Ornaments as indicators of Social change before and after European contact at Kiwulan, Northeastern Taiwan

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Text of abstract

# Introduction

Taiwan had been involved in regional exchange network of East Asia and Southeast Asia since Neolithic and became part of a global trading network during the early 17th century due to western European expansion that connected European and Asia. Compared to other places in Asia and Oceania, the impact of European colonialism on indigenous communities in East Asia appears to have been much less pronounced. Direct colonial rule was rare and limited, but the question of long-lasting indirect impacts on local indigenous communities remains unanswered. Indirect effects of colonialism is emphasized increasingly to discuss the colonial impact on the indigenous people in the periphery of colonial control (Torrence and Clarke, 2000; Trabert, 2017). In many parts of the world, foreign trade goods introduced into local indigenous societies in a colonial or imperial contexts might cause significant transformations of indigenous economic, cultural, and socio-political systems (Dietler, 1997; Junker, 1993; Mitchell, 2000; Silliman, 2005). Contrary to as passive receptors of imperial power, the agency of indigenous people in the colonial contexts has been broadly discussed to emphasize the ability of active adoptions of foreign effects, negotiation between colonized and colonizer, and resistance of indigenous people through daily cultural practices (Dietler, 2015; Given, 2004; Rubertone, 2000; Silliman, 2001; Torrence, 2000; Torrence and Clarke, 2000; Voss, 2005). Studying the consumption of foreign goods is one way to understand indigenous experience of the colonial encounter and explore the agency of indigenous people by examining how those goods were distributed and used when obtained (Dietler, 2005; Mullins, 2011; Scaramelli and Scaramelli, 2005).

Despite colonization of Taiwan by the Spanish and the Dutch from 1624 to 1662, little has been discovered in archaeology about the The reaction of indigenous people to the European colonization. Northeastern Taiwan, Yilan, is an especially unique example for exploring indirect effects due to its physically isolated location that made it not easily accessible to the Europeans and the colonial control was less compared to other parts of this region (Andrade, 2007; Kang, 2012). Although the location is relatively peripheral, the sea provides a way through which indigenous people could interact with other groups from different regions, including other native indigenous groups, foreign traders such as the Han people of China, and Europeans. Large-scale and frequent trade activities brought a wide variety of trade objects into indigenous communities in Yilan through local regional exchange network. Among those trade goods, ornament such as glass and stone beads was one of the common foreign goods found at the settlement sites in this region (Chen, 2007; Li and Chiu, 2014; National Musuem of Taiwan History, 2005). Body adornment is usually viewed as a signal in indigenous social life to represent and reinforce their status through the body as the scene to display (Joyce, 2005; Scaramelli and Scaramelli, 2005). For example, the consumption of stone beads in Southeast Asia during Iron Age were usually associated with increasing social stratification or socio-political complexity (Bellina, 2014; Carter, 2016; Francis, 2002; Theunissen et al., 2000).

In this paper, I explore the evidence from a site that spans the time from late Iron Age to historical period by addressing the question of whether colonial influence on indigenous populations can be detected in ornaments recovered from the archaeological record at Kiwulan (1400-1900 AD), a large Iron Age settlement in northeastern Taiwan (Chen, 2007). Prior to the contact with the Europeans in the early 17th century, northern Taiwan had been involved in long-distance networks of East Asia since 14th century, and later encountered a large wave of Han Chinese migration in the 19th century (Chen, 2005). As Lape (2003) points out based on case studies in island Southeast Asia, the study of multiple episodes of culture contact has potential to expand our understanding of the causes and effects of culture contact both locally and worldwide. Northeastern Taiwan provides a good example to explore the indirect impacts on indigenous societies by comparing archaeological evidence from different episodes of culture contact based on a long-term perspective. The variety and cultural context of trade ornaments will be reviewed, and their capacity to inform on how the distribution of ornaments reflect social changes will be examined. My hypothesis is that there was a greater diversity of ornaments types and materials at Kiwulan after European contact due to the large scale exchange network, and the consumption of ornaments present some spatial pattern that indicates increasing social inequality. I hypothesize that after Chinese contact there was a decline in the production, use and discard of ornaments at Kiwulan.

