

ON ARCHITECTURE AND SOCIAL POWER: SOME POSSIBLE PHILIPPINE-OCEANIC LINKS

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ABSTRACT

Archaeological work in the Mariana Islands and on Guam has provided a basis for reconstructing the sociopolitical organization of late prehistoric populations of these islands. The study of architecture plays a special part in these archaeological interpretations. Architectural aspects of ethnographically documented societies in Luzon are used for comparison in order to develop a model for the socioeconomic system of the prehistoric Marianas.

INTRODUCTION

Recent archaeological work in the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands and on Guam has provided a basis for reconstructing the sociopolitical organization of the late prehistoric and early historic Latte Period Chamorro groups that lived on these islands (Athens 1986; Bodner and Welch 1992; Butler 1988, 1990, 1994; Craib 1983; Graves 1986, 1991; Graves *et al.* 1990; Hunter-Anderson 1989; Hunter-Anderson and Butler 1991; Moore 1983; Moore *et al.* 1986; Moore and Hunter-Anderson 1987). Less attention has been devoted to that of the earlier Pre-Latte Period, largely and justifiably because the published data are scanty in comparison to those available for the later period. In this paper, it is suggested that looking to the Philippines for clues to the nature of early prehistoric social organisation in the Marianas is both legitimate and warranted at this stage of our understanding. The notion of a petty plutocratic form of class structure, as it has been defined in Philippine studies, is explored. Suggestions for how the results of this work might be useful in modelling the evolution of

sociopolitical complexity in the Marianas are proffered. Throughout this paper, architecture is strongly emphasised because it occupies a central place both in the current models of prehistoric sociopolitical complexity for the Marianas and in the ethnographic reality of the Philippine societies considered here.

The Pre-Latte Period in the Marianas

Evidence from archaeological surveys and excavations in the Mariana Islands is generally interpreted as indicating that humans had settled there by at least the first millennium BC. However, relatively little is known about the first 2000 years of human occupation on the islands. Pre-Latte ceramic assemblages are characterised by calcareous sand temper, red slipping, well-polished or burnished exterior surfaces and a wide variety of vessel forms, including small jars with everted or constricted rims and shallow bowls, some with carinated shoulders. Rims are usually unthickened or narrow and sherds decorated with lime-filled impressions are present at most sites of this period. Other material encountered in Pre-Latte contexts includes finely made shell rings and stone adzes with thick bevelled bits.

Most early materials have been recovered from beach deposits, although caves and rock shelters on Guam, Rota, Saipan, Tinian and Agiguan are known to have been used as burial places (Hanson 1988; Hanson and Gordon 1989; Spoehr 1957). Recent testing and excavation on Tinian and Agiguan have documented the use of inland rock shelters as hunting camps and possibly semi-permanent dwelling places (Bodner 1994; Steadman and Bodner in prep.). Pictures of the Pre-Latte exploitation of the native avifauna and possibly of domesticated animals are currently emerging on the basis of work on Rota, Tinian and Agiguan (Bodner 1994; Steadman 1992, personal communication 1994).

The Latte Period in the Marianas

The interval from c. AD 1000 until the time of Western contact is much better represented in the archaeological record. It is distinguished by, and consequently named for, the presence of *latte* stones, which are large upright pillars of limestone, coral or basalt, each topped by a hemispherical capstone. Latte stones were arranged in two parallel rows 3-4 m apart with from 6 to 12 uprights forming a single set. Each set is thought to have supported a wood-framed superstructure.

Based upon historic and ethnographic accounts, Latte Period settlements are believed to have also included houses constructed directly on the ground or upon wooden rather than stone supports.¹ Open-sided structures functioned as canoe houses and as men's houses and there were separate buildings for cooking. Over all, settlements increased in both size and density and were established inland as well as in coastal areas.

Latte Period ceramic vessels differ from those of the earlier period in several regards, primary among them being vessel form. Shallow bowls and pans are replaced by taller, thick-walled pots or jars of globular or sub-conoidal shape with restricted orifices. Tempers range from mixed calcareous and volcanic sand to volcanic sand alone with quartz inclusions in some vessels. Exteriors are neither slipped nor painted, although some are textured. Decoration is limited to incising on vessel shoulders and notches and finger impressions on vessel lips (see Butler 1990; Hunter-Anderson and Butler 1991; Moore 1983; Thompson 1979).

The traditional picture of Chamorro subsistence is one based upon agriculture, fishing, gathering and limited hunting. Cultivated staple crops are likely to have included yams, breadfruit and taro, augmented by coconuts, bananas and sugarcane. Hunter-Anderson, Thompson and Moore (1994) have recently reported the identification of rice chaff in ceramics and recovery of rice chaff and rice phytoliths from Guam and Saipan, although rice is believed to have been a ritually important plant rather than a major element of the subsistence base (Hunter-Anderson 1994). The preliminary analysis of the faunal assemblage from a stratified rock shelter on Agiguan documents the exploitation of fish, shellfish, crabs, a variety of birds and fruit bats by Latte Period peoples. The same site has yielded bones of domestic pig in the uppermost levels (Steadman, personal communication 1994).

