Asia is more highlighted in this journal compared to the previous four journals. Three of the articles focused on supporting the Out of Taiwan Neolithic dispersal, while two offered alternative perspectives.

**Across Time**

**1996-2000**

From 1996 to 2000, the topic of Austronesian expansion during the Neolithic in Southeast Asia received minimal attention. Indeed, the
subject is not even the focus in Bellwood’s (1996) synthetic paper. Although many people think that the Austronesian expansion is the focus of Bellwood’s works, this is not necessarily true. Some of his writings only mention Austronesian as a language family along with other language families, usually in his syntheses. There are only a few articles that highlighted Austronesian-speaking people as a distinct group of people. This analysis reflects the problem of limited information of Southeast Asia during this period.

2001-2005

Austronesian expansion as a topic showed an increase in scholarly attention from 2001 to 2005, as demonstrated by a book review on related proceedings and a meeting report. Also, critiques against and alternatives to the Out of Taiwan Neolithic expansion as well as investigations on single populations appear in this period.

2006-2010

As shown by more than half of the articles published during the last 15 years, Austronesian expansion during the Neolithic gained even more attention from 2005 to 2010 compared to 1996-2000. This is illustrated by book reviews for the book by Bellwood (2005) and two proceedings. Debates on the spread of agriculture and dispersal of Austronesian-speaking populations are heightened in this period, as illustrated in Current Anthropology. Despite the critiques, the research published in Antiquity supported the Out of Taiwan Neolithic dispersal into Southeast Asia. Findings from the abundance of human population genetics researches, as already demonstrated by Molecular Biology and Evolution, surely heighten the debate on this important topic.

Across Anthropology Subfields and Disciplines

Generally, bioanthropology and archaeology are almost equally included across the related articles published for the last 15 years. All bioanthropology focused articles are based on genetics researches addressing human population diversity and history. One of them has integrated linguistic anthropology. Two of them have worldwide coverage, four of them covered wide geographic areas, and majority focused on single populations for sampling. No single trend was observed in archaeology focused articles, in contrast to the bioanthropology
focused articles. Four articles noticeably discussed agriculture based on archaeobotanical and environmental data, either supporting the Out of Taiwan Neolithic dispersal or providing alternatives on how agriculture developed in East and Southeast Asia. One article on zooarchaeology that addressed the introduction of a domesticated animal actually incorporated information from animal population genetics. The articles dwelt on single and multisite research but the discussions of findings generally cover the Southeast Asia region. The only synthetic article focusing on archaeology with worldwide coverage integrated linguistic anthropology. For the manuscripts that integrated both bioanthropology and archaeology, four synthetic articles incorporated information from linguistic anthropology. One of them has actually even integrated the subfield of cultural anthropology. Two of them have a worldwide coverage and the other two are limited within the areas of Austronesian-speaking people. There are only two research articles and both dwelt on ancient human remains. Linguistic anthropology is incorporated in manuscripts with worldwide and regional coverages. Both bioanthropology and archaeology addressed settlement history in the region, supported the Austronesian expansion from Taiwan during the Neolithic, and provided alternative views. On one hand, bioanthropology utilised ancient and modern human population diversity and generally more focused on human migrations. On the other hand, archaeology provided evidences through material culture, archaeobotanical, and zooarchaeological remains to support and/or contradict the Neolithic expansion from Taiwan.

**Summary and Concluding Remarks**

The treatment of Austronesian expansion during the Neolithic was traced and analysed in five leading journals for the span of 15 years. It was never discussed as a central issue in *American Anthropologist*. On the contrary, the topic is highlighted in *Current Anthropology*, especially in the latest article that expounded an alternative framework on Austronesian dispersal in Island Southeast Asia (Donohue and Denham 2010). The debates and alternative perspectives are often found in this journal. On one hand, this topic is central only to one article found in *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, where the rests of the articles treated this topic as a reference or part of a bigger picture. On the other hand, the Austronesian dispersal is highlighted along with earlier human migrations in *Molecular Biology and Evolution*. Compared to the four
journals, the topic gained more attention in *Antiquity* and a substantial number of articles highlighted it.

It was demonstrated before that for 15 years, the topic of this analysis gained gradual attention. It was minimal from 1996 to 2000, had an increase in scholarly attention from 2001 to 2005, and gained more attention from 2006 to 2010. The anthropology subfields of bioanthropology and archaeology are almost equally included across the analysed articles. All bioanthropology focused articles, except two articles on morphological analysis, are based on genetics researches addressing human population diversity and history. They are found in *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* and *Molecular Biology and Evolution*. On the contrary, no single trend was observed in archaeology focused articles. Most of them are found in *Antiquity*.

This analysis reflects how Austronesian dispersal from Taiwan to Southeast Asia is being tackled based on five journals. The researches that encompassed bioanthropology and archaeology are dominated by the geneticists and archaeologists, as reflected in *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, *Molecular Biology* and *Evolution*, and *Antiquity*. However, this analysis does not reflect the actual amount of researches done on this topic. More human population genetics researches could be found in *American Journal of Human Genetics*. At the same time, papers on the animal and plant genetics could be found in *Proceedings of the National Academy of Science*. In addition, other articles on this topic are found in regional journals, such as *Journal of Austronesian Studies* and *Asian Perspectives*. The perspectives supporting and contradicting the Neolithic Out of Taiwan migration are somewhat balanced in *Current Anthropology* and *Antiquity*. *American Anthropologist* reflected only the perspectives from the American anthropology, since non-US educated researchers tend not to publish in this journal. The analyst would like to add one striking observation. The main proponent (Wilhelm Solheim II) of the alternative Nusantao hypothesis did not publish any articles in *American Anthropologist* and *Current Anthropology* during the period covered. As US-educated archaeologist, he used to publish in those two journals prior to 1996. Any manuscript expounding his hypothesis or perspective that lands on the pages of those two journals will surely enhance the debates on the Austronesian-speaking people during the Neolithic. The abundance of articles from 2006 to 2010 on genetics and archaeology will surely heighten the developments and debates on this topic in the coming years.
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**The Transforming Ethical Practice in Philippine Archaeology**

Pamela Faylona


Review by Al Parreno

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Given the growing interest for archaeology in the country, the author emphasised the need for ethics in the study (p2). As the book said,
the author’s aim is to “especially raise the concern to formalize a standard for the ethics in Philippine archaeology” (back cover). It implies advocacy whose goal is to convince the readers for the need for a Code of Ethics (back cover). To do this, it raises three main points: 1. It narrates the development of Philippine Archaeology (pp. 21-34); 2. It talks about the application in Philippine museums (pp. 35-48); 3. It tells the public perception of archaeologists (pp. 49-62).

