

# **Raiding, Trading, and Feasting**



# Raiding, Trading, and Feasting

The Political Economy of Philippine Chiefdoms

Laura Lee Junker



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Writing a book about prehispanic political formations and political economy in the Philippines is a very difficult task. The archipelago is diverse in terms of ecology, language, culture, the scale and complexity of sociopolitical units, and historic trajectories. There is a rich archaeological record of the development of complex societies over the last three millennia (despite the absence of visible monumental architecture and the vagaries of material preservation), but archaeological investigations by both local scholars and foreigner researchers have been impeded by difficult field conditions and limits on funding. I am therefore particularly grateful for a long association with a fine group of Filipino and American researchers who have contributed to my archaeological field projects and who have added tremendously to my growth as a scholar.

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# Comparative Chronologies

## 1000 B.C. to A.D. 1600

	CHINESE DYNASTIC CHRONOLOGY	PHILIPPINE ARCHAEOLOGICAL CHRONOLOGIES		BAIS-TANJAY AREA REGIONAL CHRONOLOGY
		Traditional Phases	Alternative Phases	
A.D. 1600	Ming(1368-1644)	Historic	Historic	Historic
	Yüan (1280-1368)	Protohistoric	Emergent	Osmena Phase
1000	Sung (960-1279)			Santiago Phase
	Five Dynasties (907-960)	Metal Age	Incipient	<i>cultural hiatus</i>
	Tang (618-906)			Aguilar Phase
500	Sui			Solamillo Phase
	Six Dynasties (220-589)			<i>cultural hiatus</i>
0	Han (202 B.C.-A.D. 220)			
	Qin	Neolithic	Formative	<i>cultural hiatus</i>
500	Zhou (1050-221)			
1000 B.C.				

# Part I

## Introduction





# Chapter I

## Foreign Trade and Sociopolitical Evolution

Ethnohistorical sources indicate that at the time of European contact, the coastlines and lowland river valleys of most of the major islands of the Philippines were inhabited by politically complex, socially stratified societies, organized on the level of what cultural evolutionists refer to as “chiefdoms.” Philippine chiefs were central figures in complex regional-scale political economies. Hereditary chiefs controlled the agricultural productivity of lower-ranked farmers through restrictive land tenure and debt-bondage, they mobilized surplus for elite use through formalized tribute systems, and they amassed wealth through sponsorship of luxury good craftsmen and through interisland trading and raiding activities. The accumulated material fund of power was used competitively by chiefs in ritual feasting, bridewealth payments, and other display or exchange contexts to enhance their social ranking, to strengthen political alliances, and to expand their regional political authority.

As early as the Chinese Sung period (A.D. 950–1279) and possibly before, Chinese trade records and archaeological finds of foreign porcelains at Philippine sites document the beginnings of long-distance trade in “prestige goods” with China and numerous established Southeast Asian maritime-trading polities. The Philippine archipelago became the easternmost edge of a vast network of Chinese, Southeast Asian, Indian, and Arab traders that circulated porcelains, silks, glass beads, and other luxury goods throughout the South China Sea and through the Malacca Straits into the Indian Ocean as early as the beginning of the first millennium A.D. Chinese porcelain and other foreign luxury goods procured through maritime trade became key symbols of social prestige and political power for the Philippine chiefly elite. Ethnohistorical sources suggest that foreign prestige goods also became the most significant source of politically manipulable wealth in these societies, as an essential component of bridewealth payments, elite gift exchange at competitive feasting events, and other exchange contexts critical to political integration. The advent and growth of this extra-archipelago luxury good trade is archaeologically attested in large quantities of Sung, Yüan, and Ming period porcelains recovered from early second millennium A.D. burial and habitation sites on many of the major islands of the Philippines.

Both ethnohistorical sources and archaeological evidence suggest that this foreign luxury good trade reached its height in terms of volume and inter-

polity trade competition in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Intensified foreign trade appears to correspond chronologically with the emergence of more organizationally complex and territorially expansive chiefdoms in some regions of the Philippines, particularly those polities that were favorably situated for control of this wealth-generating trade. Archaeologists have tended to view the emergence of sociopolitical complexity in the Philippines as late-occurring, rapid, and processually linked to the expanded wealth and ideologies of rulership accrued through trade contacts with more complexly organized Asian kingdoms and empires (e.g., Beyer 1948; Beyer and de Veyra 1947; R. Fox 1967; Fox and Legaspi 1977; Hutterer 1973b, 1974; but see Hutterer 1977a; Jocano 1975b; Solheim 1964; Tenazas 1977). This view mirrors the emphasis of some early Southeast Asian historians on migration or diffusionist causality in Southeast Asian state formation (e.g., Coedes 1968, 1972; Heine-Geldern 1923, 1932; Wheatley 1973, 1975). In this view, trade contacts with India and China beginning in the early first millennium A.D. not only provided politically manipulable exotics, but also set in motion processes of "indianization" and "sinocization" that shaped the political structure and ideologies of Southeast Asian polities starting with Funan, Champa, Dvaravati, and Srivijaya and continuing with such early second millennium kingdoms as Pagan, Angkor, Sukhothai, and Majapahit.

By focusing wholly on these external influences as catalysts in Philippine complex society development, archaeological and ethnohistorical analyses have often been restricted to documenting Philippine trade patterns in the centuries after A.D. 1000 and the sociopolitical matrix in which they operated in terms of Chinese initiatives and trade objectives. There has been little attention to archaeological and ethnohistorical study of indigenous sociopolitical developments over the last two millennia that both created a demand for foreign prestige goods and provided the necessary organizational matrix for administering and controlling large-scale foreign luxury good trade (Hutterer 1977a). A number of archaeological and historical studies of foreign prestige goods trade in complex societies (e.g., Flannery 1968; Flannery and Marcus 1994; Frankenstein and Rowlands 1978; Kipp and Schortman 1989; Marcus and Flannery 1996; Renfrew 1982) have shown that such exchange systems generally emerge in the context of already developed sociopolitical complexity in which foreign sumptuary goods are incorporated into an already existing material symbolic system for "elite" status validation. As noted by Binford, an increased demand for exotic goods and the geographic expansion of long-distance "prestige goods" trade systems generally occur "in the context of institutionalized changes through which new statuses appear" (1969:163). Maintaining these increasingly differentiated forms of social ranking demands the creation of new symbolic frameworks for expression and new channels for obtaining potent material symbols of status and political authority.

Recent archaeological work in the Philippines combined with fresh ap-

proaches to ethnohistorical documentation are beginning to demonstrate the fallacy of viewing Philippine complex societies as late-developing and derived from foreign contacts. Settlement hierarchies, complex mortuary patterns, household wealth and dietary differentiation, and other archaeological indicators of sociopolitical complexity now indicate that chiefdoms of varying complexity have been part of the cultural mosaic of the Philippine archipelago since at least the early first millennium A.D. and probably earlier. Archaeological evidence suggests that finely made earthenware, metal objects, and other probable status goods were circulated through interisland luxury good exchange in the Philippine "Metal Age" (ca. 500 B.C.-A.D. 1000), well before the Chinese porcelain trade. The initiation of foreign luxury good trade with the Chinese and other mainland Asian polities beginning in the tenth century, it is argued, represented the expansion of already well-developed internal networks of prestige goods exchange embedded in a sociopolitical matrix of developed social ranking and regionally integrated political systems.

Expansion of maritime luxury good trade outside the archipelago may have been one of a number of external and internal developments of the early to mid-second millennium A.D. that contributed to further growth and differentiation of these political systems. Archaeological and ethnohistorical evidence presented in subsequent chapters indicates significant internal processes of evolution in indigenous sociopolitical systems related to such factors as expanding specialization and intraregional exchange, spiraling circulation of wealth in competitive feasting systems, agricultural expansion, and competition for scarce labor through growing clientage networks and slave raiding. The result of this complex expansion of Philippine chiefly economies was the emergence of several larger scale interregionally powerful political entities (e.g., Manila, Cebu, Sulu, Magindanao) observed by the Spanish at the time of European contact.

## **Foreign Prestige Goods Trade and Sociopolitical Evolution**

A number of ethnographic and archaeological studies have focused on the issue of competitive luxury good exchange in chiefdom-level and state societies, and the various strategies used by polities to gain control over exotic symbols already associated with high status and political authority among a foreign elite (e.g., Blanton and Feinman 1984; Coquery-Vidrovitch 1968; Flannery 1968; Frankenstein and Rowlands 1978; Friedman 1975; Haselgrove 1982; Wheatley 1975). As outlined by Timothy Earle (1987a:292-297) and others (such as Brumfiel and Earle 1987; Frankenstein and Rowlands 1978; Renfrew and Shennan 1982), control over the distribution of prestige goods, whether obtained through foreign trade or produced locally by attached specialists, is one of the key means whereby a sociopolitical

elite is able to maintain and expand its political power in chiefdoms. Prestige goods serve as potent symbols of social rank and political authority in the context of status rivalry. Interpolity exchanges of prestige markers between high-ranking individuals in the social contexts of feasts, ritual, and other elite-restricted activities create a symbolic elite “culture” distinct from that of nonelites (Earle 1991; Freidel 1986; Marcus and Flannery 1996), often resulting in significant similarities in luxury goods, mortuary treatment, monumental architecture, and ritual symbols across wide regions that are otherwise quite distinct in material assemblages (Braun 1986; Flannery 1968; Renfrew 1986; Shennan 1982).

Prestige goods also represent bankable stores of wealth that can be distributed strategically to establish the alliances critical for political centralization (Earle 1987a, 1997). This “political currency” is frequently used as a form of patronage, to cement the allegiance of subordinates in a patron-client relationship with elites. A chief’s success in mobilizing labor, extracting surplus, and conscripting military forces generally is tied directly to his ability to disburse wealth to strategic subordinates and allied leaders (Friedman and Rowlands 1977; Kipp and Schortman 1989). Key to the operation of such a prestige goods system is chiefly control over access to politically charged luxury goods (Earle 1987b, 1997). In the case of locally manufactured status goods, chiefs frequently sponsor luxury good artisans as “attached specialists,” they control access to raw materials used in the production of these commodities, and they restrict the social contexts in which these prestige goods circulate (e.g., elite feasting events, bridewealth payments in class-endogamous marriages). In the case of foreign prestige goods, rulers attempt to control trade routes and trade contexts to monopolize access, develop the economic and military infrastructures to attract and maintain foreign traders, and similarly manipulate the internal distribution of these exotics through restricted cultural contexts of exchange.

### ***Trade and Sociopolitical Evolution in Iron Age Europe***

One of the well-known cases in which competitive luxury good trade and the operation of a “prestige goods economy” have been seen as significant catalysts in sociopolitical evolution is the analysis of interactions between first millennium B.C. Early Iron Age chiefdoms of Europe (e.g., Hallstatt) and the rising Mediterranean states (Etruscan, Phoenician, and Greek) (Frankenstein and Rowlands 1978; also see Collis 1984:62–102; Cunliffe 1988:12–37; Hedeager 1992:83–90; Wells 1980, 1984). Foreign-obtained prestige goods (e.g., Mediterranean pottery, fine bronze work, wine, shell) served as an important medium for chiefly manipulation of regional political power relations in these central and western European chiefly societies. This emphasis on access to foreign paraphernalia as status symbols engen-

dered a significant degree of competition between polities to obtain and maintain a monopoly on long-distance trade, primarily through restrictive social contexts of exchange and spiraling demands on local resource mobilization systems (i.e., internal tribute and exchange networks) to provide exportable resources. Frankenstein and Rowlands (1978) suggest that Iron Age chiefs ensured exclusive access to Mediterranean imports by locating their political and economic centers along major riverine routes such as the Rhone and the Danube, and in regions with significant potential for surplus production of exports such as iron ore, cattle, grain, and salt. In addition, interactions with Greek traders were restricted to elites through ritually enforced proscriptions about the proper social contexts, locations, and calendrical framework for foreign trade (Wells 1980:78–79).

Foreign luxury goods served as important means by which chiefly patrons could attract a large cadre of tribute-producing supporters. A generous outflow of prestige markers to subordinates translated directly into an expanding inflow of resources for foreign export (Haselgrove 1987:105–106; Wells 1980:96–103). As summarized by Kipp and Schortman, “The more successful a patron was in attracting a band of supporters, the more surplus he could control, the more luxury goods he could capture in the Mediterranean trade, and hence the larger number of supporters he could attract” (1989:376). The result, according to this view, was regional trade domination and political expansion by a small number of western and central European polities at the expense of their less successful neighbors. Increasing political centralization and social stratification in this period of expanding Mediterranean trade contacts is evidenced archaeologically in the emergence of several fortified, “urban” centers (e.g., Heuneberg, Vix) of hitherto unprecedented size and complexity (Wells 1984). It is also seen in the scale of mortuary display, in which large quantities of luxury goods (primarily locally produced, but many imported) were lavished on a small number of massively constructed chiefly graves (Wells 1984:111–112, 123–124).

A complementary strategy to internal economic changes, as illustrated by the Iron Age European case, is escalating interpolity conflict. Chiefs of militarily powerful polities attempted to block or disrupt foreign trade participation of competing chiefs by waging warfare and mounting raids aimed at severing long-distance trade routes, impeding internal resource mobilization, seizing resources, and generally creating economic instability in their rivals (Frankenstein and Rowlands 1978; Wells 1980). The rising emphasis on militarism in Early Iron Age society is evidenced archaeologically in technological developments in military equipment (e.g., iron weaponry and armor), the construction of sophisticated fortification, the introduction of mounted cavalry as a widely used military strategy in later phases, and direct evidence of periodic destruction of major town centers (e.g., the periodic burning and rebuilding of the massive fortifications at Heuneberg). Enhanced military capacities in expanding polities not only served to

impede production and trade in their militarily weaker neighbors, but also were likely to have enhanced the ability of these militaristically strong polities to mobilize export goods attractive to foreign traders, because the threat of violence was an effective tool for coercion of the internal work force.

An inherent weakness of the reliance on foreign luxury good procurement and the associated escalation in chiefly demands for surplus production—and a destabilizing factor in chiefdoms in general (Earle 1987a; Sahlins 1963)—is that these increasing demands on internal resource amassment systems could eventually exceed the productive capacity of the local economy or the capacity of the local chief to enforce compliance among producers. In addition, changes in the trade priorities (preferred trade commodities, trade routes, and trade partners) of dominant foreign trade powers could lead to rapid reversal of a chief's primacy in controlling the foreign luxury good wealth necessary to stimulate surplus production (Friedman and Rowlands 1977). Both processes can eventually lead to the collapse of chiefly hegemony in the affected polity and the shifting of regional power relations as other polities gain economic primacy and political ascendancy (Champion and Champion 1986).

Through distributional studies of ceramics and metal goods, Frankenstein and Rowlands (1978) attempted to demonstrate that the political and economic primacy of one Early Iron Age chiefdom, centered at the site of Heuneberg, was eventually usurped by the severing of vassal tribute relations. They suggested that the collapse of the Heuneberg chiefdom was due to ever-escalating tribute demands by the paramount coupled with a shift in Greek trade routes from the Rhone and Danube valleys to other areas of western and central Europe. This process is evidenced archaeologically in the periodic destruction and abandonment of northwestern European towns like Heuneberg, with cessation of large-scale hill-fort construction and the appearance of depauperate chiefly graves in one polity contemporaneous with archaeological indicators of rising regional power in another. This political “cycling,” in which competitive interactions between peer polities result in oscillatory expansion and contraction of the scale and complexity of individual control hierarchies, has been shown to be a characteristic feature of chiefdom-level societies (Anderson 1994:1–52; Carneiro 1981:66; Wright 1984:42–43; also see Brumfiel and Fox 1994; Renfrew and Cherry 1986).

A number of archaeologists investigating Iron Age political economy, however, have recently criticized the “prestige goods economy” model of Frankenstein and Rowlands (1978) for placing too much emphasis on trade as a catalyst for both political expansion and collapse in these societies (Bintliff 1984; Dietler 1989, 1990; Gosden 1985; Pare 1991, 1992). A reconsideration of the archaeological evidence for foreign trade has indicated that, although foreign luxury goods in burial and domestic contexts at Hallstatt Iron Age sites frequently are spectacular, they are relatively rare

and tend to be concentrated in a few tombs and fortified settlements that are noticeably endowed with large quantities of locally produced prestige objects (Dietler 1990:356). The comparative paucity of Mediterranean imports, according to new interpretations, undermines their inferred role as the primary prestige symbols and political currency in Iron Age society and as a major focus of interpolity chiefly competition.

In addition, although the use of foreign “prestige goods” in extensive chiefly networks of alliance-building exchange and redistribution are central to Frankenstein and Rowlands’ (1978) model, there is actually very little archaeological evidence that Mediterranean imports moved beyond a limited number of extremely rich graves and households representing the highest echelon of Iron Age society (Dietler 1990:358). Noting that the bulk of Mediterranean imports were wine and wine-drinking paraphernalia, Dietler (1990) suggested that the primary impact of foreign trade may have been in the realm of elite status display and social interaction rather than enhancing political cohesion through redistributive exchange. Specifically, exotic beverages and serving vessels would serve to demarcate further already socially restricted elite drinking and competitive feasting behaviors. As pointed out by Gosden, by inflating the significance of archaeologically highly visible Mediterranean imports, researchers have neglected what may be less archaeologically visible but important components of the Iron Age chiefly political economy (1985:489–491). These include the internal manufacture of prestige goods (by what Brumfiel and Earle [1987] refer to as “attached specialists”) for elite display and circulation, and internal subsistence production and tribute mobilization as the ultimate source of chiefly “wealth.”

Another important issue raised by the European Iron Age case is whether the coincidence of association of intensified foreign trade and sociopolitical transformations necessarily implies the directional causality suggested by traditional “trade stimulus” models (e.g., Adams 1966; Rathje 1972). Recent refinements of European Iron Age chronologies have shown that, in fact, the bulk of Mediterranean trade into western and central Europe is coeval with, if not later than, archaeological evidence for increased political centralization and social stratification (Pare 1991:191). Although the initiation of long-distance trade interactions can, in some cases, be an important catalyst to sociopolitical evolution, the opposite process may also occur. Polities able to concentrate political power and to create politically manipulable “wealth” through internal production may be in a favorable position, relative to their less-complex neighbors, to attract foreign traders and assimilate their products into indigenous concepts of social “value” (Gosden 1985:491; Pare 1991:191). Finally, researchers working on the political economy of Iron Age Europe have emphasized the dangers of generalizing a uniform pattern and impact of long-distance trade on a politically and economically diverse range of indigenous societies (Dietler 1989:135). Foreign

goods and ideology are filtered through the selective screen of a “political logic of consumption” characterizing individual societies (Appadurai 1986: 29–31; N. Thomas 1991:103–110), and the dynamics of foreign trade interactions can vary dramatically even in what appear to be similarly organized societies.

### ***Trade and Development of Iron Age West African Kingdoms***

Another well-studied case of sociopolitical evolution in the context of foreign prestige goods trade is the Iron Age and historic period (late first millennium A.D. to European contact) West African kingdoms (e.g., Ghana, Mali, Songhay, Benin, Ife, Kongo) that traded either directly or indirectly across the Sahara to Mediterranean Arab states. Early historical and archaeological studies in West Africa widely assumed that sociopolitical complexity was a late development in the region and was stimulated by trans-Saharan trade for gold and slaves in the eighth century by North African Arab civilizations (see Lonsdale 1981 for a summary of “conquest” and “trade stimulus” hypotheses). Indeed, a few recent anthropological and historical works still attribute state formation to actual migrations of North African peoples or direct implantation of political structures by foreign populations (e.g., Goody 1971; Levitzion 1978; Oliver and Fagan 1975). However, recent excavations and dating of massive and elaborately furnished burial tumuli, megalithic alignments, and impressive sculptural and metallurgical traditions from the region suggest the indigenous emergence of sociopolitically complex societies well before the Arab Saharan trade (Connah 1987:102–111, 128–138; Davies 1967:256–298; McIntosh and McIntosh 1983:245–249; Phillipson 1993:173–184; Posnansky 1973:151–153; Shaw 1970, 1981).

Recent excavations at the ca. A.D. 300–1100 upper Niger River settlement of Jenne-jeno in Mali indicate that processes of political centralization and urbanism, based on trade in metals, salt, agricultural produce and luxury goods over the West African savanna and tropics, were well established by the time of foreign trade contacts across the Sahara (McIntosh and McIntosh 1983:246; 1988:114–116; 1990:629–634). The approximately 33 hectare fortified town of around seven to twelve thousand inhabitants in the agriculturally rich upper Niger delta likely arose in the early to mid-first millennium A.D. as a producer of surplus rice, fish, and other staples that were exported to the adjacent dry savanna and Saharan zones for copper, gold, salt, and other raw materials (McIntosh and McIntosh 1990: 638–640). Archaeological evidence for the local production of iron, copper, and bronze weaponry and jewelry and possible gold ornaments before the eighth century A.D. at many early West African towns like Jenne-jeno (Connah 1987:113) suggests that indigenously manufactured prestige goods were a primary source of politically manipulable wealth before the Saharan trade.

With the advent of Arab-controlled Saharan caravan trade in the late



first millennium and early second millennium A.D., Jenne-jeno may have grown relative to other local political and economic centers because of its rich agricultural hinterland, its proximity to Arab-desired savanna products such as iron and gold, and its favorable location along the navigable Niger River for riverine transport. By the eleventh and twelfth centuries, Jenne-jeno was likely the primary agricultural provisioner for emerging Saharan-edge trade centers like Timbuktu along the agriculturally impoverished Niger bend and was one of several capitals associated with the emerging Mali kingdom. As argued by Robert and Susan McIntosh, “the rapid expansion of Arab trade in the Western Sudan was possible because it keyed into an already-extant system of indigenous sub-Saharan trade networks” and already-developed political structures for administering and controlling this trade (1980:450). While most other excavations of Iron Age West African towns have focused primarily on the period of Arab trade and Islamic influence, Garlake notes that sites like Koumbi Saleh (the historically known capital of the ca. ninth to fourteenth centuries Ghana kingdom) have unexcavated deposits suggesting a long pre-Arab history of state development (1990:7–8). The Ghana kingdom, which had its beginnings well before its historical appearance in ninth-century Arab accounts, developed to the north and west of Mali’s Jenne-jeno at a strategic intersection of overland trade routes linking the Sahara with the rich goldfields of Bambouk to the south (Mair 1977:3–4; Posnansky 1973:152).

Levit Zion notes that the traditional name “Sahel,” referring to the northern edges of the West African savanna is derived from the Arabic word “*sabil*,” which literally means “shore” (1978:667). Analogous to the maritime trading ports of Southeast Asia, West African trading centers like Koumbi Saleh, Timbuktu, and Gao on the border of the Sahara were the termini of well-defined caravan routes across the “ocean” of desert sand, routes that were as much constrained by desert oases as maritime routes were constrained by island way stations and straits. That the Saharan caravan trade brought tremendous wealth that could serve as political capital for expansion of these West African kingdoms is clearly manifest in the dazzling spectacle of the Ghana kings’ court, where Arab visitors describe even the guard dogs bedecked in massive gold ornamentation (Levit Zion 1978:669). According to historical sources, West African kings attempted to maintain control over foreign trade through the provisioning of transport, trade route security, trade facilities at the commercial centers, and even residential districts for foreign merchants (e.g., the Islamic quarter at Koumbi Saleh) (Garlake 1990:124; Gray and Birmingham 1970:13–15; Levit Zion 1978:668). Taxes or trade levies on foreign trade goods (Law 1978:45; Levit Zion 1978:670) and the development of a body of official royal trade specialists (Law 1978:43) ensured that the king and his court would maintain a privileged position, if not a monopoly, in foreign trade.

Foreign luxury commodities accumulated by West African kings did not remain concentrated at the center, but clearly entered local systems of pres-

tige goods exchange. As eloquently summarized by Gray and Birmingham, foreign luxury goods became key forms of circulating political “currency” aimed at political integration:

[Foreign trade] provided the means by which kings consolidated their authority over vassal chiefs. The system of patronage involved handing out material possessions, as well as offices, and the rich imports received at royal courts filtered down through the ranks and into the provinces to provide repayment for loyalty, tribute and service. The paying and receiving of tribute was a two-way process in African states, and did not result in the same massive concentration of wealth at the top as occurred in medieval Europe or pre-Columbian America. The benefit which a vassal derived from paying his tribute was not feudal protection . . . but returns in kind. At the lowest level the returns might consist of a feast accompanied by music and dancing at the chief’s village. At a higher level the reward for generous tributary payments would consist of rich fabrics and foreign intoxicants.

(Gray and Birmingham 1970:19)

However, by circulating foreign prestige goods, West African kings may in fact have broadened local demand for exotic commodities and progressively diffused control of trade away from the polity center. With reference to the Ghana kingdom, Levitzion describes how foreign trade, initially involving the local monarch and a small segment of elite at the polity center, can ramify until it becomes a key component of even the most localized prestige goods economies as it encompasses an expanding network of participants: “[The king’s] court was in all probability the principal consumer of luxury goods imported from the Maghrib. But lesser chiefs soon imitated their sovereign and, along with the foreign traders resident in the capital, created an ever-expanding market for exports. The Saharan trade . . . increased in volume and became more diversified and sophisticated” (Levitzion 1978:669). In tropical West Africa, land was not usually the material basis for political power; instead, women, livestock, and foreign luxury goods were the major forms of wealth that could be accumulated, stored, and invested (Law 1978). Thus, the intensifying local demand for foreign prestige goods was probably linked to spiraling local demands for storable wealth that could be invested in bridewealth, ritual feasting, and other forms of status-enhancing and power-building exchanges (Gray and Birmingham 1970:11–12). As noted by Law, the commercial privileges accrued to kings and chiefs fell far short of monopoly even in the earliest periods of foreign trade development (1978:42–45), and many of the West African kingdoms had a marketized trade economy with local monies (usually gold or cowries) by the time of European contact (Gray and Birmingham 1970:10).

The influx of foreign trade wealth among contact period Central African kingdoms often led to significant transformations in the internal economy of these states, as polities competed to mobilize export resources efficiently and to maintain foreign traders. Agricultural intensification in the Niger delta area towns like Jenne-jeno was clearly related to provisioning not only the burgeoning indigenous population, but also specialized trade centers on the Saharan edge such as Timbuktu and Gao (Connah 1987:111–112; McIntosh and McIntosh 1980:448–450). An expanding emphasis on foreign trade in the local political economy of West African states also often led to increasingly centralized and specialized production of exportable products such as metal weaponry and ornamentation, textiles, pottery, and basketry (Connah 1987:113–114; Gray and Birmingham 1970:9, 12; Posnansky 1973:158–159). Particularly in the tropical and southern savanna regions where gold extraction and salt processing for foreign trade became a significant economic factor, sufficient labor mobilization for large-scale mining and production was achieved through increased slave raiding and trading (Gray and Birmingham 1970:16–17). However, slave labor became increasingly important in many aspects of the local economy, including agricultural production, craft goods manufacture, and transport in the riverine and caravan trade (Meillassoux 1971:53–54). The expansion of military structures and technological innovations in warfare were also closely linked to competition for foreign trade, as West African kingdoms developed large and well-equipped armies to protect trade routes and raw material sources of valuable exports (Gray and Birmingham 1970:16).

That the economic fortunes of many West African kingdoms became inextricably linked to foreign trade wealth is evidenced in the decline and sometimes political collapse of polities whose trade routes were usurped by other rising regional powers. In the early Sahara-bounded savanna kingdoms of Ghana, Mali, and Songhay, changing Saharan trade routes and Mediterranean trade sources, the competition to develop more efficient indigenous trade structures, and military aggression resulted in shifts in regional power configurations among these polities between the eighth and sixteenth centuries A.D. Mali took advantage of the North African Alvorid incursions into Ghana in the twelfth century to develop its own Sahara-edge trade centers (e.g., Timbuktu) farther east, while Mali in turn eventually was eclipsed in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries by the Songhay kings centered at Gao, who cut off Niger River trade to the south through “canoe militarism” and established new eastern trade links to Algeria and Egypt (Connah 1987:102–111; Garlake 1990:118–124). Similarly, the fifteenth-to-eighteenth-century Akan state capital of Begbo in the tropical zone to the south went into abrupt decline in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries as the expansion of European maritime trade undermined traditional savanna land routes for gold and kola trade and the militaristic Asante cut off access to nearby goldfields (Posnansky 1973:157–158; Stahl 1994:

91–92). As emphasized by Wright in analyzing the impact of foreign trade on sociopolitical evolution in East Africa (1990:671), competition for foreign trade became another economic factor in an ongoing process of “peer polity interaction” between many similarly structured polities (Renfrew and Cherry 1986), resulting in regionally shifting political power bases.

