

Common Patterns of Cultural Heritage in Asia-Pacific

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《Abstract》

From the end of 20 century due to increasing of capital flow, trade and other forms of economic and political interaction Asia-Pacific becomes an important arena of global transformations. In circumstances of nowadays global integration and new faze of technical change the richness of cultural diversity of Asia-Pacific gives its population the vast opportunity for economic growth, technical innovations and personal prosperity. From the other hand, unusually broad cultural diversity contains powerful threats. Differences in religions, traditions, customs and languages very often become a source of tensions because of misunderstandings and political speculations.

Fast development of Japan, South Korea, Hong Kong, Taiwan and Singapore in 20 century has shown the importance of traditional Asian cultural norms, which were one of main factors to ease the adaptation of backward economies to the fast globalizing world economy. Such outstanding features of traditional philosophy of Confucianism as the close family ties, sense of social discipline and respect for hard work were the engine of economy growth in those countries. From the other hand, philosophy of Confucianism is not the only Asian tradition. Cultural norms of Taoism and Chinese popular religion played significant role in economic and social activities among Chinese for centuries. Cultural norms of Buddhism, Hinduism and Islam also had long periods of successful influences on the processes of regional integration, social and economic development. But historical evidence shows us the turns of economic activity and stagnation in the Asia-Pacific region. Why the same believes, religions and traditions sometimes could be motors but sometimes hampers of social and economic development?

It looks like the successes and failures are connected with such phenomenon as cultural change. How and why cultural changes take place? To understand the phenomenon of those turns in Asia-Pacific regional development it is reasonable address to the initial stage of integration, which traces could be found in folklores and mythologies of the peoples, populating the region from Neolithic and Paleolithic times. It is important to notice that besides high level of cultural diversity in Asia-Pacific region there is the opposite phenomenon of cultural similarity of Austronesian speaking peoples in spite of fact that nowadays they confess different believes and separated by various national states. Cultural similarity, which those peoples share, could be explained in terms of former

cultural unity or regular long time contacts among them in the past. Wide believes diversity among the Austronesian speaking peoples could be explained by their ability to adapt easily to outside influences. What is a reason for such easy adaptation? I guess the main reason is economic profit of it. What kind of society is so much orientated to economic profit? Probably, it is a trading society. And it is reasonable to suppose that nowadays Austronesian speaking peoples shares the same cultural (not ethnic) ancestry from the unity of peoples who were integrated by sea trade nomads and whose life was depend from the sea.

Ancient Asia-Pacific sea nomads' cultural traditions reconstruction is interesting and useful task because it can help to discover mechanisms of easy cultural integration in the region, which took place in the past and probably could be exploited nowadays to relief international and inter-religious tensions in the region. To discover that heritage we need address to collective unconscious of peoples (not only the Austronesian speaking) populating Asia-Pacific. Mainly I would like address to an invisible Asian-Pacific cultural heritage, which is hidden under the umbrellas of different religions. This cultural heritage could be found in common cultural patterns. The study of mythological symbols, believes, rituals, cults in combination with particular objects of natural resources and material culture could help find such common patterns.

Introduction

Asia-Pacific is a vast area, which is characterized by extraordinary economic and cultural diversity. It is generally regarded (Phillips and Steven 1988) that the area includes East Asia (China, Japan, Korea, Mongolia, Taiwan); Southeast Asia (Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar, Thailand, Vietnam, Malaysia, Indonesia, the Philippines); Oceania (Melanesia, Micronesia, Polynesia, Australia, New Zealand); and South Asia (India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Nepal, Maldives, Sri Lanka; sometimes Afghanistan, Tibet, and Iran are also included). In some contexts, the region may be understood in more wide sense and thus becomes close to the term of the Pacific Rim. The term "Pacific Rim" derives from the physical geography and refers to the rim of active volcanoes around the edge of the Pacific Ocean. In this case the territory stretches from the Oceania in the South up to Russian Far East in the North; and from Indian Ocean area in the West to North and South Americas coasts in the East. During the 20 century in the region raised multitude of important modern economic centers, such as Los Angeles, San Francisco, Seattle, Vancouver, Tokyo, Seoul, Shanghai, Hong Kong, Manila, Bangkok, Singapore, Sydney, Melbourne, Auckland, and Santiago. Moreover the area is notable for its great economic diversity from the agricultural productivity of such countries as the United States, New Zealand, Chile, and the Philippines to richness of natural resources of Australia, Canada, the Philippines, and the Russia; from the human resources of China and Indonesia to the technology of the western United States, Japan, and Korea with the economic dynamism of Hong Kong, Taiwan and

[The Problem: Opportunities and Threats] Fast development of Japan, South Korea, Hong Kong, Taiwan and Singapore in 20 century has shown the importance of traditional Asian cultural norms, which were one of main factors to ease the adaptation of backward economies to the fast globalizing world economy. Such outstanding features of traditional philosophy of Confucianism as “the close family ties, sense of social discipline and respect for hard work” were the engine of economy growth in those countries (Aikman 1986, 5). From the other hand, philosophy of Confucianism is not the only Asian tradition. Cultural norms of Taoism and Chinese popular religion played significant role in economic and social activities among Chinese and in Chinese Diasporas all over Asia-Pacific for centuries. Cultural norms of Buddhism, Hinduism and Islam also had long periods of successful influences on the processes of regional integration, social and economic development.

Observing successful achievements and optimistic perspectives of Asian edge of the Asian-Pacific in nowadays economic activity, it is reasonable to find the answer on the question why the Asian edge countries failed “to exploit the economic opportunities of the expanding world market in the preceding two hundred years (Lathman & Kawakatsu 2000, 1)”. Raising this question Lathman & Kawakatsu suppose that it will be “a task for the next generation of scholars working on the development of the Asian economy (*ibid*: 2)”.

From my side I suppose that the findings in such far away (from the first glance) study as cultural anthropology and even its such more specific subfield as anthropology of religion, folklore, and mythology could be an important contribution into the understanding of the surprising phenomenon. More over the historical evidence shows us the periodical turns of economic activity and stagnation in the Asia-Pacific region which as I suppose are not directly connected with traditional and cultural norms.