Reconstructions of Latte Period Sociopolitical Organization

Over the last decade, aspects of Latte Period sociopolitical organisation have been addressed in two major papers (Graves 1986; Graves, Hunt and Moore 1990). In the first, Graves used mortuary data and an analysis of prehistoric materials associated with *latte* sets on Guam, Saipan and Tinian to argue that *latte* structures were constructed as residences by kin-based corporate groups whose members were hierarchically ranked by status. In addition, the relative rank and size of the corporate groups that built them are reflected in the sizes of *latte*, in terms of both the number of foundation stones and the area enclosed by them. However, Graves found that the differences in overall *latte* height compared to the number of foundation stones in each set is not statistically significant except at Tinian's House of Taga, the largest of all known *latte* structures. Graves postulated that the *latte* at House of Taga represent a later and additional level of status ranking in the Marianas.

The 1990 paper by Graves, Hunt and Moore reported the results of analyses of Marianas prehistoric ceramics, conducted to determine the degree of similarity among material culture assemblages across the archipelago at different points in time. The studies revealed that Pre-Latte assemblages are remarkably homogeneous throughout the island chain with high inter-site similarity in vessel form, temper, surface treatment and rim form. Nevertheless, localised exchange of Pre-Latte ceramics did take place between settlements on the same island or nearby islands. The authors proposed that widespread contacts may have been maintained through exchange to ensure the survival of small, dispersed populations during periods of stress or resource depletion.

In contrast, Latte Period ceramics evidence a distinct regionalization between the northern islands of Saipan and Tinian and the southern islands of Guam and Rota. The authors concluded that this divergence might have been the result of conscious efforts to produce and maintain geographically based social distinctions. With the establishment of hierarchical social relations, it may have become necessary for individuals to demonstrate their kin-group affiliations. Regional distinctions in ceramics production would have constituted one mechanism for doing so. Finally, they suggested that the Latte Period exchange of ceramics might have resulted from competition within social units over access to finite resources or that it might have served as a mechanism for creating alliances between social units in competition with other groups.

Summarily, then, current thought holds that Latte Period sociopolitical organisation was based upon hierarchically ranked kin-based corporate groups, eventually with at least three levels. There were apparently no large-scale political hierarchies but rather districts composed of clustered villages. Geographically based social distinctions were maintained. High-ranking groups able to muster sufficient labor built *latte* structures as their residences. The higher the relative rank of the group, the greater the number of foundation stones and the larger the area defined by them. The area over which any single high-ranking individual had power was typically limited to the boundaries of a named village or village section. Organised warfare was conducted between villages and districts but it was generally ritualised, with feuding and revenge killings. It rarely resulted in large numbers of deaths or population displacements.

The question of what gave rise to such a system now presents itself. It has been suggested that increased pressure on certain resources may have been a major factor in the establishment of institutionalised ranking among kin-based descent groups. Looking back to the Philippines at societies that developed social ranking systems under similar conditions and in response to similar pressures may be a meaningful exercise and may assist in the development of a better understanding of early prehistoric social organisation in the Marianas.

PHILIPPINE AFFILIATIONS

Many researchers have noted that the early red ware ceramic assemblages of the Marianas show strong affiliation with late Neolithic ceramic complexes from the central Philippines (Bellwood 1985). Linguistic data have also been regarded as suggestive of a Philippine origin for Chamorro populations. Consequently, a judicious look west to the Philippines for clues to those aspects of Marianas prehistory about which little is known is justified. Perhaps the next concern should be where exactly in the Philippines to look.

Drawing upon Spanish accounts and early dictionaries, William Henry Scott (1992) adduced a description of the 16th-century Tagalog culture the Spaniards found upon their arrival. Although his purposes were different from ours, the point he made is quite relevant. His description includes the following.

Sixteenth-century Tagalog farmers grew rice both in swiddens and irrigated fields, and knew neither draft animals, plows nor wheeled vehicles. Cloth was woven on backstrap looms; pottery was made by the paddle-and-anvil technique and fired in the open air with rice straw; and iron was worked with a two-

piston Malay forge and stone mauls. Sugarcane juice was extracted, not for sugar but for wine, with a two-pole press operated like a pump handle, and reduced to alcohol in a still made from a hollow tree trunk, and sipped through reed straws. Boards were adzed to size in the forest, not sawed, and mortised together without nails, and boats were constructed of carved planks sewn together. Chinese porcelains were esteemed as heirloom wealth, and bronze gongs played either with the naked palms or a drumstick to accompany dances in which both men and women danced with outstretched arms without touching their partners [Scott 1992:10].

Men wore G-strings with the longer flap hanging behind (so Spaniards quipped, "Don't get your tail wet"), highly decorated or silk in the case of the elite. They filed and blackened their teeth and pegged them with gold, and wore earrings heavy enough to distend their earlobes to the shoulder. Everybody chewed betel nut, and lovers exchanged quids partly masticated, and serenaded with nose flutes. Men who had killed somebody were privileged to wear red headbands, and those sworn to do so put a tuft of feathers in their hair and a rawhide collar around their neck. Victors came back singing *tagumpay* and displayed enemy heads on poles, but expeditions were cancelled if the *tigmamanukin* omen bird flew across the trail from left to right.