# Cultural context of ornaments in northeastern Taiwan, Yilan

Before European arrival, the indigenous people in northern Taiwan had already established their own exchange network that defined as “inter-insular trade” by Chen (2005, p. 12) to refer to small-scale regional trade on irregular basis . Despite being on the periphery of major trade ports at northern Taiwan, Yilan was involved in this network through the periodic exchange activities between different indigenous groups. Yilan, also called “Kavalan” by local indigenous people since the prehistoric time, is a alluvial plain circumscribed by the Pacific and mountains on the sides. Rivers and seas provide the way for the interaction between local indigenous people and another native group called Basay in northern Taiwan and Han Chinese. Kavalan people offered rice, deer hides, and gold in exchange for beads, metal tools or ornaments, ironwares, porcelains, and textiles with outside traders (Chen, 2005; Hsieh, 2009; Li and Wu, 2006). This local exchange network of northeastern Taiwan had global connections after the 16th century because of its location on shipping routes between China and Japan, and was intensified in the 17th century when the arrival of Europeans and their trade goods (Chen, 2005; Wang and Liu, 2007).

Historical records from Spanish and Dutch provide rich information about the historical and cultural background both for Europeans and indigenous people in the early 17th century. Spanish occupied and built forts in Northern Taiwan since 1624, from which Spanish missionaries often went to indigenous settlement and left behind numerous records from those places. The report of the Dominican Jacinto Esquivel in 1632 mentioned that the Taparri, an indigenous tribe from northern Taiwan, usually used cuentas (agate beads) as a materials to exchange with necessities they need with other indigenous people. This trend then gradually spread to other areas, and even the Spanish soldiers used agate as bargaining chips for gambling, since agate equaled money (Li and Wu, 2006, pp. 132–149). European contact was focused on trading with indigenous communities in northeastern Taiwan. Trading activity of many types of goode among these indigenous communities increased with the arrival of European colonizers. Thus, we predict that this trading activity resulted in an increase in the amount and diversity of ornaments coming into indigenous communities in northeastern Taiwan.

Mullins (2011)—<They examine the ways gift-giving worked in the Middle Orinoco region of Venezuela, where missionaries hoped to secure indigenous alliances by providing goods for which they perceived a native demand. One class of goods missionaries provided was alcohol, which was used commonly in feasts and ritual contexts, but interjecting externally produced alcohol unseated existing production and consumption systems. Prior to colonization, drink had been produced by indigenous domestic units to enhance a family’s prestige, but the introduction of imported spirits compelled hosts to obtain them through exchange, which forced increasing reliance on the production of cash crops and increased debt among indigenous consumers. This shift rendered drink “a commodity—a product that had to be bought, rather than produced,” so even though European alcohol was consumed within existing consumer contexts it led to dependency and exploitation>

Father Jacinto Esquivel recorded how people in Tamsui entered marriages. A man who wanted to take a wife had to give her parents cuentas. If a married man was found having cheated on his wife, he only had to pay the witness with agate or golden beads and the matter was settled (Li and Wu, 2006, p. 151). Other records mention that the female shamans (majuorbol) in the tribe used agate beads for healing ceremonies in rituals (**???**). Regarding funerals, some indigenous people buried the dead under their houses or in the vicinity. They put a mat into the grave to protect the body from moisture and then put cooked rice on both sides of the head as provision. The deceased were buried in small graves with both knees bent, and on the grave they placed quivers with arrows, pottery, agate beads and other things that they would need. The greater the influence of the deceased, the more agate, pottery and cloths were placed on the grave (Li and Wu, 2006, p. 153).

Documents from the Qing dynasty usually describe the decorative purposes of the ornaments. In the Kavalan Subprefecture Gazetteer (Chen2006[1852]: 308), the Kavalan Zhi Lue (Ko1993[1837]: 11, 126) and the Dong Cha Ji Lue (Yao1996[1829]: 77), it is mentioned that aborigines in Yilan used metal threads to weave so called golden carp-shaped ornaments. Their number was small and their value high, hence only the rich possessed them. Ordinary people wore agate beads or glass beads on their head or neck during various festivals. In 1895, at the beginning of Japanese rule over Taiwan, Ino Kanori (**???**) made field surveys among various ethnic groups in Taiwan. He describes the Plains Aborigines from Yilan as not using carp-shaped ornaments any more, but mentions that older people still use beads ornaments.

Recent ethnographic research of the Kavalan tribe describes agate beads as used in divination ceremonies, the subli, by female shamans (**???**). Interview records describe agate beads as valuable objects passed down from mother to daughter. When they were not used, they were often put on roof beams so that they were not seen by other people. But the origin of these beads is still not known. Later, because they were bought by Japanese and people in Taipei, agate beads became rarer (**???**) and carp-shaped ornaments had completely disappeared. Modern ethnographic research shows that agate beads were not only used as decoration, but also played an important role in divination. It was usually the female shamans that were responsible for divination rites, a technique passed down by ancestors. Most aborigines today don’t know the origin of agate beads any more, but their worth is still highlighted by oral history and through their scarcity.