To argue her points, the author dug into the past of Philippine Archaeology. She then presented a methodical narrative of the development of the discipline. Aside from the main chapter dedicated to this, the author presented in Table 1 a meticulous research on literature on Philippine Archaeology. It is what its title says, “The Content Analysis of the Historical Literature of Philippine Archaeology” (p. 159). In arguing for the application of standards in the Philippines, the author studied several museums and their processes in displaying artefacts. The author summarised her findings on the handling of artefacts (Table 2, p. 171). As basis for comparison or benchmark, the author used the Ford’s Management of Archaeological Collection Guidelines. It both provides a basis (the Ford’s Guidelines) and in a table shows how museums are applying them.

Again in support of her main thesis, the author wanted to capture the historical perception of Philippine archaeology. In order to capture this impression, the author shows a narration of historical press releases. This is summarised in Table 4 which cohesively points to newspapers and periodicals showing “Popular Philippine Archaeology Literature.” To show the “transformation”, the author likewise summarises the Practice of Archaeology in the Philippines” which she divides into the Integration Phase, the Assimilation Phase and the Recognition Phase.

The supporting arguments for ethical practices in the Philippines are well researched. Taken away from the context of ethics, the research on the supporting arguments alone provides very rich material on Philippine Archaeology. Taking the pertinent parts, the chapters of the book can be woven into other authoritative books as well. The different chapters supporting her thesis can very well be entitled as “The History of Philippine Archaeology” or “Public Perception of Philippine Archaeologists” or “The Practice of Philippine Museums.”

By collating a comprehensive discussion of articles and sources on Philippine Archaeology, she shows a good basis to argue the impression
made by the public. Quantifying perception is a difficult task, especially when the period sought to be discussed covers a good many years. This task, the author was able to objectively do using strong basis – public releases.

And in the end, after going through a rich discussion on the Philippine state of archaeology, it elaborated on the need for ethics. To further support its main advocacy, the author included as Annex the different Code and Standards of various countries and organisations. A sample proposal was made which narrates certain standards by which Filipino archaeologists should look into (p. 78).

But as stated, the petition for the creation of an ethical standard is not the whole strength of the book. That is the value add, the “one more thing.” Its other strength lies in the discussion of the arguments which collaterally tells the readers the changes in Philippine Archaeology. For that alone, it is worth reading, keeping and studying.

In the creation of a Code of Ethics however, a comparison to other established profession in the Philippines will provide good guidance. As the discipline develops, a look into existing Philippine professions can serve as basis. And whether we like it or not, as correctly pointed out by the author, behaviour is limited by among others, culture, politics and economy (p. 76). With this, a discussion on existing legal prohibitions and standards by law and economic limitations on the practice of archaeology would have made the study more exhaustive. The laws of course will largely govern our ethics. The question that will always pop up in the discussion of ethics is: “In developing them, are we violating international and local law?”

In the end, the author raised awareness for the need for ethics. And with the written proposal for a Code of Ethics, it opens the discussion now for its use.

The author has already laid down the need.

All in all, the book correctly gives readers, as the title implies, the “Transforming Ethical Practice in Philippine Archaeology.” The strength of the book therefore is twofold. It provides a basis for the discussion on the need for ethics. Secondly, it likewise tells us the evolution of Philippine Archaeology.

The book is not only an advocacy. It is a wonderful reference.
This book is a compilation of papers presented at a symposium entitled “The Social Life of Pots: Glaze Wares and Cultural Transformation in the Late Prehistoric Southwest”. Organised by the editors for the 2002 Meetings of the Society for American Archaeology, the symposium was held in Denver, Colorado. The authors in this book represent a multitude of researchers working throughout the glaze-producing pottery areas of the Southwest, including east-central Arizona, the Zuni region, the lower Rio Puerco of the East, and the central and southern Rio Grande Valley.

The “social lives of pots” in this book refers to the social and ideological contexts of production, distribution, and consumption, as well as the demise of glaze wares ceramics from the Southwest. Using the anthropology of technology framework, *chaine opéraire*, practice theory (particularly the concept of *habitus*), the anthropology of consumption, and the concept of communities of practice, the authors present a case for glaze ceramics as a proxy indicator for studying social processes such as the movement of peoples; interregional and intraregional interaction; the formation of communities; and the social, religious, and political reorganisation of the Southwest.

The research reported in this book utilised an assortment of analytical techniques including typological and stylistic analyses, inferential statistics, optical petrography, instrumental neutron activation analysis (INAA), electron microprobe analysis, wavelength dispersive spectroscopy (WDS) and inductively coupled plasma mass spectroscopy (ICP-MS). With these methods and techniques, the authors aim to develop broader frameworks for examining the changing role of glaze-decorated ceramics in the social dynamics of the late pre-contact Southwest. Although many of these analytical methods are already being used in the
Philippines, some are rarely used in studying potteries to elucidate the ancient ways of the Filipinos.