Scott then pointed out that

to a contemporary ethnographer, [this sounds] more like the traditional cultures of highland Filipinos in Mindanao and northern Luzon. The fact that Tagalogs are so different from Bontocs and Bukidnons today is therefore more readily explained by historic developments in the past three centuries than by population movements in the preceding three millennia [Scott 1992:11].

The same basic principle holds true for the issues at hand here. It is legitimate to assume that the ancestors of the Chamorros and those of the 16th-century Tagalogs were more alike than different and it is justifiable to look to the closest living "relatives" of these ancestors for assistance in modelling the evolution of sociopolitical complexity in the Marianas.

The Bontoc of the Central Cordillera

Inhabiting part of what is now Mountain Province in Northern Luzon's Cordillera Central (Figure 1), the people whom anthropologists term "Bontoc" have traditionally been farmers, growing a variety of crops in

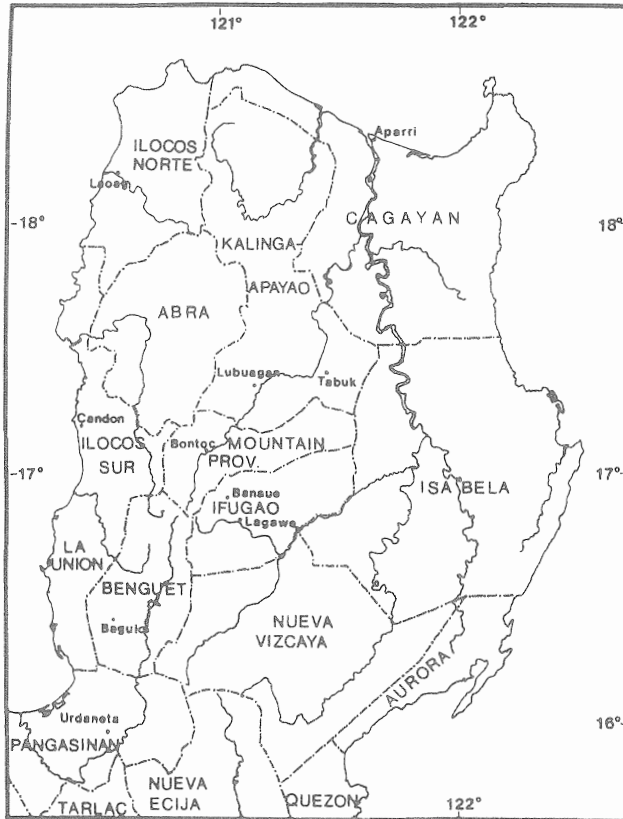


Figure 1: Provinces of Northern Luzon, Philippines (after Conklin 1980:44, Plate 2f)

mountainside swiddens and in irrigated, terraced pond fields. They also raise domesticated animals and hunt and fish to augment their agricultural subsistence base.

Bontoc villages are large, nucleated settlements typically ranging in population from 800 to 2000 and are situated in river valleys and on mountain slopes between 800 and 1300 m elevation (Bodner 1986). The household constitutes the smallest residential, economic and social unit in Bontoc society and consists of a husband, a wife and their unmarried children. Kinship is determined bilaterally, and collateral and lineal kin are merged with kin terms showing a strong classificatory tendency (Keesing 1949; Prill-Brett 1986). Birth order plays a very important role in determining relationships between siblings and between parents and their children. Inheritance of land and other valuable material possessions follows what has been described as "primogenitural homoparentalism" (Drucker 1977), with the eldest daughter inheriting the bulk of her mother's property and the eldest son

most of his father's property upon their respective marriages. While there is no formal age-grade system, strong social bonds are established among age-mates of the same sex early in life and are typically maintained until death.

Prominent in the social lives of all Bontocs and in the physical arrangement of each village are the 'atul or wards, which transcend both kin and class-related ties. Beyond the 'atul, individuals align themselves with particular villages, or 'ili. An 'ili includes the houses, granaries and houseyards of all its residents plus all the 'atul and their associated tracts of land, the sacred groves of trees, the pond fields, swiddens, pasture land, burial grounds, fishing areas, forests and grasslands within well-known and strictly observed territorial boundaries. In the past, the violation of these boundaries constituted sufficient grounds for a killing.

Peaceful relationships between villages are maintained via intermarriages, intervillage work groups, shared rituals and feasts, and trading. Villages that have had disputes or warfare can negotiate peace pacts to normalise social and economic interactions. Such pacts generally provide for a mutual understanding of territorial boundaries and an agreement with regard to fines which are to be paid for violation of the conditions of the pact.

The Bontoc have a three-tiered system of social ranking based upon the degree of relatedness to families of the upper class, called *kadangyan*. In a study of class structure in the unhispanized Philippines, Scott (1982) termed this system, and those of the neighbouring Kankayan, Ifugao and Ibaloy, "petty plutocracies." They are considered "plutocracies" because they are "dominated socially and politically by a recognized class of rich men who attain membership through birthright, property, and the performance of specified ceremonies". They are described as "petty" because the authority of these men is localised and not extended by absentee landlordism or territorial subjugation (Scott 1982:135).

Membership in the Bontoc *kadangyan* class is determined by inherited wealth in the form of permanent pond fields from either parent and the performance of a series of graded prestige feasts in which the butchering of animals feeds and thus indebts the entire community. New property may be acquired but it does not help its owner qualify for *kadangyan* status until it has been passed from one generation to the next. Swidden land is the property of corporate groups rather than individuals and does not figure into *kadangyan* assessments. Similarly, fishing, pasturing, and hunting rights are also determined by corporate group membership, not class.