Why the same believes, religions and traditional cultural norms sometimes could be motors but sometimes hampers of social and economic development?

Nowadays in spite of high level of religious, political and cultural diversity Asia-Pacific experiences the next phase of economic and social dynamism after long period of stagnation. From the end of 20 century due to increasing of capital flow, trade and other forms of economic and political interaction Asia-Pacific becomes an important arena of global transformations. Some specialists (Aikman 1986, Lathman & Kawakatsu 2000) predict that in the nearest future the world economic activity may refocus from Atlantic to Pacific area. It is considered at the same time that such characteristics of the East Asian edge of the Pacific as its human resources, the cultural richness and adaptability to modern commerce are the most exciting aspects of the region.

Probably in circumstances of nowadays global integration and new faze of technical change the richness of cultural diversity of Asia-Pacific gives its population the vast opportunity for technical innovations, economic growth, and personal prosperity. From the other hand, such

unusually broad cultural diversity contains also powerful threats. Differences in religions, traditions, customs and languages very often become a source of tensions because of misunderstandings and political speculations.

[First Question and Conjecture] I suppose that the periodic phases of economic activity and stagnation in the Asia-Pacific region do not much depend from traditional and cultural norms but mostly from such phenomenon as cultural change. ***How and why cultural changes take place?*** It seems to me that periodic environmental (climate) changes, technical and transportation revolutions are the main motors for transformations in social structures which in their turn determine the mechanisms and level of cross-cultural activity, integration or isolation.

[Secondary Puzzle and Question] It is important to notice that besides the cultural diversity, in Asia-Pacific region there is the opposite phenomenon of cultural similarity of Austronesian speaking peoples, in spite of the fact that nowadays they confess different believes and are separated by various nation-states. Nowadays some of them are Christians (in Taiwan, Philippines, East Timor, Papua New Guinea, most of the Pacific Islands, New Zealand, and Madagascar), others are Muslims (Indonesia, Malaysia, southern Thailand, the southern Philippine Islands, and Brunei); some are Hinduists (Bali) and many others still follow their original believes, which include Ancestor Worship, Animism, and Shamanism. Cultural similarity, which those peoples share, could be explained in terms of former cultural unity or regular long time contacts among them in the past. Wide believes diversity among the Austronesian speaking peoples could be explained by their ability to adapt easily to outside influences. ***What is a reason for such easy adaptation?***

[Secondary Conjectures and Next Puzzles] I guess the main reason for easy adaptation to outside influences is to get profit of integration. ***What kind of society is so much orientated to integration?*** Probably, it is an exchanging society. And it is reasonable to suppose that nowadays Austronesian speaking peoples share the same cultural (not ethnic) ancestry from the unity of peoples who were once integrated by sea nomads and whose life was depend from the sea. Ancient Asia-Pacific sea nomads' cultural traditions reconstruction is interesting and useful task because it can help to discover mechanisms of easy cultural integration in the region, which took place in the past and probably could be exploited nowadays to relief international and inter-religious tensions in the region.

[The Method] To discover such traditions and effective integration mechanisms we need address to Carl Jung's concept of *collective unconscious*. According to Jung collective unconscious is a part of the unconscious mind, shared by a society, and is the product of ancestral experience. It is concentrated in traditions, believes and moral norms. The sea nomads' cultural heritage seems to be hidden in many Asian-Pacific cultures' collective unconscious. The study of mythologies, believes, rituals, cults in combination with particular objects of material culture and archaeological artifacts in Asia-Pacific region could help to analyze the collective unconscious of peoples (not only the Austronesian speaking) populating Asia-Pacific and find a set of common cultural patterns, which

represent the concept of initial integration phase. Mainly I would like address to an invisible Asian-Pacific common cultural heritage, which is hidden under the umbrellas of different folk religions (Chinese popular religion, folk Buddhism, folk Hinduism, folk Islam, and folk Christianity). This cultural heritage could be found in common cultural patterns.

[Scopes] The study of mythological symbols, believes, rituals, and cults in combination with particular objects of material culture and items of traditionally exploited natural resources could help find one part of such common patterns. Another important source for the studying consists in forms, routs, main actors and items of cross-cultural exchange in combination with variations of cultural homogenization. The third source is archaeological sites and artifacts. The comparison analysis of those three sources could bring to light the set of common cultural patterns which form an invisible Asian-Pacific cultural heritage.

[Research Materials] Literature and researches I use in my work are divided into three main parts. The theoretical studies constitute the first part and include the studies in anthropology, sociology of religion, and theory of mythology. Religions and cults genesis in the history framework is the second part of researches. The third big part of researches is connected to the problem of understanding the meaning and genesis of particular mythological symbols; origin and distribution of particular objects and archaeological artifacts.

Chapter I: The Set of Common Mythological Symbols

1.1. The 18 Deities' Cult in Taiwan

My previous study (Sitnikov 2009) of the 18 deities' cult (十八王公廟) of northern Taiwan brought me to assumption that some its ritual and mythological symbols represent fragments of once indivisible religious and mythological system. During my study of the 18 deities' cult I found the similar set of mythological symbols in mythologies of many different peoples all over Eurasia. Among them are Celtic, Germanic, Slavic, Greek mythologies and folk tales; Uralic and Siberian shamanism; the Austronesian speaking peoples believes and funeral rituals; folk believes and traditions of other peoples in Asia-Pacific region. I suppose that long time existence of ancient exchange and trade routs web, probably from the time of seafaring canoe invention in 4000 BC - 3000 BC, could be the explanation of cultural similarities in so vast area.