### ***Maritime Trade and Sociopolitical Evolution in Southeast Asia***

The European and African Iron Age cases are particularly well studied examples of local political economies articulated through foreign trade with distant and more complexly organized polities. As such, they provide useful analogues for analyzing Southeast Asian political evolution in the context of Chinese and Indian maritime trade. Historians writing on the political economy of early maritime-trading states in island Southeast Asia have often emphasized the growth of foreign luxury good trade along South China Sea and Indian Ocean routes as the most significant catalyst in the evolution of these polities (e.g., Hall 1985; Reid 1988; Reid, ed., 1993; Wheatley 1975, 1983; Wolters 1967, 1971).

Southeast Asian polities characteristically had political structures that were weakly centralized and lacked long-term political stability. A number of factors combined to create highly decentralized polities built on shifting alliance networks that were structurally quite distinct from many complex societies elsewhere in the world. Similar to West African kingdoms, comparatively low population densities relative to productive agricultural land led to an emphasis on control of labor rather than fixed geographic spheres of political authority. In Southeast Asian kingdoms and chiefdoms, particularly those of island Southeast Asia, extreme environmental diversity between closely spaced ecological niches, the geographic fragmentation of island archipelagos and narrow mountain-ringed valleys, and the absence of unilineal descent principles for inheriting leadership undermined long-term political stability. Alliance networks surrounding chiefs and kings were maintained through the charismatic attraction of individuals (Tambiah 1976), through the theatrical ceremonialism of the polity center (Geertz 1980a), and most important with relation to prestige goods trade, through voluminous gift exchanges between allied leaders and between elite patrons and their cadre of supporters (e.g., Wheatley 1983; Winzeler 1976). Unlike in strongly centralized polities, political relationships and hierarchies of authority had to be reinforced constantly through the strategic disbursement of wealth to cronies and clients. An elaborate series of bridewealth exchanges for polygamous marriages, the circulation of status-symbol goods as part of competitive feasting events, elite gift exchange associated with royal investitures, and other institutionalized forms of exchange were core to Southeast Asian political economies and were the very foundations of

political power. In the absence of strong genealogical claims to leadership and with the difficulties of militaristic control, only those leaders who had the means to amass large quantities of prestige goods could ultimately be successful in consolidating their power bases.

Foreign trade for politically manipulable luxury commodities would have been an attractive strategy for a local chief or ruler to expand the material base of his political power. Geographic and ecological factors constrained routes of interaction, resulting in characteristically dendritic transport and communication networks forming around rivers in many regions of Southeast Asia (particularly island Southeast Asia). The organizational costs of controlling foreign goods coming into a gateway coastal port were thus likely to be considerably lower than supporting a large internal infrastructure of sponsored luxury good specialists and restricting local access to their products. In contrast with the European Iron Age case, one would not expect these foreign prestige goods to stay concentrated at chiefly centers and royal courts as part of the ceremonial and status regalia of a highly exclusive, top-echelon elite. In subsequent chapters, ethnohistorical and archaeological evidence will demonstrate that in Southeast Asia, luxury goods obtained through foreign trade at coastal ports cemented political relationships between paramount chiefs and local chiefs, between local chiefs and their cadre of supporters, between coastal rulers and interior tribal leaders controlling desired upland commodities, and between polity rulers and distant military allies. Historical sources and archaeological data support the general supposition of a prestige goods economy model in which competition for luxury good wealth from foreign trade had a transformational effect on the internal economy and sociopolitical complexity of these emerging Southeast Asian maritime-trading polities. Thus, while the concept of a chiefly prestige goods economy fueled by foreign trade (Frankenstein and Rowlands 1978; Friedman and Rowlands 1977) has been critiqued as a model for Early Iron Age sociopolitical evolution in Europe, it has a remarkably better fit with ethnohistorical and archaeological data for protohistoric and historic period Southeast Asia.

### **Competitive Strategies and Foreign Luxury Good Trade in Philippine Chiefdoms**

Ethnohistorical sources suggest that Philippine chiefdoms had political structures similar to chiefdoms and states in other regions of both mainland and island Southeast Asia in the protohistoric and historic periods. A fragmented landscape, the power-diffusing effects of cognatic descent and polygamous marriages, and weak territoriality stemming from abundant land and relatively low population densities created a political landscape of segmented and decentralized polities of varying size and complexity, held together by

charismatic leaders adept at manipulating volatile alliance networks. Politically manipulable wealth was generated through alliance-structured rather than territorially structured tributary systems, through agricultural intensification achieved through recirculated labor (slave raiding) rather than capital investments, through chiefly sponsorship of luxury good artisans, and through interisland trading and raiding for gold and other status goods. Competition for wealth, social prestige, and political power was played out through these varying strategies for controlling people and resources, through strategic marriage alliances and ongoing exchange relations with chiefly allies, and most overtly through ritualized “feasts of merit” in which chiefly capacities for attracting followers, mobilizing resources, and theatrical ceremonialism were on public display.

Archaeological research in the Philippines extends the evolutionary sequence of complex societal development back at least a millennium before historical documentation. Archaeological evidence spanning the Philippine Metal Age (ca. 500 B.C.–A.D. 1000) and Protohistoric (ca. A.D. 1000–1520) periods documents the early emergence and growth of chiefly polities in many of the regions for which there are more recent ethnographic and historical accounts. For many regions of the Philippines, archaeological investigations have begun to trace the evolution of these chiefdoms by charting the growth of political hierarchies in regional settlement pattern studies and excavations of large chiefly centers along major river systems. Archaeological research in the Philippines has also focused on processes of expanding social differentiation reflected in the distribution of status goods in burials and household contexts, the growth of increasingly specialized systems of ceramic and metallurgical specialization, changes in the volume, geographic reach, and complexity of maritime and riverine trade networks, and expanded feasting and other forms of status competition. These archaeological studies point to many indigenous demographic, ecological, social, economic, and ideological factors that may have contributed to the emergence and subsequent evolution of these pre-state complex societies in the Philippines and other regions of island Southeast Asia.

However, sociopolitical evolution in the Philippine island archipelago cannot be studied as a wholly insular phenomenon. Philippine chiefdoms were linked through maritime trade and riverine trade with peoples outside their political and cultural spheres. These ranged from mobile tropical forest hunter-gatherers, to tribal populations engaged in swidden agriculture, more complexly organized chiefdoms and states of island and mainland Southeast Asia, and even the powerful Sung, Yüan, and Ming empires of China. Ecological diversity in the island archipelagos of Southeast Asia may have favored the early development of specialized economic systems and exchange of resources between upland and lowland areas, and between the coastal inhabitants of ecologically distinct islands. By the time of historical and ethnographic documentation, this strategy of ecological and economic sym-

biosis had resulted in a complex cultural patchwork of small-scale tropical foraging societies, more sedentary tribal populations who practiced upland swidden agriculture, and intensive lowland agriculturalists integrated into chiefdom-level polities of varying complexity on most of the major Philippine islands. While these societies remained distinct in terms of ethnicity, language, and economic specializations, they were economically linked through these ongoing exchange relations, and upland swidden cultivators and foraging groups were often loosely integrated into the social, political, and ideological structures of adjacent lowland chiefdoms.

There is significant ethnohistorical and archaeological evidence to suggest that, by the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Philippine chiefdoms were intensifying their participation in long-distance maritime luxury good trade in an attempt to procure new sources of status-enhancing wealth and political currency. In Chapter 7, I document changes in the intensity, geographic foci, volume, and commodities of foreign trade in the Philippines between the tenth and sixteenth centuries using Chinese trade records, Chinese voyager accounts, early European descriptions, and archaeological evidence from habitation and burial remains at trade ports. These data suggest that between the tenth and fourteenth centuries Philippine chiefs in a limited number of polities strategically located along the western littoral of the archipelago dominated a relatively low-volume trade for Chinese porcelains and a wide variety of other foreign luxury goods (glass beads, silks, bronze objects). These foreign luxury goods, along with locally produced status goods (gold, decorated earthenware), appear to be restricted to a small number of elite burial contexts at major coastal trade centers. By the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, however, foreign trade volumes entering the Philippines increase dramatically, with a tremendous influx of mass-produced Chinese export porcelains and competing Siamese and Annamese export wares more widely distributed in burial and habitation sites of coastal and river valley polities throughout the archipelago. In Chapter 7, I examine how Chinese trade policies as well as shifting political configurations, economic relations, and trade routes in the larger island Southeast Asia world of which the Philippines were a part may have affected the supply side of foreign luxury good trade into Philippine ports. However, equally relevant are indigenous strategies of interpolity competition for foreign trade and internal processes of evolution within the political economies of Philippine chiefdoms that may have fueled the demand side of this trade.

A dramatic increase in interpolity competition among Philippine chiefdoms for control of foreign prestige goods trade is evidenced particularly in the historical and archaeological record of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. I noted earlier in this chapter that expanded foreign luxury good trade coincides with a period of political expansionism and increased structural complexity for some Philippine coastal trading polities. These include polities centered at Jolo (Sulu), Manila, Cebu, Cotabato (Magindanao), and

other coastal trading ports with favorable locations along strategic maritime and riverine transport routes. Peer polity competitive interactions were intensifying in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Philippine chiefdoms. Archaeological and ethnohistorical evidence presented in later chapters shows that these intensified elite interactions took the form of expanded prestige goods exchange, more elaborate “feasts of merit” involving a broader range of participants, and escalating interpolity raiding and warfare. However, a difficult issue is whether these intensified interactions and the associated political transformations are directly linked to foreign trade competition or whether they are better explained by internal economic and political processes unrelated to foreign trade. The discussion of the impact of foreign trade in Early Iron Age European societies, early sub-Saharan African kingdoms, and island Southeast Asian societies outside the Philippines suggests that foreign trade would have facilitated growth in elite exchange interactions critical to political alliance building and in this way served as a stimulus to political expansion.

Overt interpolity competition for foreign trade is documented in Chinese records of “tributary missions” to the Chinese court by Philippine chiefs and their retainers. Court visits by gift-bearing Southeast Asian chieftains and kings were the primary means whereby Southeast Asian maritime-trading polities such as Srivijaya, Champa, Java, Melaka (Malacca), and Brunei gained recognition as officially sanctioned trade partners with China. While the frequency of such tributary missions and the numbers of Southeast Asian polities engaging in them varied according to Chinese trade policies, historians have noted that such missions increased in frequency during periods of increased political fragmentation and interpolity conflict. Two peaks of tributary mission activity by Philippine polities occur, the first in the tenth century, when just a handful of strategically located chiefdoms (most notably P’u-tuan along the northern coast of the island of Mindanao and Ma-i in northern Mindoro) were attempting to bypass Southeast Asian trade intermediaries and initially establish direct trade links with China. The second and more explosive peak occurs in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, when numerous Philippine polities centered at Manila, Jolo, northern Mindoro, Cotabato, and other locales attempted to outdo one another in capturing Chinese attention through more frequent and more lavishly equipped tributary missions. Archaeological evidence and historical sources suggest that polities engaging in “tributary trade” were often successful in expanding trade volumes into their polity centers.

Philippine chiefs also used a number of strategies to make their home ports attractive destinations for foreign traders, to facilitate foreign trading activities, and at the same time to administer foreign maritime trade in such a way as to maintain largely exclusive control over foreign luxury goods. Philippine chiefs, who began increasingly to depend on foreign-derived wealth as a significant source of power and prestige, relied on a number of



institutionalized mechanisms—ritualized exchange partnerships with foreign merchants, “tribute” payments on foreign trade goods, and military “protection” of foreign vessels—to ensure exclusivity of access to foreign luxury goods. By the period of European contact, Philippine polities such as Sulu and Manila had developed this trade port infrastructure to such a degree that they resembled miniaturized versions of the tightly controlled trade entrepôts of Southeast Asian kingdoms like Srivijaya and Melaka.

For foreign trade goods to affect the local political economy significantly by creating a new form of political currency for expanding political alliance networks, exotic goods like Chinese porcelain must move beyond a handful of Philippine elites at polity centers. One of the objections to viewing foreign trade as a significant catalyst for sociopolitical evolution in European Iron Age chiefdoms is the questionable archaeological evidence for large-scale elite exchange of these foreign commodities outside of a few particularly massive hill forts and elaborate chiefly burials. For the Philippines, ethnohistorical evidence presented in Chapters 3, 5, 8, 10, and 11 demonstrates that foreign luxury goods were key elements of material exchanges cementing both horizontal alliances between elites and the patron-clientage ties that are the basic building blocks of Philippine segmentary political structures. Marriage exchanges and ritualized feasting events allying elites almost invariably involved gift offerings of porcelain, gold, bronze, or other valuables as symbols of political connectedness and a shared elite “culture” that segregated them from lower social tiers. However, Philippine chiefs also attracted followers and maintained the highly volatile factions at the core of Philippine political structure by formal gift presentations, sometimes involving porcelains and other exotic status goods, to loyal subordinates. In addition to this more formalized gift giving between chiefs and clients, ethnohistorical sources suggest, attachment to a well-connected and powerful chief generally ensured a share, however meager, of whatever foreign wealth could be obtained through participation in chiefly sponsored trading and raiding expeditions.

Archaeological patterning at the intrasite, regional, and interregional levels suggests that foreign prestige goods wealth was circulated widely within and between Philippine polities beginning in the tenth century and intensifying in the fifteenth century, presumably through these types of politically integrating forms of exchanges. However, analyses of mortuary differentiation in pre-tenth-century cemeteries and regional-scale studies of earthenware ceramics and metals within pre-tenth-century settlements indicate the presence of already well-developed status good exchange systems in the Philippine Metal Age, involving locally made decorated earthenware, iron and bronze objects, paste beads, shell ornaments, and other goods. Foreign porcelains and other exotic luxury goods did not replace local luxury commodities, but appear to have been grafted onto these existing localized systems of status good exchange, forming an upper tier in a more

complex hierarchy of status markers. As noted earlier, the expansion of prestige goods procurement beyond local luxury good production to include foreign sources is often a consequence of, rather than wholly a stimulus to, internal sociopolitical evolution. The emergence of new statuses and scales of political integration demand the creation of new symbolic frameworks for expressing sociopolitical relationships and new channels for obtaining these material symbols. At the same time, the greater opportunities for wealth manipulation and control afforded through this developing foreign luxury good trade provided one of a number of mechanisms for further growth and differentiation of sociopolitical systems in Philippine chiefdoms.

This process is documented archaeologically in comparisons of tenth- to fourteenth-century (Sung, Yüan, and early Ming) cemeteries and households with those of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. In the tenth to fourteenth centuries, Chinese porcelains and other foreign luxury goods appear to be quite restricted to the uppermost echelon of society, limited to a relatively small number of extremely elaborate and probable chiefly burials in cemeteries in or near major polity centers and to a few house middens within these coastal trading centers. A regional study of the distribution of exotic porcelains and locally manufactured status goods within the early second millennium Philippine polity of Tanjay in the central Philippines shows status goods obtained through foreign trade not moving much beyond the coastal trading port and a few large upriver trading centers. In contrast, by the fifteenth century, the abundant Asian porcelains procured through a massively expanding late Ming maritime trade are distributed widely in high-status and even some low-status habitation and burial areas at major coastal polity centers. By this period, the mass-production of poor-quality "export" porcelains at South China production centers like Sawankholok and the large-scale manufacture of technologically inferior Siamese and Annamese copies of Chinese wares has led to greatly increased volumes of foreign tradewares and considerable gradations in their local status values. The primary differentiation between burial programs for elites and nonelites is no longer the presence or absence of foreign porcelains, but complex gradations in both the quality and quantity of these status goods. Although far fewer archaeological investigations of household middens have been carried out, excavations of a number of habitation areas at the coastal chiefly center of Tanjay show a similar change in household status differentiation. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, there is greater access to foreign porcelains by a broader segment of the population. Regional-scale investigations of the Tanjay polity in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries indicate that, while the finest quality foreign porcelains are still restricted to the coastal polity center, a significant volume of porcelains and other exotic goods are moving upriver and along the coast to smaller settlements, presumably as part of political-alliance-building exchanges. The archaeological evidence suggests that, by the fifteenth century, foreign prestige goods

have become key to chiefly political economies in Philippine chiefdoms as the primary currency for political integration.

If foreign trade became so critical to these chiefly political economies as a material basis for political expansion and increased social differentiation, what internal changes in economic organization were necessary to support this expanding emphasis on foreign trade? Analogy with evolving complex societies in Africa and Europe and more directly with the historically known maritime-trading states of island Southeast Asia suggest that successful foreign trade competition usually depends on a polity's ability to mobilize efficiently the resources necessary to support a trade infrastructure (i.e., trade specialists, port administrators, housing and feeding of foreigners) and to ensure a stable supply of exports. This process may involve agricultural intensification, expanded tribute mobilization, larger-scale local production of exportable craft goods or raw materials such as metal ore, or more centralized control of internal trade networks. The ethnohistorical and archaeological evidence from the Philippines suggests that the most successful maritime-trading polities were those that had a strong agricultural base, a well-developed tribute system in their core zone, extensive riverine trade networks reaching far into the hinterland, and specialized production of critical trade goods.

In Chapters 8 and 9, I examine patterns of growth and reorganization within the internal economies of Philippine chiefdoms as they expand their participation in foreign prestige goods trade. Agricultural intensification through investment in capital improvements, such as large-scale terracing and irrigation systems, appears to be relatively rare in the Philippines. As discussed in Chapter 8, only a few lowland alluvial regions developed prehispanic irrigation systems of substantial scale (e.g., Bicol and possibly the region around Manila). The most elaborate agricultural terracing may actually be postcontact in date and is found in the interior valleys of the Luzon cordillera, a region occupied by groups (e.g., the Ifugao, Kalinga, and Bontoc) that were significantly less sociopolitically complex than the lowland chiefdoms. Since population levels were relatively low and productive agricultural land was plentiful in most regions of the Philippines, I suggest that investment in labor-intensive irrigation systems or hillside terracing were not generally viable strategies for increasing agricultural surplus to meet the spiraling demands of expanding chiefly political economies. Instead, "labor capture" through more extensive clientage networks (increasing the number of tribute-paying dependents) and through slave raiding (transferring productive labor from one polity to another) appears to have been the primary means whereby chiefs enhanced their productive capacity.

While the archaeological evidence for expanded tribute mobilization in the core area surrounding chiefly centers is very limited, considerably more is known about the evolution of riverine trade systems that moved commodities between the upland hinterland forests and the alluvial lowlands of

these chiefdoms. Like most lowland complex societies elsewhere in island Southeast Asia, regional settlement systems of Philippine maritime-trading chiefdoms were characteristically dendritic in form, with riverbank secondary centers and smaller agricultural villages radiating out along major river arteries and their tributaries. Typically, these riverine routes linked lowland agricultural societies with upland tribal swidden farming societies and tropical forest hunter-gatherers, who occupied distinct ecological zones and exchanged diverse products. Forest game, upland agricultural crops, beeswax, metal ores, and numerous other raw materials were exchanged by upland peoples for textiles, iron tools, earthenware pottery, salt, marine resources, and a variety of other manufactured goods and subsistence commodities produced by lowland peoples. Ethnohistorical and archaeological research suggests that this ecologically determined economic symbiosis between upland and lowland groups with access to differing resources is of significant antiquity and certainly predates the advent of the Chinese porcelain trade.

However, many of the Philippine exports desired by foreign traders entering the archipelago beginning around the tenth century were interior forest products, including spices, tropical hardwoods, abaca (Philippine hemp), metal ores, wild animal pelts, resins, and honey. These were commodities that the coastal lowland chiefs did not control directly but had to amass through these riverine trade networks. The ultimate source of these goods was remote interior groups that were generally not under the direct political hegemony of lowland chiefs and thus had no enforceable tributary status. The mobilization of a steady supply of exportable products depended on a chief's ability to coopt what had likely developed over many millennia as individually contracted trade alliances between lowland farmers and upland exchange partners of limited relevance to chiefly political economies before foreign trade. Attempts at lowland military incursions and territorial expansion against the highly mobile and frequently well-armed populations of the rugged mountainous interior were likely to be ineffective. Thus, the forging of economic ties and ideological manipulation by lowland rulers appear to have been the less costly alternative. Historical and ethnographic sources indicate that the large-scale export of interior products needed for expanded participation in foreign maritime trade was facilitated through the presentation of lowland luxury goods (e.g., Chinese porcelain, metal weaponry, fancy earthenware) and honorific chiefly titles to interior political leaders.

Archaeological study of the impact of the Chinese porcelain trade on indigenous lowland-upland exchange systems clearly requires systematic, regional-scale investigation. Regional-scale settlement studies in the Tanjay River basin, presented in Chapter 8, indicate a correspondence between expanded foreign trade at the coastal port and the growth of relatively evenly spaced upriver secondary centers that appear to have been strategically placed for the energetically efficient collection of interior trade goods and

tribute. Archaeological remains at these sites suggest that coastal-interior trade goods such as marine shell, animal pelts, pottery, and metal implements were concentrated there. Additionally, the intensification of foreign trade within the lowland polity of Tanjay in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries is marked by a dramatic influx of lowland prestige goods (foreign porcelains, locally made decorated earthenware, and bronze and iron implements) into the island interior, presumably to consolidate upland exchange partnerships.

Two of the primary export products of lowland traders into the interior, according to ethnohistorical sources, are earthenware pottery and iron implements. Once control of at least a segment of this coast-interior trade became critical to lowland Philippine chiefs' participation in long-distance maritime trade of luxury goods and to the expansion of their political economy, a reorganization of regional pottery and metal production systems appears to have occurred. Archaeological and ethnohistorical studies in a number of complex societies have demonstrated that one means for greater chiefly control over production and trade of an economically and politically significant commodity is the transition from dispersed, part-time manufacturing modes to centralized, full-time specialist production (e.g., Brumfiel and Earle 1987; Feinman et al. 1981; Hagstrum 1985; Rice 1981). In Chapter 9, I consider this issue of transformation in local craft production systems and how these changes may be related to the expanding significance of long-distance prestige goods exchange in Philippine chiefly economies. I use both ethnohistorical analysis and archaeological evidence to examine how two distinct types of local production systems—those involving mundane domestic goods and those involving luxury goods of restricted social access—evolved between the mid-first millennium A.D. and the height of foreign trade in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Statistical studies of pottery standardization and the regional distribution of household wares in the Bais-Tanjay Region of the central Philippines suggest a transformation from dispersed village production of compositionally and morphologically heterogeneous wares to centralized production of relatively homogeneous vessels in the mid-second millennium A.D. In Chapter 9, I make an argument for the emergence of what Brumfiel and Earle (1987) refer to as “independent” specialization as a response to the demand for greater coastal-interior trade volumes in this period just before European contact. Interestingly, metals production in the same region exhibits a different trajectory, expanding out of the coastal center to upriver locales near local ore sources in the fifteenth century, perhaps reflecting a declining reliance on resmelted foreign iron and greater emphasis on local mining of metal ores by coastal chiefdoms. At the same time, iron smelting technologies may have spread into interior groups at this time, creating multiple production sources.

Contrary to the notion that the availability of foreign luxury goods dampened local prestige goods production in the Philippines (e.g., R. Fox 1964,

1967), archaeological data presented in Chapter 9 show that the opposite occurs. Local luxury goods (such as decorated earthenware, metal weaponry, and gold ornaments) appear to have been produced and circulated in ever-greater volumes, presumably to meet the spiraling material demands of bridewealth payments, competitive feasting, and trade alliances with interior tribal leaders. Sixteenth-to-nineteenth-century Spanish descriptions and early ethnographic accounts of extant Philippine chiefdoms suggest the presence of what Brumfiel and Earle refer to as “attached luxury good specialists,” including goldsmiths, textile producers, fine woodworkers, and other artisans whose products are not well represented in the archaeological record. The ethnohistorical evidence reveals contact period societies with considerable specialized production of luxury goods both for local elite consumption and for use (along with foreign prestige goods) in cementing ties of alliance and clientage.

Ethnohistorical sources suggest that a complementary strategy to internal economic restructuring in the competition for foreign trade was the development of increasingly effective maritime raiding and interpolity warfare as a means of systematically disrupting the economic functioning of competing regional polities. I have discussed how, in the cases of the European Iron Age, African Iron Age, and early maritime-trading polities of Southeast Asia outside the Philippines, increased militarism often accompanies the expansion of long-distance trade interests in cases where multiple adjacent polities emerge as potential trade centers. Chapter 12 focuses specifically on changing patterns of interpolity warfare between the mid–first millennium A.D. and European contact, and how internal stresses between Philippine polities may be related to competition for foreign trade wealth. Chinese chroniclers going back to the beginning of the second millennium emphasize the dangers of maritime travel through the Philippines due to the ubiquity of slave- and booty-aimed raids between island polities. However, I cite a considerable body of ethnohistorical and archaeological evidence for intensification in both the scale and the intensity of interregional warfare in the Philippines with the expansion of Chinese trade in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Historical support for this conclusion comes from the description by the early Spaniards at large coastal ports of “new” weapons technologies (e.g., Chinese-style iron cannons) that are not evident in earlier Chinese accounts, a new emphasis on defensive strategies in lowland settlement (including fortification of many large coastal centers), and the emergence of a functionally specialized “warrior” subclass in some sixteenth-century Philippine societies. Archaeological evidence of escalating warfare includes greater quantities of metal weaponry in the archaeological record after the fourteenth century and a higher percentage of burials with traumatic injuries at fifteenth- and sixteenth-century cemeteries.

Institutionalized maritime raiding not only provided a legitimate alterna-

tive source of wealth procurement to tribute mobilization and interisland trade, but also served as a means of effecting considerable economic disruption of adjacent coastal trade centers as the attacked population fled inland and valued resources were destroyed. Territorial expansion (i.e., seizure of land) was less important than seizure of resources in the Philippines, given relatively low population densities and abundant land. Studies of contact period maritime raiding activities by the Sulu, Magindanao, and other historically well-known fifteenth- to nineteenth-century polities of the southern Philippines indicate that the seizure of resources (particularly slaves, agricultural stores, metal weaponry, and elite paraphernalia) was the primary motivating factor in interpolity coastal raids. The most frequent times for large-scale raiding expeditions were immediately after the completion of harvest activities, when most males were free to participate and maximum damage to an adjacent community's food supply and other resources could be inflicted. Slaves captured in raids were generally incorporated into the economic and social fabric of the war victors, augmenting their agricultural labor force and increasing chiefly surplus. Ethnohistorical analysis suggests that the economic disruption suffered by the defeated not only included the loss or destruction of resources and labor forces critical to effective participation in foreign trade, but also frequently physical displacement of the coastal elites to interior refuges and at least temporary cessation of trading activities at the coastal port.

However, as in the European Iron Age case, it is difficult to establish a direct connection between increased interpolity warfare and intensified competition for foreign trade. Sources indicate that there were numerous non-trade-related contexts for elite action and interaction in the struggle for political and economic domination (e.g., intensified surplus production, control of local luxury good manufacture, competitive feasting, manipulation of ritual symbols), all of which might have expanded through military seizure of labor and resources. As outlined in Chapter 12, transfer of labor and resources between regions within the archipelago through militarism may have been a long-term response to geographic shifts in regional political power and economic strength as chiefdoms emerged, expanded, and contracted over the last several millennia.