Grading within the *kadangyan* class is based upon the percentage of the lifetime cycle of graded ceremonies completed (Prill-Brett 1986; see also Keesing 1949; Reid 1961). Those who complete the cycle become founders of lineages of greater prestige. Those who own property but are not of full *kadangyan* rank constitute a second class and are referred to as *wad'ay ngadana*. Those who do not own property sufficient for supplying a living are called *lawa* and traditionally functioned as debt peons to the land-owning classes.

In addition to the ritual obligations and the possession of pond fields, heirloom jars, gongs and jewelry, *kadangyan* rank is expressed via distinctive textile patterns in dress for both men and women, special weaves in basketry, and house styles. In fact, the physical form of the residence was traditionally the most obvious and immediate means of identifying the rank of a given family.

Bontoc Architecture

Traditional dwellings in the Bontoc region are termed *'abung* and are of two types (Bodner 1986:166-173). The house of *kadangyan* and *wad'ay ngadana* families is called *baley* and measures some 3.6 m wide by 4.5 m long by 6-7 m high (Figure 2). Built at ground level, it has pine board walls about 1 m tall on four sides and a tall, steep thatched roof which extends over the tops of the walls to within about 1.2 m of the ground on all sides. There is a small doorway in front and two sets of posts provide support in the interior (Figure 3). One post is located at each corner, just inside the wall boards, and an additional set of four posts arranged in an approximate square is located in the center of the house to support the second story. Disks of wood, called *lifreng* in Bontoc, are affixed to the top of each external post and serve as rat guards to keep rodents away from the unpounded grain stored above.

The ground floor is divided into several activity areas by low stone or wooden walls (Figure 4). To the left of the doorway is an area about 1.6 m square which is excavated to a depth of some 30 cm below the level of the rest of this floor. Located here are the mortar and pestle for pounding grain. Behind it is the cooking area, with one or more fireplaces, and a storage shelf. On the opposite side is another storage shelf beneath which are basketry chicken coops. The back of the house is completely enclosed, forming the adults' sleeping compartment and one or two areas for storing valuables.

The second story is accessed by a ladder and is completely constructed of mortised boards. This space is used to store primarily unpounded grain, but also beans, valuables and/or containers of preserved meat. A small fire-



Figure 2: Baley-style house in Bontoc (after Scott 1969: 175)