Very often this complex of symbols is accompanied by specific cultural phenomena, such as dolmens construction practice; cult of the head; head separated burials; tusked boar and pig sacrifices in funeral ceremonies; tradition of secondary burials and boat expulsion rites. Several particular objects of material culture and archaeological artifacts also look to be connected with those mythological symbols set. Among them are such as boar tusks body decorations, with boar tusks

decorated helmets and hats, glass beads necklaces, seashells bundles, bark cloths production etc. I suppose that connection between mythological symbols and objects of material culture could be explained in terms of Shamanist believes, where any important for everyday life object is understood as a powerful spirit and so it has opportunity to become more or less important cult object and mythological symbol as well.

The first impulse to start my study (Sitnikov 2009) of the Temple of 18 Deities in northern Taiwan was in fact that it was a unique case of a dog worshipping temple. Nowadays dog worship is a rare phenomenon not only for Taiwan, but also all over the world. Not less intrigue were horrible gossips suggesting the fact of vindictive character of the dog-god, which could bring deathly illness for the person who showed disrespect for the temple. And lastly the temple origin mythology was notable for variety and contradiction. In my disposal there were four variants of the myth, describing the temple origin. Here I cite only one, most detailed version, translated by Jensen, A. (2008):

17 people and a dog were on a boat during the Qing dynasty. There was a sudden storm and all 17 died when the boat was destroyed. The bodies washed up on shore but the dog survived. The dog then died, or killed himself because of his sadness. The people in the village buried the bodies and the dog in the same place.

I decided to focus on the cult main symbols. My first step to find such symbols was to analyze the texts of those legends. I supposed that most often repeated symbols which are represented in all four versions of the legend should be the stable ones and so the most important. After analyses of the symbols in the temple foundation mythology I supposed that the 18 deities' cult is a mixture of many different cults, which during the long period of its development were piled on each other and which traces went back to the periods of Mesolithic and Neolithic Eurasian cultural unity. Those cults were transformed, but some symbols stayed unchangeable inside various "indigenous" cultures all over Eurasia. Among those symbols *underworld; dog; grave; boat; shipwreck; and 18 or 17 deities* seem to be the most important.

The study of the popular religion transformations in China put me on to an idea that the previous local zoomorphic dog cult, which could exist in the area around nowadays "Temple of 18 Deities" before Chinese immigration, was incorporated into a new state-sanctioned bureaucratic structure of Qing official religion. In the process of local cult adaptation the unbelievable mythological combination of a dog in a boat with 18 Buddhist Arhats was created.

My further study of Asia-Pacific and Eurasian mythologies, which was initiated by my previous research, brought me several other common patterns which are not directly connected with 18 deities' cult but seem to be a part of the former indivisible religious and mythological system. Now I will illustrate my findings by several elements of that hypothetical system.

1.2. Common Patterns in Asia-Pacific and Eurasian Mythologies

[Dog and Excarnation Rituals] The dog is the oldest domestic animal. Trubshaw (1994) gives detailed picture of the dog cults among Eurasian peoples. Mythology and archaeological evidence bring examples of a very specific role for dogs in the Neolithic and Bronze Age cults, when they served as the 'psychopomps', the guides to the otherworld, and the guardians of the boundaries between the worlds. British archaeologists found two dogs at the Neolithic/Bronze age complex near Peterborough (England). As Trubshaw informs (1994) the both dogs have been ritually killed "to serve as spirit-guardians, at a site which was undoubtedly a major focus for funereal rituals over many centuries." Trubshaw (*ibid.*) pays attention also on the fact that during the Bronze Age in Europe only few of the population were buried and assumes that dog's cult could originate from the *excarnation* rituals. The *excarnation* is the burial practice of removing the flesh of the dead, leaving only the bones. Excarnation may be carried out by leaving a body exposed for animals to scavenge, like the Tibetan sky burial and traditional Zoroastrian funerals.

[Dog: Game, Death Threat, and Guardian] In Russian fairy tales dog's image appears very often. For example in the tale *Koshchey the Deathless* (Russian Fairy Tales 1973, 485-494) a dog is mentioned three times, and its functions varied from a game (*ibid*: 489) to a deathly threat (*ibid*: 490, 492). In the tale *Tsar's Dog* the (Fairy Tales 1989, 351) the dog's functions developed from a cattle guardian (*ibid*: 352) into the tsar's newborn baby's guardian (*ibid*: 355). Being a guardian dog, the character saved his masters from dangerous thieves-spirits, which appears in the form of ravens, which in Russian tradition are connected with death. Staying in dog's form the character receives from the tsar the title of a duke. The plot of this Russian tale reminds the similar story of Chinese tradition, which describes the dog called Pan Hu (The Man who Sold a Ghost 1977, 28-29). In that Chinese story a dog saves the country from enemies and receives the princess's hand.

[Cutting off the Enemy's Head] It is known that many indigenous peoples on Taiwan practiced headhunting. Headhunting was practiced also by many Austronesian speaking peoples in Philippines, Indonesia, Micronesia, Melanesia, New Zealand, Polynesia, and New Guinea. Among the Austronesian speaking peoples headhunting tradition is connected with the belief that the skull contains a substance, which is called *mana*. Valeri in the study of Hawaiian religious culture resumes many scholars' researches of *mana* concept and makes the conclusion that *mana* is "an invisible substance that manifests itself in a variety of visible signifiers" (Valeri 1985, 99). Valeri describes *mana* as substance connected with gods and with persons or things that are closest to them, such as temples, images of the gods, ritual objects, omens, priests, and prayers (*ibid*: 98). According to the Valeri's study "a man is able to transmit his *mana* to another by spitting in his mouth or by breathing on his *manawa*, anterior fontanel" (*ibid*: 99). Describing the Atayals headhunting tradition Ho (2004, 858) mentions that one of the purposes of this tradition is strengthening of the village soul substance. It was believed that new added heads could increase the power of resistance of disease, encourage the fertility of the villagers and crops. The Austronesian speaking peoples' belief that a human head is a

container of *mana* is similar to the Finno-Ugric peoples' cult of the head, which is based on the corresponding shamanic concept that the head is a seat of the immortal soul.