Ethnohistorical sources and archaeological evidence suggest that the Philippine political landscape, at the time of European contact, comprised numerous autonomous chiefdoms competing for economic and political primacy through control of Chinese luxury good trade. As in other cases of trade-stimulated political evolution, the ability of a competing polity to gain regional political ascendancy through foreign trade is frequently dependent on various indigenous developments. These include (1) the expansion of its internal economy (i.e., internal trade networks, tribute mobilization systems,

and production systems) to mobilize resources more efficiently for foreign export; (2) the development of more effective militarism aimed at disrupting the participation of trade competitors; and (3) the strategic redistribution of foreign prestige goods in such contexts as marriage gift giving or feasting events to expand alliance networks. Thus, foreign luxury good trade is not a wholly separable catalyst, but one of many dynamic and interrelated features of chiefly political economies that can expand and have transformational effects on economic organization and sociopolitical structures in these societies.

Chapters 3 to 6 combine ethnohistorical analysis with archaeological research to reconstruct basic elements of sociopolitical structure in indigenous Philippine complex societies and their evolution over the last two millennia. Chapter 3 focuses on ethnohistorical reconstruction of contact period political formations and how they are constituted, examining such issues as the ideology of chieftainship and the limited realities of chiefly authority within weakly centralized polities. Archaeological evidence and Chinese tributary records extending back to the tenth century provide in Chapter 4 a longer-term view of “political cycling” in Philippine chiefdoms as they expand, contract, and in some cases ultimately transform, through competitive interactions with polities both within and outside the archipelago. Chapter 5 uses ethnohistorical analysis to examine social stratification in contact period Philippine societies, considering such issues as ideological conceptions of social class, economic relations associated with social rank, social mobility through class-exogamous marriages, and what is meant by “slavery” in the Philippines and elsewhere in Southeast Asia. In Chapter 6, archaeological evidence spanning the first millennium B.C. to European contact again provides a diachronic perspective on how the highly stratified societies of the sixteenth-century Philippines may have evolved. Expanding wealth differences and the emergence of more complex systems of social ranking can be traced during the last two millennia through variation in burial treatment, household architecture, household domestic and luxury goods, and subsistence remains within and between archaeological sites dated to this period.

The association between the developing foreign prestige goods trade in the late first millennium and early second millennium A.D. and these sociopolitical transformations in Philippine societies is the primary focus of Chapter 7. I examine through both historical sources and archaeological data changes in the intensity, material focus, social contexts, and economic ramifications of trade relations between Filipinos and their foreign trade partners between the tenth and sixteenth centuries. Most significantly, Chapter 7 considers the specific strategies and processes that enabled Philippine chiefs to compete for control over foreign trade and to accumulate politically manipulable wealth. These include the creation of port facilities and trade infrastructures, the launching of competitive “tributary missions” to



the Chinese court, and the development of social institutions that constrained exchange contexts for foreign luxury goods.

Integrating ethnohistorical and archaeological analysis, Chapters 8, 9, 10, and 11 focus on the impact of an expanding foreign prestige goods trade on the local political economy of Philippine chiefdoms. Chapter 8 examines changes in regional resource mobilization systems, through which chiefs amass export goods for foreign maritime trade and the surplus necessary to maintain political hierarchies. Agricultural intensification through labor investment, the expansion of tributary relations within core lowland populations, and the growth of interethnic trade with highland populations along interior rivers are some of the strategies discussed in Chapter 8 whereby lowland chiefs may have increased the flow of resources to the polity core. Chapter 9 addresses the issue of how indigenous craft production systems, involving both domestic goods and local luxury goods, may have been transformed by the growth of foreign prestige goods trade. Chapter 10 examines through ethnohistorical evidence some of the specific social contexts in which prestige goods are circulated for political alliance building (e.g., bridewealth payments, “peace pact” exchanges, ritualized elite gift giving). Archaeological studies of the intraregional and interisland distribution of prestige goods within the archipelago over the last two millennia suggest how differential access to foreign prestige goods may have allowed some Philippine chiefs to expand the geographic reach of their alliance networks. One of the more important contexts for elite exchange and resource mobilization—ritualized feasting—is the subject of Chapter 11. In Chapter 11, I consider how accumulation of status-enhancing porcelain serving assemblages and foreign goods for redistribution may have intensified the socially and politically competitive aspects of these feasting events as well as broadened the scale of community participation. Finally, Chapter 12 analyzes the ethnohistorical and archaeological evidence for intensified interpolity warfare and slave raiding in the mid-second millennium A.D. and how these relate to transformations in other aspects of chiefly political economies.

Since many readers will be unfamiliar with the available historical, ethnographic, and archaeological sources for studying the evolution of prehispanic political economies in the Philippines, these analytical chapters are preceded by a brief synthesis of empirical sources in Chapter 2. Chapter 2 also addresses some of the methodological and interpretive limitations of archaeological evidence and ethnohistorical reconstructions of prehispanic Philippine societies based on Chinese records, Spanish accounts, and recent ethnographic research. Much of the archaeological research on Philippine chiefdoms cited in the present work comes from a long-term, regional-scale project that I carried out with others in the Bais-Tanjay Region of Negros Oriental in the central Philippines. These archaeological investigations focused explicitly on issues of prehispanic complex society develop-

ment and involved both excavations and systematic regional survey within a river drainage occupied by a series of late first millennium A.D. to mid-second millennium A.D. maritime-trading chiefdoms. Chapter 2 briefly reviews this research, along with other relevant archaeological investigations of Philippine Metal Age and Porcelain Period cemeteries and settlements, as a prelude to some of the substantive archaeological results presented in subsequent chapters.

## Chapter 2

### Sources for the Study of Prehispanic Philippine Chiefdoms

Almost a millennium of historical accounts of Philippine polities by literate societies with which they traded makes ethnohistorical study of these societies particularly significant in general anthropological discourse on pre-state complex society development. Chinese trade records, the accounts of early Chinese voyagers to the Philippines, and official Chinese histories make general reference to the Philippine archipelago and specific reference to Philippine maritime-trading polities by the mid-tenth century A.D. While these documents focus primarily on pragmatic issues of trade, they often include descriptions of indigenous social organization, political leadership roles and alliance networks, competitive interactions between Philippine chiefs to control trade, and numerous aspects of indigenous technology and economic organization. Beginning in the sixteenth century, Spanish and other European chroniclers provide detailed description and interpretation of the political history and political economy of various contact period Philippine polities, producing at least a dozen book-length *relaciones* in the sixteenth century alone. An additional source of information is ethnographic work by twentieth-century anthropologists on Philippine societies with enduring components of prehispanic chiefly political, social, economic, and ideological structures. Owing to the fragmented geography and topography of the island archipelago, many indigenous chiefdoms and Islamicized sultanates in the Philippines remained remarkably unacculturated into colonial societies well into the early twentieth century. Thus, early ethnographic accounts by anthropologists, like Fay Cooper Cole's 1913 *Wild Tribes of the Davao District*, provide extremely valuable descriptions of still-functioning political hierarchies, tribute mobilization systems, elite prestige goods exchange, ideologies and ceremonialism of chieftainship, and many other aspects of traditional chiefdoms in the Philippines. Anthropologists rarely have this time depth in ethnohistorical reconstructions of pre-state societies lacking indigenous histories. Thus, in the Philippines, unlike many areas of the world with brief time spans for ethnohistorical analysis, ethnographic and historical records offer the long-term evolutionary dynamism necessary to contribute meaningfully to anthropological discussions of how and why complex societies develop and transform.

Archaeological research in the Philippines has allowed us to extend this evolutionary sequence of complex society development at least as far back as the first millennium B.C. Three periods of cultural development defined

by archaeologists working over the last century are relevant to this process of political centralization in the Philippines: (1) the Metal Age (ca. 500 B.C. to A.D. 1000); (2) the Early Porcelain Period (ca. A.D. 1000–1400, including Sung, Yüan, and early Ming trade phases); and (3) the Late Porcelain Period (ca. A.D. 1400–1600, including the late Ming trade phase).<sup>1</sup> Most archaeological investigations of these periods have focused on cultural historical analyses of burial sites. Archaeological analysis often emphasizes technical studies of the elaborate earthenware vessels, bronze implements, shell ornaments, and other status goods recovered from these burials, to which were added spectacular foreign porcelains and gold ornaments after the advent of extra-archipelago trade. Only recently have archaeologists begun to examine mortuary patterning in terms of sociopolitical structures, to look at aspects of social, economic, and political organization through excavations of habitation sites, and to document regional-scale cultural transformations through systematic settlement pattern studies.

Since both ethnohistorical and archaeological analysis of prehispanic Philippine chiefdoms have been extremely limited and even more rarely integrated through anthropological theory, most readers are likely to be unfamiliar with the available historical, ethnographic, and archaeological sources. In addition, knowledge of the particular historical context of a written account is significant in assessing ethnohistorical reconstructions of past societies. Therefore, I devote this chapter to a brief review of the main sources used in the present study as well as additional sources that may be of interest to ethnohistorians and archaeologists pursuing similar analysis.

## **Historical Sources**

Both Chinese and Spanish writings are colored by specific historical and cultural contexts as well as by individual political, economic, and ideological agendas of the Chinese historians, trade administrators, and merchants, and the Spanish soldiers, bureaucrats, and priests who composed these works. However, this multiplicity of sources is advantageous in ethnohistorical analysis, since fundamental aspects of Philippine culture and sociopolitical organization can be extracted by comparing core elements of accounts with widely differing cultural and historical biases. Before delving directly into these foreign sources describing indigenous Philippine societies, I will first describe the evidence for native writing systems in the Philippines and their potential for providing an emic reading of Philippine society and culture.

### ***Native Philippine Written Texts***

An isolated discovery of an inscription on a poorly provenienced earthenware vessel from Calatagan (Francisco 1973:82–83; Solheim 1982:73), a

wood-block book printed in 1593 with Juan de Plasencia's *Doctrina Christiana* (see discussion of Spanish sources below) in Spanish and purportedly in Tagalog script (Scott 1984:53), and a number of Filipino signatures in early contact period documents in this form of script (Scott 1984:53; Wade 1993:48) form the limited material evidence for native prehispanic Philippine writing systems. However, recent ethnographic researches among the Tagbanua of Palawan (R. Fox 1954; Gardner 1943) and the Mangyan of northern Mindoro (Conklin 1949, 1953; Gardner 1943; Gardner and Malinwanag 1939–1940) report early-twentieth-century use of native scripts resembling the Tagalog and Visayan forms on Spanish documents. The Mangyan and Tagbanua writings were inscribed on bamboo and appear to have recorded traditional myths, poetry, and songs (see Fig. 2.1). Early Spanish writings on the Philippines indicate that native scripts were used in many regions of the Philippines at the time of contact and that there was widespread literacy among Filipinos of all social ranks and both genders (Chirino 1604b:242–243; Santa Ines 1676:68). In his “Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas” (see section on Spanish sources below), Antonio de Morga summarizes what was known by early Spanish colonizers about Philippine languages and writing systems:

The language of all the *Pintados* [“painted” or tattooed central Philippine coastal populations] and Bisayans is one and the same, by which they understand one another when talking, or when writing with the letters and characters of their own which they possess. These [characters] resemble those of the Arabs. The common manner of writing among the natives is on leaves of trees and on bamboo bark. . . . The language of Luzon and those islands in its vicinity differs widely from that of the Bisayans. . . . The natives throughout the islands can write excellently with certain characters, almost like the Greek or Arabic. These characters are fifteen in all. Three are vowels, which are used as are our five. The consonants number twelve, and each and all of them combine with certain dots or commas, and so signify whatever one wishes to write, as fluently and easily as is done with our Spanish alphabet. The method of writing was on bamboo, but is now on paper, commencing the lines at the right and running to the left in the Arabic fashion. Almost all the natives, both men and women, write in this language. There are few who do not write it excellently and correctly.

(Morga 1609a:115–117)

The perishable nature of the writing media explains the absence of examples of prehispanic native scripts a scant few decades after European contact. While a number of the early Spanish *relaciones* provide renderings of Filipino syllabaries in these native scripts (e.g., Chirino 1604b), there are no known copies of specific prehispanic bamboo texts that can be analyzed



Figure 2.1. Tagbanua (Palawan) writing in traditional Philippine script on bamboo. (Courtesy of the Dean Worcester Photographic Collection, University of Michigan Museum of Anthropology)

contextually and in terms of content. The few examples of authenticated prehispanic scripts, such as the Calatagan pottery inscription, have not been deciphered adequately (Francisco 1973). Spanish claims of widespread Philippine literacy and contact period writing systems among upland tribal peoples suggest that writing was not an elite prerogative and may not have been limited to elite themes such as chiefly genealogies and political histories. It is not known if prehispanic writing systems in the Philippines played a role in segregating elite and nonelite spheres of knowledge or in political legitimation, as in many other complex societies (see Baines 1983, 1988; Houston 1989; Marcus 1992b). In an analysis of the development of Egyptian writing systems, Baines has demonstrated that even writing systems that begin as politically focused and “limited exclusively” to the elite can diffuse widely along with other emulated aspects of elite culture to a broader range of social groups who can apply written language to new purposes (1988: 203–204).

Among the many theories about the origins of these writing systems (Scott 1984:61; Wade 1993:48–53), the most plausible involve the adaptation to Philippine languages of foreign Malay or Cham scripts encountered in the course of the South China Sea maritime trade. Most scholars now

reject early notions that these are Indic scripts brought directly into the archipelago by migrating Indian traders, priests, or scribes (e.g., Gardner 1943) or wholly indigenously developed writing systems, since all the Philippine scripts (Tagalog, Visayan, Mangyan, and Tagbanua) strongly resemble each other as well as other Southeast Asian scripts. Juan Francisco (1973) and William Henry Scott (1984) propose an Indonesian (Sulawesi, Sumatran, or Javan) origin for these writing systems, while Geoffrey Wade (1993) favors ties to early Cham scripts on the Southeast Asian mainland. Whatever the ultimate origin, these writing forms were probably introduced to the archipelago through maritime trading and raiding expeditions financed by chiefs and other elites. However, writing may have spread rapidly to regions in the archipelago where the scripts were adapted to local languages and eventually diffused to a broad cross-section of people beyond the elite tiers of chiefly societies.

Unfortunately, because of our present lack of information on the social contexts of writing and the content of written native texts, this source has been little used in reconstructing aspects of prehispanic culture. Until more authenticated prehispanic inscriptions on durable material can be found and deciphered, researchers must limit our historical analysis to foreign texts.

### **Tenth- to Sixteenth-Century Chinese Texts**

With regard to the Philippines, there are known Chinese documents going back to the tenth century A.D., including imperial trade records recording “tributary missions” by named Philippine polities to the Chinese court and eyewitness travel accounts written by Chinese who accompanied trade voyages to the Philippines. Aspects of the political geography of the Philippines can be gleaned from Chinese records of Philippine tributary missions spanning the late tenth to early sixteenth centuries. These tributary missions to the Chinese court were undertaken by Philippine chiefs ruling such polities as Ma-i, P’u-tuan, Sulu, and Magindanao in an attempt to win favored trade status. Translated from Chinese by William Henry Scott (1984), these tenth- to fifteenth-century tributary records provide significant information on Chinese conceptions of rulership in Philippine chiefdoms, the changing political landscape of the Philippines during this period, specific export commodities offered by Philippine polities, and their specific luxury good preferences. Such tributary missions in the Philippines had a cyclical frequency that reflected both Chinese trade policies and the degree of political fragmentation (and hence political competition for foreign trade wealth) in the Philippines. As I discuss in Chapter 4, we must consider these factors before equating Chinese perceptions of polity scale and complexity with the reality of Philippine power relations.

In addition to these official Chinese trade records, there are several extensive writings by early second millennium A.D. Chinese voyagers to the

Philippines or by Chinese historians who have compiled the eyewitness accounts of others to describe these exotic societies at the far western reaches of their known world. One of the primary Chinese works used in the present study is an early-thirteenth-century manuscript written by the Superintendent of Maritime Trade in Ch'üan-chou (Fukien Province, southern China) titled *Chu fan chih*, or "An Account of the Various Barbarians" (A.D. 1225). In addition to providing specific data on trade locales, commodities, and patterns of exchange, the text offers considerable ethnographic detail on the organization of the coastal ports, the general nature of political authority among Philippine chiefs, and aspects of local production and trade. A second document with considerable ethnographic content is the fourteenth-century eyewitness account of the Chinese trader and adventurer Wang Ta-yüan known as the *Tao i chih lüeh*, or "Summary Notices of the Barbarians of the Isles" (A.D. 1349). Wang Ta-yüan recorded his impressions of political leaders, indigenous trading systems, social status-marking behaviors, and warfare in lowland populations in the vicinity of Manila, in parts of southwestern Mindanao, and in the Sulu Sea region. Other Chinese historical sources contain brief references to specific Philippine trade encounters with Chinese merchants, including a number of South China port records naming vessels that may have included Philippine crewmen or traders and the official Chinese dynastic histories (the *Sung Annals*, *Ming Annals*, and *Ch'ing Annals*), which make occasional and undetailed references to Philippine polities active in the South China Sea luxury good trade (see Chan 1978; Chen 1966; Laufer 1907; Majul 1966; Scott 1984; Wang 1959; and Wu 1959, 1962 for English or modern Chinese translations and commentary).

While these early Chinese records are a rich source of information on the political history and economy of these early-second-millennium Philippine polities, it is important to note that traditional Chinese cosmology viewed the empire as the center of the universe and all non-Chinese peoples as "barbarians" in a fitting "tributary" relationship to the Chinese empire. Philippine chiefdoms and later developing Islamic sultanates were particularly peripheral, inconsequential, and small-scale in China's larger vision of their southern island world, which included better-known maritime-trading polities such as Champa, Srivijaya, Melaka, Brunei, and Majapahit. Therefore, Chinese references to Philippine political organization must be analyzed carefully in terms of other Southeast Asian polities used in comparisons and whether they involve indirect knowledge or, more rarely, Chinese "eyewitness" accounts.

### **Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Spanish Sources**

Spanish documents, not surprisingly, are the primary documentary sources for inferring aspects of contact period Philippine societies. Sixteenth- and



early-seventeenth-century Spanish sources include at least a dozen book-length *relaciones*. Some of the more prominent are Antonio Pigafetta's "First Voyage around the World" (1521a; original Spanish title unknown),<sup>2</sup> Miguel de Legaspi's "Relación de las Islas Filipinas" (An Account of the Philippine Islands; 1570),<sup>3</sup> Miguel de Loarca's "Relación de las Islas Filipinas" (An Account of the Philippine Islands; 1582a, 1582b),<sup>4</sup> Juan de Plasencia's "Las costumbres de los indios Tagalogs de Filipinas" (An Account of the Customs of the Tagalogs; 1589a, 1589b, 1589c), and "Instrucción de las costumbres que antiguamente tenían los naturales de la Pampanga en sus pleitos" (A Lesson in the Customs That the Natives of Pampanga Anciently Held in Their Trials; 1589d), Pedro Chirino's "Relación de las Islas Filipinas" (An Account of the Philippine Islands; 1604b),<sup>5</sup> Antonio de Morga's "Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas" (Events in the Philippine Islands; 1609),<sup>6</sup> Francisco Colin's "Labor evangelica, ministerios apostólicos de los obreros de la campania de Jesus, fundación y progressos de su provincia en las Islas Filipinas" (Evangelical Labors, Apostolic Works, and the Foundation and Progress of the Society of Jesus in Their Province in the Philippine Islands; 1660a), Francisco Alcina's "Historia de las Islas e Indios de las Bisayas" (History of the Islands and Natives of the Visayas; 1688a, 1688b),<sup>7</sup> and the anonymously authored sixteenth-century manuscript known as the "Boxer Codex" or "Boxer manuscript" (Boxer manuscript 1590a, 1590b, 1590c).<sup>8</sup>

In using early Spanish sources to reconstruct aspects of contact period indigenous cultures, it is important to understand the historical and cultural contexts in which these documents were written. Many of the lengthy late-sixteenth-century documents were compiled by colonial administrators in the newly established Spanish colony as part of the *Relaciones geográficas*, a series of reports on annexed lands in the New World and Asia commanded by the Spanish monarch Phillip II (e.g., Loarca 1582; Morga 1609; Sande 1577). Colonial administrators in the Philippines, Mexico, Peru, and elsewhere were provided with a standardized list of fifty queries broad enough to apply to diverse cultures and designed to elicit basic information relevant to Spanish administration of the conquered lands (see Cline 1972 for a discussion of the history of the *Relaciones geográficas* and a translation of the standardized questionnaire). Not surprisingly, these Spanish writings focused on geography, climate, exploitable natural resources, indigenous political units and towns, native religions, indigenous tributary systems, and military technologies, but said little about social organization, household subsistence and craft production, local trade systems, and other less immediate concerns. Aspects of indigenous culture were presented in terms that made clear how Spanish rule might serve as a counterpoint or countermeasure to local institutions. Texts and dictionaries by Christian missionaries (e.g., Chirino, Colin, and Plasencia) emphasized the translation of Spanish notions such as patronage, tribute, and sacrifice into native comprehension through semantic analysis of native languages,

concepts, and behaviors, as part of their evangelizing effort (Cushner 1971).

In addition to these book-length Spanish manuscripts, thousands of shorter sixteenth- and seventeenth-century correspondences by European participants in the first exploratory voyages to the Philippines, by early colonial administrators, and by early Jesuit and Franciscan missionaries are stored in historical archives in Manila (primarily the National Archives of the Philippines), in Spain (primarily in the Seville archives; see Blair and Robertson 1903–1909 and Pastells and Lanzas 1922), and in Mexico City (see Archivo General de la Nación 1980). In addition to colonial correspondence, there are a number of early “dictionaries” compiled by Spanish clergy or administrators in the National Archives of the Philippines in Manila that provide insights into indigenous cultural concepts as well as Spanish biases in interpreting the linguistic expression of native ideas (e.g., Mentrída 1637; San Buenaventura 1613; Sánchez 1617). While most of these primary Spanish sources remain untranslated and unstudied, a remarkable project commissioned by the U.S. colonial administration at the turn of the century resulted in the compilation (in both Spanish and English) of more than three thousand documents from the Seville archives in a massive fifty-five-volume work titled *The Philippines, 1493–1898* (Blair and Robertson 1903–1909). More recently, Philippine historian Gregorio Zaide has posthumously published a twelve-volume series (Zaide ed. 1990) providing alternative translations of some of the major *relaciones* in Blair and Robertson (1903–1909), his own comments on content and derivation, and some significant texts that were omitted from Blair and Robertson’s work. Garcia (1979) and Jocano (1975b) have provided compact translations of some of the major sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Spanish manuscripts, and several relevant historical works by early European voyagers not found in the Blair and Robertson volumes have recently been published by contemporary Philippine presses such as the Historical Conservation Society of Manila and the Filipiniana Book Guild (e.g., Careri 1699–1700; Dampier 1697, 1699; Ribadeñeira 1601).

Ethnohistorical research, combining Spanish documents with ethnographic data and integrating historical and anthropological approaches to reconstruct aspects of contact period Philippine societies, is remarkably undeveloped. Historical commentary on contact period sociopolitical organization is frequently a brief footnote to textbooks focused on Philippine colonial and modern history (e.g., Alip 1965; Costa 1965; Molina 1960). The historian William Henry Scott stands alone in his prolific writings devoted to constructing a sweeping and pan-regional model of the sociopolitical organization, technology, economy, and cosmology of sixteenth-century Philippine complex societies (e.g., Scott 1974, 1979, 1980, 1982, 1983, 1984, 1985, 1991, 1994). While Scott’s publications contribute significant descriptive detail and analytical insights, he approaches the issue

of how contact period societies were organized from the perspective of an areally focused historian using the sixteenth-century contact as a baseline to understand later transformations of Philippine society under Spanish rule. Thus, there is little integration with broader historical and anthropological interpretations of the structure and emergence of maritime-trading polities in Southeast Asia and elsewhere in the world. Beyond Scott's broader historical analyses, ethnohistorical research has been concentrated in a few regions of the Philippines where historians and anthropologists are beginning to develop a more detailed picture of precolonial polities. Most notable is the work done on the fourteenth to nineteenth-century Magindanao, Sulu, Maranao, and other Islamic sultanates of the southern Philippines (e.g. Gowing 1979; Iletto 1971; Kiefer 1968, 1972a, 1972b; Majul 1965, 1973, 1974a, 1974b; Saleeby 1905, 1908; J. Warren 1977a, 1977b, 1982, 1985)<sup>9</sup> and the somewhat complexly organized interior populations of the Luzon cordillera (e.g., the Kalinga, Ifugao, Bontoc) (Keesing 1962; Scott 1982).

### **Anthropological Research on Extant Philippine Complex Societies**

Early-twentieth-century ethnographic research by trained anthropologists provides another important source of information on precolonial chiefly political economies in the Philippines (Fig. 2.2). Some Philippine complex societies persisted on the margins of Spanish and American colonial rule well into the twentieth century because of their geographic remoteness or strong resistance to foreign hegemony. Complementing historical study of the sixteenth century and later Magindanao lower and upper valley sultanates and the fourteenth-to-nineteenth-century Sulu sultanate is considerable ethnographic work on the contemporary ethnic core populations of these Islamic polities such as the Tausug and the Maranao (e.g., Beckett 1982; Gowing 1979; Iletto 1971; Kiefer 1968, 1970, 1972a, 1972b; Majul 1965, 1966; Mednick 1965; Saleeby 1905, 1908; Spoehr 1973; Tarling 1978; J. Warren 1975, 1977a, 1977b, 1982, 1985). Saleeby's (1905) ethnographic and historical work on the political history, chiefly succession, and indigenous jural systems of Sulu and Magindanao provides one of the most detailed descriptions of political structure available for island Southeast Asian complex societies. Also notable are Thomas Kiefer's (1972a, 1972b) and James Warren's (1977a, 1982, 1985) work on seventeenth-to-twentieth-century Sulu political economy. These works provide considerable details on the economic impact of foreign maritime trade, the organization of specialized craft production systems, tribute mobilization, ritual feasting, elite prestige goods exchange, and the economic consequences of intensified slave raiding. The ethnographic and historical materials on Sulu, Magin-

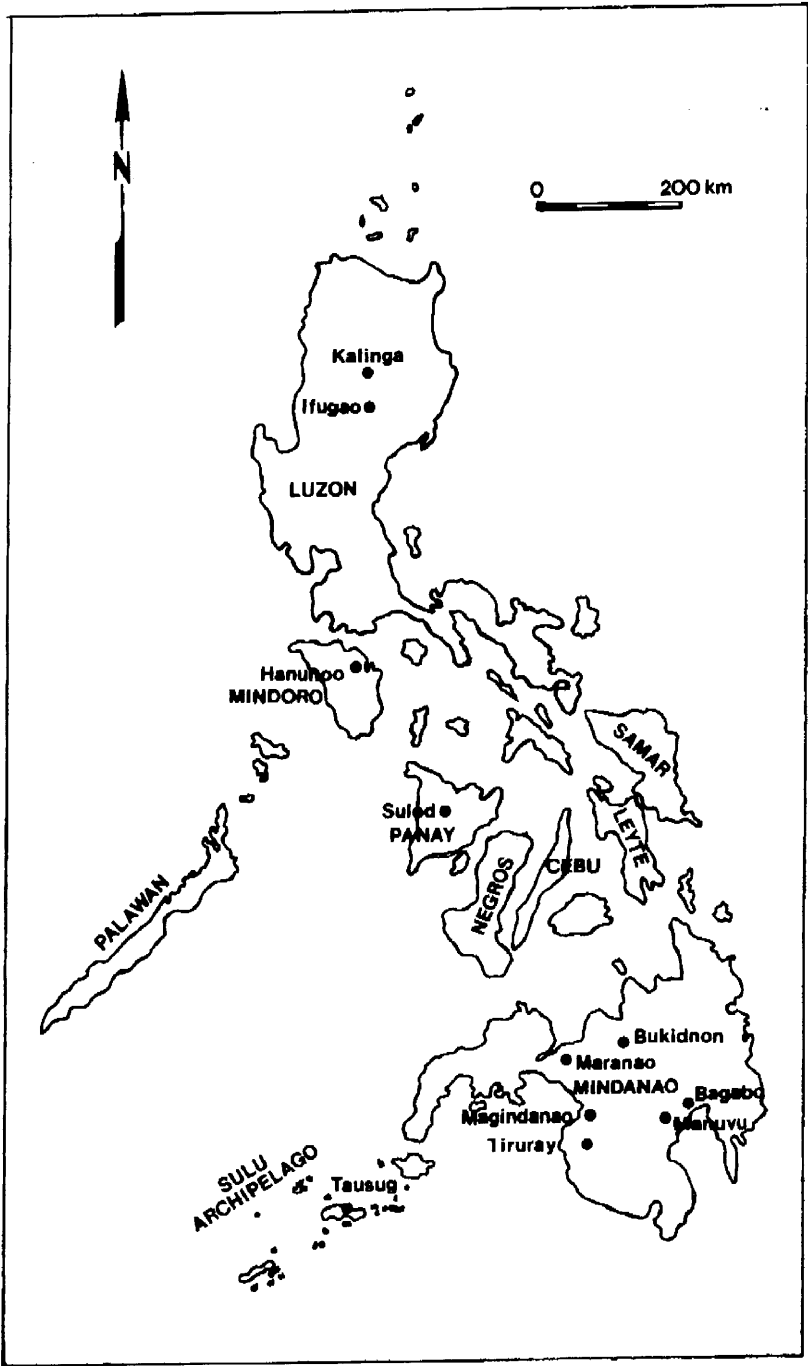


Figure 2.2. Location of ethnographically studied Philippine societies mentioned in the text.

danao, and other recent Islamic polities of the southern Philippines are therefore key to ethnohistorical analysis of political economy in Philippine complex societies.