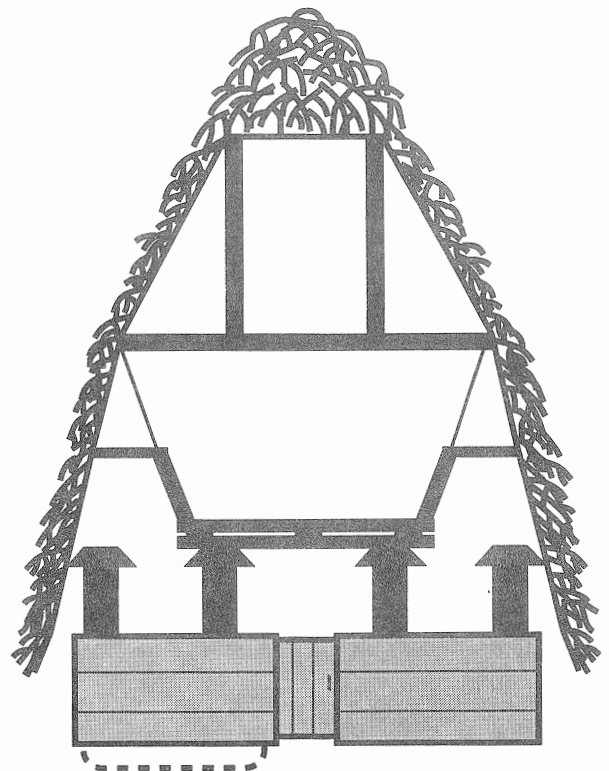


Figure 3: Baley-style house, cutaway view

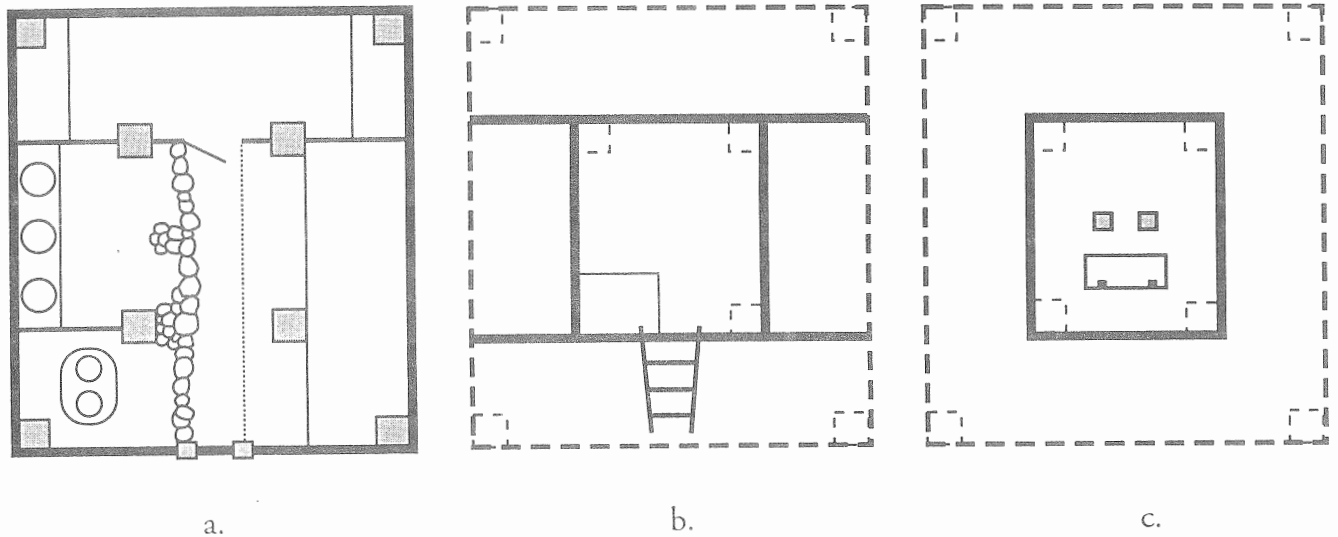


Figure 4: Baley-style house, floor plan. a, ground floor; b, second storey; c, third storey

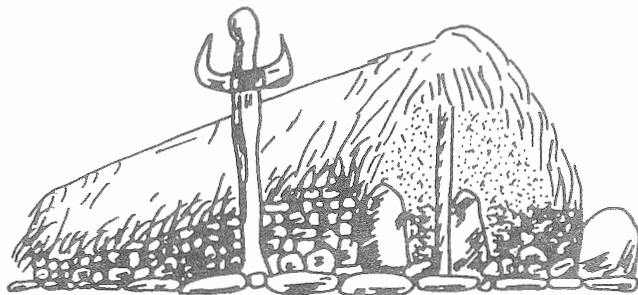


Figure 5: 'Abung-style house in Bontoc (after Scott 1969: 175)

place used for household rituals is also located on this level.

A third story may vary from a small attic for additional storage to an area nearly as large as that of the second story. It is entered through the floor via another ladder and is used only for storing bundles of grain. Two posts support a ridgepole for the roof, which drops down sharply on the outside, forming a nearly square shape.

Variants of this house form have shorter roofs or only two stories. Instead of four interior and four exterior posts, some have six exterior posts only. The difference is largely one of how much unpounded rice must be

stored, which of course is directly tied to overall wealth, the number of pond fields owned and status.

The second type of house in Bontoc is exemplified by the traditional dwellings of poor people and widows and by sleeping places for boys and girls. These structures differ substantially from the *baley* in size and construction technique. An example of this type of house is the '*atul*', the ward house and sleeping place for unmarried boys and widowers (Figure 5). It consists of a low, squat, stone-walled structure with stone paving in its interior, a small doorway, and a thatched roof. The building measures some 2.5-3.5 m wide by 3-6 m long, and 1.5 m or less tall on the inside. Inside may be reed or wooden plank platforms for sleeping and a fireplace. One or more posts for displaying the heads of slain enemies and/or the horns of ritually slaughtered water buffalo are erected in the stone paved, open courtyard, which also has several upright stones for seats and backrests and usually a shade tree.

The traditional '*ulug*', or sleeping place for unmarried girls, can be either a widow's house or a separate small stone and mud structure which is often built over a pig pen. It too has a thatched roof and a single small doorway. Its floor is covered with sleeping boards, placed side by side on a frame about 30 cm above the earth floor.²

Affiliations of the *Baley*

The Bontoc *baley* shows very close affiliations with the traditional Ifugao house, termed *bale*. The Ifugao house is square in floor plan, standing on three joists supported by two girders resting on four posts (Conklin 1980:5). It is open and paved with stone underneath, has rat guards (*halipan*) at the top of each post and has a pyramidal thatched roof with neither smokeholes nor a ridgepole at the top. In terms of design, the Ifugao *bale* is a granary in which people live. Scott (1969:175-217) observed that the Bontoc version appears simply to be a *bale* that has been enlarged by increasing the height of the attic, with a ridgepole and smokeholes added for ventilation and the ground level fenced in beneath the eaves where domestic chores are carried out.

Scott's study of the vocabulary of houses throughout the southern Cordillera is informative in terms of the evolution of architectural styles. Forms of the same general term for "house" — *bale* — are used throughout the Cordillera (Tables 1 and 2, printed at end) and through the Philippines generally. It is also found as far away as Polynesia (Table 1). A notable exception to this apparent trend is Bontoc, in which the general term is '*abung*, with *baley* referring only to the granary-like subtype.³

Forms of '*abung* are found elsewhere in the Cordillera, however, and these shed additional light upon our concerns here. Table 3 provides a list of such terms, expanding upon those mentioned by Scott (1969). Meanings associated with structures as physical entities, a structure's residents, the act of establishing a household, and aggregates of households suggest an older, more widely spread use of '*abung* than is now the case.