[Cult of the Head] Corradi Musi (1997, 52) informs that according to archaeological evidence from the excavations carried out in the areas which were reached by the Finno-Ugric peoples, the heads were buried in a separate chamber. She explains the phenomenon in terms of shamanic funeral customs, which were connected with the cult of the head. According to shamanic concept the head is a seat of the immortal soul. The cult of the head with shamanic traces has left in the Celts and Scythians cultures. Corradi Musi (*ibid*: 97) says that in shamanism the head often acquires an oracular function. Corradi Musi (*ibid*: 97) cites also many examples of the Finno-Ugric tradition to bury the dead in the way to facilitate the decomposition of the corpse. Corradi Musi (*ibid*: 97) notes parallels between the cult of the head and the widespread "second burial" tradition, which existence was noticed by the archaeological excavations in the district of Perm (Russian Federation), where almost all the tombs had been reopened. Reburying the bones is a part of ancestral cult and represents belief that life rises from the bones which corresponds to the cult of the head.

[Burial of the Head] In the British Celts mythology there is an interesting story describing the burial ritual, which is very similar to the Finno-Ugric and Austronesian-speaking peoples' tradition. In that story an ancient hero Bran, a son of Llyr, before his death bade his people to cut off his head and bury it at London, looking toward France (Macculloch 1946, 101). After that his buried head protected the land from invasion. Macculloch affirms (*ibid*: 104) that the myth reflects the real custom. It was believed among ancient Celts, bodies and heads of warriors had a great power and that was a reason to exhibit or bury them in the direction whence danger was expected. Dumézil, studying Germanic mythology, cites the text of *Ynglingasaga* (Dumézil 1973, 9-10), which corresponds to shamanic cult of the head. The Vanir group of gods killed and beheaded one of the Aesir's warriors, Mimir, a very wise man. Odin who was a god of the Aesir group took the head and embalmed it with herbs so that it would not rot, and spoke charms over it, giving it magic power so that it would tell him many occult things.

[Boat and Burial] Boat was often used in a pagan Russian chieftain's funeral. The corpse was placed in the boat; also into the boat were put bread, fruits and flesh of killed animals, such as dogs, horses, cows, cocks and were cremated with him; one of his wives also was burned. The ashes were collected in an urn and placed in a cairn, a pile of stones ((Machal 1946, 233). Buddhist stupas, which contain the ashes of saints probably started out from the similar cairns. Greek *hermas* and Germanic *runestones* have the similar origin. Corradi Musi (1997, 96-97) informs that many Ob-Ugrians place the dead body in a boat and then bury it, which symbolizes the soul travel to the original ocean. She mentions that the connection between the boat and the dead has very long tradition and the practice of burying the dead in boats could be found both in the Finno-Ugric and Indo-European cultures.

[Shipwreck] The parallel between shipwreck records in Taiwan and the Trobrianders shipwreck mythology suggests that the shipwreck symbol in the legends of Taiwanese 18 Deities cult has

connections with the shipwreck mythology of sea nomadic peoples, who passed by and settled in Taiwan shores. Malinowsky (1922) also explains the shipwreck mythology origin as reflection of environment reality.

According to Trobrianders mythology there are the flying witches among the women in the villages. Flying witches' main pursuits are to go at night to feed on corpses or to destroy shipwrecked mariners. This concept could be a good explanation of the dog's protection function in the Taiwanese 18 Deities cult. The witches can 'hear' that a man has died and can know the place of his death as well as the place, where a canoe is in danger. When they go out to their trip the witches leave their bodies behind, then they climb a tree and recite some magic. There is similarity between the flying witches and sirens of ancient Greek tradition: the approaching witches scream, their voices are heard in the wind (Malinowsky 1922, 256).

There are definite connection between flying witches and all kind of dangers which may be met in the sea, such as sharks, the depth, and many other things which are considered to be the cause of death of drowning men (Malinowsky 1922, 245). There is belief that during the shipwreck men do not meet any real danger except by being eaten by the flying witches. The supreme power against any dangers lies in the magic of mist, (Malinowsky 1922, 245). The similar magic of mist is mentioned by Macculloch (1946 - 38, 43) in his study of ancient Celtic mythology. The general Trobrianders' idea of that magic is that the flying witches will be blinded by mist, which arises after speaking of some magic spells.

[18 and Levels of Otherworld] In Chinese tradition there is the idea of 18 levels of underworld, which corresponds to 18 deities of the Taiwanese cult. In some literatures, there are references to 18 types or subtypes of hells for each type of punishment. The concept of "18 levels of hell" started in the Tang Dynasty. Some other peoples of Eurasia also believe in several levels of otherworld.

Chapter II: Ways of Cross-Cultural Exchange

After the 18 Deities cult mythological symbols analysis and definition of several common patterns in Asia-Pacific and Eurasian mythologies I address to the question in which way those mythological symbols were distributed in such vast area. I suppose that the answer could be found in the Trobrianders' Kula tradition, which was studied by Malinowsky (1922).

2.1. Forms of Cross-Cultural Exchange

[Initial Form of Cross-Cultural Exchange] Kula tradition is connected with dangerous traveling on waters. This tradition is also known as the Kula exchange or Kula ring. It is a ceremonial exchange system which involves thousands of individuals. Participants travel in long distance in order to

exchange Kula valuables which consist of red shell-disc necklaces and white shell armbands. Kula valuables are non-use items traded purely for purposes of enhancing social status. Kula valuables never remain for long in the hands of the recipients; they must be passed on to other partners, thus constantly circling around the ring. Important chiefs can have hundreds of partners while less significant participants may have just several of them. I suppose that Trobrianders' Kula tradition is the initial form of cross-cultural exchange in Asia-Pacific region, which was preserved among these people from Mesolithic epoch.

[Practice of Robbing and Killing Shipwrecked People] As I found (for my surprise) during the studying of other symbols in the 18 deities' cult, the event of shipwreck by itself is also an important mythological symbol, which has deep traces in mythologies of many sea nomadic peoples all over the world. Among them are so distant from each other geographically and in time, as Celts, Germanics and Trobrianders.