Those historical documents from the early 17th century to the modern ethnography described how local indigenous people use those ornaments in local cultural contexts that represents some social roles or status. However, compared to European contact period, there is less mention of beads in Chinese contact period and the description about ornaments is only limited to their dressing culture.

# Kiwulan in northeastern Taiwan

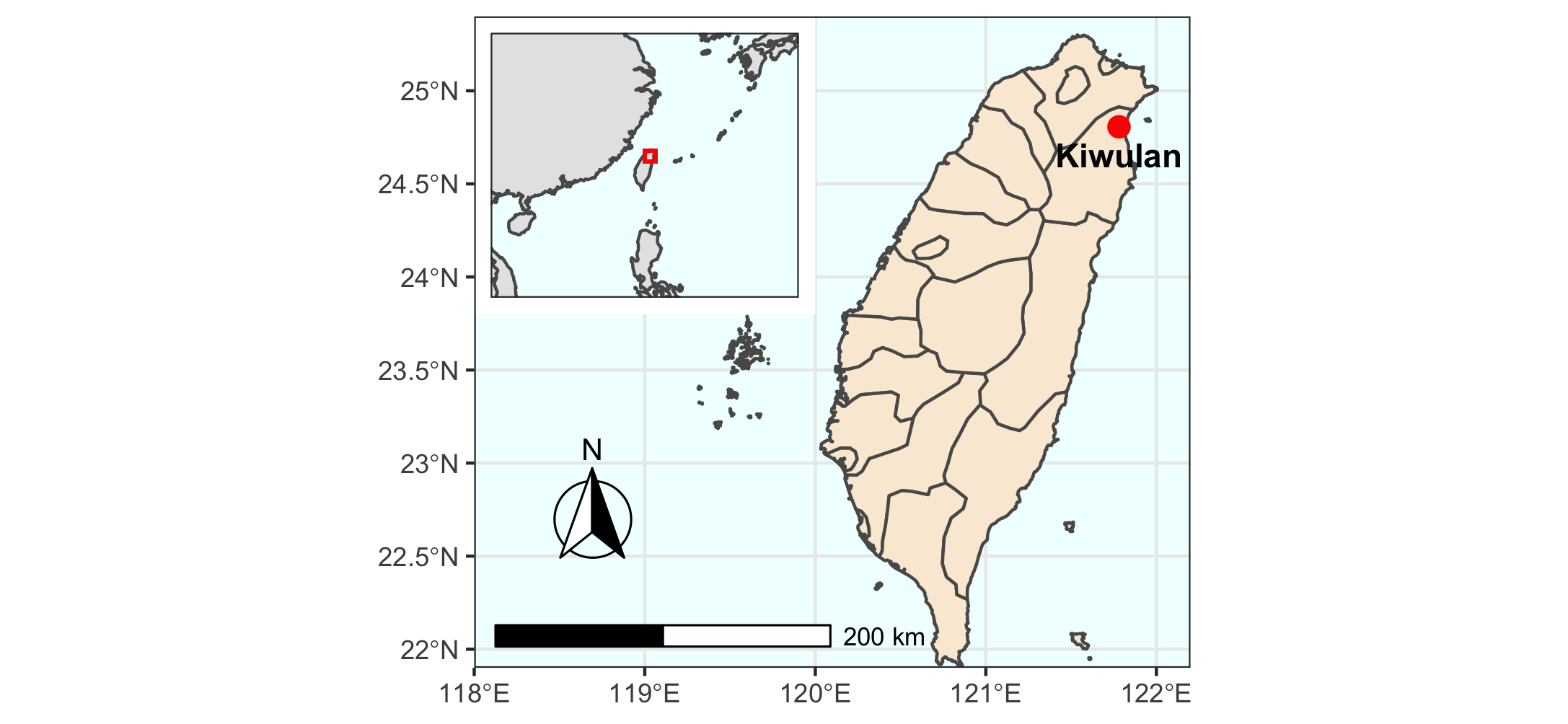


Figure 1: Kiwulan location in Southeast Asia

Kiwulan 1 is located at northern Yilan and was excavated from 2001 to 2004 that creates 262 squares with the total area of 3,814 meter squares. Most beads were found in situ while digging and some were collected through screens with 20 mm and 1.5 mm mesh. The archaeological evidence includes a rich amount of artifacts, burials, middens, post holes, wooden pillars, and stone structures. The chronology of Kiwulan can be divided into Lower Layer Culture (700 - 1200 AD) and Upper Layer Culture (1400 - 1900 AD) with a sterile layer in between based on a series of 32 radiocarbon dates, which coordinate to the late Iron Age and Proto-historical period in Taiwan. This paper focuses on the Upper Layer Culture which overlaps with the contact periods with the Europeans and Chinese.