In their *Taming Philippine Headhunters* (Keesing and Keesing 1934), the authors suggested that the *abung* was an old form of dwelling and that the word may derive from early Negrito speech. Certainly the geographic segregation of '*abung* and *baley* cognates in the Cordillera supports the contention that the ancestors of the Bontoc and probably the Kankanay originally lived in '*abung* houses and adopted the *baley* structure developed in Ifugao at a later time (Scott 1969). The granary-like styling of the *baley* with its mortised-board construction and its support posts outfitted with protective rat guards allows a linkage of this style of architecture with an increased dependence upon grain agriculture. While the details of the story are not yet clear, eventually "grain agriculture" came to mean rice grown in permanent, irrigated terraced pond fields, the ownership and inheritance of which form the basis for the petty plutocracy class structure in traditional Bontoc society.

ORIGINS OF PETTY PLUTOCRACY

It may now be appropriate to consider from what base the petty plutocracy form of ranking may have arisen and what factors contributed to its creation (Scott 1982). Of relevance to questions about the origins of the Bontoc social ranking system are the Isneg, or Apayao, and the northern Kalinga who live downriver from the Bontoc (Fig. 1). These societies have traditionally been characterised by a distinct warrior class, the membership of which is made up of those who have taken a large number of lives either in loosely organised raids into unallied territory or in opportunistic individual attacks. Specific privileges, duties and specific norms of conduct are associated with this class. Membership in it is necessary, although not sufficient, for community leader status. A true leader must also be highly skilled in arbitrating disputes and must have enough personal wealth to sponsor feasts and support his dependents.

Particularly wise legal experts and respected family founders are distinguished by specific terms in Kalinga, but village headmen and clan chiefs have no special titles. It is acknowledged that the safety of any kin settlement is dependent upon its having a resident warrior chief, but chiefs have no authority beyond their own communities apart from a reputation for fierceness in battle. Historically, like all Philippine warrior societies, Kalinga society has been based upon a swiddening economy, but within the past several decades some Kalinga have shifted to pond-field agriculture. This has contributed to the eclipse of warrior chiefs, and in fact the southern Kalinga now recognise a propertied class they refer to as *kadangyan*, using the same term as the Bontoc.

Scott noted the likelihood of an evolutionary connection between the warrior societies exemplified by northern swiddening groups and the petty plutocracies of the Cordillera Central.

It is difficult to resist the conclusion that [petty plutocracies] are former warrior societies whose intensive farming of irrigated terraces has produced a land-owning and -inheriting class which takes precedence over military veterans ... And if the assumption is correct that [petty plutocracies] developed out of [warrior societies], the Kalinga would illustrate a transitional stage—terrace-building warriors among whom a land-based *kadangyan* class is rapidly developing [Scott 1982:144-145].

Such a connection is indeed quite likely. The key factors in the evolutionary process in Bontoc would have included:

- 1) Population increase in an environment with finite opportunities for territorial expansion, which would eventually create a situation of competition over resources;
- 2) A change in the proportion of extensive to intensive agricultural practices, meaning in this case an increased dependency upon pond-field agriculture;
- 3) The resulting need for a cooperative approach in matters of water usage in an area where water is scarce for several months of the year;
- 4) A need for protection in an area where sustaining personal harm is a real and constant threat.

The large compact communities seen in Bontoc would not be an unexpected adaptation to conditions of population increase in a region of limited land and water resources. They might also be adaptive to agricultural intensification via an increase in the number of irrigated pond fields in a comparatively dry region. A plan for cooperative water usage, as is now in force in many Bontoc villages, may well have been easier to implement under circumstances where people were living in one large aggregate rather than in several smaller, dispersed hamlets (Prill-Brett 1985).

One might suggest that personal protection may also have been facilitated by living in large villages. However, Ifugao provides an example of a society in which the same problem exists but people live in concentrations of 5-10 houses rather than compact settlements (Scott 1982). Something that all the southern Cordilleran petty plutocracies do have in common, however, and which may be linked to this need for personal protection, is a strong sense of community and ethnic identity.

Earlier it was mentioned that in Bontoc each individual affiliates with a specific *'atul* or ward and with a particular *'ili*, both of which transcend kin- and class-related ties. In fact, people refer to themselves and each other as from a particular *'ili*, not as members of the ethnolinguistic group that social scientists have identified as Bontoc. Contributing to the maintenance of this sense of "*'ili* solidarity" are several easily recognised badges of membership. Some are simply more or less exaggerated manifestations of the indicators of social class mentioned before, such as colours and weaving patterns in clothing and small stylistic nuances in house design. Others include intonations and specific vocabulary in the spoken language. Of special interest to archaeologists is the manufacture of certain items for trade and exchange. Both the ethnographic and the archaeological records indicate that traditionally no Bontoc village produced everything it needed and each made something to trade: woven cloth, earthenware ceramics, salt, metal smoking

pipes, wood charcoal, game animals and the like. These distinctions are breaking down today, of course, but in the more remote areas, they are still very much in evidence (Bodner 1986; Jenks 1905).