A number of non-Islamic chiefdoms on the island of Mindanao have also been the subject of ethnographic study and historical analysis, most notably the Bukidnon (or Higaonon) of the upper Tagoloan River in Bukidnon Province (e.g., Biernatzki 1985; Claver 1985; Cole 1956; Guzman and Pacheco 1985) and the Bagabo of Davao Province (e.g., Cole 1913, 1945; Gloria 1987). Fay Cooper Cole's 1913 ethnography of the Bagabo and adjacent groups is particularly significant in analyzing the traditional sociopolitical structure, economy, and ritual/cosmological foundations of Philippine chiefdoms, since his field research largely predates the American and Japanese occupations of the region (see Gloria 1987:92–96 for the history of colonial impact in the area). Cole's ethnography is a treasure trove of detail on such topics as the inheritance of chieftainship and the nature of chiefly authority, social ranking, marriage proscriptions and bridewealth payments, the social and economic role of "slaves," the mythological and cosmological underpinnings of Bagabo society, ritual practices, the organization of craft production and long-distance trade, and the political implications of warfare. Cole includes a unique and astoundingly candid description of a human sacrifice that occurred in 1907 on the occasion of a Bagabo *datu's* (chief's) installation as the regional paramount, an event that has multiple layers of meaning in the political, economic, and ritual spheres. Cole's early ethnographical work on Bukidnon chiefdoms (Cole 1956) and more recent ethnohistorical work compiled in a volume edited by Guzman and Pacheco (1985) also offers considerable insights into the nature of chieftainship, the forging of patron-clientage ties, and the role of ritual in legitimating political power relations in traditional Philippine complex societies. Like the Bagabo, the Bukidnon of north-central Mindanao were primarily small-scale interior chiefdoms only indirectly involved in a maritime trade economy; they never underwent the religious conversion to Islam; and they were remote from later colonial centers of power. Another notable ethnographic contribution to analyses of traditional sociopolitical structures and economic organization in Philippine complex societies is Manuel's (1971) work on the Manuvu of central Mindanao. While the Manuvu had been integrated into the modern Philippine state many decades before Manuel's ethnographic investigations, his descriptions of the patron-client networks controlled by traditional *datu's* resonates with other ethnographic and historical accounts of contact period political structures.

The groups inhabiting the central Luzon cordillera, including the Kalinga, Bontoc, and Ifugao, have been the subject of long-term ethnographic, ethnohistorical, and ethnoarchaeological research (e.g., Barton 1949, 1956; Conklin 1980; Dozier 1966, 1967; Graves 1981, 1985, 1991; Jenks 1905;

Keesing 1962; Longacre 1981, 1991; Longacre and Skibo 1994; Longacre, Skibo, and Stark 1991; Scott 1984; Skibo 1992). These interior upland societies have been traditionally viewed by ethnographers as “tribal societies,” comprising small-scale, politically autonomous communities that are only loosely integrated regionally through trade, ritual, and shifting alliances negotiated through “peace pacts.” However, some scholars have noted the presence of significant status competition, social ranking that may not be wholly achieved, and a level of regional political cohesion that suggests these sophisticated rice terrace farmers may be more like small-scale lowland chiefdoms than the upland tribal swidden-farming populations of adjacent islands (Nishimura 1988; Scott 1979:146–150). Ethnographic material from these societies particularly contributes to analysis of ritual feasting in Chapter 11 and discussion of regional conflict in Chapter 12.

Recent ethnographic studies of less complexly organized upland “tribal” swidden-farming populations (e.g., Conklin 1949; Jocano 1968; Schlegel 1979; C. Warren 1977) and hunter-gatherer groups occupying the interior of many of the major Philippine islands (e.g., Eder 1987; Griffin 1989; Griffin and Estioko-Griffin 1985; Headland and Reid 1991) are also important sources of information on adjacent lowland chiefdoms. These societies were in long-term interaction with lowland chiefdoms through trade, intermarriage, and raiding along interior river routes. These ethnographic sources, emphasizing interethnic exchanges from the perspective of upland groups, complement the sixteenth-century Spanish descriptions of lowland-upland trade that view these interactions primarily from the vantage point of lowland chiefly economies.

## **Archaeological Research on Complex Societies in the Philippines**

Owing to an emphasis on cultural historical reconstruction as well as pessimism about the probability of recovering well-preserved habitation features in acidic tropical soils, much of the archaeological research on this period has involved art historical analysis of intact porcelains and elaborate earthenware derived from cemeteries and burial sites. There have been relatively few archaeological projects aimed explicitly at issues of complex society formation in the Philippines or at reconstructing aspects of prehispanic sociopolitical structures, economy, and ideology. While sites dated to the earlier third millennium to mid–first millennium Neolithic Period exhibit no evidence for sociopolitical complexity, a number of cemeteries dated to the Metal Age show significant variability in mortuary treatment, with a few remarkably elaborate graves containing large quantities of fancy earthenware, metal implements, beads, and shell ornamentation.

### **Archaeological Investigations of Cemeteries and Burials**

The vast bulk of the archaeological research undertaken in the Philippines relevant to the period of complex society development has involved isolated excavations of burials or cemetery sites (Fig. 2.3). Most of this archaeological research has been carried out with descriptive and cultural historical aims. It has only been recently that archaeologists have begun to carry out formalized mortuary analyses at burial sites (e.g., Dalupan 1985; Junker 1993b; Nishimura 1988; De la Torre 1996), with the explicit objective of reconstructing social relations within past populations, such as social roles, statuses, and gender markers. Metal Age cemeteries, generally comprising primary and secondary jar burials in elaborate earthenware or carved stone containers, but occasionally consisting of pit burials at open air sites, have been excavated on most of the major islands of the Philippines (e.g., Briones and Chiong 1977; De la Torre 1996; Dizon 1979, 1996; Dizon and Orogo 1991; R. Fox 1970; Fox and Evangelista 1957; Hutterer 1974; Kurjack and Sheldon 1970; Maceda 1964, 1965, 1967; Mascuñana 1987; Salcedo 1979; Solheim 1964, 1968; Tenazas 1974; Tuggle and Hutterer 1972). The presence of some extremely elaborate child and infant burials at these cemetery sites is the primary evidence now available for the beginnings of hereditary social ranking in Philippine lowland societies. Stylistic analyses of decorated earthenware from these cemeteries have also been significant in reconstructing interisland networks of luxury good trade within the archipelago before the Chinese porcelain trade (e.g., Bacus 1995, 1996; Hutterer 1977a; Solheim 1964).

Archaeologists have also excavated a significant number of tenth- to sixteenth-century cemeteries, containing pit or log-coffin burials accompanied by Sung, Yüan, and Ming period Chinese porcelains and a variety of both local and foreign status goods (e.g., Beyer 1947; R. Fox 1959, 1964, 1967; Fox and Legaspi 1977; Hutterer 1973a; Janse 1941, 1946; Junker 1993b; A. Legaspi 1974; Locsin and Locsin 1967; Nishimura 1988; Salcedo 1979; Solheim 1982:76–78; Tenazas 1964, 1968). The largest number of burials and the most spectacular burial goods were recovered from excavations at the eleventh-to-fourteenth-century site of Santa Ana in Manila (Fox and Legaspi 1977; Peralta and Salazar 1974; Locsin and Locsin 1967) and the late-fourteenth-century to late-fifteenth-century site of Calatagan in southwestern Luzon (R. Fox 1959; Janse 1941, 1946). Because of the illicit looting of commercially valuable porcelains from these sites and the primarily cultural historical aims of the archaeological investigators, individual burial assemblages were not systematically recorded at many sites, and only limited quantitative mortuary analyses are presented in Chapter 6. Art historical studies of the manufacturing sources, trade volume, relative quality, and diversity of the trade porcelains recovered from some cemeteries (e.g.,

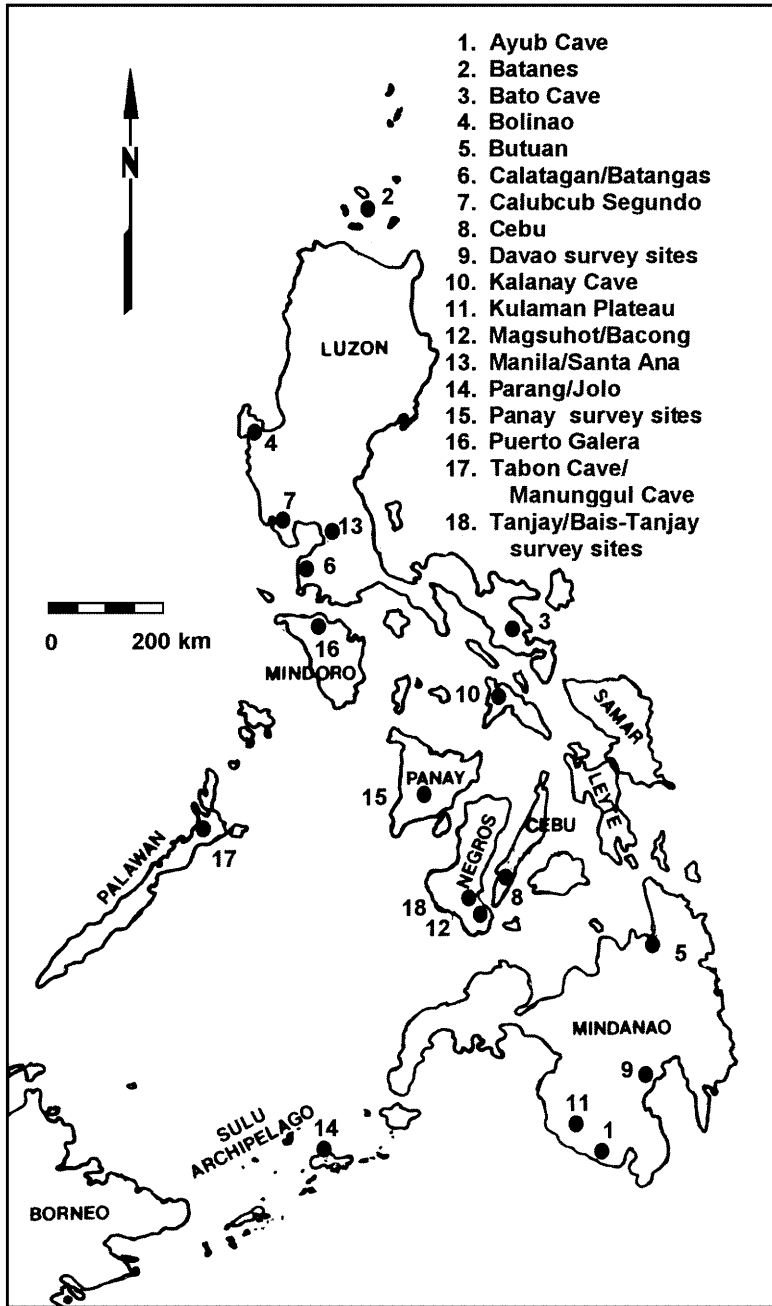


Figure 2.3. Location of excavated Philippines cemeteries and settlement sites, dated between 500 B.C. and A.D. 1600, mentioned in the text.



R. Brown 1989; Locsin and Locsin 1967) also provide clues to social and political factors that might have dictated regional and local access to porcelains in foreign trade.

### ***Archaeological Investigations of Settlement Sites***

Considerably less archaeological research has been carried out on settlement sites dated to the Metal Age or Porcelain periods. This omission may be attributable to the absence of durable monumental construction, which makes archaeological detection of settlements difficult even for historically known polities, coupled with the lure of more archaeologically spectacular burials. It is also clear that subtle traces of habitation were often missed in archaeological excavations of burial sites and that many large-scale Metal Age and Porcelain Period “cemeteries” such as Magsuhot, Santa Ana, and Calatagan were simultaneously settlements (R. Fox 1959; Tenazas 1974). Excavations of settlement features and habitation debris have been undertaken at the historically known chiefly centers at Manila (Peralta and Salazar 1974), Cebu (Hutterer 1973b; Nishimura 1988, 1992), Butuan (R. Brown 1987; Burton 1977; Solheim 1982:76), and Tanjay (Hutterer 1981; Junker 1993a, 1993b). Owing to extensive Spanish Period and modern urban occupation of all these prehispanic centers, the bulk of the prehispanic settlement areas are inaccessible to excavation or have been destroyed by modern houses. Thus, excavated materials represent the vagaries of preservation and accessibility, rather than any systematic and representative sampling of archaeological phenomena at the sites.

Large-scale excavations were carried out in 1981, 1985, 1986, and 1995 at the extensive coastal settlement of Tanjay on the island of Negros, the historically recorded chiefly center of a maritime-trading chiefdom in the sixteenth century (Hutterer 1981; Junker 1990a:643–690; 1993a, 1993b; Junker, Gunn, and Santos 1996; Junker, Mudar, and Schwaller 1994). These excavations were part of a larger regional-scale archaeological project, also involving systematic regional survey and excavation of outlying settlements, aimed at examining political and economic structures within the evolving maritime-trading chiefdom and its hinterlands (see discussion of regional settlement archaeology below). Expanding from an approximately five- to seven-hectare settlement in the mid- to late first millennium A.D. to a more than thirty-hectare settlement by the fifteenth to sixteenth centuries, Tanjay appears to have been the center of a series of economically and politically expanding regional polities, whose chiefs simultaneously controlled luxury good trade coming into the coastal port, and the river-based economy of lowland-upland exchange. The excavations at Tanjay yielded the remnants of at least eight pile-houses and associated midden and trash areas, forty-three burials beneath or between habitation

structures, and a number of probable pottery and metal production areas dated to three prehispanic phases of occupation: (1) the sixth-to-tenth-century Aguilar Phase, (2) the twelfth-to-fourteenth-century Santiago Phase, and (3) the fifteenth-to-sixteenth-century Osmena Phase. Comparisons of house forms and associated midden areas at the site produced evidence for probable status-related differences in house size, household wealth, and household diets (Gunn 1995; Junker 1993a; Junker, Mudar, and Schwaller 1994). Household status differences along with variation in mortuary treatment at Tanjay (Junker 1993b) are the core of empirical analysis in Chapter 6 of evolving social ranking in Philippine societies. Investigations of the metal- and pottery-producing areas at Tanjay combined with technological analyses and distributional studies of earthenware and metal artifacts from the site (Junker 1993c, 1994a; Junker, Gunn, and Santos 1996) contribute to the discussion in Chapter 9 of the scale and organization of craft production systems in Philippine chiefdoms.

Owing to modern disturbance, Hutterer's (1973a) and Nishimura's (1988, 1992) excavations at the historically known fourteenth-to-sixteenth-century (and probably earlier) paramount chief's center of Cebu yielded abundant habitation debris and remnants of craft activity but few identifiable habitation features such as postholes and hearths. Despite these limitations, detailed analyses of earthenware pottery, porcelain, metal implements and metal slag, plant and animal macrofossils, pollen, and other excavated materials from the site have allowed Hutterer and Nishimura to offer a number of important observations about the evolution of Cebu as a maritime-trading polity. They were able to document the growth of this important chiefly center over several centuries, to examine the organization and expansion of foreign trade relations over this period, to reconstruct how local production of earthenware and metals may have been organized, and to demonstrate differential social access to porcelains and other prestige goods over the settlement. Nishimura's (1992) path-breaking study of Cebu's trade porcelain assemblages, meticulously identifying kiln sources and technological features indicative of production strategies, is particularly significant to the analysis of changing patterns of foreign trade within the archipelago in Chapter 7.

Excavations at the northern Mindanao settlement of Butuan, which likely reached its height as the center of the historically known P'u-tuan polity sometime between the eighth and fourteenth centuries, have been limited (R. Brown 1987; Burton 1977; Solheim 1982:76), but they have confirmed Chinese references to a large-scale trading port. Only partially published excavations at Manila over the last twenty-five years by the National Museum of the Philippines (Peralta and Salazar 1974), while focusing primarily on prehispanic burial areas and reconstruction of the Spanish Period town of Intramuros, have unearthed evidence for thick prehispanic habitation deposits over a broad area. The remains of metallurgical activity

and abundant foreign porcelain in extensive midden deposits support contact period Spanish descriptions of Rajah Suleyman's 1571 Manila as a large, fortified trade port defended by Chinese-style iron cannons manufactured in foundries surrounding the chiefly residential compound. Alexander Spoehr (1973) has combined archaeological excavations and ethnohistorical research in looking at Porcelain Period and later historical habitation sites in the Sulu Sea Region. The most significant of these excavations for studying evolving chiefdoms is his work on eighteenth- to nineteenth-century chiefly house-compounds associated with the Sulu sultanate. Many of these researches are salvage projects of sites in imminent danger of destruction, and the long-term time frame and funding necessary for more systematic research is lacking.

Other Porcelain Period settlements have been excavated as part of larger regional-scale archaeological settlement studies. In the Bais-Tanjay Region of Negros Oriental, extensive excavations have been carried out at six sites and test excavations at three sites outside the coastal center of Tanjay (Hutterer 1981, 1982b; Hutterer and Macdonald 1982; Junker 1990a; Junker, Gunn, and Santos 1996). Features and artifacts recovered from these settlements have allowed researchers to examine how coastal fishing villages, upland swidden homesteads, and upriver trading centers are economically and politically integrated with coastal maritime trading centers (see Chapter 8). Metal Age and Porcelain Period habitation sites excavated as part of regional-scale archaeological research projects in the Bacong area of Negros (Bacus 1997) and on the islands of Leyte (Tuggle and Hutterer 1972), Samar (Hutterer 1973b), and Panay (Coutts 1983, 1984; Coutts and Wesson 1978) are also significant in reconstructing inter-ethnic, river-based trade between coast and interior populations in pre-hispanic times.

### ***The Bais-Tanjay Region Settlement Survey***

A long-term, regional-scale archaeological research project has been carried out in the Bais and Tanjay municipalities of Negros Oriental in the central Philippines since 1979 (Hutterer 1981; Hutterer and Macdonald 1979, 1982; Junker 1990a, 1990b, 1993a, 1993b, 1993c, 1994a, 1994b, 1996; Junker, Mudar, and Schwaller 1994; Junker, Gunn, and Santos 1996; Macdonald 1982a, 1982b). Systematic regional settlement survey and excavations at a number of Bais-Tanjay Region sites were aimed explicitly at examining the impact of foreign prestige goods trade on the evolution of late first millennium A.D. to mid-second millennium A.D. lowland maritime-trading chiefdoms in the Philippines. The Bais-Tanjay Region of Negros Oriental is known ethnohistorically to have been the locus of one of the many small-scale maritime-trading chiefdoms dotting the Philippine

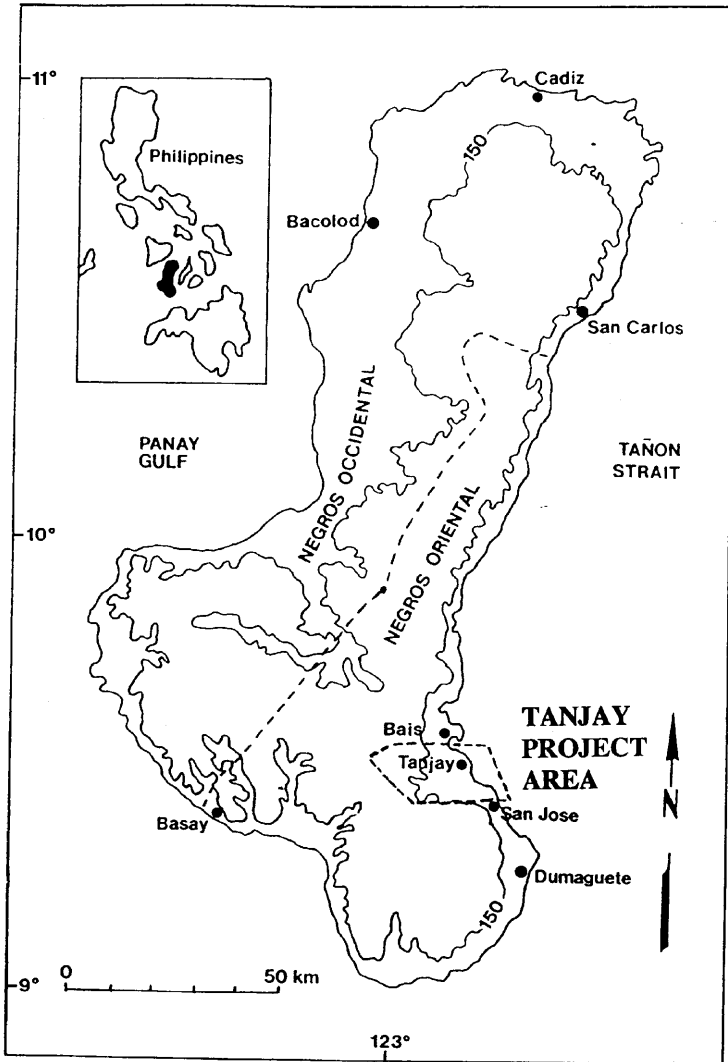


Figure 2.4. Location of the Tanjay Project on Negros Oriental, central Philippines.

lowlands at the time of Spanish contact (Loarca 1582a:47; Rodríguez 1564; see also Hutterer 1982a and Martínez Cuesta 1974).<sup>10</sup>

This region consists of an expansive alluvial plain three to fifteen kilometers wide drained by the large and meandering Tanjay River (Figs. 2.4, 2.5). The lowland plain was occupied in the sixteenth century by Visayan-speaking intensive rice agriculturalists that were the core population of this

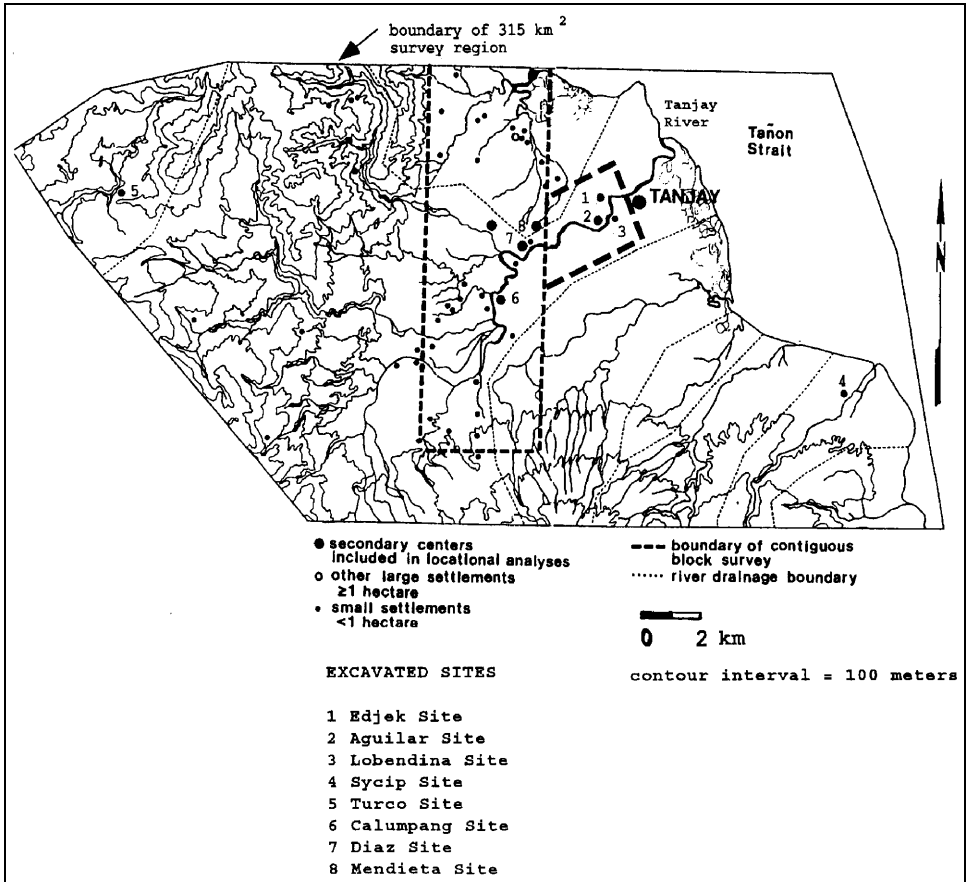


Figure 2.5. The Bais-Tanjay Region of Negros Oriental, Philippines, showing topography, areas of regional surface survey coverage, and the location of excavated sites.

maritime-trading chiefdom. The surrounding mountains were traditionally occupied by linguistically and ethnically diverse tribally organized swidden farming societies who farmed the rugged hillsides of the interior. Known as the Bukidnon and the Magahat, these groups were the subject of some limited ethnographic study (e.g., Beyer 1916:62–63; Oracion 1954, 1961, 1967) before the accelerated displacement and absorption of this population by logging activities after the 1950s (Hoffman 1982; Wernstedt and Spencer 1967). Occupying the dense canopied forest of the Bais-Tanjay Region interior uplands were groups of hunter-gatherers known as the Ata (Beyer 1903, 1921; Cadeliña 1980; Oracion 1960; Rahmann and Maceda 1955) who resembled other Philippine foragers in their high level of resi-

dential mobility and complex seasonal round of hunting, collecting, fishing, trading, and horticultural activities (Junker 1996). Of significance in terms of the political economy of the lowland chiefdom are ethnographic references to both Ata and Bukidnon specialization in collection of forest products in exchange for coastal commodities.

Since 1979, several phases of regional archaeological survey have been completed in the region using a multistage research design, combining probability-based sampling and full-coverage survey. The first phase of regional survey, directed by Karl Hutterer and Bill Macdonald, involved a roughly 5 percent sample of randomly selected 500 by 500 meter quadrats (roughly sixteen square kilometers), stratified by elevation zone to obtain preliminary information on the nature and density of prehispanic sites in the then archaeologically unknown region (Hutterer and Macdonald 1979; Macdonald 1982a). This initial survey resulted in the surface recording of approximately eighty sites that varied widely in ecological setting (lowland versus upland, coastal versus interior), horizontal size, surface artifact densities, artifact assemblage composition, and tendencies towards site clustering (Junker 1990b:185). This variation in site patterning was assumed to relate to the differing settlement strategies of mobile hunter-gatherers, upland swidden farming groups, and lowland intensive agriculturalists living in the region, as well as political and economic factors favoring settlement hierarchization and specialization in the lowland complex society. In 1979 and 1981, small-scale excavations were conducted by Hutterer and Macdonald at six sites in the region and one site in the adjacent Bacong Region, which appeared to span different time periods and represent functionally distinct types of settlements (Table 2.1). These included three large riverbank settlements ranging from Metal Age to Late Porcelain Period in date (Lobendina, Edjek, and Aguilar), the probable fifteenth-to-sixteenth-century homestead of upland swidden farmers (Turco), a coastal fishing homestead of similar date with large shell middens (Sycip), and an early first millennium A.D. interior lowland settlement outside of the Bais-Tanjay survey area (Solamillo, near the Magsuhot burial site excavated by Tenazas 1974). The initial excavations at the coastal chiefly center of Tanjay were also undertaken as part of this preliminary stage in the project (Hutterer 1981).