The earliest record of direct European contact with indigenous people in Yilan can be traced back to 1632, when the local settlements were attacked by the Spanish according to the official documents [add citation; Borao Mateo 2009]. Later in 1647, the Dutch attacked the indigenous villages in Yilan and forced them to accept colonial rules and economic demands by paying annual tribute [add citation; Borao Mateo 2009]. According to Dutch census reports in 1650, Kiwulan was the biggest indigenous community in the Yilan Plain, with a population of 840 adults (Chen, 2007; Kang, 2012; Li and Chiu, 2014). The diagnostic artifacts during European contact found at Kiwulan including An-ping jars and glass beads that were largely introduced to Taiwan during the early 17th century.

The European colonization ended in 1662 when they were defeated by the kingdom of Tungning found by Koxinga from China. Later in 1683, the Qing dynasty ruled over Taiwan and a large wave of Han Chinese migrated to Yilan during the late 18th century. The evidence of Chinese migration can be identified from Chinese official records and large amount of Chinese blue-and-white porcelain found at Kiwulan.

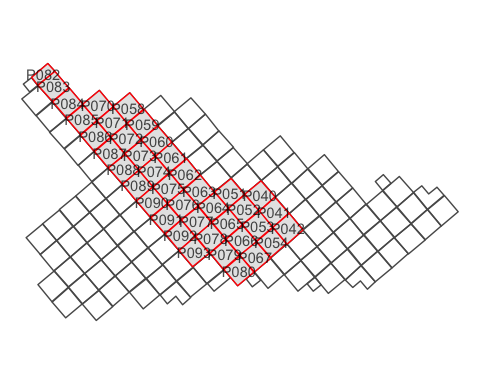


Figure 2: Sampling area with 40 squares

The ornaments studied in this paper came from 40 adjacent 4m x 4m units out of 262 units in the middle part of excavation (Figure 2. The sampling principle is based on the extent of intact contexts that the least disturbed by modern constructions are the preference. The Upper Layer Culture can be divided into six sub layers spanning from 14 century to 19 century according to current radiocarbon dates, excavation depth, types of ceramics, and sediment texture and color (Hsieh, 2009; Wang, 2011). Layers are assigned numbers from 1 to 6 for which L1 corresponds to the upper context and L6, also the bottom layer, refers to lower context. Based on Hsieh (2009) chronological study of Chinese porcelains, L5 and L6 represent pre-European contact period, L4 was the time of European contact, and L2 and L1 was the period of Chinese contact.

<–add a chart of chronology–>

In general, complete ornaments with clear context were mostly found in burials that helps to understand how people wear them and any relationships between shapes of ornaments and gender or age. In addition to burials, ornaments were also found in middens and living space that can be identified by post holes. The frequency of ornaments from burials is more than those from the living space due to well preserved condition. There is a wide variety of raw materials for ornaments of which ornaments glass, agate and metal ornaments that account for 99% of all ornaments were thought to be introduced by trading with the Europeans and Chinese traders, while ornaments made of shells, woods, and bones were believed locally made that is about only about 1% of all ornaments (Table 1). The reason for the large quantity of glass beads is that they usually have been found in clusters because of the original form such as necklaces. The shape of ornaments include beads, bracelets, rings, bells, pendants, and knitted objects that shows shape are closely related to raw material due to its characteristic. For example, beads are only made of glass, agate, and shell, and bone is the main material for knitted objects that used to connect beads. Also, metal ornaments covers more shapes such bells, pendants, and rings (Chen, 2007).