The first three chapters of the book are insightful, and they set the tone for the succeeding chapters. Habicht-Mauche (Chapter 1) begins with the social history of the southwestern glaze wares, including sources of raw materials, the history of glaze ware pottery, and the different archaeological sites associated with glaze ware technology in the Southwest. Stark (Chapter 2) then discusses the different theoretical frameworks that can be applied in studying these materials. In the third chapter, Eckert (Chapter 3) gives a synthesis of the production and distribution of glaze-painted pottery in the Pueblo Southwest. She describes the different groups and subtypes of glaze ware, kinds of decorations, as well as associated dating. It is astonishing how she was able to come up with an organised system of identification, classification, and dating of these types of ceramics.

The introduction of glaze ware pottery has been associated with the spread of new religious ideas and practices in the Southwest. These involved public feasts, dances, gift giving and exchange, and ritual performances that provided the contexts wherein new social identities and roles were constituted, asserted, integrated, and contested and sometimes diversified. Nelson and Habicht-Mauche (Chapter 11) comparatively examines the changing patterns of Rio Grande Glaze ware production and exchange using pottery from four Pueblo IV archaeological sites in the central Rio Grande region of New Mexico. They concluded that glaze ware vessels circulated through social and ceremonial arenas to define the emerging local and regional identities of the people and that the people have regional and interregional networks of economic complementarities and dependencies.

The transmission and spread of glaze ware technology is also subsumed within the migration of people and the dynamic social climate in the newly found social landscape of the people especially of the potters. Eckert (Chapter 9) believes that this dynamic change is reflected in the ceramic data in the Southwest. The data reflect the struggle of each potter on a daily basis to symbolise different aspects of ritual, social organization and political structure of their village or community. The struggle is to negotiate various social strategies concerning her (since potters are mostly women in Southwest) family, ethnic group, ritual society, and exchange networks within a socio-religious system. On the contrary, Schachner (Chapter 7) interpreted the demise of Zuni glaze ware production and the
shift to Matsaki buff ware as the reflection of a large scale migration of people to the western section of the Zuni area. It is also an indication of Zuni community building and identity formation in the 15th century.

The glaze ingredients and formula are used to define social relationships and identities both within and among communities of pottery producers and consumers. Fenn et al. (Chapter 4) argue that, in the Silver Creek area, the maintenance of diverse glaze paint recipes is a strategy for negotiating social distinctions and identities in the post-migration period in the Southwest both regionally and locally. Herhanh (Chapter 10), meanwhile, believes that in central and southern Rio Grande Valley, the increasing homogeneity of glaze formulas is an evidence for the cultural transmission of specialised knowledge within and among groups of potters who were mainly women. As for Huntley (Chapter 6), she interprets the shared and rapid adoption of glaze recipe, as well as proper firing conditions among Zuni potters, as a shared perception and belief about the “correct” way to make glaze paint. Furthermore, she surmises that this shared conception could only be done with regular and face to face communications among potters, which promoted constant interaction among community potters.

Other authors of the book examined the relationship between trade, exchange, and intercommunity interaction on a larger interregional scale using the glaze wares as point of reference. Laumbach (Chapter 8) interpreted the glaze ware from Pinnacle ruins as trade wares and as an indication of sustained social ties with the people of the Western pueblo. On the other hand, Leonard (Chapter 13) analysed the distribution of Rio Grande glaze-painted pottery on the southern High Plains to examine how trade and exchange relationships were played out between the Pueblo farmers and Plains bison hunters.

The mode of production and scale of craft specialisation that characterized glaze ware manufacturing are also discussed in the book. Capone (Chapter 12) suggests that the pattern of glaze ware technology in the Salinas area was a trend toward expedient technology and that, at that time, there was a region-wide concept of temper. Moreover, she also examines the scale and intensity of production of glaze ware employing Costin’s framework or parameter of organization of production.

In chapter 5, Van Keuren uses design execution to infer patterns of learning, social interactions and style miscoding among producers of Four-mile pots along the Mogollon Rim. This suggests, according to him,
changes in the organisation of pottery manufacture in the area which possibly linked to the specialisation of knowledge in designing the pots, the exclusivity of ideological networks, and factionalism within large settlements.

From start to finish, the ideas are presented in an organised manner. The book begins with basic ideas and concepts about glaze ware technology, its history, classification and dating, and the different theoretical frameworks employed by the different authors. Cordell (Chapter 14) ends the book with a recapitulation of the ideas presented in the book, as well as a noteworthy acknowledgement of the pioneers of glaze ware research in the Southwest, which includes Alfred Vincent Kidder and Anna Shepard. Cordell further points out how the work of the current authors build on these pioneers’ work, emphasising the significance of building on past researches rather than criticising them. These researches were, after all, carried out without the benefits of analytic techniques and instrumentations that current researches enjoy.

This book gave me a new perspective on looking at ceramics as a whole. It showed me that just like people, pots can have a social life, which starts from its inception up to its demise. There is always a social, political, religious, and ideological process that will affect its production, use, distribution, consumption as well as its cessation. The book is a reminder that there is more to the typological and styletics analysis of potteries in terms of inferring and elucidating ancient lifeways and cultures. That is why I highly recommend that people read this book for its fresh approach to studying potteries, especially when applied to Philippine archaeology.

Voices from Sulu: A Collection of Tausug Oral Traditions
Compiles and Edited by Gerard Rixhon
Review by Ma. Kathryn Ann B. Manalo
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Sulu is an island archipelago south of the Philippines and a part of the Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao. Its capital, Jolo, is the 15th largest island in the country. Comprising of only 2,135.3 km² in terms of land area, Sulu became one of the major and most powerful Islamic States
in Southeast Asia during the 18-19th centuries. The province stretches from Zamboanga Peninsula to Northern Borneo. Ethnographically, Sulu is the home of the indigenous Tausug, Yakan, JamaMapun, and Badjao. Indeed, the diverse topography of the land and the ethnography of its peoples make Sulu one of the most colourful provinces in the country.