Analyses of earthenware pottery and porcelain from these excavated sites to identify chronologically sensitive wares (Junker 1982, 1985, 1990a: 495–498, 632–641; Macdonald 1982b) allowed the relative dating of most surface-collected sites recorded in the 1979 and later survey. The resulting regional cultural sequence, anchored by a number of radiocarbon dates, spanned a roughly 3,500-year period before Spanish contact (Fig. 2.6). It included six broad regional cultural phases: (1) the Edjek Phase (ca. 2000–1500 B.C.), (2) the Solamillo Phase (ca. A.D. 0–500), (3) the Aguilar Phase (ca. A.D. 500–1000), (4) the Santiago Phase (ca. A.D. 1100–1400), (5) the

**Table 2.1. Settlement Typology for Bais-Tanjay Region Sites Dated between A.D. 1400 and 1600, as an Example of an Archaeologically Known Dendritic Settlement System Associated with Maritime Trading Chiefdoms in the Prehispanic Philippines**

Settlement Type	Approximate Size and Archaeological Features	Excavated and Surface-Collected Sites
Primary regional Center	30–50 hectares in size. Elite and non-elite residential zones and burials, pottery and metal production areas, abundant foreign and local prestige goods (porcelain, bronze, decorated earthenware, paste beads, bone ornaments), fortifications, ritual objects (figurines, feasting paraphernalia), lowland coastal location.	Tanjay
Secondary centers	4–7 hectares in size. Abundant foreign and local prestige goods (porcelain, bronze, iron, decorated earthenware, paste beads), eclectic habitation debris (earthenware, shell, stone tools, animal bone) in dense concentration, iron metallurgy (Calumpang), postholes and hearths from numerous pile-houses, riverbank location below 100 meters elevation.	Aguilar, Lobendina, Diaz, Mendieta, Calumpang, 5 surface-surveyed sites
Lowland aggregated villages	1–3 hectares in size. Few foreign or domestic prestige goods, eclectic habitation debris (earthenware, stone tools, animal bone, shell) in moderately dense concentration, postholes and hearths of several pile-houses, no evidence for pottery or metal production, riverbank or coastal location below 100 meters.	Sycip, 43 surface-surveyed sites

*Continued on next page*

Table 2.1—*Continued*

Settlement Type	Approximate Size and Archaeological Features	Excavated and Surface-Collected Sites
Lowland isolated homesteads	0.1–1.0 hectares in size. Eclectic habitation debris in low concentration, prestige goods generally absent, no postholes, hearths, or other pile-house features recovered, location more distant from water sources below 100 meters.	52 surface-collected sites
Lowland hunting/trading camps	0.01–0.25 hectares in size. Primarily stone tools and animal bone in high density, occasional shell, pottery, and iron, no discernible habitation features, location on upper river tributaries near upland margin of 100 meters elevation.	34 surface-collected sites
Upland villages and homesteads	0.25–1.25 hectares in size. Rare prestige goods, eclectic habitation debris (earthenware, stone tools, animal bone, shell) in moderately dense concentration, postholes and hearths of one or more houses, no pottery or metal production, location on flat terraces above river tributaries at 100–700 meters elevation.	Turco, 24 surface-collected sites
Upland hunting/collecting camps	0.01–0.06 hectares in size. Stone tools, lithic debris and animal bone in moderately high densities, occasional pottery and iron tools, no postholes or other features, location near rivers above 300 meters elevation.	12 surface-collected sites
Lithic production sites	Less than 10 meters square in size. 10–200 lithic flakes, cores and tools, location above 100 meters elevation.	14 surface-collected sites

*Continued on next page*



Table 2.1—*Continued*

Settlement Type	Approximate Size and Archaeological Features	Excavated and Surface-Collected Sites
Other special activity sites	Less than 10 meters square in size. Low density (generally fewer than 10 artifacts) finds of pottery, stone tools, or iron tools, occasionally in association with animal bone or shell, various locations within the region.	74 surface-collected sites

Osmena Phase (ca. A.D. 1400–1600), and (6) the Spanish Phase (ca. A.D. 1600 to 1900). There is an absence of pre-second millennium B.C. occupation as well as a lengthy cultural hiatus in the region in the early Metal Age (first millennium B.C.) and a brief cultural hiatus just before the Chinese porcelain trade (the eleventh century A.D.). These gaps are probably attributable to problems of site recognition within the actively alluviating Tanjay Region river plain. Paleolithic (pre-fifth millennium B.C.) and Neolithic (fifth to third millennia B.C.) phases of settlement found in other regions of the Philippines may be represented in the Bais-Tanjay Region by a small number of presently undatable ceramic-yielding sites and stone tool clusters recovered in surface surveys.

In 1982, a second phase of regional survey, directed by William Macdonald, combined the collection of an additional 3 percent probability-based sample of the 315-square-kilometer survey region (forty 500 by 500 meter units, or 10 square kilometers), with complete coverage of a 48-square-kilometer block transecting the lowland alluvial plain from north to south (see Fig. 2.5). As in the previous survey, archaeologists systematically traversed on foot each agricultural field or land block unimpeded by modern cultural activities, recording proveniences and collecting all surface artifacts and mapping the surface contours of discovered sites. This survey resulted in the recording and mapping of 390 sites spanning the same cultural phases as in the previous survey (Junker 1990a, 1990b; Macdonald 1982b). In 1995, a third season of regional survey was conducted in the Bais-Tanjay Region by Junker, concentrated on complete coverage of a roughly ten-square-kilometer east-west-oriented block surrounding the lower Tanjay River from the coastal chiefly center of Tanjay to the edge of the 1982 survey transect (see Fig. 2.5). Forty-three additional sites were recorded and mapped in this most recent survey (Junker, Gunn, and Santos 1996), bringing the total for the Bais-Tanjay Region to 513 sites collected

Phases Sites	EDJEK PHASE (1500 - 2000 B.C.)	SOLAMILLO PHASE (A.D. 0 - 500)	AGUILAR PHASE (A.D. 500 - 1000)	SANTIAGO PHASE (A.D. 1100 - 1400)	OSMENA PHASE (A.D. 1400 - 1600)	HISTORIC PHASE (post - 1600)
Tanjay						
Calumpang						
Mendieta						
Diaz						
Edjek						
Aguilar						
Lobendina						
Sycip						
Turco						
Solamillo						

 period of site occupation      - - - - - cultural hiatus

Figure 2.6. Cultural phases for the Bais-Tanjay Region, indicating periods of occupation at the ten excavated sites.

over roughly 27 percent of the survey region. As part of this most recent archaeological work in the Bais-Tanjay Region, three substantial-sized fifteenth-to-sixteenth-century riverbank “secondary centers” five, six, and nine kilometers upriver from Tanjay (the Calumpang, Mendieta, and Diaz sites) were excavated. These large riverbank settlements appear to have been important riverine trade and production nodes articulating coastal and interior societies within a dendritic regional settlement system.

The regional settlement data from the Bais-Tanjay Region have allowed the construction of detailed settlement pattern maps for the latest three pre-hispanic phases of occupation. In Chapter 4, the growth of settlement hierarchies in the Tanjay polity provide an important empirical case for documenting the process of “political cycling.” Analyses of regional settlement patterns and the regional distribution of foreign-trade porcelains, locally made luxury goods, and mundane household items such as domestic earthenware are the basis for tracing patterns of internal production and exchange in the Bais-Tanjay Region over this period. Thus, the Bais-Tanjay Region settlement pattern evidence is key to the discussion of tribute

mobilization and exchange in chiefly economies, the analysis of the organization of craft production in Philippine chiefdoms, and the study of the regional circulation of prestige goods in Philippine chiefdoms in Chapters 8, 9, and 10.

## **Integrated Approaches to Philippine Complex Society Development**

Unlike other regions of complex society development where substantial bodies of European colonial documents have been subject to exhaustive anthropological interpretation by researchers trained in ethnohistorical methodologies (e.g., parts of Polynesia, Africa, Mesoamerica, and South America), the Philippines and Southeast Asia in general have been the subject of surprisingly little work of this kind. Few attempts have been made to integrate historical, ethnographic, and archaeological sources into a coherent picture of how premodern states and chiefdoms were structured, functioned, and evolved in the region over the past two millennia (but see L. Andaya 1993a; K. Hall 1985; Tarling 1992; Wheatley 1983). Even less has been done on a broadly comparative level, in which mechanisms and processes of sociopolitical evolution in Southeast Asia could be assessed against patterns of complex society development in other regions of the world (but see Higham 1989; Wheatley 1983; Winzeler 1981). The relative paucity of this type of multidisciplinary and comparative research on premodern Southeast Asia is most vividly reflected in the absence of Southeast Asian chiefdoms and kingdoms from most general anthropological syntheses of work on complex society formation (e.g., Earle 1987a; Flannery 1972; Johnson and Earle 1987; Service 1975; Wright 1977; but see Earle 1997 and Flannery 1995).

This chapter has presented a brief summary of the diverse sources available for the study of premodern Philippine complex societies and has attempted to demonstrate the value of an integrated ethnographic, historical, and archaeological approach to issues of complex society formation in Southeast Asia. Historical, anthropological, and archaeological techniques of analysis all have specific methodological and interpretive biases that can be more adequately assessed when compared against alternative ways of knowing the past. An integrated approach creates multiple dimensions and scales of analysis that invite inclusion of Southeast Asia in broadly comparative studies of how and why complex societies emerge and evolve. The present work is intended as a preliminary step in this direction.



## **Part II**

# **Structure and Evolution of Complex Societies**



## Chapter 3

### Chiefly Authority and Political Structure

The geography and cultural history of Southeast Asia had a significant influence on how complex societies were structured and how they evolved. A geographically fragmented and ecologically diverse landscape, comparatively low population densities relative to productive agricultural land, the pervasiveness of polygamous marriages, and cognatic descent rules weakening claims of chiefly succession were some of the factors that promoted the development of small-scale, ethnically fragmented polities in which leadership was ephemeral and political coalescence a relatively temporary state within endless cycles of political consolidation and fragmentation (Andaya 1992; Winzeler 1976). As summarized by historian Barbara Andaya: “The typical Southeast Asian ‘kingdom’ was a coalescence of localized power centers, ideally bound together not by force but through a complex interweaving of links engendered by blood connections and obligation. Leadership, conceived in personal and ritual terms, required constant reaffirmation. On the death of each ruler, therefore, his successor’s authority had to be reconstituted with a renewal of marriage bonds and a vow of loyalty” (1992:409). Philippine polities like Sulu, Manila, and Magindanao, even at their height of political expansion, never rivaled the scale and complexity of many maritime-trading polities of island Southeast Asia outside the archipelago. Even so, the nature of political power relations and other core elements of political structure are similar and suggest parallel trajectories of evolution (Hutterer 1977a; Junker 1990b, 1994b).

An archaeological emphasis on widespread architectural styles and historical reliance on epigraphically prominent polities have in the past given an impression of Southeast Asian political history as the progression from one enduring civilization to another—Funan, Champa, Srivijaya, Angkor, Pagan, Majapahit (e.g., Coedes 1972; D. Hall 1968). The advent of regional-scale archaeological investigations and new approaches to historical analysis have begun to emphasize the multicenter nature of pre-modern Southeast Asia and the generally fragmented structure of power relations that resulted only rarely in coalescing local power centers into a tenuously cohering centralized state (Andaya and Andaya 1982:20; B. Andaya 1992; K. Hall 1985, 1992; Reid 1993a; Wheatley 1975, 1983; Winzeler 1976, 1981).<sup>1</sup>

Historically known Philippine chiefdoms appear to represent the less complex end of a spectrum of Southeast Asian polities that share core ele-

ments of political structure that differentiate complex societies in the region in evolutionary terms from complex societies elsewhere in the world. Thus, this chapter will begin with an analysis of general models of Southeast Asian political structure, examining in more depth such concepts as “segmentary polity,” “theater state,” and “galactic polity” as a way of characterizing these societies and those of the prehispanic Philippines. I will also examine the role of environmental, demographic, and cultural factors in creating the highly fragmented political landscape and personalized power relations core to Southeast Asian polities in general and, by analogy, to those of the Philippines. Another significant issue to be addressed in this chapter is the “evolutionary status” of Philippine polities and the analytical utility of neo-evolutionary models that would classify most Philippine complex societies as “chiefdoms” rather than “states.” In this general comparative analysis of Southeast Asian political structures, I will also examine the role of foreign religious ideologies, such as Hinduism, Buddhism, and Islam in shaping local concepts of rulership and legitimating political authority.

A general discussion of Southeast Asian political structures establishes a comparative framework for analyzing the nature of political hierarchies, political power relations, and chiefly authority in traditional Philippine complex societies. I will begin with an analysis of political organization in the sixteenth-to-nineteenth-century Sulu polity in the southern Philippines, since the Sulu sultanate has received the most extensive historical and ethnographic treatment of any traditional complex society in the Philippines. The well-documented Sulu polity will then serve as a baseline for examining the nature of chiefly authority and regional political structures in other Philippine polities for which there is a less detailed ethnographic and historical record. The many polities for which we have no details of political organization, but only Chinese-recorded names and locations, or archaeological evidence but no historical validation are significant in the diachronic study of changing political configurations in the late first millennium to mid-second millennium Philippines.

### **The Segmentary Polity: A Model for the Decentralized Chiefdoms and States in Southeast Asia**

Southeast Asian complex societies are generally characterized by a decentralized political structure in which political hierarchies are weakly integrated even in the most developed “states,” and political authority relies less on hereditary ascription and territorial control than on cultivating ties of personal loyalty through gift giving and ceremonialism. Anthropologists and historians have developed a diverse and often confusing range of conceptual frameworks aimed at differentiating these uniquely Southeast Asian political forms from those of “ordinary” centralized polities. In addition,



anthropologists have often found cultural evolutionary models difficult to apply to societies in which even the most developed “states” are tenuously bound together through the kinds of perpetually shifting alliance units normally associated with tribal societies and chiefdoms. Here I examine the ways in which historically known Philippine polities do and do not fit into these conceptual frameworks for Southeast Asian political structure and general cultural evolutionary models of political development.

### ***Models of Southeast Asian Political Structure***

Edmund Leach, emphasizing the relatively weak and ephemeral authority of Shan rulers over their subjects, the lack of a permanent territorial power base, and the highly personal nature of power relations, describes the historic states of Burma as “charismatic kingships” (1965:56–59). Clifford Geertz, who saw cosmological ideals of political order and court ceremonialism as the ultimate creator and maintainer of political structure in historic Bali and Java, refers to these polities as “theater states” (1973:331–338; 1980a:11–25). According to Geertz, participation in court pageantry and displays of prestige by local elites bound them to the Balinese and Javanese rulers at the polity center, but this grandiose ceremonialism masked the institutional reality of a fragile and tenuous pyramid of political dominance and subordination. Emphasizing both ecological factors that create centrifugal tendencies toward political fragmentation and indigenous cosmological notions that promote political and cultural integration, Tambiah proposed the term “galactic polity” to describe the perpetual cycles of coalescence and disintegration that characterize the traditional Thai state as well as other Southeast Asian polities (1976:69). Borrowing from Aidan Southall’s (1956, 1988, 1991) African-based concept of “segmentary polities” and Richard Fox’s (1977) later elaboration of this concept as a comparative form of political organization, Thomas Kiefer and Robert Winzeler have suggested the utility of a “segmentary state” model in describing the historic Sulu sultanate of the southern Philippines (Kiefer 1972b) and island Southeast Asian polities in general (Winzeler 1981:462). Similar to many Iron Age and historic sub-Saharan African kingdoms, the general availability of land and relative underpopulation of much of the region meant that the acquisition of loyal subjects and their labor through personalized reciprocity or seizure in warfare was a major preoccupation of rulers who lacked the permanent power base of land and immovable wealth. The consequence in parts of Africa and much of Southeast Asia was the formation of political pyramids that were highly unstable, particularly as one moved from core centers to more distant local centers of power. Geertz uses the analogy of an intricately constructed “house of cards” that becomes more weakly integrated and inevitably collapsible as it spreads horizontally over the landscape and vertically across generations (1980a:16).

The segmentary polity model has been applied to a number of societies of varying complexity outside of Southeast Asia that are similarly characterized by weakly centralized political integration, situationally shifting allegiance to political leaders, and so forth (J. Fox 1989; R. Fox 1971, 1977; Southall 1991). As summarized by Richard Fox:

This form of state society . . . is a decentralized one in which the monopoly of wealth and power by a central figure—king, chief, or priest—is limited. Subsidiary areas and regents—kinsmen of the ruler, royal appointees with local power bases, or autonomous self-made magnates—wield power and control regions in their own right and on their own terms. Such local authorities duplicate the power of the central ruler on a reduced scale and often owe only nominal obedience to his wishes. . . . These states are segmentary in that they widely disperse power over various units and subunits: central rulers and subordinate rulers, capitals and provinces.

(1977: 41–42)

As noted by Fox, the term “segmentary” also embodies the importance of kinship groups or “pseudo-familial” groups in the constitution of these shifting political alliance factions (1977:42). While in African and Indian polities these impermanent leader-focused factions have at their core unilineal descent groups (Fox 1977:43–45), in Southeast Asia alliance networks comprise a more diffuse range of individuals linked through bilaterally reckoned descent and fictive kinship ties. Although access to positions of political authority and status ideally derive from hereditary ascription, as in more centralized political structures, “this ideal is often abrogated by the harsh reality of the political process and the competition for power endemic in such weakly centralized states” (Fox 1977:42). Geertz’ concept of Bali and the Hinduized polities of Java as theater-states (1967, 1980b) and Tambiah’s description of Thai states as galactic polities (1976) emphasize the overarching importance of ideology, ritual, and state pageantry at the polity center in reinforcing and maintaining political power in these societies that lack the politically cohering institutions of centralized states. An ideology of divine rule stabilizes the cosmological image of a centralized state even though ruling personnel and political configurations undergo frequent transformations through revolt and usurpation.

### ***Ecological, Demographic, and Cultural Factors in the Political Organization of Southeast Asian Polities***

Several factors may have been significant in creating the highly fragmented political landscape, the relatively weak integration between verti-

cally allied leaders, and the highly personalized nature of political power relations characteristic of Southeast Asian polities. A number of historians and archaeologists have pointed to the fragmented geography and diverse environments of Southeast Asia as promoting diffuse centers of political power and frustrating attempts at large-scale political integration (B. Andaya 1992:405; K. Hall 1985; Reid 1993a:3). While mainland Southeast Asia and some of the larger islands of insular Southeast Asia had extensive river basins and lowland alluvial plains, these river plains were often separated by rugged mountain chains or stretches of nearly impenetrable tropical forest. Although many coastal peoples were favored by sheltered harbors that promoted maritime interactions, other lowland populations were isolated by coastal swamp forests that prevented seagoing vessels from penetrating the coast. The inhabitants of insular Southeast Asia, comprising dozens of island archipelagos and thousands of additional isolated islands, depended on wind, currents, and weather patterns to determine the direction and intensity of cultural interaction. As noted by Barbara Andaya, the result of these isolating factors was an astonishing cultural and linguistic diversity, in which numerous distinct styles of dress, customs, and language developed within close proximity (1992:405). In the Philippines in particular, it is estimated that more than two hundred languages were spoken at the time of European contact (with eighty languages remaining today). Linguistic and cultural differences in these Philippine societies were marked by astonishing regional variation in textiles, basketry, ornamentation, and other distinct material markers (Casals et al. 1982; Lebar 1977). This linguistic and material diversity is not surprising, given the complex cultural amalgam recorded in the sixteenth century, comprising Islamic sultanates, hundreds of chiefdoms of varying scale and complexity, and small-scale upland tribal societies and hunter-gatherer populations spread over eleven major islands and thousands of smaller ones together only slightly larger than the land mass of the British Isles.

Related to the unique ecology and geography of Southeast Asia were factors of demography, which had their own effects on the structure of political relations. Until almost the European colonial period, most of Southeast Asia (with the possible exception of Bali, Java, and parts of Vietnam) had exceedingly low population densities relative to land and resources (Reid 1988:11–18; 1992:460–463). Anthony Reid's (1988) compilation of population estimates for Southeast Asian islands and countries in A.D. 1600 is presented in Table 3.1. The density (persons/km<sup>2</sup>) estimates for most areas of Southeast Asia as well as the overall average of 5.5 persons per square kilometer for the region are less than a fifth of that of India and China and roughly half that of Europe (Reid 1988:15). The highest proportion of the population in Southeast Asia was concentrated in large coastal trading cities of the western archipelago and in limited areas of intensive wet-rice farming, such as the Red River delta of Vietnam, central and eastern Java,

**Table 3.1. Estimated Population Numbers and Population Densities for Southeast Asia and Comparative Regions in Approximately A.D. 1600**

	Estimated Population	Density (persons/km <sup>2</sup> )
Southeast Asia <sup>1</sup>	23,000,000	5.7
Burma	3,100,000	4.6
Laos (including northeast Thailand)	1,200,000	2.9
Siam (minus northeast)	1,800,000	5.3
Cambodia-Champa	1,230,000	4.5
Vietnam (north and central)	4,700,000	18.0
Malaya (including Patani)	500,000	3.4
Sumatra	2,400,000	5.7
Java	4,000,000	30.3
Borneo	670,000	0.9
Sulawesi	1,200,000	6.3
Bali	600,000	79.7
Lesser Sunda Islands	600,000	9.1
Maluku	275,000	3.7
Northern Philippines (Luzon and Visayas)	800,000	4.0
Southern Philippines (Mindanao and Sulu)	150,000	1.5
China <sup>2</sup>	150,000,000	37.5
India <sup>2</sup>	135,000,000	32.0
Japan <sup>2</sup>	22,000,000	59.5
Polynesia <sup>3</sup>	453,700	17.8
Europe <sup>2</sup>	100,000,000	10.4

1. Population estimates for Southeast Asia taken from Reid 1988:14. See Reid for details of original historical sources and how estimates were calculated.

2. Population estimates for China, India, Japan, and Europe were obtained from McEvedy and Jones (1978). China includes China proper, but not Inner Mongolia, Manchuria, and Chinese Turkestan. India includes Pakistan and Bangladesh. If population densities for Japan are corrected for inhabitable arable land only, the figure is 366.7 people/km<sup>2</sup>. Europe includes all of continental Europe, Scandinavia, and the British Isles.

3. Population estimates for Polynesia were obtained from Kirch 1984:19. West Polynesia, East Polynesia and the Polynesian Outliers were combined to obtain an overall density for the region. New Zealand was removed from the estimate because of its environmental differences and unique demographic characteristics in comparison to other Polynesian islands.

Bali, and South Sulawesi. The eastern archipelagos of island Southeast Asia, including Maluku (the Moluccas), the Philippines, and Borneo were the least densely populated parts of Southeast Asia, with Mindanao and Sulu supporting lower population densities than Luzon and the Visayas. Given the relative bounty of land and marine resources, studies of health and nutrition showing adequate diets at the period of contact, and the apparent lack of any cultural prescriptions for delayed marriage or child-bearing, the low population densities in Southeast Asia before the nineteenth century have been relatively puzzling to historians and demographers (Owen 1987). However, Reid suggests a number of factors that might have contributed to these relatively low population levels, including extended breast-feeding of children, high agricultural work loads of mothers and subsequent depression of fertility, the widespread practice of abortion, the ubiquity of fertility-reducing diseases such as malaria, and the high rate of warfare (1992:461). While warfare in Southeast Asia did not usually take a large death toll, it was costly for already low-density areas that were decimated by enforced migration or enslavement of their productive work force (Reid 1992:461–462; see extended discussion of the demographics of warfare in Chapter 12).

Relatively low population levels combined with an economic emphasis on swidden cropping rather than intensive permanent agriculture, an abundance of unoccupied fertile land, and a seemingly inexhaustible supply of wood and bamboo for easily rebuilding even large settlements meant that many island Southeast Asian populations were inherently mobile and not particularly concerned with control of land as a political and economic commodity (K. Hall 1992:187; Reid 1983a:157; Winzeler 1981:462). An obvious conclusion is that shortages of labor relative to land engendered a political system in which a ruler's power base was measured in terms of the size of the labor force bound to him through extensive alliance networks, rather than in terms of fixed geographic territories. Thus, competition between political leaders (and between rulers and would-be rulers) focused on commanding labor rather than commandeering land, which may explain the enormously strong emphasis in Southeast Asian complex societies on alliance-building activities such as giving gifts of prestige goods, the creation of extensive marriage ties, ritualized feasting, and religious pageantry aimed at social cohesion (see Chapters 10 and 11). Even political expansion through militarism appears to have been oriented primarily toward the capture of slave labor to augment local productive capacities, rather than toward the seizure of land and territory (Andaya and Andaya 1982:61; Reid 1983b:27–33, 1992:461; see Chapter 12).

Certain cultural features that were related to environments, demography, and traditional economic modes also tended to constrain intergenerational continuity in political leadership and to promote political fissioning

in Southeast Asian complex societies. One of these was the widespread emphasis in Southeast Asian societies on bilateral descent rules in inheritance and cognatic descent (D. Brown 1976; Eggan 1967). Richard Fox (1971, 1977) has emphasized the significance of corporate unilineal descent groups and particularly stratified lineages or "conical clans" in the development and maintenance of strongly centralized state structures in India as well as China, Mesopotamia, and prehispanic Mexico and Peru. Societies adhering to strong unilineal principles of descent can control the smooth flow of political authority from one generation to another with minimal disruption, and corporate descent groups can form the basis for state bureaucratic units ensuring the steady flow of resources from periphery to center. In most ethnographically or historically known complex societies of Southeast Asia, kinship is generally reckoned bilaterally, corporate descent groups are lacking, postmarital residence is bilocal or neolocal, and rank and wealth are inherited along both the maternal and paternal lines (K. Hall 1985:110–111; Kirsch 1976; Reid 1988:147; Winzeler 1976:628). Even though imported Indian or Muslim law codes in some polities identified the eldest son as the legitimate heir, succession disputes were almost inevitable between the eldest son and younger sons as well as both maternal and paternal uncles (B. Andaya 1992:419). In addition, in many Southeast Asian complex societies, polygamy was the cultural norm, at least among the rulers and other nobility (B. Andaya 1992:409, 419; L. Andaya 1993a: 37; Geertz 1980a:35; Reid 1988:152), producing multiple heirs and further exacerbating the conflict over succession.<sup>2</sup>

Adding to the chaos of kingly and chiefly succession in some regions of Southeast Asia was a pronounced mythology of folk heroism in which ordinary individuals rise up and rebel against a tyrannical leader and usurp political power (B. Andaya 1992:421; Taylor 1992:178). Kingship in Southeast Asia depended strongly on the association with the inherited spiritual power of royal ancestors, which automatically set them above their followers, "reinforced by ideas and vocabulary of imported religions" (Andaya and Ishii 1992:546). However, the perception of ritual potency in rulers was vulnerable to any decline in general prosperity within a ruler's political sphere (B. Andaya 1992:420). Southeast Asian ideologies often left the door open for ordinary individuals, through revelation or the acquisition of sacred objects, to acquire spiritual power that could often lead to a kind of popular messianic rebellion (Andaya and Ishii 1992:551). While the construction of a strong military was critical to protecting a ruler's economic activities (particularly for controlling trade and launching plunder-aimed raiding expeditions), members of the warrior-elite often were able to garner significant wealth and establish independent power bases through their close association with elite patrons (K. Hall 1992:260) and ultimately to threaten the latter's hegemony (Reid 1988:167).