# Samples and Methods

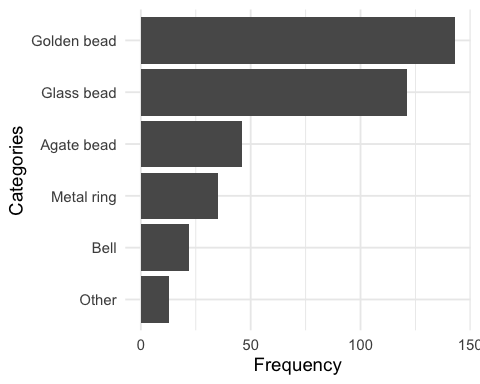


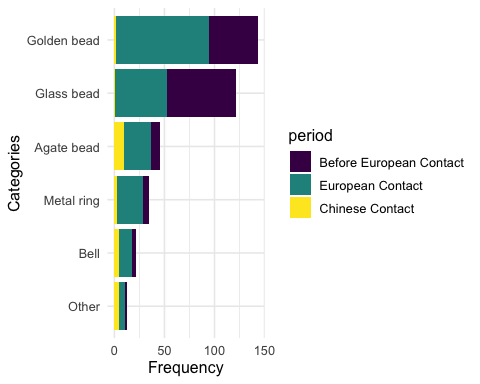
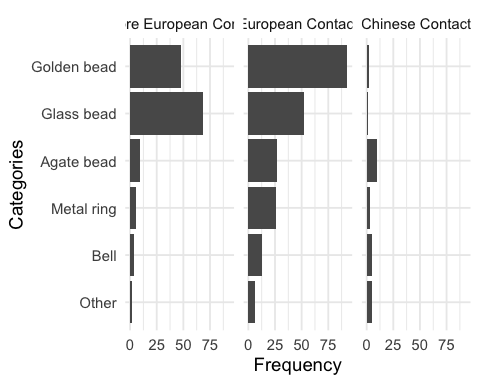
Figure 3: Frequency of ornaments

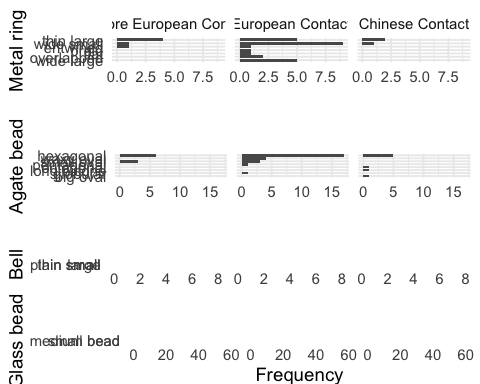
Table 1: A table of ornament subtypes

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Categories | Type | Before European Contact | European Contact | Chinese Contact |
| Agate bead | big oval | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Agate bead | globular | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Agate bead | hexagonal | 6 | 17 | 5 |
| Agate bead | long bicone | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Agate bead | octagonal | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Agate bead | other | 0 | 1 | 2 |
| Agate bead | pentagonal | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Agate bead | small oval | 3 | 3 | 0 |
| Agate bead | waxy oval | 0 | 4 | 0 |
| Bell | large | 3 | 8 | 3 |
| Bell | plain small | 0 | 4 | 1 |
| Bell | thin small | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| Bell | unclassified | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Glass bead | medium bead | 8 | 15 | 0 |
| Glass bead | small bead | 60 | 37 | 1 |
| Golden bead | NA | 48 | 93 | 2 |
| Metal ring | braid | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Metal ring | entwined | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Metal ring | flat | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Metal ring | large thick string | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Metal ring | overlapped | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| Metal ring | small thin string | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| Metal ring | thin large | 4 | 5 | 2 |
| Metal ring | wide large | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Metal ring | wide small | 1 | 9 | 1 |

To explore whether body ornaments can reflect the colonial influences on indigenous populations, this research examines the frequency and spatial distribution of trade ornaments at Kiwulan during different time periods with foreign contacts, including European and Chinese contacts. Trade ornaments were analyzed by three analytical units including pre-European contact, European contact, and Chinese contact that indicates three scale of exchange network from less to intense contact subsequently. Because the appearance of ornaments is highly related to the original raw material couple with the function such as bead and bracelet, they are combined as the first criterion of classification which determines five major categories. Under each category of raw material, ornaments are further classified into several subtype according to the shape if any variations were identified in each category. In order to compare the general pattern of changes for major ornaments, less frequent ornaments are combined as one category named other, which will be discussed separately.

Ornaments with clear contexts were mainly found from the post-hole area, burials, and middens, where ornaments from the post-hole area accounts for the majority of the amount in total. Post-hole area is also the contexts that we mainly focus on because it represents house units accross the site that can further provide a basis for comparison to see if there is any spatial pattern of distribution. Ornaments from middens and burials will also be discussed in the later section. For the post-hole area, there were 406 ornaments recovered from the 40 sampling squares, which accounts for 0.465063% of the total number of ornaments found in the same excavation section including all contexts. Figure 3 shows that the most common ornament is golden bead with the number of 143, followed by 121 glass beads, 46 agate beads, 35 metal rings, and 22 metal bells. Ornaments in most categories can be divided into sub-types according to the variation of shape. The variation was defined by the difference identified in at least two variables, for example dimensional variables such as length, or stylish variables such as patterns. The frequency and feature of subtypes for major categories are summarized in 1.



 # Results

## Frequency between time periods

The results of the comparison between different time periods show a general pattern that most ornaments appeared in the pre-European contact period and the frequencies reached a peak during the European contact and then dropped during the Chinese contact period, especially for golden beads. This trend can be also seen on other ornaments including agate bead, metal ring, and bell. However, glass bead shows a different pattern that indicates a higher frequency in the pre-European contact, and then the frequency decreased in the European contact period and even less in the Chinese contact period.