However, how do we reconstruct the past when the sources are oftentimes destroyed by conflict? How do we go about acquiring data when the area is ravaged by war? How do we preserve Sulu’s culture amidst all the threats of hostility? It is this very problem that made Gerard Rixhon decided to document his ethnographic recordings and stories collected almost fifty years ago and compile them in his book *Voices from Sulu: a Collection of Tausug Oral Traditions*.

The editor and compiler of Tausug oral histories is no stranger to Mindanao culture and history. Educated at Ateneo de Manila University with a degree of Masters in Anthropology, Rixhon has more than thirty years of experience in research in Mindanao. He is also the founder of the Coordinated Investigation of Sulu Culture at Notre Dame College of Jolo where he started recording the oral histories of the Sama and the Tausug as part of the Sulu Folk Literature Project.

Essentially, the book is a compilation of Tausug oral histories. It is divided into five parts with 23 chapters. Part 1 centres on stories of Mullung, a local and famous storyteller. The stories of Tuwan, another storyteller are found in Part 2. Part 3 is a compilation of Tausug poetry while Part 4, another series of oral stories was collected by H. Arlo Nimmo, another researcher. Part 5 deals with an overview and classification of Tausug literature.

Most of oral histories deal with legends and the Tausug literature has its share of myths. The story *In Kaawn sin Pây* (The Creation of Rice) is a mix of religious tale and the importance of rice in Sulu culture. The story *In Tau Nakauna* (The First People of Sulu) is a tale of the first settlers of the land and how they populated the area, as planned by God. *KatântânBungang-KahuyKakaununIban Sin Binatang Halal* (The Origin of Edible Fruits and Animals) tells us about Adam’s circumcision, the creation of Eve, and the foods that Tausugs are allowed to eat (*halal*). Although these stories clearly narrate origins, we can likewise see how religion influenced the content of the stories.

The stories of heroes are also represented in the Tausug oral histories. *Hangdangaw*, a hand-span-tall boy was able to go on a journey,
defeat a giant, and marry a princess for saving the town. The tale of *ManikBuwangsi* is a story of love and adventure and like many other epic heroes, he returns home and marry the love of his life.

The state of the society can also be seen in the stories. For example in *Pangkat sin Sultan ha Istanbul iban Di* (The Relation between the Sultan of Istanbul and Our Sultan), Mullung narrates the story of the son of the Sultan of Istanbul, who reached Jolo where he learned about maturity and responsibility. Although a moral tale and not a historical one, we can notice the high regard of the Sulu people for the Ottoman Empire which was once the centre of Islam. The *Parang Sabil of Abdulla and Putli’ Isara in Spanish Times* deals with the tragic but heroic story of the lovers Abdulla and Putli’ Isara. The story was set during the Spanish occupation of the Philippines and told of abusive lieutenants who raped Putli’ Isara. Since Putli was dishonoured, the couple decided to commit a *parangsabil*, a Tausug institution to defend Islam and its followers to death.

Rituals and Ceremonies were also reflected in the stories. The tale of *Munabi* tells us that after death, the Tausug Muslim bathes the departed nine times to clean the nine bodily orifices, after which the body is wrapped in white cloth. Prayers are recited and the body is lowered in a hole that runs north to south so that the body faces Mecca.

Another theme of the Tausug oral histories is religion. In *Sitti Maryam* (Lady Mary), Mullung narrates the life of Mary and the eventual birth of Jesus from an Islamic point of view. The story of *TugbukLawihan* (The Disputed Treasure), tells us to submit to God’s will, and a wounded soul can be healed by a medicine man through God’s guidance. *Kissa sin Hal Magtiyam* (A Didactic Ballad on Marriage) reminds the Muslim faithful to seek guidance from mosque official before getting married.

There were also stories of peculiar theme. *Lisuan* (Lazybones) is a young man who hates to work and loves to sleep. Although people laugh at him, one of the Sultan’s daughters was charmed by his attitude. The Sultan refused the union and exiled the couple to the jungle where through an amazing series of events, Lisuan was able to build a mansion bigger than the Sultan’s.

Lastly, riddles, proverbs, and poems were also compiled. These stories have an array of themes from nature, to objects, to family, to love and to life.

Since the stories were told in the local language *Sinûg*, the
translation underwent three levels: literal, grammatical and, with the help of someone knowledgeable in Tausug culture, a contextual one. This ensured that the subtext and other embedded meanings of the stories were not lost in translation.

These stories reflect the complicated history that the Tausug underwent. Their literature obviously reflects a syncretic idea of culture where the indigenous belief is intertwined with new (or foreign) ideas. The book is a testimony to the great colourful culture of the Tausug. Clearly, Gerard Rixhon made the voices from Sulu heard through this compendium.

Phoenix Rising: Narratives in Nyonya Beadwork from the Straits Settlements
Hwei-Fe’n Cheah

Review by MCM Santamaria
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The book came in a brown Manila paper cover, occupied ten and one-fourth inches by eight and three-fourths inches of desk space, and weighed all in all about five pounds. Its bulkiness like all other coffee table books, at first, challenged this reviewer’s coffee table book-jaded mind. Mercifully, as it emerged from its textured veil, the book design and title removed some of this reviewer’s initial doubts. A careful reading of the text results in absolute conversion. Rarely does a coffee table book successfully combine the aesthetics required by the commercial aspects of production with the erudite texts expected of scholarly works. This tome does not disappoint. It invites its reader to travel back through time, and through its visual narrative of a hugely ignored art form (re)creates an important aspect of the art history of Southeast Asia. Through its scholarly and compelling narrative text and images, it embarks in nothing less than a seduction of the mind.