Many European and American sources of 19 century record the phenomenon of shipwrecked crews killing on Taiwan shores. The most famous among such events took place in 1867. It is known that after hours of rowing in the lifeboats and safety reaching ashore the shipwrecked crew of the American bark the *Rover* was murdered by members of an aboriginal village named Koalut [龜仔角] (Foreign Adventures... 2005, 3). After that event the American officials started negotiations with Qing authorities and an aboriginal leader. The purpose was to make the southern Taiwan area safer for mariners. Describing the case of the American bark, Pickering (1898) mentions a special religious ceremony holding by Koalut villagers in purpose to avoid an evil spirit which American punitive expedition left behind them. Since the Americans had left, many unlucky events happened in Koalut village: the crops had been damaged by wild pigs, one of their men had been bitten by a water-snake, also the aborigines had had a quarrel amongst themselves, in which two men were killed. Aborigines thought that the reason for all those illnesses is an evil spirit Americans had left behind them (Foreign Adventures... 2005, 42, 98-99). Such superstition reminds the Trobrianders belief in flying witches.

Pickering (1898) in his records informs that further north from Takao [打狗; present day Kaohsiung] and Taiwanfoo [台灣府 present day Tainan] "the wild and lawless settlers cultivated wrecking as a profession" (Foreign Adventures... 2005, 31). Wreckers used to kidnap fishers and sell them back to their families.

[Slave Trading and Piracy] Describing the behavior of indigenous groups of south Taiwan, LeGendre (1874) informs the following: "the savages exterminated all strangers, merely because they had determined never to allow one to head upon their soil with impunity" (Foreign Adventures... 2005, 98). Taylor (1888) adduces the Koaluts narrative tradition explaining the reason to kill shipwrecked crews. The story tells that once upon the time

a large ship anchored in the bay and sent ashore a party who, attracted to the village by grunting of pigs and crowing of cocks, wantonly slew the old men and young children, fired

the village, and carried off to their ships some females they captured and everything in the way of eatables they found. The Koaluts rebuilt their village on an elevated plateau some distance inland...

Aborigines of South Taiwan... 1999, 166-167

Other ethnic groups in Taiwan also have stories about foreign ships landing parties of men who captured people and carried them to their vessels. Those people never returned back. Because of those reasons many aboriginal villages were removed from the coast to be hidden in the mountains. Those events also led to the merciless slaughter of anyone who landed including shipwrecked crews (Aborigines of South Taiwan... 1999, 166-167).

Those stories could originate in the historical fact of slave capture expeditions from the epoch of early Sultanates of Sulu, South China, and Celebes Seas. Before and during spice trade period piracy and slaving expeditions were the most often activity in the region. Usually the potential pirates would begin on a strictly trading voyage and then engage in a bit of piracy if opportunity presented itself. (Kiefer 1986, 83-85)

2.2. Trade Routs

The Pacific Ocean contains some of the world's most important trade routes. Japan is the largest trading nation in Asia-Pacific area. It means that the most important commodity flows are to and from Japan. Historically the area of Celebes, Sulu, and South China seas long time was very important for cross-cultural trade because of its rich natural recourses and as a transitional area between Mediterranean, India, China, and Japan. The regular maritime trade axis between the Mediterranean and China developed in the period circa 200 B.C.-A.D. 1000 (Curtin 1984, 90). Worsley (1986, 49-50) suggests that the information and believes could be spread by traders, whalers, and also by native trade expeditions. Despite he doesn't believe in any direct contact between distant regions, he supposes that native trade expeditions could pass on news and information through the series of intermediaries. As example Worsley (1986, 49-50) reminds the famous Massim islanders' great trading expeditions (Malinowsky 1922) and says that many similar trade routs existed along the New Guinea coast. Citing *McCarthy (1939)* and *Mead (1938)* he says that even more long distances could be covered over long periods of time, when objects and ideas have been diffused from northern New Guinea as far as southern Australia via such trade routs.

Many scholars believe that religious and mythological patterns could be spread in the vast territories along ancient trade routes. For example, Corradi Musi, who studies parallels between the Finno-Ugrian shamanism and European mediaeval magic, supposes that from the most distant past Western and Eastern Europe were much closer to each other than could be imagined. She suggests (Corradi Musi 1997) that cultural elements, myths and beliefs could be spread along the 'trade routes of Baltic amber'. This idea of Corradi Musi supports my supposition that the stable mythological elements which I found in "Temple of 18 Deities" cult and which have traces in mythologies all over

Eurasia could be a product of regular exchange contacts among peoples along prehistory trade routes web, which long time ago connected Eurasia by rivers and seashores, creating and supporting prehistory cultural unity from Scandinavia and British Islands in the West to Taiwan and Japan in the East; from Kamchatka in the North to New Guinea in the South.

2.3. Material Objects

[Boat] One of the most repeated mythological symbols which is connected with reality of seafaring and is spread all over Eurasia is the symbol of magic ship or boat. The magic ship *Skithblathir* of Germanic mythology reminds the Greek *Argo*, *Flying Ship* of Russian fairy tales, and the *Flying Canoe* of Trobrianders.

Barnes (2001, 136) citing Hornell (1946) informs that a similar method of boat construction was found in ancient Scandinavia, the Solomons Islands and Botel Tobago (Orchid Island) of Taiwan, as well as in Indonesian islands to the west of New Guinea. More over, citing Davidson, Barnes says that the boats of Botel Tobago are “almost an exact counterpart of craft constructed by the Papuans in the Solomon Islands” (Davidson 1903, 586). Analyzing Botel Tobago boat building skills Barnes (2001, 144) concludes that these skills represent “a widespread tradition in which borrowing and innovation were always part of the picture, producing a great range of boats of varying sizes and specialized uses.” Barnes adduces also the similar ideas of Bellwood (1995, 105) who supposes that early Austronesian-speaking peoples did learn a number of seafaring skills from the original Pleistocene colonists, who according to Bellwood’s point of view must have had some degree of seafaring capacity by at least 40,000 years ago.

[Valuables: Glass Beads] Certain objects of material culture in Asia-Pacific are very similar to Trobrianders’ Kula valuables by function. Glass beads and bronze drums are among such objects.