The distribution of frequency for subtypes in each major category are presented in 3. The distribution shows that agate beads and metal rings have greater quantity and variety of shapes compared to copper bell and glass beads during the European contact period. Agate beads can be divided into eight subtypes, in which hexagonal shape is the most common subtype that appeared before European contact and increased during the European contact and then declined in the Chinese contact. Small oval type shows similar frequency before and during European contact but not found in the Chinese contact period, while waxy oval bead only found during European contact period. There are more subtypes of agate beads during European contact compared to other time periods. Similarly metal rings can be classified into seven subtypes, in which wide small ring is the most common metal ornaments, followed by wide large and thin large shape. The greater varieties for those two categories might indicate the multiple sources due to global trade network brought by the Europeans. In contrast, copper bell and glass bead have smaller variety, but glass bead has larger number due to they were usually found in a cluster that reflect the original use as strings. Most common shape for copper bell is the large shape with human face as motif, while most common shape for glass bead is small that were identified as Indo-Pacific beads, the most common type that are widespread in Southeast Asian sites since 300 BC (Francis, 2002).

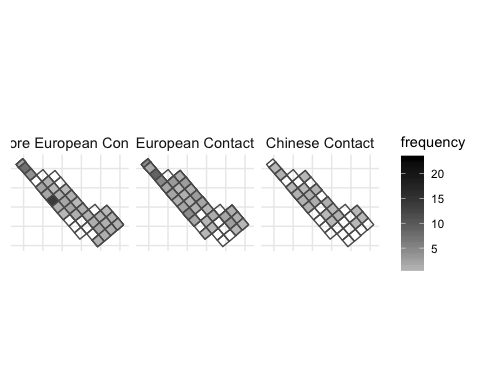
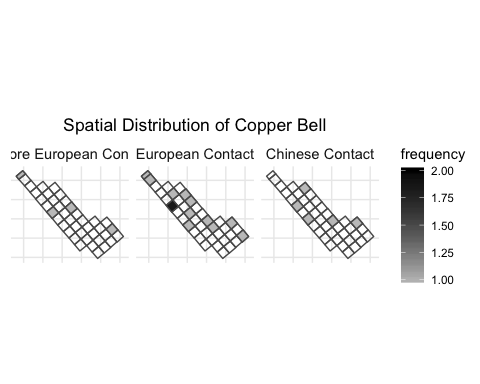
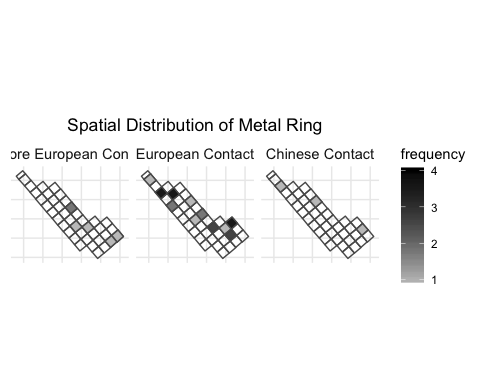
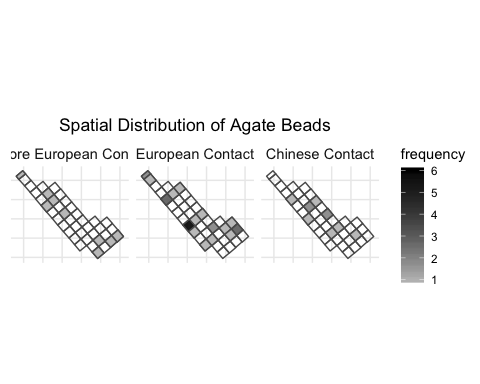
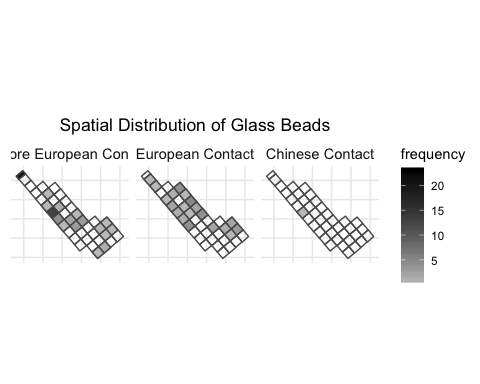
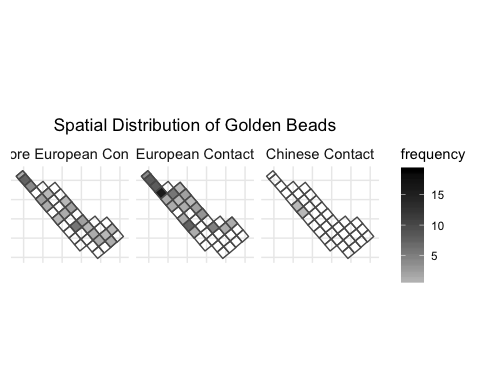