RELEVANCE

Returning to the notion of seeing how a look at Philippine sociopolitical organisation might help model that of the prehistoric Marianas, a number of similarities between what has been proposed for the sociopolitical organisation of Chamorro society during the Latte Period and the petty plutocracy of the Bontoc in the southern Cordillera of Northern Luzon become clear. Common to both groups are the following:

- living in large settlements divided into named village districts or sections
- hierarchically arranged kin-based corporate groups playing an important role in determining access to resources
- the distinction of at least three social classes
- the limiting of the authority of any single individual or kin group to a geographically-limited area
- a tradition of ritualised warfare, largely restricted to feuding and revenge killings rather than large-scale decimation
- intensive agriculture
- the exploitation of a number of environmental zones
- the maintenance of ethnic identity (or kin-group affiliations) via the manufacture of distinctive and easily recognisable material items, which were eventually traded.

It is clearly evident that architecture is a strong indicator of social rank and class in Bontoc society and it can be generally agreed that the current models of sociopolitical complexity that assign architecture a similar role in the Marianas are justified in doing so.

A case has been made for deriving the Bontoc petty plutocratic form of social ranking from that of a warrior society and it may be appropriate to consider something similar for the Marianas. Again the parallels are several. It can be stated with confidence for typical Cordilleran warrior societies and with reasonable surety for the Pre-Latte Period in the Marianas that populations were low. Settlements were small and scattered. People practiced extensive agriculture rather than intensive agriculture and exploited a few environmental zones rather than many.

The next step should be to construct hypotheses to test the fit of other aspects of Pre-Latte society in the Marianas to the model of a warrior society. Is there evidence for warfare and/or captive-taking? Is it possible to detect patterns of exchange that might reflect the type of

specific trading partnerships common in warrior societies? Do settlement sizes, arrangements and distribution fall within the range of variation documented for warrior societies? Are the nature and relative quantity of trade items, perhaps particularly heirloom wealth, in keeping with what is known of warrior societies? What of the intensification of Marianas agricultural systems through time? Do these systems indicate a pressure on resources that would facilitate a shift in sociopolitical complexity of the kind seen in the Philippine Cordillera?

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The person whose 30 plus years of residence and work in the Philippines provided most of the information I have used here and whose input I would most like to have sought in the interpretations I have made here passed away in October, 1993. It is therefore to the memory of William Henry Scott that I dedicate this effort.

NOTES

1. When we think about house forms that may have existed in the Marianas in addition to *latte* structures, we may want to consider the forms that some of the house types documented in the Philippine Cordillera might take in the archaeological record. The *baley* style, for example, would show up as two sets of four postmolds (one external and one internal), or as a single set of four or six postmolds. The low, squat *'abung*-style would be represented by stone walls with postmolds indicating internal partitions or by parallel arrangements of postmolds indicating wood, reed or perhaps thatch rather than stone walls.
2. There are three other kinds of structures in Bontoc, although they are not of direct relevance here. (1) Detached granaries (*'agamang*) are of solid pine wood construction, including the roofs, although these are also covered with a layer of thatch to shed rain. Boards are mortised together to form a structure some 2.5 m long by 1.5 m wide by 1.8 m high, which sits about 30 cm above the ground on wooden or stone supports. Granaries are usually built in series of two or more. (2) The *bawi* is a temporary field or camp shelter, perhaps best considered a hut rather than a permanent structure. Its walls are usually made of grass thatch, reeds or in some cases bark. Its floor is packed earth and its roof most often has two faces descending from a ridgepole. (3) Lastly, each house has one or more pig pens (*kungu*). Typically built near the owner's house, the pig pen is an excavated pit some 1-2.5 m wide by 2-4 m long and 1-1.5 m deep, with one end deeper than the other. The pit is lined with stones and is furnished with a stone food bowl as well as a covered area for the pig's bed. The pen retains compost resulting from pig and human waste as well as rotted bedding and other vegetable matter, which is periodically removed and applied to nearby gardens or to pond fields.

3. An examination of word lists and dictionaries indicates that forms of *'abung* meaning "house" also occur in Ilongot, Kallahan (Kayapa Proper), Bikolano and Pangasinan. An in-depth analysis of the uses and meanings of *'abung* forms in these languages may well prove to be illuminating with regard to the issues posed here.

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Table 1: Terms for "house" in Austronesian languages.

Language	Term
Philippines: Minor Languages[†]	
Agta	bali
Atta, Pamplona	balay
Balangaw (Botak, Natonin)	baliy
Batak, Palawan	balay
Bilaan, Koronadal	gumniq
Bilaan, Sarangani	bali
Binukid	'balay
Bontoc, Guinaang	'qabong
Dumagat, Casiguran	bi'leq
Gaddang	balay
Ifugao, Amganad	*ba'le
Ifugao, Batad	*baluy
Ifugao, Bayninan	bale
Ilongot	qabung
Inibalo	baliy
Isneg	balá y
Itbayaten, Batanes Islands	vagay
Itneg, Binongan	ba'bay
Ivatan, Batanes Islands	vahay
Kalagan	balay
Kalinga, Guinaang	bo'loy
Kallahan, Kayapa Proper (Nueva Vizcaya)	qabung
Kallahan, Keleyqiq	baley
Kankanay, Northern (Sagada Igorot)	ba'qiy
Mamanwa	lagkaw
Manobo, Ata	ba'loy
Manobo, Dibabawon (Mandaya)	'baiy
Manobo, Ilianen (Northern Cotabato)	'baliy
Manobo, Kalamansig Cotabato	dalisan
Manobo, Sarangani, Davao	balay
Manobo, Tigwa, Bukidnon	baliy
Manobo, Western Bukidnon	baliy
Mansaka	baray