Among the Paiwan and Rukai (Taiwan) only the families of the chieftains and nobles possessed glass beads. The beads represented wealth and social status, had religious meaning, were passed on as inheritance, and used as marriage gifts. At the same time the ethnography has not information about bead-making skill among the Paiwan and Rukai. But their myths say that their ancestors brought these beads with them when they settled on Taiwan. The indigenous peoples exchanged products for the beads, the beads circulated among them, but were not sold (Chan 2001, 119). The particularly valued patterns had a special names, gender, and symbolic meanings. For example, Sun Beads were used to invoke relationship between the chieftain and the sun; Earth Beads symbolized financial success; Warrior Beads used to honor a heroic man; and so on (Shung Ye Museum of Formosan Aborigines 2009).

[Valuables: Bronze Drums] As Neill (1973, 216-220) claims one of the earliest civilizations of tropical southeastern Asia was developed by Deutero-Malays in Indochina. Archeology provides data from Dong-son culture (by the name of village in North Vietnam). The Dong-son culture developed in the eighth century B.C. and around 500 B.C. it was carried by Deutero-Malays to the Greater Sundas.

The traits of this culture eventually spread even so far as the north coast of New Guinea. A significant feature of the culture was the use of bronze. Dong-son bronze artifacts included drums, bells, buckles, daggers, axes, spearheads, figurines, and imitations of woven panniers and fish baskets. Most of those implements went out of style at the end of the Bronze Age, but the drums, which might be called drum-shaped gongs, for they are entirely of metal, continued to be made for many centuries thereafter. These instruments were exported by people of Java and Sumatra to the Lesser Sundas and the Moluccas and treasured at remote localities long after they have been forgotten elsewhere. Later those bronze gongs were used in new way: “some were buried in the ground to insure crop fertility, or banged on to bring rain, or stood on end to serve as altars (*ibid*: 218)”. In Alor Island they have been used as currency in modern times.

I saw such gongs in Taiwan. They are used here by a group of Philippine foreign workers as an object of their cultural heritage. Those bronze gongs were brought to Taiwan several years ago by the first president of Cordillera Organization. The Cordillera Organization is a NGO, and a Philippine indigenous peoples’ organization, which try to defend human and cultural rights of Philippine Cordillera ethnic groups. The ancestors of the Bontoks, Ifugaos, and Tinggians of Northern Luzon (Cordillera peoples) belong to the first wave of the head-hunting Malays, who arrived at about 200 B.C. Very probably the Cordillera peoples are descendants of vanished Dong-son culture and the bronze gongs is a preserved element of that culture heritage.

Chapter III: Variations of Cultural Homogenization

Banerjee (1998) distinguishes two sides of the globalization process: homogenization vs. heterogenization. He argues that the global cannot be isolated from the local; according to him those categories are connected dialectically. In the process of cultural change Banerjee (*ibid*: 125) distinguishes two dimensions of culture—‘patrimonial’ culture and ‘transcultural’ culture. According to Banerjee definition, patrimonial culture is represented by “local and singular cultural practices” which “values and codes are difficult to share by those who have not imbibed them as their cultural heritage (*ibid*: 125)”. Criticizing many Asian nations’ cultural policies, Banerjee says that very often a national culture has been achieved through the suppression of local cultures.

3.1. Malay Archipelago and New Nation-States Emergence

From prehistoric times the area of the Malay Archipelago became an important arena of maritime cross-cultural exchange. During thousands of years several waves of migrant peoples formed nowadays diverse ethnic landscape of the Archipelago population. This fact gives to researchers a unique opportunity to study the processes of cultural change.

After World War II the Asia Pacific region became an arena of impressive global changes. One

of the main features of the regional changes of this period was appearance of new nation-states. The case of Malay Archipelago with emergence and development of four new nation-states of Indonesia (1945), the Philippines (1946), Malaysia (1957) (with Sarawak and Sabah in the federation of Malaysia from 1963), and Brunei (1984) is particularly interesting for cultural change comparison in terms of their common ethnical, historical and cultural background in combination with different experience of colonial dependence; differences in major religions; and the way of new nation-state construction. The population in all these countries has mostly Malayan ancestry and speaks Austronesian languages. However nowadays the majority of population in Indonesia, Malaysia, and Brunei are Muslims; but in the Philippines Christianity is a dominant religion. The situation is even more critical due obsolete political methods to keep up national stability: Indonesia and Malaysia till now hold on to ineffective policy of cultural homogenization; the Philippines experience long time conflicts between the Christian North and Muslim South.

[Consequences of Colonial Rule: Malaysia] The ethnic composition of nowadays Malaysia until the 19th century was extraordinary complex. The British complicated the situation encouraging immigration from China and India into Malaysia to fill certain crucial jobs. Under the British rule over time, the Chinese and Indian populations came to fare better economically than the Malays. After the Malaysian government took power from the British in 1957 it met the problem of managing the ethnic groups who had been divided and manipulated by colonial policies. Ethnicity became a central issue in social and political life of new Malaysian nation-state. The importance of ethnicity in politics is clearly demonstrated in the parties' ethnic composition and activities. (Kaup 2007, 315-316)

[Consequences of Colonial Rule: Indonesia] Anderson (1991) explains the emergence of hyper-ambitious post-colonial Indonesian nationalism in terms of specifics of previous Dutch governing. Most important instrument was a centralized education system. Traditional, indigenous schools were always local and personal enterprises. In contrast the Dutch "government schools formed a colossal, highly rationalized, tightly centralized hierarchy, structurally analogous to the state bureaucracy itself (Anderson 1991, 121)." Another important factor is existence of only one center for high educational "*pilgrimages*" – Batavia (*ibid*: 121-122). From all over vast colony students from different ethno-linguistic groups in middle-school came to Batavia to get their high education and "they knew that from wherever they had come they still had read the same books" (*ibid*: 121-122). Japanese occupation also had a significant influence on future Indonesian state policy. During the occupation period Japanese supported two important projects which became powerful instruments of the Indonesian nationality design: promoting of Indonesian national language, *Bahasa Indonesia*, and creation of the Volunteer Army, trained by Japanese but manned and officered by Indonesians (Neill 1973, 315-316).