Figure 5: Spatial pattern of ornaments



## Frequency for spatial pattern

Figure 5 presents the spatial distribution of all classes of ornaments for each time period. It shows that one square unearthed more ornaments than others in the pre-European contact. During the European contact period, the presence of ornaments is more ubiquitous with some clusters on northern part, and more randomly distributed during the Chinese contact period. When looking at the distribution for each major class individually, it shows that some clusters of different class of ornaments across the area during the European contact period, including golden bead, agate bead, metal ring, and bell. However, it seems no clear consistent pattern of concentration for those ornaments. Each class shows its own pattern that squares with higher number of ornaments distributed separately and independently. For example, the cluster of golden bead were found at the northern part, while the cluster of agate bead were found in the middle part. In contrast, there are more than one cluster of metal rings that distribute separately across the research area. Copper bells were usually found solely and seem randomly across the area. Before European contact, the map shows greater amount of glass beads were found at the northern and middle part of the research area, and more widespread during the European contact period. In the Chinese Contact period, both the amount and density of different classes of ornaments decreases that they were only found in a few squares, for example, golden bead and glass bead were only found in a couple squares at the middle part.

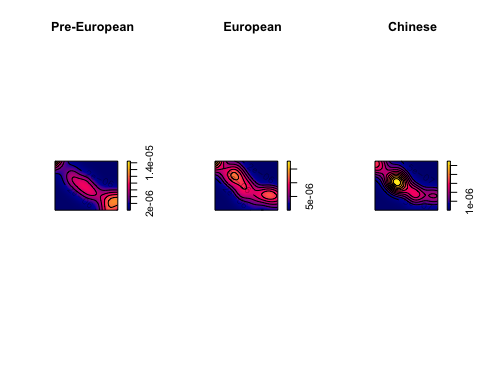


Figure 6: Kernal density map

## Spatial distribution

Point pattern analysis is a way to assess whether the distribution of ornaments presents some spatial pattern that can indicate the changes during culture contact period (Bevan and Lake, 2016, @Ducke2015). The location where ornaments from were square-based recorded, thus we took the intensity approach that focuses on the average density of points across space to explore their distribution. We randomly assigned points, here the location of ornaments, for each square according to the data, subset three groups for three time periods, and compute the kernal density for each time period for comparison. Kernal density estimations (KDE) can estimate the probability of the density of events across space by creating a continuous, smooth density surface across space. Here we use KDE to visualize the event of the presence of ornaments that were represents by maps on which we are able to see core areas and surrounding neighborhoods (Bonnier et al., 2019, @Cortegoso2016). Density value is assigned to each cell, of which the unit is meter. The results 6 show that there is one major core area during the pre-European contact period, multiple core areas during European contact period, and a single core during the Chinese contact period. Those maps present three consistent sub-region with shifting core area over time. The distribution might indicate different social groups who own more ornaments, and the multiple groups during European contact period might reflect a more corporate mode of social organization. However, the generation of core areas might be biased due to small sample size, for example, a few ornaments found at one single square during the Chinese period could create obvious core area. Next step is to test whether the distribution of ornaments is randomly distributed to understand the underlying social indication related to ornaments.

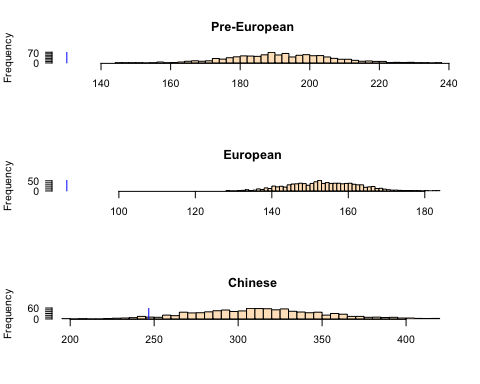


Figure 7: Histogram of simulated ANN values

Here we use Monte Carlo method to test for the complete spatial randomness of spatial events based on the average nearest-neighbor distance method. We hypothesize that the distribution of ornaments is consistent with a completely random process, and then simulate the presence of ornaments across the space for one thousand times for each time periods. We compare our data to the random pattern generated by simulated processes to see if the our data is randomly distributed or not. The results 7 are represented by histogram showing one thousand simulation with the blue line indicating our observed value. The results show that 100% of the simulated values are much more greater than our observed ANN value during the European contact period, which means the ornaments are clustered distributed. Similar result are also observed during the pre-European period but less extreme. The distribution of ornaments was random during the Chinese contact period and about one third of the simulated values are greater than our observed ANN value. This testing explains that the distribution of ornaments during the pre-European and European contact period might reflect the presence of different social groups. Moreover, the cluster of ornaments way more significant during the European contact period that might indicate some extent of control of ornaments.