The author, Hwei-Fe’n Cheah, teaches Asian art and textile history at the Australian National University. This current work results from her doctoral dissertation on Nyonya beadwork. Nyonya is the term used to refer to women of the Peranakan Chinese communities in the straits area of the Malayan Peninsula and Sumatra. Peranakan connotes being “locally
“Peranakan Cina.” The term Peranakan also implies a certain level of “acculturation” or adaptation to Malay ways such as the adoption of local attire, the chewing of betel nut and the like. Other alternate terms are “Baba Chinese” and “Straits Chinese.”

Cheah views Nyonya beadwork as a marker of Peranakan identity. She identifies its florescence between 1870 and 1920. This period, she points out, “coincides with the golden age of Peranakan Chinese society.” This review will focus on the following areas of concern: sampling of artefacts used in this book; photographs that were used to help move the narrative text of this work; commentaries on and narratives about the makers of beadwork; and techniques and methods in determining age and provenance.

The samples of beadwork artefacts contained in this book help illustrate the influence of traditional and contemporary forces that produce aesthetic vibrancy resulting from tensions between continuity and change. Comprising one category of beadwork samples found in the book are ritual implements such as kiam tuah or neck-tie shaped hangings and other objects that were used in weddings and other rituals. These samples show not only the incredibly minute design aesthetics of Nyonya beadwork, they also underscore their central role in Peranakan customs of conviviality. While basic shapes as well as functions remain relatively constant, variations of style in terms of colour and motif found in the samples from among communities across the Strait of Malacca belie a subtle differentiation that affirm the creative powers of both the culture of origin and local culture. Another category of beadwork is that of everyday objects. In this category, beaded slippers (kasot) appear to be the best represented among the artefacts in this book. The great variety of beadwork design combined with, among others, silver-work appliqué, metallic thread and bullion-knot embroidery imply a widely distributed or commonly shared aspect of luxury consumption that was sustained for a relatively lengthy period of time, which in turn indicate the political and economic stability enjoyed by the Peranakan communities. Yet another category of artefacts found in the book is that of allied objects or what may even be called “objects of the trade.” These are objects that comprise beadwork or serve to facilitate its production such as bead sample cards, embroidery frames, unfinished beadwork, and needle baskets (rombong).
By not limiting her sampling to beadwork artefacts alone, Cheah affords the reader a look at beadwork that goes beyond the final product. Sample cards speak of trading networks. Embroidery frames signify an alliance with woodworkers. Unfinished beadwork pieces speak of technical struggles and expressive proficiency, while needle baskets embed beadwork in the immediate and organic environment of the locale. Indeed, the non-beadwork items contained in this book speak as eloquently as the beadwork items themselves.

An added bonus to this book’s already impressive sampling of beadwork is Cheah’s careful selection of photographic images. Period or vintage photographs perform an important function of contextualising artefacts. In this scheme of things, Cheah’s selection truly impresses. Numerous photographs of wedding couples, matriarchs, patriarchs and whole families striking formal poses in formal attire locate at the same time relate beadwork artefacts to one another. The extravagant display of beadwork “embodied” in a Peranakan bride’s traditional costume from the beaded slippers (kosot) wrapping her feet, beaded brooches (kerosang) ornamenting her blouse (baju), the shoulder piece (sangkot bahu) hanging on her left shoulder, to the handkerchief (sapu tangan) in her left hand could then be appreciated as an ensemble of artefacts relating to each other with the body as its canvas. A photograph of a wedding chamber (Figure 43, p. 92) shows a bed that is draped with all sorts of beaded panels and ornaments including kiam tuah (neck-tie shaped hangings). Such a pictorial composition informs the viewer of the traditionally proper location and use of beaded artefacts. Studio photographs of Nyonya women wearing western style clothes, the popular cheongsam, document changes in the use of beadwork as well as the dynamism of Peranakan culture and its connectedness to regional and international trends.

Of special interest to this reviewer are the narratives of its creators, the inheritors of the artefacts of beadwork. These narrative accounts, though mostly restated by the author, add a personal dimension to the story of beadwork. Meanings and lessons may then be drawn from actual experience, such as follows:

“Chiang Yee, who grew up in Jiangsu in southern China, describes how his sister had to embroider household linens, her own clothes, shoes, and handkerchiefs as well as small items such as bookmarks as gifts for wedding guests. Her needlework would be shown to the bridegroom’s relatives and friends the day before the wedding and Chiang described how his sister’s embroideries were carried in a slow procession to the groom’s
home, accompanied by bursts of fireworks that encouraged onlookers to view the works. The reputation of the bride could be enhanced or hurt by her needlework, so much so that Chiang’s grandmother sent ‘spies’ to listen for criticism of his sister’s handiwork.” (p. 106)

Indeed, the above-mentioned stories surrounding beadwork add a very human quality of urgency, desperation, and distinction to the craft. Beadwork may now be directly linked to the pride or shame of a certain household. A Nyonya’s reputation may therefore rise or fall according to the quality of her beadwork, a craft that functions to cultivate “a domesticated daughter and a dutiful wife.” (p. 112) Domestication, in a sense, appears to be a function of the bead’s minuteness. Alternately, beadwork pieces may be viewed both as source of individual expression and a technique of social oppression.