**'Chieftoms' and 'States': The Applicability of General Evolutionary Models of Political Organization in Southeast Asia**

Thus far in the discussion of political structure in traditional Southeast Asian polities, I have avoided the issue of evolutionary frameworks for classifying the wide range of societies falling under the general term "complex societies" and for examining processes of sociopolitical development. The preceding discussion suggests that socially stratified, politically centralized societies of varying scale and complexity in many regions of both mainland and island Southeast Asia share structural features that set them apart from complex societies elsewhere in the world (i.e., a segmentary rather than highly centralized structure, political authority based on personal alliance rather than territorial control). However, it may be these very features that make it difficult to fit Southeast Asian complex societies into general evolutionary models of sociopolitical organization and political economy developed by anthropologists, such as Elman Service's (1962, 1975) "band," "tribe," "chiefdom," and "state" and Morton Fried's (1967) "egalitarian," "ranked," "stratified," and "state-level" societies (see discussion in Winzeler 1981:455–459). The terms "chiefdom," "state," "kingdom," "civilization," and "empire" have been used variously by historians and anthropologists in referring to the same polities (e.g., Sulu as an Islamic state in Kiefer 1972a, 1972b and as a complex chiefdom in Junker 1990b, 1994b; Majapahit as a maritime-trading state in K. Hall 1985:227–234 and as an expansive empire in D. Hall 1968:63–89). Owing to the dominance of historians in the study of Southeast Asian complex societies and the general emphasis by archaeologists on issues of culture history rather than culture process, the term "chiefdom" and its evolutionary implications have rarely been considered in talking about pre-state complex political formations in Southeast Asia (but see Higham 1989:154, 190, 234; Hutterer 1977a; Junker 1990b; Wheatley 1983). As emphasized by Wheatley (1975:230) and Winzeler (1981:458–459), analyses of political structure based on historical sources are often marred by a failure to consider the cultural biases of European historical texts referring to "chieftains" and "kings," and ethnographic studies such as that of Edmund Leach (1965) often fail to analyze sufficiently changes wrought by colonial conquest. These terms are not irrelevant or conceptually neutral, but reflect widely divergent perceptions of the scale of a polity, its political complexity, and its power relations relative to other political entities in a region.

These problems of definition in describing traditional political structures in Southeast Asia become clearer if we examine the now-popular anthropological concept of "chiefdoms" as a structurally distinct precursor to state-level societies. While a number of features of political organization have been cited as characteristic of chiefdoms, at the core of most definitions are

two key elements of political structure: (1) a supravillage or regional scale of political integration and (2) a centralized decision-making hierarchy encompassing multiple but coordinated levels of political authority (Carneiro 1981; Earle 1987a, 1997; Flannery 1972, 1995; Fried 1967; Johnson and Earle 1987). As emphasized by Carneiro (1981), chiefdoms always encompass multiple villages or local communities, politically integrating these smaller units under the control of a single centralized authority, with this larger scale of integration generally reflected in greater population concentrations and territorial sizes than in more simply organized societies. The structure of political decision making is centrifugal and hierarchical, with chiefs functioning as central administrators or “information processors” in internal interactions between lower-level component units, controlling and coordinating vertical information flows from different segments of a hierarchically organized system (Earle 1978, 1991; Flannery 1972, 1995; Peebles and Kus 1977). The complexity of this decision-making hierarchy is viewed as a function of the polity scale (i.e., its demographic “size” and spatial distribution), with expansion in the hierarchy of decision makers occurring when information inputs at any one node exceed the manager’s capacity for information processing and political action (Flannery 1972; G. Johnson 1978; Peebles and Kus 1977; H. Wright 1977).

The number of levels in the political decision-making hierarchy have been used to distinguish between “simple” or “minimal” chiefdoms (with one level above the individual village or community leader), “complex” or “maximal” chiefdoms (with two levels above the individual village or community leader, including a “paramount” chief and a series of lower-level “district chiefs”), and state-level societies (with at least three levels above the individual village or community leader) (Carneiro 1981; G. Johnson 1978; Steponaitis 1978; Wright 1977). Unlike state-level societies in which administrative personnel are highly specialized and functionally differentiated, chiefdoms are characterized by highly generalized and functionally undifferentiated leadership roles, in which chiefly administrators occupying different levels in the political hierarchy (i.e., “paramount” and “district” chiefs) have similar obligations and duties, although operating at different scales of integration (Earle 1978, 1987a, 1997; Wright 1977). In addition, chiefly political authority lacks the full detachment from kinship bonds and the independent physical power base (a specialized police force, standing army, and codified law) that are the underpinnings of true coercive political power for state-level political leaders (Fried 1967; Haas 1982; Service 1975). Instead, chiefly political authority relies heavily on ideological manipulation for continued political legitimacy (Cohen 1969; Earle 1978). Both these factors contribute to a regional organization that is typically highly unstable, characterized by relatively rapidly shifting regional political configurations and intense competition between leaders at various levels in the political hierarchy (Earle 1987a, 1997). Chiefly leadership in



political decision making also generally engenders a broad base of authority in the realms of religion and ritual, external warfare, adjudication of internal conflict, labor mobilization for communal production and “public” works, internal exchange interactions, and external trade (Creamer and Haas 1985; Feinman and Neitzel 1984; Friedman and Rowlands 1977; Peebles and Kus 1977).

In this chapter, certain general aspects of political organization in contact period Philippine complex societies are shown to fall within the range of chiefly polities—they are clearly polities that are regional in scale and characterized by a multilevel political hierarchy, and they are centrally administered by chiefly authorities with pivotal roles not only in political decision making, but also in the realms of religion, warfare, production, and exchange. In later chapters, chiefly tribute mobilization systems, craft production, prestige good exchange, ritual feasting, and interpolity warfare in the prehispanic Philippines are shown to parallel aspects of chiefly political economies in Polynesia and elsewhere in the world. Philippine polities generally lack the scale, hierarchical complexity, specialized political bureaucracies, and institutionalized jural systems and economic mobilization systems characteristic of Southeast Asian kingdoms and “states” elsewhere in the world. Even in the contact period Islamic sultanates (Sulu, Magindanao, Manila), there is no evidence for more than three-level political hierarchies, and their structure is more consistent with a “complex chiefdom” or “paramount chiefdom” than a state-level society.

A number of recent critiques of cultural evolutionary models have emphasized the organizational diversity and historical uniqueness that is ignored when anthropologists attempt to fit societies neatly into these broadly defined classifications and assume uniform trajectories of development (Spencer 1987). Some scholars have suggested that anthropologists need to uncouple transformations in social, political, economic, and ideological structures in examining cultural change (e.g., Feinman and Neitzel 1984), others have favored a move toward more “actor-based” approaches rather than systemic evolutionary processes (e.g., Brumfiel and Fox 1994; Spencer 1993), while still others have rejected broadly comparative evolutionary models altogether (e.g., Yoffee 1993). I favor the broadly comparative perspective allowed by cultural evolutionary approaches, but I also emphasize the cultural and historical uniqueness of prehispanic Philippine complex societies. I attempt to examine their organizational dynamics not as a unitary process, but through a detailed dissection of changing social, political, economic, and ideological dimensions and their interaction (see Earle 1997 for a discussion of this approach). Among these interactions, it is the individual alliance-building strategies of chiefs that most directly affects growth in specific polities and even long-term trajectories of change.

Thus, while the “chiefdom” concept allows me to place Philippine complex societies in a comparative framework, I emphasize what is distinctive

in the structure of these polities, their evolutionary trajectories, and their processes of change. Historical descriptions and ethnographic data indicate that Philippine complex societies are characterized by uniquely Southeast Asian structural features shared by many historically known island Southeast Asia chiefdoms and states. These include the construction of political units out of fluctuating alliance networks rather than primarily descent-based kin groups and the lack of a strong territorial focus underlying politically functioning units. In addition, Philippine chiefdoms, like many complex Southeast Asian societies, have a “segmentary” political structure and relatively weak vertical political integration, in which political leaders at various levels in the political hierarchy operate with a great deal of independence. These organizational features result in political entities that are likely to be even less stable over time than the typical chiefdom.

### **The Sulu Polity and Models of Prehispanic Philippine Political Structure**

The fourteenth-to-nineteenth-century Sulu polity is a good starting point for beginning to examine aspects of prehispanic and contact period political structure in Philippine complex societies. Although one of several Islamic sultanates in the southern Philippines, Sulu almost certainly has a pre-Islamic history of development and shares certain core elements of political structure with non-Islamic polities of the Philippines. According to Kiefer (1972a, 1972b), the Sulu political system was “segmentary” in that it lacked a territorially fixed corporate group under the absolute tutelage of a political leader with true coercive power over his subjects. Instead, it was characterized by a system of fluctuating alliances in which chiefly authority was only vested in the chief’s ability to forge and maintain strong horizontal and vertical ties of loyalty and in which alliance membership was the only effective means of political action. There were no functional differences between alliance segments, with each representing a temporary means for advancing political aims or economic objectives held in common at a particular time. Thus, an alliance group might be united at one level for specific purposes and then opposed at another level of the political hierarchy and at another time. Although political leadership followed a hierarchy of rank with explicit symbols from village headmen to more powerful multi-village district chieftains, to even more powerful chieftains with regional control, to the sultan himself (with these hierarchical status relations embedded in the Tausug system of ranked titles), the state was weakly centralized in that its leadership did not constitute an institutionalized chain of command from center to periphery. Political allegiance within the Sulu polity was given only to the leader immediately above an individual with whom he had personal ties of reciprocity and loyalty. The ability of the regional *datu* (chief) centered at the sultan’s court to command obedi-

sance at the local level depended on a series of tenuous intermediate links, without stable recognition at any one level of a leader's right to enforce decisions by physical coercion or ritual sanction (Kiefer 1972a, 1972b).

The primary difference between Sulu state structure and that of the segmentary African states, according to Kiefer, is that alliance units are formed out of perpetually shifting leader-focused factions whose members are recruited by a variety of both kinship and nonkinship principles, rather than the unilineal descent groups with relatively fixed size and composition that are at the core of African alliance units (1972a:42). The minimal degree of centralization and political integration necessary for the existence of a larger "state" structure was achieved in the symbolic political unity afforded by state-sponsored ritual and ideology: the sultan, by virtue of his position as the earthly representative of Islamic divinity, provided the symbolic sanctions of authority necessary for the ideological perpetuation of the state. Except for the exceptional religion-imbued power of the sultan, Kiefer views political leadership roles at all levels of the Sulu political hierarchy as functionally equivalent:

Any attempt to understand fully the nature of the Tausug polity must take into account one paramount fact: there was no authority available to the sultan as head of the state which was not simultaneously available to each of the regional and community headmen. The higher and lower levels of the political system were not distinguished by functional specialization in the performance of political roles: the difference between them was a matter of quantity of authority and its extent rather than differences in quality. The regional or community headman may be viewed as a petty sultan in his own domain, while the sultan could be described as a large and extremely powerful headman. However, the sultan did possess ritual and religious functions by virtue of his office as head of a self-consciously defined Islamic state, and many of these ritual functions were unique to the sultan. Yet his role did not give him any specific political functions which were simultaneously denied to any of the subsidiary officials. . . . His ritual role was a source of prestige which was of enormous value in the practical problems of everyday politics. But the sultan had no formal authority which did not have analogues on the local level.

(1972a:42-43)

The Sulu social world was divided into three distinctly ranked social categories, glossed as "aristocrats," "commoners," and "slaves". The highest-ranking class consisted of the politically and ritually empowered members of society—the sultan and his relatives, court staff, secondary officials or "chiefs" (*datus*) and other titled headmen controlling smaller segments

of the regional population, and religious functionaries (Islamic spiritual leaders given the title “*salip*”). At the apex of both the social and political systems was the immutably ascribed position of sultan. The sultan was viewed as the highly charismatic center of a cosmological order in which the simultaneous political and religious sovereignty of the leader was the proper earthly metaphor for divine power and human obeisance. As titular head of what was explicitly defined as an Islamic polity, the sultan controlled the charismatic power accorded one who was seen as a direct patrilineal descendant of Mohammed and a direct intermediary between God and man. Court ritual and religious celebrations, centered at the sultan’s palace and mosque at the polity’s capital (the major trading entrepôt of Jolo), reinforced the political sovereignty of the sultan by emphasizing the religious legitimacy of his rule. The introduction of Islam around the fourteenth century, the later (possibly fifteenth- to sixteenth-century) influence from the contemporaneous Islamic polities in Malaya, Sumatra, Makassar, and Borneo (possibly bringing in Sufi elements previously absent) (Majul 1965; Kiefer 1972a), and the increasing elaboration of Islamic ritual and doctrine in the nineteenth century inferred by Kiefer (1972a:21) all are likely to have contributed to a progressive sacralization of political sovereignty.

Surrounding the sultan were a corpus of appointed officials, whose eligibility for inclusion in the sultan’s administrative staff was ascribed (in the sense that only members of the aristocratic class were generally selected) and sometimes patrilineally inherited. These individuals who accompanied the sultan at court and advised on state matters were provided with impressive titles (e.g., “secretary of commerce,” “secretary of war,” “secretary of foreign affairs”) that suggested the kind of bureaucratic specialization more characteristic of states than of chiefdoms. However, Kiefer emphasizes that most of these court officials were simply elevated *datus* who had their own substantial local bases of power and that functional differentiation of authority in the sultan’s court was more a symbolic gesture aimed at closer alliance with strategically important local leaders than a structural reality (1972a:37–38). These titled aristocrats associated with the sultan’s court along with other influential regional chieftains residing near the capital at Jolo served as a loosely organized advisory council for the sultan and benefited from trade revenues, the spoils of piracy and slave raiding, tribute or gifts from local headmen, and other substantial sources of material support flowing into the state center.

Political organization outside the sultan’s court and outside the Sulu state center at Jolo revolved around the power and authority of local political leaders whose power base consisted of temporally fluctuating alliance networks rather than geographic territories. These local leaders were ranked loosely in a hierarchical pyramid according to the size and strength of these alliance networks, but they performed identical roles, regardless of constituency size, in adjudication, control of markets and commerce, collection

of tribute, control over land tenure, sponsorship of religious rites, and mobilization of participants for warfare. Political leaders, although nominally different in the means by which they obtained political power, occupied two types of positions that were functionally indistinct: (1) ascribed positions of chieftainship marked by the title of "*datu*," for which only members of the aristocratic class were eligible, that involved (at least in theory) formal appointment by the sultan, and that could be (but was not always) inheritable along patrilineal lines from father to son; and (2) achieved positions of headmanship that could be obtained by either "aristocrats" or "commoners" by building a large following through a combination of adjudicational competence, ritual expertise, successful accumulation of wealth in the form of slaves or material goods, military prowess, and particularly adept strategies of alliance manipulation. The latter often eventually received formal legitimation in titles granted by the sultan.

Kiefer argues that, except for the additional prestige accorded to leaders who could demonstrate descent from the sultan's kindred, there were no significant differences in the political roles of true *datu*s and headmen as well as no inherent restrictions on the latter's ability to expand their sphere of authority (1972a:29). Regardless of whether an individual had a prior institutionalized mandate to rule, he could only actuate that mandate through de facto power obtained and sustained through his own efforts. The restriction of the *datu* positions of political leadership to the Tausug aristocracy, and ideally to individuals who were linked (at least distantly) through bilateral descent to the sultan, aided in maintaining some degree of political coherence in a highly decentralized system. However, the simultaneous lending of legitimacy to achieved political power provided the basis for integrating non-Tausug ethnic groups into the symbolic sphere of the sultanate (Kiefer 1972a:32) and for incorporating possibly politically disruptive local power configurations.

Positions of political leadership, whether primarily ascribed or achieved, were never linked to territorial units except in an incidental sense, but rather involved power over people established through the construction and maintenance of alliance networks. These alliance networks fluctuated in size and composition over time according to the chieftain's or headman's ability to pull individuals and groups into his sphere of influence. Thus, while chieftainship was perpetual in the sense that membership in the aristocratic class and eligibility for the title of *datu* was transferred through bilateral inheritance from one generation to the next, the number of persons possessing the title was not limited and their spheres of authority were not fixed. It was incumbent on the individual to create his own power base and political domain through deft manipulation of alliance relations. A population of a region, therefore, may have included several individuals of the aristocratic class with the conferred title of *datu* as well as several non-aristocratic individuals who were notable for their material wealth and abilities in warfare, legal matters, ritual, and/or trade, all of whom were

likely to be competitors in the alliance-building game. At the core of a leader's alliance network was his bilaterally structured kinship group or kindred, an ego-centered variably configured group of both patrilineally and matrilineally related kin rather than a fixed corporate descent group. The kindred was linked through a series of dyadic relationships implying strong obligations of mutual aid in warfare, economic assistance (e.g., provision of food and shelter, loans to meet personal debt), and joint participation in social and ritual activities (e.g., provision of service or material assistance at marriage and death events, contribution of gifts at a sponsored religious "feast").

Dyadic ties, according to Kiefer (1968, 1972b), are of two primary types: (1) horizontal ties between individuals of similar social rank (e.g., two local headmen or two nonelite males) in which reciprocity in both material and nonmaterial support is generally balanced over time, and (2) vertical ties between individuals of unequal social rank (e.g., a local headman and his followers, a regional *datu* and a local headmen, or the sultan and his aristocratic court advisors), in which reciprocity generally involves an unbalanced movement of goods and services between the superordinate and subordinate individuals. In the latter case, agricultural tribute, "taxes" on commercial activities and military support flowed upwards from the chieftain's followers in exchange for chiefly services rendered in the form of military protection, adjudication and mediation of legal matters, sponsorship of raiding and trading activities, capital investment in commercial ventures, and general economic support through redistribution of surplus resources (see discussion below). The "minimal alliance group" (i.e., a group of about twenty-five men from the same or nearby communities linked to each other and to a common leader through these horizontal and vertical dyadic ties of kinship and ritual "friendship") was ramified into a pyramiding series of what Kiefer (1968, 1972a, 1972b) terms "medial" and "maximal" alliances through the establishment of the same kinds of dyadic ties at the suprcommunity, supradistrict, and supraregional levels. These alliances allowed the Tausug to assemble large armed forces (numbering in the thousands) for military campaigns, raiding expeditions, or as factions in other large-scale political actions.

Since relations between "leaders" and "followers" at the highest level of the Sulu polity (i.e., the sultan and his "subordinates," the regional-level *datus*) and the lowest level of the political hierarchy (i.e., a local *datu* or "headman" and his small core of followers) can be viewed as structurally equivalent, the "rights" and "duties" associated with this relationship should operate similarly at all levels of the political hierarchy. As pointed out by Kiefer, chiefly roles in adjudication, collection of tribute, control of commerce, and warfare at the local level provide the template for expanded but not functionally differentiated leadership roles at more inclusive levels in the political system (1972a:43, 53). Individual chiefs and their alliance

factions could carry out external raids for property or slaves, launch extra-archipelago trade voyages<sup>3</sup>, control trade along a strategic river or sea corridor, mobilize tribute or conscript labor, and engage in myriad wealth-producing activities without the permission of the sultan or higher order *datu*s. Thus, local or district chiefs functioned quasi-independently in economic activities associated with financing their political activities and expanding their political power. This independence resulted in a relatively unstable system in which competition between local chiefs was intensive and ideological sanctions (in this case, Islamic) were a vital integrating mechanism.

### **Chiefly Authority and Segmentary Alliance in Philippine Lowland Societies**

Historical sources indicate that the Sulu polity may have been unusual in the prehispanic Philippines in its scale and degree of supraregional integration under a paramount ruler. However, historical and ethnographic evidence suggest that the segmentary structure of this polity, its persisting kinship-based ideology of reciprocity between vertically allied political leaders and followers, and the generally diffuse and decentralized distribution of political authority are elements shared with smaller-scale complex societies of the Philippine lowlands.

#### ***Political Hierarchies in Philippine Polities***

After their conquests in Mesoamerica and South America, where vast empires could be secured by the strategic kidnap of godlike kings, the sixteenth-century Spaniards were unprepared for the difficulties of securing widely scattered islands controlled by a dizzying array of continually battling chiefs who seemed to have no permanent political hierarchies and spoke mutually unintelligible languages. This diffusion of political power to multiple competing chiefs with power bases that were not clearly defined is emphasized in a number of early Spanish accounts (e.g., Alcina 1668a: 61; Boxer manuscript 1590b:225; Colin 1660a:82; Loarca 1582a:175–177; Morga 1609b:296). In general accounts of contact period political structure as well as in historical descriptions of specific chiefly polities, reference is rarely made to discrete territorial boundaries under a chieftain's control. Instead, the chroniclers refer to ethnic groups or population units associated with a particular political leader, consistent with the emphasis on control over labor rather than land evidenced in the Sulu polity. Estimates of the size of population units under the control of various chiefs mentioned in Spanish and Chinese texts range from fewer than thirty house-

holds, or about 100 to 150 individuals (Plasencia 1589d:108), to several hundred individuals (Relation of the Conquest of the Island of Luzon 1572:154–155), to chiefly domains numbering well into the thousands (Chao Ju-kua, A.D. 1225, in Scott 1984:68–70; Seuilla 1566:227; Ribeira 1576:283). Population estimates for the central villages controlled by the paramount chiefs at Manila, Cebu, Mindoro, Butuan, and other areas of the Mindanao coast in the sixteenth century and at Mindoro earlier in the second millennium, all exceeded one thousand inhabitants (Relation of the Conquest of the Island of Luzon 1572:149, 158, 170; Loarca 1582a:32–187; also see Scott 1984), and at least approach the scale of the Sulu capital at Jolo in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries A.D. The accuracy of these Spanish estimates of polity scale assume that the sixteenth-to-seventeenth-century Spanish-imposed *encomienda* system did not immediately involve a large-scale geographic restructuring of indigenous political units, but rather assigned fixed territories to contact period political configurations defined through personal alliance. It is significant that Loarca's sixteenth-century population distribution figures include units of widely varying geographic size and enormous differences in population, suggesting the existence of prehispanic polities of heterogeneous scale and/or Spanish confusion of regional-level and district-level political units.

That there was some degree of hierarchical ranking of political authority and that some of the smaller-scale political entities recorded by the Spaniards may actually have been lower-level units integrated into a larger political system is suggested by the Spanish references to “principal” chieftains (*los principales*) or paramount *datus* in contrast to simple headmen or village chiefs (Loarca 1582a:175–177; Legaspi 1565a:204, 212). These *datus* were recognized by the Spanish as enjoying considerably greater prestige and material accoutrements of chieftainship as well as wielding significantly greater authority at the regional level (Loarca 1582a:175–177; Relation of the Voyage to Luzon 1570:92–98; Morga 1609b:296). Morga makes explicit reference to a two-tiered political hierarchy with supralocal chiefs, implying that such positions of regional hegemony could be obtained through successful competition in warfare, with local chieftains retaining somewhat independent spheres of political authority: “When any of these chiefs was more courageous than others in war and upon other occasions, such one enjoyed more followers and men; and the others were under his leadership, even if they were chiefs. These latter retained to themselves the lordship and particular government of their own following, which is called *barangay* among them” (1609b:296).

The existence of a paramount chief with at least nominal authority over a number of lesser chiefs is specifically noted for Manila, where the Spanish conquerors quickly recognized the politically pivotal position of the leader known as Rajah Suleyman (Relation of the Voyage to Luzon 1570: 92–98) and the necessity of courting his alliance (or alternatively vanquishing his



warriors) to gain political ascendancy over the Manila Bay region. Similarly, chroniclers of both the Magellan expedition (1521–1522) and the later Legaspi expedition (1565) report the presence of a regionally powerful political leader at Cebu who controlled trade into the coastal port and who functioned as the primary authority in negotiations with the Spaniards (Relation of Occurrences 1565:131–154; Pigafetta 1521a:54–65). While no specific details of political structure are presented, Spanish chroniclers refer to particularly powerful chiefs (frequently designated as “kings”) as controlling a number of Philippine polities, contrasting their superior military strength and economic resources with those of other indigenous political leaders. Some type of larger-scale regional political organization, involving a political hierarchy centered on a “paramount chief,” may have characterized lowland populations on Bohol, at Butuan, and along the northern Mindanao coast in the sixteenth century (Legaspi 1565a:208–209; Alcina 1668a:61; Loarca 1582a:65).

Pigafetta’s (1521) description of the Cebu chieftain’s “palace,” subordinate personnel, and “court etiquette” is one of the few detailed (albeit brief) accounts of the setting for chiefly political action, conjuring up the image of a scaled-down version of the Sulu sultan’s court. Pigafetta describes the relatively elaborately garbed Cebu ruler, seated above subordinate local chiefs on a cushioned dais, surrounded by numerous advisors and retainers as well as numerous material symbols of status and wealth. The ruler’s material segregation from other local political leaders as well as his claim of sole authority for direct commercial relations and political negotiation with foreign political leaders present at least a symbolic appearance of larger-scale regional political integration.

### ***Alliance Networks and the Basis for Chiefly Political Power***

However, it is clear from the contact period Spanish documentation that chiefly authority, particularly at the regional level, was frequently weak, ineffective, and ephemeral. It was clearly undermined by relatively diffuse rules of chiefly succession, by a power base centered on tenuous alliance networks rather than more stable territorial units, by the lack of institutionalized mechanisms for wielding true coercive power against subordinates, and by the perpetual threat of usurpation by competing political leaders. While the historical records suggest a strong hereditary component to leadership positions, inheritance of the chieftainship was complicated by nonunilinear descent rules and multiple spouses as in other Southeast Asian complex societies. Both Spanish accounts and early ethnographic studies indicate the preeminence of bilateral rules of descent in these lowland Philippine societies (e.g., Morga 1609b:296; Kroeber 1919:69–84). This highly flexible system of reckoning descent, coupled with the historically observed

practice of polygamy among the elite class (Plasencia 1589d:238–239; Chirino 1604b:293–295; Relation of the Conquest of the Island of Luzon 1572:166), meant that intergenerational transfers of chiefly authority are likely to have involved considerable contention between a potentially large pool of “eligible” candidates. While preferentially “these principalities and lordships were inherited in the male line and by succession of father and son” (Morga 1609b:296), brothers and collateral relatives of any one of a set of polygamous marriages were legitimate successors to the chieftainship (Morga 1609b:296, 301). That this system of bilateral descent and inheritance was a recognized factor in the undesirable dissipation of family wealth as well as the fragmentation of political power is implied in Loarca’s comment on Visayan household composition: “It is considered a disgrace among them to have many children; for they say that when the property is to be divided among all the children, they will all be poor, and that it is better to have one child and leave him wealthy” (1582a:119).

The emphasis in Spanish accounts of contact period political organization on cognatic kin groups (rather than “districts” and “territories” as the fundamental units of indigenous political structure) suggests that the building of alliance networks out of these core elements may have been a key feature of the political process, as described for the Sulu case. Thus, the dyadic vertical relations between leader and subordinate would likely be of a highly personal nature as in the Sulu political structure, with the strength and scope of political authority dependent on the ability of individual leaders to transform ascribed status into de facto political power through successful manipulation of these alliance networks. That this is the case is suggested by the observations of Loarca that “freemen” or “commoners” are not obligated to serve a specific chieftain but rather become allied to particular political leaders through the establishment of mutually beneficial economic ties (1582a:147–149). Subordinates or “clients” of a chiefly patron held a realistic expectation that service to the chief in warfare, maritime commerce, and production activities would result in a share of the profits obtained through tribute collection, raiding, and trading expeditions. Dissatisfaction with the benefits of such an alliance or harsh treatment by a chief, according to Loarca, frequently resulted in shifting alliances, with commoners (and sometimes even slaves) attaching themselves to a more benevolent patron (Loarca 1582a:149; also see Plasencia 1589a:179; Boxer manuscript 1590b:202). Thus, while “the chief attain[s] that position generally through blood” (Colin 1660b:178), long-term retention of the title of *datu* and the social status and economic rewards attached to it required individual effort in “attracting” followers and alliance-building expertise: “With these beginnings, he [the chief] takes the name of *datu*; and others, whether his relatives or not, come to him, and add credit and esteem to him, and make him a leader. Thus there is no superior who gives him authority or title, beyond his own efforts and

power” (Colin 1660b:178). This passage suggests the presence of the same type of decentralized and fragmented structure characteristic of the Sulu state, in which political allegiance obtained only between leaders and followers in direct face-to-face interaction. Personal ties of reciprocity were the only means of bringing individuals into a leader’s sphere of influence, and alliance group membership was the only effective locus of political action.