3.2. Brunei, Malaysia, Indonesia: Variations of Cultural Homogenization

Gullick (1967) describes the indigenous people of northern Borneo (nowadays Eastern Malaysia) as ethnic groups which "may have some remote ethnic affinity with the Malays of Malaya

and their way of life, though much simpler and more primitive (Gullick 1967, 8).” Gullick (*ibid*: 8) underlined that the Borneo peoples have keen recollection of the ancient misrule of the Malay Sultans of Brunei; so they are sensitive to any appearance of discrimination against themselves in the modern Malaysia where the government is mainly under Malay leadership.

[Brunei] The Sanskrit word ‘Bhumiputra’ means ‘sons of the soil’. Both in Malaysia and Brunei, the term is used to refer to a member of majority Malay ethnic group. Being accorded the status of Bumiputera in Brunei (as in Malaysia) carries with it certain benefits and opportunities which other ethnic groups in the country may not have access to. During the Asian Economic Crisis of the late 1990s, Brunei’s Economic Council developed an Action Plan in order to increase economic activity. A major part of that plan was to actively encourage investment in Bumiputera-owned businesses. The term Bumiputera often connotes those people of Malay-speaking ethnic groups who belong to the Islamic faith. In the 1970s, many indigenous people converted to Islam for this reason.

[Malaysia] Bumiputera of Brunei is different from the Malaysian variant where a larger number of races and ethnic groups are considered as *Bumiputra*. Seeking independence Malaysian nationalists had to build a sense of common identity to enable peoples of Malaysia to function as a nation-state. There was a great debate, who should be considered Malay. Finally the definition was incorporated into Article 160 of the constitution. (Kaup 2007, 315-316) Article 153 of the Constitution of Malaysia grants the King of Malaysia (Yang di-Pertuan Agong) responsibility for safeguarding the special position of Bumiputra. The article specifies how the federal government may protect the interest of these groups by establishing quotas for entry into the civil service, public scholarships and public education.

[Indonesia] In the case of Indonesia the most specific feature of inner policies which caused many ethno-religious conflicts was transmigration programs. The first president Sukarno supposed that the uneven distribution of population in Indonesia posed a threat to the country’s development. Therefore, from the 1950s, Sukarno started transmigration programs, during which many people were moved to less populated islands. Suharto continued such practice and at the same time Suharto’s New Order government banned any political discussion of ethnicity and promoted nationalism based on “unity in diversity” (Kaup2007, 313). Actually all Indonesians were expected belong to one country, one nation, and speak one language. Both Sukarno and Suharto believed that modernization and economic integration could help assimilate the diverse ethnic groups into a new common nation of “Indonesians”. As common “Indonesian” cultural standards the nation-building campaign promoted Javanese traditional culture. Though the national motto was “unity in diversity”, very often the government used assimilation policies. (*ibid*: 313)

3.3 Main Factors in Taiwan Religion Changes

[Political Changes] From the case of modern cultural homogenization on Malay Archipelago I would like switch to the processes of the cultural change which took place in Taiwan. Weller explains

the complication and eclecticism of Taiwanese cults in terms of easy reinterpretation of people rituals in Taiwan in the absence of any higher theological authority (Weller 1999, 344). Weller says that this situation was typical of Chinese religion in general, but Taiwan's history of weak control from Peking followed by fifty years of Japanese occupation more much encouraged this behavior.

Jones (2003) focuses on changes in Taiwan religion under the influence of two main factors - political and social changes. Describing the specific Taiwanese religion activity transformations he uses the term of "political dislocation" which refers to the repeated changes in sovereignty. Taiwan during its history

went from an independent island peopled by indigenous tribes, to a Dutch and Spanish trade entrepot, to an independent state under the Chinese rebel Zheng Chenggong (Koxinga), to a part of the Qing empire, to a Japanese colonial territory, and, finally, to a politically autonomous but not formally independent part of China.

Jones 2003, 10

Jones emphasizes (Jones 2003, 12) Zheng Chenggong's fleet arriving into Taiwan in 1661 as most important event which determined the religious landscape of the island. The fleet brought several thousand troops which occupied Tamsui and Tainan and the event marked the first large-scale influx of Chinese settlers into Taiwan. These first immigrants were almost all men and came from southern Fujian and Guangdong. The early immigrants had to organize themselves for mutual aid, protection, and political cooperation. People brought with them an image from the temple in their home region and installed it in their homes or in a temporary thatched hut, and later in a proper temple. There were two of the most common ways to organize themselves: by common regional provenance and by trade guild, although often groups organized by both. As the immigrants settled into such groups "a few dominant temples became the foci of religious, political, and social life, often eclipsing Qing officials and state-sponsored temples in their influence (Jones 2003, 15)."

[Social Change] Another main factor which resulted changes in beliefs is "social change" which refers to those developments—modernization, and economic and industrial development. Jones underlines (Jones 2003, 28-30) that building railroads during the Japanese rule, connecting all parts of Taiwan in a single transportation system, resulted in the situation, when temples could grow beyond their local boundaries and "begin serving an island wide clientele." Before that period the geography of Taiwan prevented any temple from attaining greater than local patronage. Taiwan was naturally broken into several discrete geographic zones because of the rivers that cut across the western alluvial plain. In early colonial period in and around urban areas started appear temples which were not built as traditional, community-based temples. These temples were large, eclectic in

the variety of gods and were not connected to the local communities.