Stories from informants also reveal the “transnational” nature of Nyonya beadwork. This aspect has less to do with the crossing of actual territorial borders, rather it relates more to the inter-ethnic production and consumption as the following paragraph indicates:

“Non-Peranakan Chinese, Malays, and Peranakan Indians owned and used Nyonya beaded and embroidered slippers. However, Nyonya and Nyonya-style beadwork (as distinct from Malay beadwork in geometric and floral designs) was primarily associated with Peranakans. Samuel Doraisingham attributes the beaded slippers worn by Melaka Chitty women to the influence of the Peranakan Chinese with whom they had affinal bonds. Seventy-year-old Kamachee Pillay from the Melaka Chitty community also recalls that her grandmother used and made beadwork. However, Pillay suggests that this beadwork was a direct result of the influence of the Melaka Peranakan community since her grandmother worked in a Peranakan household and patronized the same craftsmen as the Peranakans. Making use of the beadwork thus carried a further implication—it allied the used with Peranakan culture and society, perhaps even reinforcing the association between beadwork and affluence.” (p. 106)

With very little doubt, to scholars the most useful part of the book is chapter 4 which is titled Towards a Chronology of Nyonya Beadwork. In this chapter, the author details the challenges presented by the task of dating extant pieces. On the one hand, information about the provenance and production of beadwork hardly accompanies any of the extant artefacts. Scientific dating of actual beads, on the other hand, produces a very wide margin of error to be of any use for historical studies on beadwork. Clearly, compared to pottery, jewellery or woodwork, for instance, a different kind of sleuthing is needed in determining dates and provenance among Nyonya beadwork pieces. Beadwork pieces that
belong to families or those that were handed from one generation to another may be classified as those of “of known provenance.” They are relatively easy to date as oral histories or journal entries regarding family events may still be extant or be retrievable from archival sources. The same may be said of museum collections where deeds of donations and accession records serve as important references for dating. A more indirect and therefore also less reliable method of dating is through approximation based on the examination of newspaper or print materials backing that may be found in some pieces. Used as support material placed in between or behind pieces of cloth used for beadwork, newspaper materials often contain dates that help determine the relative age of certain pieces. Another indirect method of dating that is shared by the author is that of dating through a study of fashions. This method compares the styles of extant beadwork with those in photographic sources and extant functioning objects whose respective milieus are known. Cheah, for instance, notes how the kasot manek slippers “changed in shape, as fashions changed.” Other elements that showed changes are seed bead types as well as techniques and materials that may be differentiated through time.

Finally, the question where future research may proceed must be asked. This reviewer is particularly interested in how this piece of scholarship may be linked to studies about the reality(ies) of the greater community of overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia. Do the “completely” assimilated Chinese communities in Southeast Asia such as the Chinese-Thai and the Chinese Cambodians possess the same or similar beadwork artefacts as well as processes of production and social contexts in which production is embedded? Indeed, the author is encouraged to breach the borders of her stated delimitation as she has done more than fine job in interrogating her object of inquiry in this present tome. On a different trajectory, how are Nyonya beadwork related to those created by Chinese Filipinos or non-Chinese Filipinos. Beaded slippers known as chinelas or sapatillas are, more often than not, part of Philippine traditional attire. Old paintings by Philippine masters such as Damian Domingo and Simon Flores point to this fact. Households that produce such slippers are still extant in some towns near Manila. A notable example of such a locale is Pateros, Rizal, a place known also for the production of salted eggs which is another industry derived from the Chinese. On a more specific point of inquiry, how is the Peranakan related to Parian-non? Parian are places where the Chinese live in old Philippine settlements such as Manila, Cebu and Iloilo. Are the two labels linguistic
cognates of each other? Is it therefore possible that we are missing some points by simply following historical or colonial lines of distinction? Perhaps by asking such questions and by outlining a more expanded Southeast Asian “emporium” of artefact, design and corollary identities, strands of regional unity may once again emerge and be understood in creating new perspectives and insights that would be truly difficult to ignore, thereby making the idea of “Southeast Asia” more resonant or meaningful.

Cheah’s bulky tome now sits in the reserve section of the Asian Center library, part of a reading list for a course on the Arts of Asia...on loan from this reviewer until the publisher obliges the library with a copy of its own.

_**Southeast Asia in the Fifteenth Century: The China Factor**_

Edited by Geoff Wade and Sun Laichen

2010. Singapore: NUS Press and Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press

Review by Joan Tara Reyes

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(Re?)Evaluating the China Factor: China in Fifteenth Century Southeast Asia

It is always a hard task to build a historical narrative around any region. There is a need to look for a period of convergence in each society’s history. This is the period when they all shared changes or interruptions that maybe caused by one stimulus or by chain reaction. In the book “Southeast Asia in the Fifteenth Century: The China Factor”, the editors and contributors have showcased their new research about the importance of China in the historical events of the fifteenth century.

The book was successful in compiling the research of the current top Southeast Asian scholars. Numerous experts in history and archaeology have contributed their views on how different societies in Southeast Asia were before. This illustrious group was edited by both credible Chinese and Southeast Asian History experts: Geoff Wade and Sun Laichen. Wade is currently affiliated with the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies at the National University of Singapore and the University of Hong Kong. He specialises in Sino-Southeast Asian interactions. On the other hand, Sun is currently an associate professor at California State
University, Fullerton. He also specialises in Sino-Southeast Asian interactions specifically during the early modern era (1350–1800). Both editors have published extensively about their specialisations individually (pp. 411-412). Through the efforts of both authors, this 507-page book was published and have shed light on the said period.

**China’s Role and Influence**

The book has four parts. The first is about the overview of the different historical events caused by Chinese presence (focusing on the Ming dynasty) in the region and its political influence in the changing cultural and spatial territories of the Southeast Asian mainland. Meanwhile, the second part narrates the changes in the soon to be Vietnam territories when Chinese governance and scholarship were made available to them for their use. The third part features Tai and Khmer societies and their reactions to Chinese stimuli in terms of trade and technology. Lastly, the fourth part tackled the maritime activities of China and Island Southeast Asia.

Beside the spatial divisions of the editors above, we can also group the topics which tackle subjects like political assertion, economy, technology, and migration. The papers of Li Tana, John Whitmore, Momoki Shiro, and Ong Eng Ann Alexander centred on the territorial strain of China’s assertion in the South. Meanwhile, the articles of Sun Laichen, Volker Grabowsky, Michael Vickery, Roxanna Brown and John Miksic showed how intense was the economic activity between China and Southeast Asia to the point that it changed each societies in terms of political and diplomatic policies. Adding to this, Christian Daniels and Pierre-Yves Manguin expressed in their articles the development of technologies between the societies and the social and political improvements that resulted from them. Last, Anthony Reid solely tackled the history of the so-called “strait Chinese” or the Chinese people that migrated to the islands of modern day Malaysia, Indonesia and the Philippines. Each article was adequately explained and valid evidence were painstakingly read and presented.