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Table 1 (continued):

Language	Term
Samal	lumaq
Sambal, Botolan, Zambales (Negrito)	ba'li
Sangil, Sarangani Isl.	'bale
Sangir	bale
Subanun, Sindangan	balay
Subanon, Siocon	baloy
Tagabili	gunuq
Tagbanwa, Arborlan, Palawan	balay
Tagbanwa, Kalamian, Coron Is.	balay
Tausug, Sulu	baay
Tiruray	beléyén
Philippines: Major Languages	
Bicolano	hárong
Cebuano	baláy
Hiligaynon	balay
Ilokano	balay
Kapampangan	bale
Pangasinan	abóng
Tagalog	báhay
Indonesia	
Javanese	balé †
Ngadju Dayak	balai' §
Polynesia	
Fijian	vale' §
Hawaiian	hale
Samoaan	fale' §
Tokelau	fale ×
Tongan	fale ⊗
Futuna	fale' §
West Futuna-Aniwa	fare ◇

‡ Reid 1971, Schlegel 1971

† Horne (1974:52) defined as "hall, public building; front hall of a residence, used for entertaining;" Dempwolff (1937:21) translated as "Sitzbank."

§ Dempwolff 1937

◇ Dougherty 1983

× *Tokelau Dictionary* 1986

⊗ Churchward 1959

Table 2: Terms in Philippine languages derived from *baley*.

Term	Meaning	Language
<i>abalayan</i>	housemate	Isneg [‡]
<i>babaláy</i>	houses; town, village	Isneg [‡]
<i>babaley</i>	one's home village	Bontok [†]
<i>babley</i>	one's home village	Bontok [†]
<i>baláy barikóko</i>	the shell [house] of gastropods	Isneg [‡]
<i>baley</i>	a style of house built by wealthy villagers, having a high, steeply pitched roof and a raised, walled, storage room inside	Bontok [†]
<i>bá ley</i>	town	Pangasinan [§]
<i>baley</i>	to perform the marriage ceremonies which entitle a person to live in the same house as his spouse (syn. <i>ábong</i>)	Bontok [†]
<i>baley</i>	home; shelter; living place; any place which gives protection, as a bird nest, spider web, rat holewater buffalo pasture or the sheath of a bolo; placenta	Bontok [†]
<i>binaláy</i>	nest of bees	Isneg [‡]
<i>binalbaláy</i>	a flimsy structure, in the shape of a triangular prism, erected in the house yard, near the ladder, at the time of a solemn sacrifice. It consists of six stalks bamboo: three of them stuck in the ground and split at the top, that serve as posts, and three shorter ones that rest in the clefts and connect the tops of the uprights.	Isneg [‡]
<i>kabaleyán</i>	person from the same province or town as another	Pangasinan [§]
<i>makabaláy</i>	to be able to form (a house)	Isneg [‡]
<i>pabaley</i>	to give the marriage ceremonies for one's child	Bontok [†]
<i>tangabaláy</i>	one (whole) household	Isneg [‡]

[‡] Vanoverbergh 1972

[†] Reid 1976

[§] Benton 1971

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Table 3: Terms in Philippine languages derived from 'abung.

Term	Meaning	Language
<i>ábong</i>	to perform the marriage ceremonies preparatory to living together in the same house, of the couple who are marrying	Bontok [‡]
<i>ábong</i>	inside, of a house, a room, a granary or other building	Bontok [‡]
<i>ab-abong</i>	field hut (lit. "like an abong")	Bauko
<i>ab-abbong</i>	a children's game in which they make toy houses	Bontok [‡]
<i>ab-abóngan</i>	the building which is the social and religious hub of a village ward. Serves as a dormitory for boys, unmarried men, and widowers, and as a repository for the religious artifacts of the ward	Bontok [‡]
<i>abóngan</i>	a small enclosed field shelter	Bontok [‡]
<i>'abung</i>	field hut, simple dwelling, or sleeping place built directly on the ground with a ridgepole and a gabled roof	Ifugao, Isneg
<i>balongbalong</i>	small dwelling in field or countryside	16th-century Tagalog [◇]
<i>habong</i>	hut built in the mountains	16th-century Tagalog [◇]
<i>lungálong</i>	hut (in the forest, fields)	Bikolano [§]
<i>omabong</i>	to set up housekeeping, to dwell	Kankanay
<i>paábong</i>	to give the marriage ceremonies for one's child	Bontok [‡]
<i>paabóng</i>	feel at home; make (one) at home	Pangasinan [⊗]
<i>pangábong</i>	the social unit comprising all of the people who eat in one house	Bontok [‡]
<i>pangábong</i>	the ceremony on the second night of a <i>ló pis</i> ceremony when the fellow ward members of the husband eat at his house	Bontok [‡]
<i>sagobang</i>	small dwelling in field or countryside	16th-century Tagalog [◇]
<i>sankaabongán</i>	neighbors, people from the same locality	Pangasinan [⊗]
<i>sinapangabong</i>	a family, a household	Bauko

‡ From Scott 1969 unless otherwise specified

† Reid 1976

§ Mintz 1971

⊗ Benton 1971

◇ Scott 1992