On the larger regional level, the Spanish chroniclers emphasize the lack of absolute authority and the absence of strong legal or ritual sanctions available to paramount chiefs to enforce cooperation and maintain cohesion within their constituency of local headmen. Early Spanish accounts of the sixteenth-century trade port at Cebu indicate that there was a single high chief (labeled “king” by the Spaniards) controlling the regional center with at least nominal authority over a large number of subordinate chiefs. However, acquiescence of the local chiefs to the paramount chief’s negotiated alliance with the Spaniards was not an automatic process and in fact was not entirely successful despite threatened military and ritual sanctions (Pigafetta 1521c:103–211). Similarly, Spanish demands that the regionally powerful paramount chief Suleyman at Manila punish local chiefs and allies for raids against the Spaniards as well as take other strong measures to ensure their future nonresistance to Spanish incursions evoked what the Spaniards saw as a puzzlingly weak response. Suleyman replied that, while subordinates and leaders of allied polities were subject to personal persuasion by the paramount, he was neither responsible for their actions nor capable of enforcing their submission, since he was “only the master of my own estate” (Relation of the Conquest of the Island of Luzon 1572:154–155, 235). That individual local chiefs frequently acted independently of higher level political leaders in external political and economic interactions, while at the same time explicitly recognizing the regional sovereignty of the latter, is indicated by the Spaniards’ many frustrated attempts to convert peace pacts and tributary relations established with individual local headmen into a regionwide alliance sanctioned by the paramount chief. For example, the Spaniards repeatedly failed to establish trade relations and ultimately political hegemony over a regional chief known as Limasancay in northern Mindanao in the late sixteenth century through a series of misguided negotiations with local chiefs belonging to his alliance network (see Blair and Robertson 1903–1909, 4:241–294).

The relative instability of supralocal political organization and the perpetual competition between chiefs as a destabilizing force are clearly demonstrated in the political configurations encountered by the Spaniards at the primary trade centers of Manila and Cebu in the sixteenth century. Pigafetta’s (1521) account of the Magellan expedition’s initial visit to Cebu suggests a highly volatile rivalry at that time between the paramount chief centered at the port of Cebu and a regionally powerful leader inhabiting a

sizable town on the neighboring small island of Mactan, which is likely to have focused on control over the prosperous mainland Asian trade (see Fenner 1985). The Spaniards unwittingly became military pawns in the competition between trade ports and became embroiled in a large-scale battle between the two rivals involving military forces in the thousands and resulting in the death of Magellan and numerous Spaniards. Similarly, the initial Spanish voyagers to Manila in the 1560s encountered a political configuration that pitted two (uncle and nephew) paramount chiefs at the large fortified port town at Manila against a single high-ranking chieftain controlling a fortified town named Candola on the opposite side of the river. The leaders of each political faction again attempted to manipulate their relations with the Spaniards to wage an effective military campaign against their competitors and gain regional political control (Relation of the Voyage to Luzon 1970:98–99). The ephemeral nature of these regional political configurations is aptly illustrated in the case of Cebu. The dual hegemony reported by Pigafetta in the 1520s had clearly been resolved in favor of the Cebu polity by the 1560s when the chroniclers of the Legaspi expedition made no reference to any sizable settlement on the adjacent island of Mactan (see further discussion in Chapter 4).

The Spanish documents suggest that the glue that held together the disparate political units and promoted some degree of political cohesion at the regional level was the same type of linked alliance networks that characterized the loosely integrated Sulu state. Alliances between local chiefs were established and maintained through a variety of mechanisms described in historical accounts, including an institutionalized system of reciprocal gift exchange, intermarriage between the “elite” of different alliance groups, and ritual oath taking as a symbolic expression of political solidarity. There is ethnohistorical evidence that many of these exchange interactions occurred between allied leaders in association with the life-crisis ceremonies and calendrical ritual feasts sponsored by particular chiefs, as discussed in Chapter 11. In these competitive feasting events, allied elites contributed food offerings and prestige good gifts to be used in sacrificial rites and feasting. The ability of a chief to feast his guests sumptuously and the consequent “merit” or social esteem accruing to the feast’s sponsor were directly tied to the extensiveness of his alliance networks. In addition, participation in the feasting system required a series of ongoing prestations and counterprestations between elite exchange partners that maintained and reinforced political alliances over time.

### ***The Sacredness of Chiefs and the Ideological Underpinnings of Political Power***

There is no doubt that strong state-sponsored or chieftain-sponsored religious systems function as powerful integrating forces for a society (Cohen

1969; Drennan 1976, 1991a; Miller and Tilley 1984). Occasionally, when adopted from outside, such systems serve as significant catalysts for wholesale social and political restructuring of a society. However, too much emphasis has been placed on the latter process in studies of Southeast Asian states and nonstate complex societies. Traditionally, historians have tended to view the first millennium and early second millennium A.D. evolution of complex societies in some regions of Southeast Asia in terms of an Indianization process in which concepts of kingship and political institutions were strongly tied to the introduction of Hinduism and other South Asian religious systems by merchants or Indian elites attracted to the region by lucrative trade opportunities (cf. Casparis 1961; Coedes 1968, 1972; Majumdar 1963; Van Leur 1967). More recently, scholars have begun to view the rise of complex societies in the region primarily in terms of indigenous processes of development. In this view, the adoption of foreign religious ideologies is one of a number of mechanisms whereby local elites sought to expand the universe of symbols necessary to validate and legitimate their social preeminence and political hegemony. In some cases, this use of foreign ideologies and symbols may have contributed to the development of more complex systems of social stratification and increased political centralization (B. Andaya 1975; Christie 1979; K. Hall 1977, 1985:6, 9, 47, 51–53; Wolters 1979).

This use of foreign religious ideologies and paraphernalia, as well as other elite-associated symbols, by local elites as a means of reinforcing their legitimacy of rule and thus expanding their political power is a commonly recorded pattern in chiefdoms or incipient states interacting with more complexly organized societies (Champion and Champion 1986; Flannery 1968; Helms 1979; Marcus and Flannery 1996; Renfrew 1986). As noted by Earle, this emphasis on foreign origins serves to segregate the local elite from the remainder of society as being “connected to a universal (rather than a local) order” (1987a:299). In Southeast Asian complex societies, where charismatic leadership is more important than hereditary succession, court ceremonialism incorporating exotic religions would be a particularly important strategy for expanding political power bases.

Lacking the strong military force, institutionalized “law,” and more stable political infrastructure of states, political authority in chiefdoms is frequently heavily dependent on ideological or religious sanctions for chiefly rule (Earle 1987a:298–300; Peebles and Kus 1977:429–430; Service 1975: 83–94). As noted by Service: “The paramount chiefs and the highest priests were frequently, though not always, the same person. But always the priesthood sanctified the chief, celebrated his life crisis rites, and in general supported the hierarchy by ritual and ceremonial means” (1975:93). This phenomenon is ethnohistorically well documented in the complex chiefdoms of Polynesia such as Hawai‘i, Tonga, and Tahiti (Goldman 1970:10–13, 483, 519–522; Kirch 1984:230, 259, 263; Service 1975:92) and the historic Natchez and other contact period complex societies of the eastern United

States (Service 1975:140–148; Steponaitis 1978:421–423), as well as archaeologically inferred in the case of the Olmec and other complex societies of Formative Mesoamerica (Coe 1972; Drennan 1976; Helms 1979). In all these cases, chiefs were viewed as deities themselves or as essential intermediaries between human society and the cosmos, occupying a pivotal place in a sacredly charted universe.

For the Sulu Tausug, the sultan and high-ranking *datu*s are universally envisioned as the earthly embodiment of the Prophet Mohammed and corporeal manifestations of the Islamic God. However, this Islamic ideology appears to have been grafted onto indigenous notions of the “divine king” as the spiritual core and unifying element of a community. The Sulu sultan’s extraordinary charismatic power derived largely from his religious sacredness, and this divinity was constantly on display through state-sponsored pageantry and religious ritual. Public religious ceremonies surrounding the sultanship provided a powerful ideological sanction for the maintenance of “order” in the Tausug universe (i.e., adherence to laws, recognition of authority, observance of the proscribed limitations to conflict, and so forth). This order could not be maintained readily through physical coercion or military action, given the segmentary structure of the Sulu state and the alliance-group rather than territorial focus of its political units. Vertical integration of the Sulu state, therefore, appears to have been vitally dependent on this shared ideology of kingship.

It is more difficult to assess the way in which Philippine rulers outside of Sulu reinforced their political power through religious ceremonialism and ideological symbols of sacred chieftainship. Spanish chroniclers focus only peripherally on indigenous ideologies and their relationship to political structures in their description of contact period ritual activities. However, there are some indications that sixteenth-century ritual was linked to chiefly authority and used to strengthen that authority in vertical alliance relations. The Spanish observers consistently record the presence of religious specialists who are generally of the elite class but not simultaneously political leaders (Loarca 1582b:98–99; Chirino 1604b:271–275; Colin 1660b:170–172; Boxer manuscript 1590b:193, 207; Plasencia 1589d:119–122). A number of Spanish accounts emphasize the individualistic nature of many religious rites, with altars and idols for sacrifice reported to have been present in every house (Chirino 1604a:144; Colin 1660b:168; Morga 1609b:304). However, large-scale, communitywide ritual also occurred, as evidenced in descriptions of elite-sponsored ceremonies involving ritual specialists and taking place in the chief’s house (Plasencia 1589d:185–186; Chirino 1604a:145; Colin 1660b:170; Boxer manuscript 1590b:201). In Chapter 11, exchange relations occurring in the context of these chiefly feasting events will be analyzed in terms of the transaction of social value, competitive alliance building, and the functioning of chiefly political economies. Discussion here will focus on how the sacredness and ritual potency

imbued on chiefs through their central role in community ritual might translate into political power.

In his description of sixteenth-century sacrificial rites, Loarca suggests that these ceremonies were explicitly aimed at effecting a transfer of power from the spirits to the ritual sponsor (1582b:89, 102–103). The Spaniards use the term “*anitos*” to refer to the spirits to which a sacrificial rite is aimed. *Anitos* are described as accessible intercessors between humans and an inaccessible high god and in some cases may be actual human ancestors. While theoretically any individual could sponsor such sacrificial rites, the wealth and extensive alliance network of the chief and other members of the elite allowed them to fund a larger number of sacrifices and more elaborate sacrifices in association with illness, life-crisis events, and calendrical ritual, resulting in the chief obtaining extraordinary ritual potency and power in comparison to other individuals.

That the chief was at least to some degree associated with a certain mystical aura or sacred power is suggested by both the indigenous mythological basis for chieftainship and notions of ritual pollution in elite-commoner interaction. Myths recounting the origins of the Filipinos, as retold by early Spanish writers, refer to the chiefly and commoner classes emerging from different points in a human-created landscape: hereditary chiefs were established in the very private and hidden core of an ancestral house as opposed to the public, outer areas inhabited by members of the commoner class (Colin 1660b:169; Boxer manuscript 1590b:220). The greater ritual potency of the chiefly class was reinforced through a series of formal prescriptions for physical interactions with chiefs (Loarca 1582a:181) that are reminiscent of the Polynesian notion of ritual pollution or *tapu* (Goldman 1970:519–522; Kirch 1984:37–38; Sahlins 1958:9, 20–21, 36–37). Chiefly sponsored communitywide and occasionally regionwide ritual, as for the Sulu state, is likely to have functioned as an important means of political integration at the supravillage scale. Ritual sanctions constituted a relatively powerful weapon available to chieftains to ensure the continued support of subordinate individuals and groups with which they were vertically allied.

As noted by Earle, chiefly sacred power is often spatially focused and materially embodied in a “sacred landscape” with monumental constructions (1997:155–158), such as the henge monuments and massive tumuli of Neolithic Europe (Braithwaite 1984; Renfrew 1973), the chiefly house platforms and temples of Polynesia (Kirch 1984:251–257; 1990; Oliver 1974: 177–179), and the flat-topped earthen platforms of the Mississippian chiefdoms (Peebles and Kus 1977; Steponaitis 1986:390). In the Philippines, no monumental ceremonial structures are documented by the Spaniards or recorded archaeologically (see Jocano 1975b:5–6), supporting the Spanish assertion that community ritual activity was spatially focused in chiefly residences. In other regions of complex society development in island Southeast Asia, megalithic monuments, including large freestanding stone stelae,

terraced platforms, stone-lined or stone-capped tombs, and large stone blocks carved into animal or human figurines are associated with the emergence of early chiefdoms and states, as in parts of Sumatra, Java, and Bali between the late first millennium B.C. and first millennium A.D. (Bellwood 1985:292–302; Christie 1979). An important question is why Philippine chiefs did not invest in this type of visually dramatic monumental construction that could serve as material testaments to their political authority, their ability to mobilize labor and resources, and their success in harnessing sacred power.

Kirch emphasizes that, while monumental architecture varied in specific form and ritual function in different Polynesian chiefdoms, the overarching symbolic function of these constructions was similar: they marked central places where elite political power was concentrated and they formed hierarchical distributions (in terms of size and complexity) that reflected the political hierarchy (1990:218–219). In addition to conveying a symbolic message of chiefly political power and association with the sacred, monumental works often symbol “proprietary control over the economic landscape” (Earle 1997:101; also see Trigger 1990). The preceding discussion of prehispanic population levels and political structure offers some plausible reasons for the absence of monumental construction in the prehispanic Philippines. Given a political economy focused on short-term control of labor and portable wealth, and political units that lack a permanent territorial basis, it is unlikely that Philippine chiefs would be motivated to invest in monument building as an enduring symbolic statement of sovereignty over fixed resources. In addition, the considerable value of labor under conditions of comparatively low population densities in the prehispanic Philippines would make it more economically costly for chiefs to divert labor from agricultural production and other productive pursuits to these large-scale monumental works (see a similar argument specifically for large-scale water control systems in Chapter 8). In island Southeast Asia outside the Philippine archipelago, megalithic constructions appear to be concentrated in those regions with the highest precolonial population densities where the impact of labor diversion on agricultural work forces would be considerably less. Instead of creating a monumental sacred landscape, Philippine chiefs appear to have materially conveyed the scope of their political authority and their sacred power through portable emblems (prestige goods and ritual paraphernalia) that could be concentrated and displayed at ceremonial feasts occurring in locales that were not permanently affixed through megalithic constructions.

### **Political Structure in Philippine Chiefdoms: A Summary**

Philippine lowland polities, as known from ethnographic and historic sources, share certain core structural features characteristic of insular South-



east Asian chiefdoms and states in general (D. Brown 1976; Geertz 1973, 1980a; Gullick 1958; Tambiah 1976; Wheatley 1975, 1983; Winzeler 1976, 1981). These include highly decentralized power bases and weak regional integration, with relations of political subjugation maintained primarily through personal alliance and clientage ties involving continual gift giving, ceremonialism, and prestige display. This structure contrasts with the more centralized, hierarchically integrated, and intergenerationally stable structure of complex societies categorized as “chiefdoms” and “states” elsewhere in the world and is quite distinct from the historically known complex societies of Polynesia that have long served as the classic model of chiefdoms in cultural evolutionary schemas (e.g., Earle 1987a, 1997; Johnson and Earle 1987; Sahlins 1958; Service 1975). This relatively weakly centralized structure of Philippine chiefdoms and the highly unstable nature of regional political integration in comparison to Polynesian chiefdoms appear to be related to the differing ways in which politically functioning groups are constituted. While in Polynesia the core of the local political unit comprised a well-defined descent group with a relatively fixed territorial base, in the Philippines the primary unit of collective political action appears to have been an organizationally more fluid “alliance group,” comprising individuals whose recruitment into the group involved a variety of both kinship-based and non-kinship-based relations (including principles of cognatic descent as well as forms of ritual friendship). These alliance units, made up of perpetually shifting leader-focused factions, represented extension of chiefly power over individuals and groups through various alliance-building strategies, but not over geographically distinct districts or territories. In terms of larger-scale regional political integration, these chiefdoms had a decentralized or segmentary structure, in which political authority is vested at various levels in the leader’s personal ability to maintain a core of loyal followers through a complex system of patronage and alliance, resulting in both unstable horizontal coherence and weak vertical integration.

As in other parts of Southeast Asia, a high degree of geographic fragmentation and ethnic and linguistic diversity was likely to have discouraged the long-term formation of large-scale, centralized polities, since the energy investment of militaristic conquest and long-distance administrative rule would have been significantly greater than in other regions of complex society formation. Comparatively abundant agricultural land, but relatively low population densities, would tend to deemphasize the formation of territorially based political units, but instead define political authority in terms of control over labor and tributary resources (i.e., people) who could augment the agricultural surplus and wealth of a particularly chief. “Clients” and “allies” therefore had to be attracted and political loyalties maintained through constant gift giving and chiefly sponsored ritual, which were in turn dependent on a chief’s ability to procure wealth objects through local luxury good production and foreign trade. As elegantly described by Geertz in his analysis of Balinese and Javanese kingdoms,

ceremonialism and gifts of prestige goods held up the fragile “house of cards” that was the political pyramid of Southeast Asian polities. Failure to maintain personal relationships at any one level in the pyramid could result in a simultaneously vertically and horizontally rippling effect that abruptly destroyed a ruler’s power base.

The alliance-building success of Philippine chiefs was not easily transferable intergenerationally because of a number of cultural and social factors. These include nonunilineal descent systems, a high degree of achievement-based social mobility, and the common practice of polygamy, which were also significant elements in the often chaotic process of kingly succession in more complex Southeast Asian polities. The fragility of political alliance and clientage networks coupled with the difficulties of intergenerational inheritance of political authority likely magnified the type of competitive interactions for labor and resources among elites both within polities and between peer polities that ultimately result in reconfiguration of the political landscape. This political cycling, or oscillatory expansion and contraction of polities (Champion and Champion 1986; Renfrew and Cherry 1986; Wright 1984:42–43), would be expected to occur with greatest frequency in societies with decentralized and weakly integrated political structures and in a political landscape characterized by complex societies of widely varying scale and complexity such as island Southeast Asia.

## Chapter 4

### Political Cycling in Philippine Chiefdoms

In this chapter, I examine long-term processes of sociopolitical evolution in Philippine polities and changes in the political landscape of the archipelago over the millennia prior to European contact. The ecological, demographic, and cultural elements that were seen in Chapter 3 as contributing to a decentralized political structure in many historically documented and ethnographically known Southeast Asian chiefdoms and kingdoms also created an exceptionally high degree of instability in political power bases when viewed over the long term. In particular, many of the island Southeast Asian chiefdoms and states have political histories characterized by relatively short-term oscillatory transformations between simple and complex forms of political structure with no clear unilineal trajectory toward higher levels of political integration. This phenomenon has been described by a number of anthropologists as “political cycling” (e.g., Anderson 1994:1–52; Carneiro 1990:185–187; Earle 1991:13–14; Flannery 1972, 1995; Marcus 1992a; H. Wright 1984, 1986). The regional political landscapes created out of these highly volatile political relations rapidly transformed over time as peer polity interactions, factional competition, conquest warfare, manipulation of elite ideologies and foreign religions, and changing external trade relations with more complex Asiatic states and empires led to expansion of some polities at the expense of others.

#### Political Cycling in Chiefdoms and States

Political cycling is a process in which individual polities within a “peer polity” interaction sphere recurrently oscillate between political expansion and political fragmentation, fluctuating between “complex” forms with two-level administrative hierarchies and “simple” forms with one-level decision-making hierarchies (Anderson 1994:8–10; Carneiro 1990:185–187; Earle 1991:13–14; H. Wright 1984, 1986). Thus, cycling is “the recurrent process of the emergence, expansion, and fragmentation of complex chiefdoms amid a regional backdrop of simple chiefdoms” (Anderson 1994:9), a process that may occur over a long period of time without any overall regional evolutionary trajectory toward state formation (Wright 1986). This oscillatory fluctuation between simple and complex forms (Fig. 4.1) can be

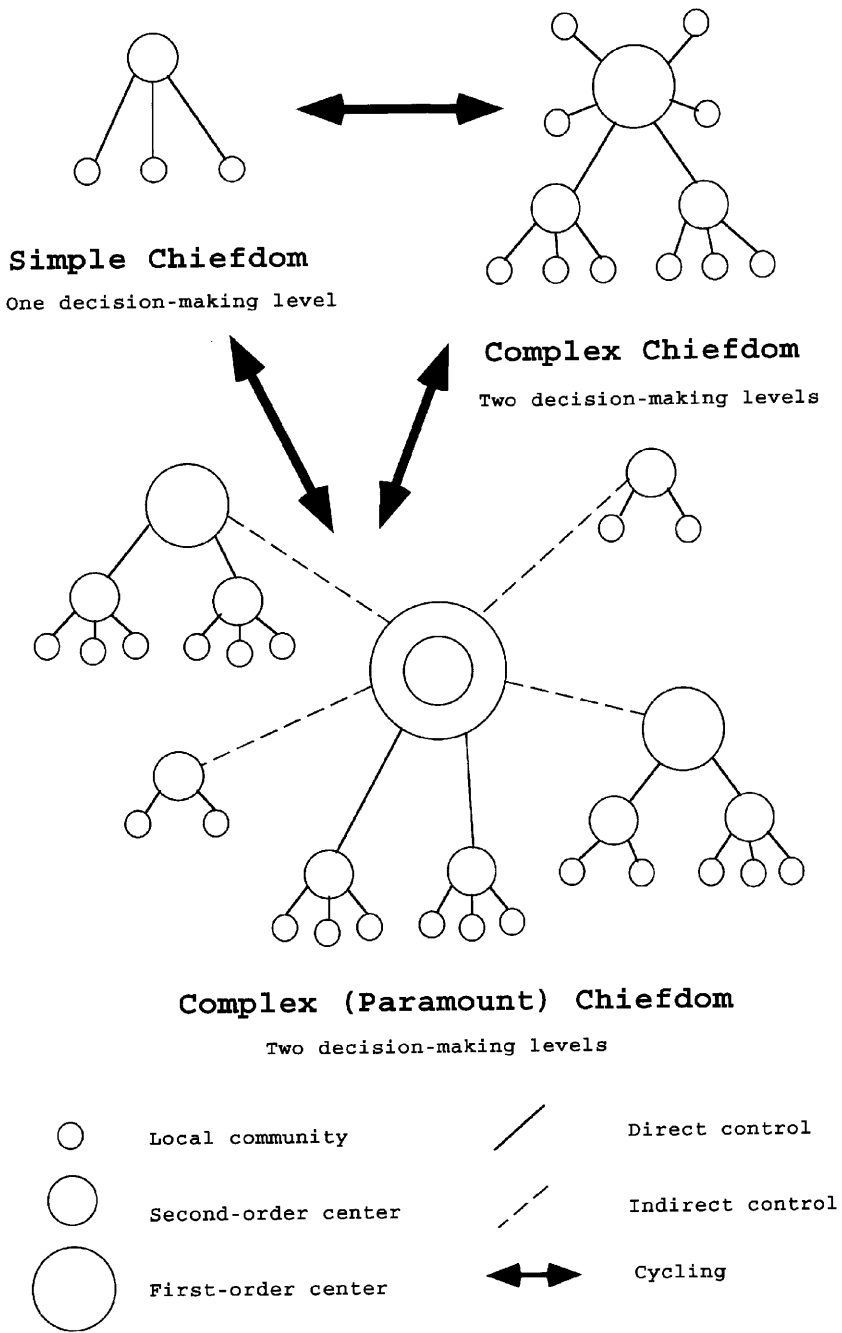


Figure 4.1. Simple and complex forms of chiefdoms, showing variation in settlement and control hierarchies. (Adapted from Anderson 1994)

analyzed for individual polities by tracing their specific political histories through ethnohistorical and archaeological evidence, but it must also be studied at an expanded regional scale by examining geographic shifts in power centers through time over a larger political landscape.

This pattern of cycling between simple and complex forms of chiefdom in individual polities, and frequent long-term instability of regional political power configurations in multipolity landscapes have been recognized widely in archaeological studies of periods before state formation in the Near East (Adams 1966:9; G. Johnson 1987; Kohl 1987; Stein 1994; Wright and Johnson 1975), Mesoamerica (Drennan 1991a; Flannery 1976; Flannery and Marcus 1983: 53–64; Marcus and Flannery 1996: 93–120; Kowalewski 1990a; Parsons et al. 1982), South America (Carneiro 1990; Drennan 1991a), Africa (H. Wright 1990), and Japan (Barnes 1987; Pearson 1990). In a broadly comparative analysis of evolutionary trajectories in pre-state complex societies of Mesopotamia, the Indus River valley, Mexico, and Peru, Wright (1986) found that long periods of political cycling between simple and complex forms of chiefdoms generally preceded state emergence, with changing local political configurations but no overall increase in regional sociopolitical complexity. Although state structures usually appear relatively abruptly, state formation appears to be related in many cases to a long-term but intensifying process of competition and conflict, or “peer polity interactions,” between adjacent chiefdoms (Earle 1987a, 1991; Renfrew and Cherry 1986; H. Wright 1977, 1986).

Archaeological and ethnohistorical investigations have also documented long-term political cycling phenomena in regions where no primary state-level societies evolved, similar to the prehispanic Philippines. In broad evolutionary terms, continual but possibly escalating peer polity competition between multiple chiefdoms, oscillation between complex and simple political hierarchies, and rapidly reconfigured regional political landscapes characterized a “stable” process over long periods in these regions owing to factors discouraging permanent larger-scale political formations (although contacts with foreign powers of greater complexity in some cases eventually led to secondary state development). In many cases, there was an overall regional trajectory toward chiefdoms of greater complexity, although this occurred over many repeated cycles of political consolidation and collapse. Some examples are historic and prehistoric Polynesia (Bargatzky 1988; Cordy 1981; Kirch 1984; Petersen 1982; Sahlins 1981), prehispanic Central and South America (Drennan 1987, 1991a; Helms 1979), Bronze Age and Iron Age northern Europe (Champion and Champion 1986; Gilman 1987; Renfrew and Shennan 1982; Renfrew 1986; Shennan 1986, 1987), the traditional Pueblo societies of the American southwest (Lightfoot and Upham 1989), and the Mississippian societies of the American southeast (Anderson 1994; Pauketat 1991).

The cyclical pattern of expansion and fragmentation within a single polity

thus is connected through external peer polity interactions (i.e., exchange, warfare) with the political trajectories of adjacent polities. In addition, political cycling is often related to ecological factors, demographic factors, and factional competition within polities by individuals vying for local political control.

### ***The Causes of Political Cycling in Chiefdoms***

In his analysis of political cycling in the Mississippian chiefdoms of the southeastern United States, Anderson includes a comprehensive discussion of factors that may promote long-term political cycling in complex societies, and he empirically documents his discussion with detailed, cross-cultural ethnographic, historical, and archaeological evidence (1994:12–52). I will make no attempt to duplicate his excellent treatment of this subject, but instead will examine some of these possible causes of political cycling in terms of specific features of Southeast Asian political organization, demography, and ecology.