**Triumph of Documents**

Most authors have successfully accessed the available documents that were available to them even if they were written in different Asian languages. Wade, Sun, Daniels, and Ong were all well-versed in the Chinese language while Grabowsky, Li, Momoki, Vickery and Whitmore
have used important Southeast Asian documents to give us sufficient descriptions of the fifteenth century.

**History through Artefacts**

Archaeological data were also utilised by some of the contributors to reconstruct the fifteenth century world. Brown’s search for the society that proves the ban of ceramic trade during the Ming period or also known as the “Ming gap” was aided by various archaeological reports in the region about the Chinese ceramic yields of these sites. Brown had look at them closely to see the sites where specific Ming ceramics are absent or in very few examples which she did successfully.

Success can also be said after reading Manguin’s paper. Here, he wrote about the different technologies of boat-building developed in Southeast Asia. These boat designs have allowed the people to travel and trade intensely during those years. He also mentioned the existence of “hybrid” ships that both carry the local and Chinese shipbuilding designs. In these ships, the best part of each design was kept to produce new boats. Shipwrecks of these boats confirmed their existence.

Miksic also used underwater archaeological reports on shipwrecks to show the intensity of Southeast Asian and Chinese trade in the area. He practically listed each shipwreck that was discovered in the area’s waters and laid the list of its contents. Numerous sherds of Chinese pottery were found all over the region. This solidified the presence (at least economically) of China. This proved how rich was the trade during that time.

The papers of Brown, Manguin, and Miksic further prove the importance of analysing archaeological data along with the written documents. Acceptance of design influences like what Manguin had discovered would never be known if such specially designed ships were not found and analysed. The same thing with the painstaking research of Brown and Miksic on important archaeological sites in Southeast Asia.

**The Southeast Asia Question**

The book is indeed a triumph in terms of scholarly articles backed with documents and archaeological data but somehow it failed to unify a region that was supposedly united by the *China factor*. It was my expectation after reading the book title that somehow, a new light will be shed in our present understanding of what is Southeast Asia and in this
case, during the fifteenth century. I was hoping that each society will be connected through their “Chinese” experience. In my opinion, the authors should have shown and explained their concept of what is Southeast Asia first. Then, they should have explained the importance of the China factor in changing the fifteenth century world.

It can be seen in the different parts of the book that the authors have no collective view of the whole region. Instead, they have focused on the societies that have experienced political and cultural assertions from China. On the other hand, societies that did not have the same experience were put to the end part. The topics are mostly about the basic physical existence of the Chinese and/or their trade products. One can formulate how the book lacks vision about what was the region during that time and why the China factor needs to be investigated in all societies. Is the China factor indeed a point of historical significance for every society?

For me, this book has failed to show a common view about the subject. Each article can stand on its own. I believe that each essay should have supplemented and proved a unifying theme for all ancient societies in Southeast Asia. The more that the reader moves to each article should strengthen their thesis that they sadly lacked or failed to focus on. It would have been a more fruitful and enlightening read if all contributions were harmoniously working towards a new view for the region.

Instead, we are now facing again age old debates that I thought were over. After reading the book, it was like taking David Steinberg’s journey again “In Search of Southeast Asia” (1986). It is asking again questions like “Is there really a region called Southeast Asia?” while Nicholas Tarling (1966) has already shown that it does exist in terms of significant historical events. Holding on to the idea that Southeast Asia is a legitimate geographical region will further strengthen the book and the importance of Chinese influence in the said region.

The China factor

All in all, the book is a good addition to Southeast Asian research. The sources that they have used and the new insights that they argued incite healthy debates about our views about the past. Each article clearly showed the China factor in each society. It would be better though if they had a common point that they would want to discuss. This would make the work more relevant and organised. Even so, I still recommend this book for Southeast Asian scholars and students.
Asian Port Cities, 1600–1800: Local and foreign cultural interactions
Edited by Haneda Masashi

Review by Kate A. Lim
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University of the Philippines, Diliman

This book is a product of a joint research project launched in 2005–
comparative studies on the cross-cultural contacts in Asian port cities in
the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Masashi, p. xv)”. It preceded
two conferences in 2007 which inspired these ten articles to narrate the
intensive cultural contact that happened in maritime Asia in the said time
period. This volume is intended to present a new methodological
framework on comparing historical Asian port cities by gearing away
from the seeming dichotomy between “European versus non-European”
perspectives that treat Europeans and Asians as if they are separate
entities, or what he defines as a Eurocentric historical view (Masashi, p. 2).
As an aim, the editor would want to establish a framework of scientific
discussion through the method of comparison that would hopefully incite
other approaches too. Masashi highlights in his long introduction (and
you may also say disclaimer) that Europe and Asia are words used in this
book as a geographical unit rather than a representation of similar or
contrasting (other than physical) characteristics of an area. Furthermore,
he humbly recognises “that many points still need improvement
(Masashi, p. xv)”.