# Discussion

The introduction of ornaments to Northeastern Taiwan during different periods could inform how local indigenous people perceive and distribute the trading goods in different contexts of culture contacts by examining their frequency and spatial distribution across space. Taiwan island had been involved in regional exchange networks of Southeast Asia since Neolithic period, a global trade network during the European contact period in the early 17th century, and later intense but smaller scale network with Han Chinese communities since 19th century (Chen, 2005). Kiwulan demonstrates continuous occupation from the late Iron Age to one hundred years ago over 600 years that covers these three different culture contacts that enables a comparative research to explore the indirect influence of culture contact especially in the global colonial context. These three analytic chronology at Kiwulan represent different scale of exchange network and intensity of culture contact. For the scale of trade network, Pre-European contact can be defined as a middle scale represented by the prehistoric regional trade network in Southeast Asia. International trade network during the European contact presents a global scale, while local trade network during the Chinese contact presents a small scale. For the intensity of culture contact, both pre-European contact and European contact period could be defined as indirect contact, but the colonial power underlying the contact with the Europeans should be also considered. The culture contact during the Chinese period is more direct due to the migration of Han Chinese to Kiwulan.

The results show there was a greater diversity of ornaments types and materials at Kiwulan during European contact. This might result from the large scale exchange network that stimulate the circulation of different ornaments classes. Among those ornaments, agate beads and metal rings have greater quantity and variety of shapes compared to copper bell and glass beads, which might indicate the diverse origins. However, the frequency of overall ornaments and each subtype declines significantly during the Chinese contact period. The reason could be related to smaller scale of network and the overall decline of Kiwulan population at that time. The spatial pattern of ornaments shows that there were some clusters appeared since pre-European and European contact period. The hypothesis testing for spatial pattern further indicate more concentration of ornaments during European contact. Because trade ornaments had been viewed as prestige goods in local cultural context in the prehistoric Northeastern Taiwan, this differentiation could reflect some level of social inequality appeared before European contact and then it was reinforced during European period.

Q: Is the difference in the frequency of ornaments related to the intensity of contact, does it show any spatial pattern at Kiwulan that indicate the appearance of social inequality.

Q: Is the difference in the frequency of ornaments related to the scale of exchange network, does it show any spatial pattern at Kiwulan that indicate the appearance of social inequality.

# Conclusion

Indirect influence of colonialism has been proposed recently and some studies reveal how peripheral areas had been influenced by the colonial activities or involved in the colonial economy centered in the major European colonies (Trabert, 2017). Kiwulan in Northeastern Taiwan is an especially important case study where the location was relatively isolated and peripheral that can provide valuable insight into the discussion of influence of indirect colonial contacts. Foreign trade ornaments were viewed as prestige goods and played an important role in the cultural context of indigenous societies in northeastern Taiwan according to the use context as grave goods and historical documents written by foreign record keeper. As a marker for status, the frequency and spatial distribution of body ornaments at Kiwulan present three distinct patterns during different culture contact periods. Greater amount and diversity ornament types during the European contact period reflects the international stimulation of exchange in a colonial context. Those ornaments may convey different meaning with exotic and colonizer image that increases more competitions between aggrandized individuals for prestige and wealth accumulation, which might result in a increasing social inequality. The spatial pattern of ornaments at Kiwulan during European contact presents multiple clusters that is significantly different from a random distribution pattern. This study demonstrate that foreign trade ornaments could be a proxy to detect the indirect colonial influence on local indigenous populations and give insights into the emergence of social inequality stimulated by the European colonization. It also shows the agency of indigenous people to incorporate and recontextualize the ornaments into their culture system. During the Chinese contact period, the decreasing frequency and diversity of ornaments showing a decline in the production, use and discard of ornaments at Kiwulan, which might be related to the smaller scale of exchange network with limited sources of ornaments or the overall decline of Kiwalan population. This is a case study that focuses on trade ornaments and more studies can be done to have a comparison with other archaeological evidence. Further studies to explore the extent of social inequality and the shift in social organization could be conducted by examining multiple line of evidence from Kiwulan, including pottery production and mortuary practices.

# Acknowledgements

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##### pagebreak

### Colophon

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#> Head: [0c8bcd8] 2019-07-06: update for Taiwan map

Word count: 4655