3.4. Chinese Popular Religion

The overview of major changes in Chinese religion is a useful instrument which helps to analyze the Taiwanese “Temple of 18 Deities” symbols origin and observe deeper traces which pass back to the inner regions of Eurasian continent and Neolithic prehistory cultures. The practice of ancestor worship is one of such traces, which was a common feature of many Siberian shamanic cults. *Gregory and Ebrey (1993)* give introductory overview of major changes in Chinese religion and society in the period from the Shang dynasty (1766-1122 B.C.) to thirteenth century Sung dynasty. They underline that the four Chinese religious traditions, the popular religion, Buddhism, Taoism, and Confucianism, always were in constant interaction and the high traditions of Buddhism, Taoism, and Confucianism developed out of the popular tradition.

In later periods of Chinese history gods became more bureaucratized and “originally local zoomorphic gods and nature spirits often were reidentified as the deified spirits of deceased heroes and officials (Gregory and Ebrey 1993, 9)”. This Chinese tradition is very similar to midlevel European Christian tradition when Christian saints replaced popular pre-Christian gods. The traces of local cults could be found in folk Christianity of the Philippines and folk Islam in Malay Archipelago. The phenomenon of folk religions in Asia-Pacific area is one of my main interests for the future researches.

Hansen (1993) describes how local indigenous deities in ancient China used to be converting into the new religion images to be worshiped instead. The author gives many examples of the legends, testifying the cult transformations which often were accompanied by ‘hand-to-hand combat’ with local gods (who sometimes accepted human sacrifices), and deconstruction of their temples or ‘demonic shrines’ during long period before the Tang, during the Tang and Sung dynasties (Hansen 1993, 76). Very often the government officials who implemented the irrigation works were transformed into new gods and replaced the local river gods which used to accept human sacrifices. Sometimes the cult transformation was more peaceful with construction of new temples on the same place to pure it. Starting from 11 century the practice of relabeling local gods proved to be a far more successful strategy than suppressing them (Hansen 1993, 101).

[Earth God Cult] It seems to me that the Earth God’s cult is a main popular instrument of homogenization, used by Chinese in the new colonized areas. Among popular cults the Earth God temples are the first in numbers in Taiwan. The Earth God temples very often are accompanied by old trees and unusual stones, which suggests that the cult adapted and replaced former local cults in those places.

Discussion

Philosophy of Confucianism is not the only Asian tradition which could be the engine of economy growth in epoch of the fast globalizing world. Cultural norms of Taoism and Chinese popular religion played significant role in economic and social activities among Chinese and in Chinese Diasporas all over Asia-Pacific for centuries. Cultural norms of Buddhism, Hinduism and Islam also had long periods of successful influences on the processes of regional integration, social and economic development.

Findings in cultural anthropology and its subfields - anthropology of religion, folklore, and mythology could be an important contribution into the understanding of the surprising phenomenon of the periodical turns of economic activity and stagnation in the Asia-Pacific region. I suppose that those phases of economic activity and stagnation in not much depend from traditional and cultural norms but mostly from such phenomenon as cultural change. It seems that periodic environmental changes, technical and transportation revolutions are the main motors for transformations in social structures which in their turn determine the mechanisms and level of cross-cultural activity, integration or isolation.

Besides the cultural diversity, in Asia-Pacific region there is the opposite phenomenon of cultural similarity of Austronesian speaking peoples. Cultural similarity, which those peoples share, could be explained in terms of former cultural unity or regular long time contacts among them in the past. Wide believes diversity among the Austronesian speaking peoples could be explained by their ability to adapt easily to outside influences. I guess the main reason for easy adaptation to outside influences is to get profit of integration. And it is reasonable to suppose that nowadays Austronesian speaking peoples share the same cultural ancestry from the unity of peoples who were once integrated by sea nomads and whose life was depend from the sea. Ancient Asia-Pacific sea nomads' cultural traditions reconstruction is interesting and useful task because it can help to discover mechanisms of easy cultural integration in the region, which took place in the past and probably could be exploited nowadays.

To discover such traditions and effective integration mechanisms we need address to Carl Jung's concept of *collective unconscious*. The sea nomads' cultural heritage seems to be hidden in many Asian-Pacific cultures' collective unconscious. The study of mythologies, believes, rituals, cults in combination with particular objects of material culture and archaeological artifacts in Asia-Pacific region could help to analyze the collective unconscious of peoples populating Asia-Pacific and find a set of common cultural patterns, which represent the concept of initial integration phase. In my future studies I will address to an invisible cultural heritage, which is hidden under the umbrellas of different folk religions. This cultural heritage could be found in common cultural patterns.

My previous study of the 18 deities' cult in northern Taiwan brought me to assumption that some its ritual and mythological symbols represent fragments of once indivisible religious and mythological system. During my study of the 18 deities' cult I found the similar set of mythological symbols in mythologies of many different peoples all over Eurasia. Among them are Celtic, Germanic, Slavic, Greek mythologies and folk tales; Uralic and Siberian shamanism; the Austronesian speaking peoples believes and funeral rituals; folk believes and traditions of other peoples in Asia-Pacific region. I suppose that long time existence of ancient exchange and trade routs web, probably from the time of seafaring canoe invention in 4000 BC - 3000 BC, could be the explanation of cultural similarities in so vast area.

Very often this complex of common symbols is accompanied by specific cultural phenomena, such as dolmens construction practice; cult of the head; head separated burials; tusked boar and pig sacrifices in funeral ceremonies; tradition of secondary burials and boat expulsion rites. Several particular objects of material culture and archaeological artifacts also look to be connected with those mythological symbols set. Among them are such as boar tusks body decorations, with boar tusks decorated helmets and hats, glass beads necklaces, seashells bundles, bark cloths production etc. I suppose that connection between mythological symbols and objects of material culture could be explained in terms of Shamanist believes, where any important for everyday life object is understood as a powerful spirit and so it has opportunity to become more or less important cult object and mythological symbol as well.

The study of mythological symbols, believes, rituals, and cults in combination with particular objects of material culture and items of traditionally exploited natural resources could help find one part of such common patterns. Another important source for the studying consists in forms, routs, main actors and items of cross-cultural exchange in combination with variations of cultural homogenization. The third source is archaeological sites and artifacts. The comparison analysis of those three sources could bring to light the set of common cultural patterns which form an invisible Asian-Pacific cultural heritage.

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