As a strategic area of study, these port cities acted as business
centres that supported the exchange of goods, services, languages, ideas,
and other observable factors of comparison. This is why the editor sees
these ports as a gateway to understanding Asian maritime worlds. By
Asian maritime worlds, he means an ambiguous sphere with the sea at its
centre that “connects two or more regions rather than dividing them
(Masashi, p. 3)” The editor limits the “discussion and analysis to port
cities where at least one European East India Company established a fort
or factory (Masashi, p. 4)” during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. These cited locations are parts of China and Japan (Chapters 1 to 5), Indonesia (Chapter 6), Thailand (Chapter 7) and India (Chapters 8 to 10). The editor chose to limit the discussion through the presence of European East India companies in the said sites because for one, they have well-documented cases. Comparison may also be perceived to be easier with the said scope where a concrete system of exchange is visible, however, to claim the said title of the book can already be misleading to some readers. Having some Asian ports and European East India Companies during the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries as common parameters, could this be substantial enough to set a model whereby the said dichotomy can be challenged?

Likewise, in another book review published at the Journal of Southeast Asian Studies, Roderich Ptak points out his uncertainty if the editor was really able to achieve his goal in providing a framework of study. Ptak explains that “although a detailed list of items to compare is provided in the last part of the introduction, the studies that follow, are, for the most part, confined to the investigation of one single port or geographical entity—without offering systematic comparisons between different settings. This problem is typical for maritime conference volumes: they address all kinds of commercial and cultural links, across the sea, or from coast to coast. By contrast, direct comparisons between two or more distinct sites are, almost as a rule, less frequent (p. 1)” Nevertheless, the author of this current review would still like to commend the editor and the writers, because generally speaking more than the technical side of setting a template of study, they were relatively effective in illustrating how the mentioned Asian communities were instrumental in shaping the maritime world (Ptak, 2010).

As a preparatory read, this book will surely stimulate anyone who is interested on the subject matter to visualise how this exchange and interactions came about in ports. In the first chapter written by Masashi himself, he compared the attitude of the state towards foreign trade as reflected with the interpreters and the children with mixed lineage in Canton and Nagasaki and also contrasted it with Bandar Abbas. He claims that this difference in attitude resulted in various situations of political and social considerations. In Chapter 2, Matsui Yoko also touched on the recognition of children with mixed lineage, the social and legal questions of foreign men and women and their association with Japanese locals in Nagasaki during the Edo period. Yoko points out how
the law would protect a child even with a Japanese prostitute mother (the child would not be allowed to go with the father), where foreign criminals would be judged—basically in their hometown and how these foreigners were treated as short-term residents who would not fall under Japan’s jurisdiction. Liu Yong in Chapter 3 also notes how Chinese merchants control with their European trade in a competitive port as Canton by stating like how the Dutch traders would adapt, respect and build their credibility with their Chinese partners.

Chapters 4 and 5 would be more interesting to art and archaeology enthusiasts as the book moves towards inspecting material culture in Japan and China. Other than business exchange, further social influences became apparent during the mid-Edo period (eighteenth century) in Japan—noticeably with what Ito Shiori in Chapter 4 observed in the influences made in the Japanese paintings by the Western and Chinese communities. In this section, Shiori presented twenty-three colourful figures on the different styles of paintings. He documented the driving factor in the artists’ selection of motifs which is primarily due to accessibility and/or exposure to a new perspective. Its choice however would also depend on his/her personal taste. As for Chapter 5, competing Chinese and Japanese porcelains during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were the centre of discussion. Supplementing the book with sixty-one samples, Liu Zhaohui concluded that the trade between the two cities where in Jingdezhen (Chinese) porcelains first exported to Japan deeply influenced imari (Japan’s) blue-and-white. As Chinese porcelains declined during the 1650’s, Japan boosts its claim to dominate porcelain exports and thus initiated rivalry with China to please the European market.

Leonard Blusse in Chapter 6 reminisce the Old Batavia as he narrated a glance of its history that was reflected from having a large mercantile operations that gained monopoly over Asian commerce from the Dutch Republic. As the Dutch move and traded to the West, they also interacted with the Kingdom of Ayutthaya, Thailand or Siam. Moving further, in Chapter 7 Bhawan Ruangsilp discussed the responsibilities of the Dutch settlers, highlighting extraterritorial rights and jurisdiction issues. Meanwhile, Chapter 8 y Soren Mentz focused on the role and the cultural interaction between the British merchants in the Madras with the Indian population that was kept at a minimum. While in India, the diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai, a courtier from Pondicherry was a helpful document for writer Philippe Haudrere in Chapter 9 who investigated the
complex association amongst the French and native settlers of the trading post. This was made evident between the Governor and the courtier who maintained a good relationship as long as commercial prosperity is stable. In the last chapter by Nagashima Hiromu, he reviewed the locations in Surat where European factories and facilities were stationed. He was able to trace that they were constantly moving unlike the Dutch in Japan. He also talked about the architecture and ownership details of these companies during the time of Mughal Empire which was supplemented with various maps and vibrant visuals.

More than the technical critique of what Ptak suggests having to struggle to be compelled with identifying common denominators; this read demonstrates how players highlighting Asian dominance over their trading ports were crucial in shaping interactions between their business partners. As a point of reference, this trade prosperity as an overlying interest was obviously instrumental in this exchange of social, cultural and political traditions. As Asian nations continue to compete successfully in world economy (Frank 1998), the articles written provided an overview as to what factors motivate actions and decisions amongst actors.

Although one cannot confine all the comparative notes on Asian maritime worlds, as a point of improvement, an enhanced version of the book would perhaps include an apparent representation of other Asian nations that may have been significant players during the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries. To further assert the title of the book and giving more weight in it, other investigations and narratives could be possibly included so as to avoid displacing other substantial port events and locations. After all, “the study of maritime Asia is strongly indigenized, rooted in the various historiography of various areas of Asia, a frequently the work of Asian scholars” (Wills Jr., p. 19).

References
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Comets, Cults, and Coins: A material-theoretic framework for the archaeoastronomical study of the Book of Revelation
Rafael Dy-Liacco

Place Names, Seascape and Cartography of Marine Rights: Cases of claims to places on the reef of Batasan in Bohol
Eulalio R. Guiob III

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Rhayan G. Melendres

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Babul Roy

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