Competition between elites is endemic to chiefdom-level societies, and it is an important factor in promoting the instability in leadership and political power bases referred to as political cycling (Brumfiel and Fox 1994; Earle 1987a). Individuals who could compete successfully for control over labor, strategic resources, prestige goods, and sacred authority gained the means for enhancing status vis-à-vis other competitors as well as consolidating political authority through expanding alliances (Helms 1987; Shennan 1982; H. Wright 1984). In Southeast Asian polities, political power was largely measured in terms of movable labor and wealth objects rather than fixed territorial units, and there was a strong component of achievement in accruing and maintaining political authority. Under these conditions, competition between rulers to enlarge alliance and clientage networks and to increase the centripetal flow of resources would be particularly fierce. Strategies of peer polity competition might include adoption of foreign religions, elaboration of court ceremonialism, or the development of other ideological means for increasing the sacred authority and political legitimacy of a ruler. They were also likely to involve intensified local luxury good production or foreign prestige goods trade to expand the prestige goods distribution key to consolidating political power. Expansion of the labor force under a ruler's control in turn increased surplus production and tribute flow to the polity center, allowing further expansion of the ruler's cadre of nonproducers (i.e., luxury good specialists, warrior-elites, tribute administrators). However, labor was a limiting commodity in relatively underpopulated Southeast Asia. The growth of one polity almost certainly meant the contraction of another, as political leaders lured followers away from others through distributions of wealth or seizure in raiding.

Expanding production of local sumptuary goods to increase a ruler's available political currency is only possible through augmenting the number of skilled artisans within the leader's clientage base and monopolizing access to valuable raw materials used in the production of these local sumptuary goods (Brumfiel and Earle 1987). This form of wealth financing requires substantial costs in terms of investment in production infrastructures, the loss of agricultural labor to craft specialization, and attempts to monopolize raw materials and maintain their scarcity. The growth of a polity vis-à-vis its neighboring polities, based on this internal creation of luxury good wealth, may thus be limited by the very manpower it hopes to attract and the difficulties of sustaining monopolies on easily transferable technologies and raw materials. Friedman and Rowlands (1977), however, have demonstrated through both theoretical modeling and empirical evidence how controlled access to foreign prestige goods can provide a competitive edge to elites in marital alliances, feast giving, and other exchange activities geared toward recruiting supporters. Chiefs or lineages who are strategically located along transport routes, who have preferential access to exportable resources, and who have the infrastructure to support long-distance trade can use access to foreign wealth to create strong power asymmetries with adjacent chiefs (Frankenstein and Rowlands 1978; Haselgrove 1982; see also Chapter 1).

Haselgrove (1982) has modeled how differential access to Roman trade might have resulted in power asymmetries among Late Iron Age chieftoms in southern Britain and the creation of complex chieftoms. Trade-controlling chiefs were promoted to paramounts through their strategic disbursement of foreign wealth to chiefs who had no direct trade access. Although monopolization of foreign trade had costs in protecting trade routes and social contexts of exchange, it was likely to require substantially less labor investment than local luxury good production. Thus, there would be significant competition between adjacent polities to attract favored foreign trade status, competitive interactions likely to engender further political instability and political cycling.

While competition among elites for followers through manipulation of wealth and ideology often leads to expansion or contraction of political hierarchies, warfare and conquest are cited as more overt factors in the political expansion of chieftoms (Carneiro 1981, 1990; Redmond 1994; Vayda 1961; Webster 1975). Carneiro's (1981) well-known conflict model of sociopolitical evolution suggests that new levels in the political decision-making hierarchy and new scales of political integration evolve as conquered enemies are absorbed into the militaristically successful chieftom. Intermediate-level positions of political authority might emerge to incorporate the conquered elite into the expanded polity, with retention of traditional local leadership an important strategy for political integration. Or, alternatively, a two-tiered decision-making hierarchy may be formed out of the lesser elite within the

conquering population, who are “promoted” into these new administrative roles to control a now significantly enlarged population of tributaries (Flannery 1972:413). Once one chiefdom in a region begins to expand through military advantage, vulnerable adjacent polities are likely to adopt similar military technologies (e.g., fortifications, weaponry), organizational structures (e.g., an elite “warrior” class), and warfare tactics (Renfrew and Cherry 1986). This phenomenon is attested archaeologically in the rapid spread of hill forts, metal weapons, and horse riding in Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age European chiefdoms (Hedeager 1987; Shennan 1986; Wells 1984) and in the proliferation of fortified centers, specialized warrior ranks, and military hardware in the Polynesia chiefdoms of Hawai‘i, Tonga, Easter Island, and New Zealand (Carneiro 1990; Kirch 1984; Vayda 1961). The result of this process is further conflict, political instability, and political cycling as polities go through repetitive patterns of conquest, expansion, military threats from other rising polities, overextension of control hierarchies, and disintegration into smaller-scale political units. On an intrapolity level, Anderson notes that political conquest would bring in a whole new cadre of foreign elites who could develop into rival factions within the conquering polity, eventually undermining the political power of the local paramount through factional competition (1994:28).

Factional competition between elite coalitions within a polity, like inter-polity competitive interactions, appears to be ubiquitous within complex societies (Brumfiel 1989; Brumfiel and Fox 1994; Earle 1987a:294; Helms 1979:24–25; Sahlins 1958:176–196; H. Wright 1984). However, competition between political rivals is particularly acute and often ultimately political transformative in chiefdom-level societies because of the kin-based nature of political authority—a chief must always strive to strike a delicate balance between the generosity of a superior kinsman and the acquisition of wealth and political power through control and subordination of his followers (Earle 1987a; Helms 1979; Sahlins 1963). As noted by Anderson, lesser elites who become incorporated into a chief’s alliance group as his principal supporters are ironically also his likely successors and rivals for power, as they accrue wealth and status through association with the paramount ruler and gain the administrative, military, and ritual skills necessary to challenge his authority effectively (1994:30). Chiefs who overreach the limits of productive capacity and social perceptions of chiefly generosity in their tribute exactions from commoners court the strong possibility of commoner rebellion (Earle 1978; Kirch 1984; Peebles and Kus 1977; Steponaitis 1978; Webster 1975:465–466). However, actual usurpation of the offending chief’s power generally comes from elite rivals within the chiefly ranks who take advantage of any withdrawal of support by commoners and lesser elites to expand their own power (Clark and Blake 1994; Webster 1975:465–466).

In order for elite-centered factional competition to be a catalyst to polit-



ical cycling, it must lead to structural changes in a political system (i.e., the contraction or expansion of political hierarchies) rather than just replacement of ruling personnel with a successful elite rival. These types of structural changes would more likely occur in weakly centralized chiefly societies or decentralized states where many potential political rivals with highly varying political skills and claims to political legitimacy are created through a heavy emphasis on achievement-based leadership and a lack of strong unilineal rules of succession to rulership. Even though the chiefdoms of Hawai'i had fairly strict unilineal rules of chiefly succession (Goldman 1970; Sahlins 1958), reconstructions of political histories on such islands as Oahu, Kaua'i, and Hawai'i through oral traditions indicate that revolts by younger brothers or district chiefs and their supporting factions were not uncommon (Cordy 1981; Earle 1978:174–180; Kirch 1984). Depending on the political skills and factional support of the political usurper, his motivations for rebellion (whether to achieve political autonomy or to expand his own power base), and whether other elites were vying independently to take advantage of the power vacuum, the political crisis resulted in fragmentation of the polity, expansion of political hierarchies, or no discernible impact on the polity's scale or complexity.

In Southeast Asian complex societies, the common practice of elite polygamy, the widespread practice of cognatic descent and bilaterally reckoned inheritance, and the strong emphasis on achievement-based social mobility meant that there were many potential rivals for succession to chieftainship or kingship. In addition, the politically decentralized structure of many Southeast Asian polities meant that local chiefs were not merely mid-level administrators for centralized rulers, but maintained fairly independent political and economic power bases that could be easily detached from the polity core (see Chapter 3). Thus, rivals for paramount rulership in Southeast Asian polities extended well beyond the circle of younger brothers and the high-echelon elite, including individuals with widely differing genealogical claims to political legitimacy and widely varying factional support. Internal power struggles would be expected to result more often in cycles of political fragmentation and reunification than in more strongly centralized polities like the Hawaiian chiefdoms.

Migration or population movements can also be a significant factor in political instability and cycling between simple and complex forms of political hierarchy (Anderson 1994:45–48). In a cross-cultural analysis of the pre-state complex societies in the Americas, Feinman and Neitzel found a strong association between a polity's total population and the number of levels and administrative personnel in political hierarchies (1984:61–72; see also Kowalewski 1990a). Large-scale and frequent population movements would seem to be a particularly destabilizing element in Southeast Asian complex societies, since allegiance to a particular political leader is typically weak and ephemeral in these societies, and the abundance of productive agricul-

tural land puts few territorial constraints on relocation. Since comparatively low population density is a significant limiting factor in expanding economic surplus in many Southeast Asian kingdoms and chiefdoms, it is not surprising that massive slave raiding and large-scale population redistributions frequently occur as a result of competition between Southeast Asian polities to augment their productive labor force. A significant factor in the growth of the Sulu polity in the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries into what was clearly a complex chiefdom (or incipient state-level society) was the large-scale influx of slave labor coming into the polity through extensive maritime raiding (J. Warren 1985; see also the discussion of slavery in Chapter 5).

Another demographic factor that might be relevant to political expansion or fragmentation is the balance between elite population growth and the ability to sustain an increasingly top-heavy elite bureaucracy through the tributary system (Drennan 1987; Kirch 1984; Steponaitis 1981). Anderson summarizes cross-cultural ethnographic and historical evidence that societal elites in general enjoy higher survival rates and reproductive success than commoners, owing to better nutrition, health, and protection from environmental dangers (1994:24–25). Given the tendency for many complex societies to practice elite polygamy, population growth among the ruling ranks relative to nonelites would seem to be an almost inevitable process (Earle 1987a). Steponaitis (1981) suggests that by the end of a long sequence of complex chiefdom emergence in the Valley of Mexico, as much as 20 percent of the population of some polities were supported through tribute, putting a heavy burden on tribute mobilization systems. This proliferation of elite nonproducers creates instabilities that can result in either expansion or fragmentation of chiefdoms. Conquest and incorporation of the labor forces of adjacent polities is one means of bringing the producer/nonproducer ratio into greater balance and, as pointed out by Anderson (1994:25), it allows the dispersion of lesser-ranked elites out of a concentrated center to administer distant conquered settlements. However, the growth of a top-heavy social pyramid and expanded tributary demands can also lead to political fragmentation of a large polity through commoner rebellion and the fissioning of elite factions into independent polities. The common practice of elite polygamy and a high level of upward social mobility in many Southeast Asian complex societies would suggest that elite population growth could be a significant factor in political instability and cycling processes. In Chapter 6, I will present some archaeological evidence from mortuary contexts in the Philippines that suggests that the elite ranks of many Philippine chiefdoms were expanding in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries through greater access to foreign trade wealth, perhaps contributing to the intense political rivalries and rapidly changing political configurations reported in contact period Spanish writings.

Another significant element shaping the evolutionary trajectories of com-

plex societies and leading to uneven political development among interacting polities is environmental variability. Sahlins' (1958) classic comparative study of the Polynesian chiefdoms explicitly linked variability in organizational complexity with environmental diversity and demographic factors that placed varying limitations on the growth of polities. Many anthropologists now recognize that a myriad of other environmental or geographic factors (e.g., possibilities for extraregional trade, nonsubsistence resource distributions, transportation and communication routes, and technologies) are relevant to the uneven growth of polities and their economic systems within a regional landscape (e.g., Clark and Blake 1994; Crumley 1976; G. Johnson 1977; Steponaitis 1991). A regional landscape with a high level of unevenness in resources and interaction routes would promote the development of a patchwork of polities of varying complexity, with significant interpolity competition for control of favored resource zones and strategic transport routes. Pressure from internal sources (e.g., population growth) or external sources (e.g., foreign trade links) to increase local production would favor the expansion of polities in ecologically and geographically advantageous locales at the expense of their less well situated neighbors. This process has been documented archaeologically in a diverse range of chiefdoms including the Mississippian chiefdoms (Anderson 1994; B. Smith 1984; Steponaitis 1991), Central American chiefdoms (Helms 1979), southwestern Pueblo societies (Upham 1982), and European Iron Age chiefdoms (e.g. Crumley and Marquardt 1987; Renfrew and Cherry 1986).

Southeast Asia, particularly its island archipelagos, presented an extremely heterogeneous environment in terms of the distribution of rich agricultural lands, transport and communication routes, and raw land-based and marine resources. The most sociopolitically complex societies invariably arose in those areas where the potential for surplus subsistence production, access to raw materials, and proximity to trade routes were most advantageous (L. Andaya 1993a:32–40; K. Hall 1992:199; Reid 1993a:5–8), and it was precisely these areas that were the most vulnerable to attacks by peripheral polities. In Philippine chiefdoms, competitive interactions between polities generally resulted in the expansion of those political entities located along major maritime trade routes or within the most agriculturally productive river valleys, until shifts in trade routes, demographic changes, or other factors gave advantage to similarly well situated river-mouth chiefdoms.

### ***Political Cycling in Southeast Asian Complex Societies***

Historical and ethnographic reconstructions of the political history of a number of Southeast Asian complex societies attest to this pattern of linked development between numerous competing peer polities characterized by cycles of coalescence and fragmentation. One of the earliest detailed analyses

of oscillatory transformations in Southeast Asian political systems that correspond to political cycling is Edmund Leach's (1965) ethnographic account of Kachin political structures in his classic *Political Systems of Highland Burma*. Leach provided a largely synchronic view of two forms of political organization, *gumlao* and *gumsa*. *Gumlao* communities emphasized diffuse political authority, small-scale units of political action, largely achieved status, and no ranking of lineages vis-à-vis one another. The *gumsa* form, in contrast, is characterized by more centralized political authority, larger-scale political alliance units, an ideology of inherited status and chiefly succession, and ranking of lineages according to descent and position within a hypogamous marriage system. While his analysis of these political forms is largely ahistorical, Leach recognized that Kachin groups cycled between these two forms. Leach saw processes of community fissioning and commoner rebellion against hereditary chiefs as creating the *gumlao* form, while the gradual concentration of wealth and ritual power in a single lineage or the abrupt conquest of community by an outside chief who is "promoted" to paramountcy were instrumental in creating the *gumsa* form (Leach 1965:204–212). If Leach had been able to analyze these political configurations over a long time period using historical or archaeological sources, the *gumlao* and *gumsa* alternatives might have represented long-term oscillation between either "big man" tribal and simple chiefdom forms or alternatively between simple and complex forms of chiefdoms, within a political landscape characterized by cycling.

An important external factor in the evolution of Kachin political systems was the proximity of these highland groups to the lowland Shan state with whom they had interactions of trade, intermarriage, and elite emulation. As a means of cementing the alliances necessary to procure valuable upland products such as jade and metal ores, the Shan rulers engaged in a hypogamous marriage system, sending high-status Shan women as wives to Kachin chiefs and economically obligating the Kachin son-in-laws to their Shan overlords. Jonathan Friedman (1979), using the Kachin case to develop a generalized model of how societies transform to nonegalitarian forms, shows how these external relations can be a catalyst to change. Kachin lineages that achieved status and lowland prestige goods through their Shan brides would have an advantage over initially equal-ranked lineages in sponsoring ritual feasts, attracting further status-enhancing marriage ties, and creating asymmetrical alliances with other lineages through their greater control of wealth. In Friedman's model, economic advantage and social prestige could then be translated into the supernaturally reinforced superiority of the wealthy lineage, since success in sponsoring ritual feasts was conferred through special ties to powerful ancestral spirits. Eventually the leaders of this elite lineage would be viewed as necessary intercessors between the gods and the community and would become genealogically linked to these ancestral spirits, instituting an ideology of inheritable status. Emulation of

aspects of Shan elite culture by these Kachin elite lineages, including Shan dress, prestige symbols, and Buddhism, further reinforced the cleavage between themselves and lower ranking lineages. The result was a Kachin *gumsa* organization with a hereditary paramount chief, until centrifugal forces (e.g., nonelite rebellion, factional competition, shifts in external exchange relations) pulled apart the political hierarchy.

Historical accounts of political developments in many regions of Southeast Asia between the early first millennium and mid-second millennium A.D. indicate that relatively rapidly shifting political configurations and oscillatory changes in political structure are a common feature of Southeast Asian political histories. Before the seventh-century rise of the expansive maritime-trading kingdom of Srivijaya, the eastern Sumatran coast appears to have been occupied by a series of river-mouth chiefdoms vying to control maritime trade along this strategic gateway to the Straits of Malacca and the Indian Ocean (Andaya and Andaya 1982:17–23; K. Hall 1976, 1992: 196–202; Taylor 1992:173–176; Wheatley 1983:231–248; Wolters 1971). Early stone inscriptions found in the vicinity of the presumed Srivijaya capital of Palembang and Chinese records from the mid-first millennium A.D. suggest that a Sumatran chief centered at Palembang in the Musi River basin began a series of military campaigns between A.D. 671 and 685 that resulted in the subjugation of the adjacent Batang Hari River and coastal chiefly center of Jambi-Malayu and probably other polities of Sumatra's eastern coast (K. Hall 1992:200). Srivijaya's advantage in this regional power struggle is thought to have lain in its exceptionally large and fertile alluvial plain for surplus rice production coupled with an unusually wide and navigable Musi River, which provided excellent access to interior products. The Srivijaya monarchs, unlike the rulers of many of these competing polities, also successfully manipulated the Chinese tributary trade system to gain favored trade status at the Chinese court, developed a special relationship with *orang laut* pirates to protect trade interests, and adopted Indic religions (Buddhism and Hinduism) and script to connect themselves with distant aristocracies. Throughout Srivijaya's dominance in the Malacca Straits region, conquered polities along the Sumatra, Malay peninsula, and western Java coasts were only loosely held under Srivijaya political hegemony, and there is evidence to suggest cycles of expansion and contraction of Srivijayan power.

Chinese texts and indigenous inscriptions of this period suggest that local rulers retained a great deal of political autonomy (Andaya and Andaya 1982: 23; K. Hall 1976:76–77). Furthermore, Srivijaya's power base was eroded at various times during this roughly five-hundred-year period by military invasions from satellite polities (e.g., Javanese attacks during the late tenth century) (K. Hall 1992:174) and by the establishment of independent trade relations with China by these tributary rulers (Andaya and Andaya 1982: 28). The decline of Srivijaya around the twelfth century has been attributed

to a number of factors, including the expansion of direct Chinese shipping of luxury goods rather than reliance on Malay and Arab merchants (and consequent problems maintaining trade monopolies), a lapse in the formal tributary trade that Srivijaya had brilliantly exploited, the rising importance of spices in international trade and the shifting of maritime trade routes, and militaristic incursions by expanding Thai and Javanese states (Andaya and Andaya 1982:26–31; K. Hall 1985:209–214; Taylor 1992:174–175; Wolters 1971). Whatever the cause of Srivijaya’s political decay, the twelfth to fourteenth centuries saw the establishment of a more fragmented political landscape in which the former Srivijaya capital at Palembang became one of many competing coastal trade ports of small-scale kingdoms strung along the southeastern Sumatran coast. A similar political history of cyclical expansion and contraction appears to have characterized Java from at least the late first millennium A.D. to European contact (J. Christie 1983; K. Hall 1992:215–226; Taylor 1992:176–181).

Many of the general causal factors in political cycling discussed in this section are particularly relevant to Southeast Asian societies. These include the difficulties of long-term political consolidation in ecologically heterogeneous and geographically fragmented landscapes, and the destabilizing effects of interpolity and factional competition for labor and prestige goods in societies only weakly centralized through royal ceremonialism.

### **Ethnohistorical and Archaeological Evidence for Changing Tenth- to Sixteenth-Century Philippine Political Configurations**

Because we have no historical records of pre-tenth-century Philippine polities and almost no archaeological excavations of settlements of this period, researchers cannot presently reconstruct political configurations in the archipelago during this early period of chiefdom formation. Instead, we focus our analysis on a later period of complex society evolution, using Chinese trade records and archaeological evidence to document shifting political power relations between the tenth and sixteenth centuries A.D. Chinese “tributary” records are one of the best sources for assessing relative political status.<sup>1</sup> These expensively equipped voyages to the Chinese court required a fairly sophisticated level of indigenous political organization and substantial economic resources, and thus imply polities of significant scale. The Chinese vision of these court visits was one of political and economic subordination, with the participating Southeast Asian polities recorded as official tributary polities or vassal states nominally, if not actually, under distant Chinese authority. To Southeast Asian chiefs and kings, the seeking of tributary status with China was a fine-tuned political and economic strategy for attempting to monopolize the lucrative India–China–Insular Southeast Asia

trade (Wolters 1971:39–48; R. Smith 1979:445–451; see also K. Hall 1976). Such missions appear to have increased in frequency during periods of increased political fragmentation and interpolity competition (Smith 1979; Wolters 1971). Thus, analysis of these tributary records allows at least a preliminary assessment of whether the political landscape in a specific period was likely fragmented into numerous polities or dominated by a few expanding chiefdoms.

### **Tenth- to Twelfth-Century Philippine Polities**

One of the earliest mentioned Philippine polities is P'u-tuan, described in the *Sung shih* (Sung Annals) as a small island country far to the east whose successive rulers sent a number of tribute missions to the Sung emperor at the beginning of the eleventh century A.D. (Scott 1984:66–67; K. Hall 1985:334; Wolters 1983:58). Scott (1984) identifies P'u-tuan as referring to Butuan, the traditional name for the area surrounding the mouth of the Agusan River in northeastern Mindanao (Fig. 4.2). The P'u-tuan polity's frequent tributary missions in the early eleventh century (during one five-year period, yearly contingents were sent) and its evident participation in the Maluku spice trade suggests that it may have been an expanding polity competing with insular Southeast Asian states and other Philippine chiefdoms for control of the prosperous spice trade at this time.

Recent archaeological excavations conducted by the Philippine National Museum at the present-day town of Butuan in northern Mindanao support the existence of a substantial maritime-trade-oriented polity in this locale at the end of the first millennium and the beginning of the second millennium A.D. No actual structures or fortifications have been located at the site, but extensive midden deposits contain shell, earthenware, and significant quantities of Sung (A.D. 960–1279) trade porcelains. The most remarkable finds at the site were the remains of several wooden boats excavated below the Sung period midden, yielding T'ang period (A.D. 618–906) porcelain (Burton 1977; Peralta 1980; Ronquillo 1989; Roxas-Lim 1992; Solheim 1982: 76; Valdes et al. 1992). The wooden boats, probably beached in waterlogged deposits on the coast, are described as large enough in size and sophisticated enough in construction to have been long-distance ocean-going vessels capable of transporting large cargoes. Radiocarbon dates on three of the boats yielded dates in the fourth, tenth, and thirteenth centuries A.D., indicating long-term use of the Agusan River mouth as a maritime port. However, the height of settlement and participation in foreign trade occurs in the late Sung period (the twelfth and thirteenth centuries) after the tributary missions have ceased. Iron and bronze tools, along with worked and unworked gold fragments, suggest that the manufacture of gold ornaments, one of the most significant prehispanic status markers, may have taken place

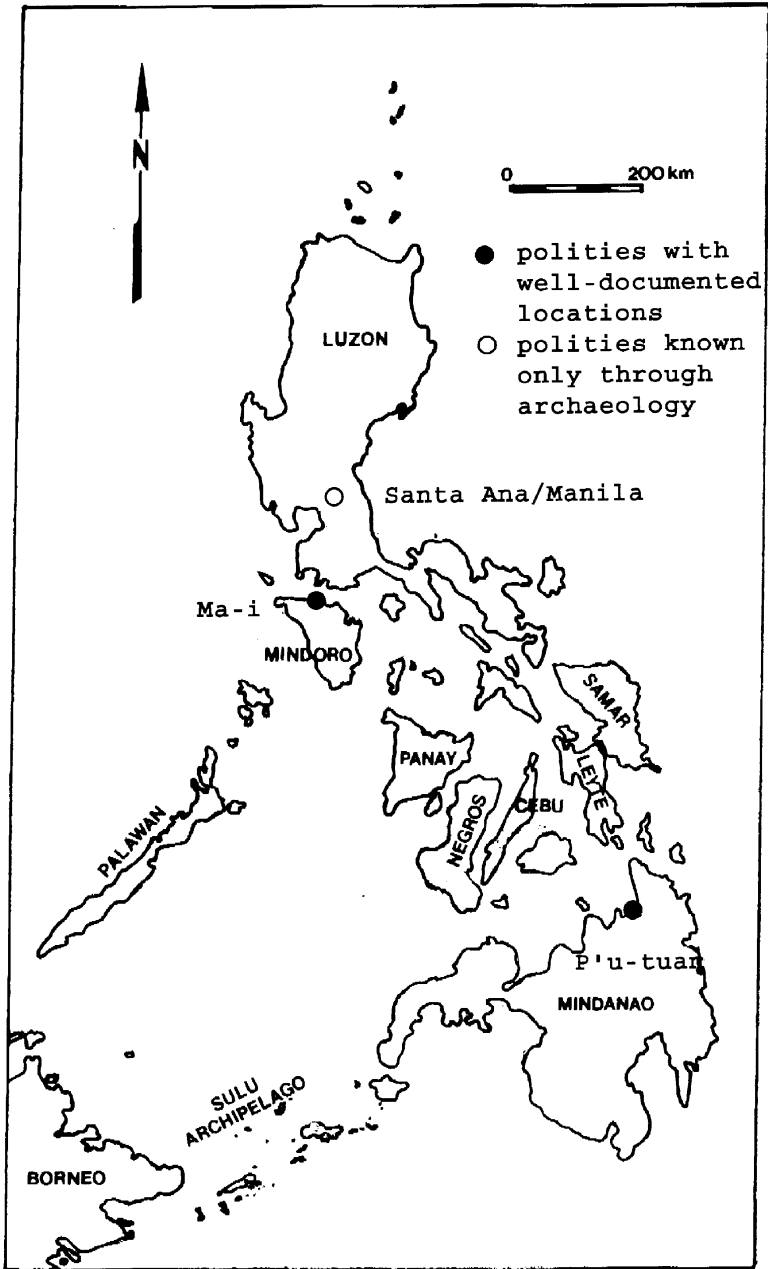


Figure 4.2. Location of tenth to twelfth century A.D. Philippine polities known through historical texts or archaeological investigations.



at the site at this time.<sup>2</sup> The chronological disjunction between intensive historical reference to the polity in the eleventh century and archaeological evidence for political expansion in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries is likely a function of P'u-tuan's success in using its "tributary" status to capture greater foreign trade wealth in comparison to its trade rivals. The success of this trade-monopolizing strategy likely dampened trade competition and catapulted P'u-tuan into a politically dominant position where expensive trade missions were no longer necessary.

During China's Sung dynasty, Chinese travel descriptions make reference not only to P'u-tuan, but also to a polity known as Ma-i. Ma-i is recorded in Chao Ju-kua's thirteenth-century *Chu fan chih* (An Account of the Various Barbarians) (Hirth and Rockhill 1911; Scott 1984) as a maritime-oriented polity with a coastal center of more than one thousand inhabitants and a well-administered port and trading plaza. Ma-i has been identified by a number of scholars as located on the island of Mindoro just south of Luzon (Scott 1984; Chen 1966; Wu 1959). The polity was recorded in Chinese trade records as early as the tenth century, and for the next three hundred years of the Sung dynasty it was the source of trade shipments into ports along the Kwangtung coast (Scott 1984:65–66; Wu 1959:75) and the destination of numerous Sung trading vessels. Whether Ma-i ever made a formal tributary mission to the Sung court is not clear from the Chinese texts (see Chapter 7). Several heavily looted archaeological sites with Sung period (as well as later Yüan and Ming period) porcelains have been reported from the northern Mindoro coast and were the focus of preliminary test-pitting by Tenazas (1964). While much of the archaeological potential of these sites has been destroyed by modern construction, the density and extensiveness of the archaeological remains tentatively support the identification of this region as the probable locus for the Ma-i polity. Again, the Chinese records and archaeological evidence show an interesting chronological disjunction. While Ma-i is most frequently mentioned early in the Sung period (around the late tenth century), archaeological evidence from northern Mindoro suggests significant expansion of settlement and foreign trade in the region in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

Several other Philippine polities, described as being somewhat smaller in scale than Ma-i are mentioned in the Sung period *Chu fan chih* but have never been definitively identified (Scott 1984:70). However, Scott suggests the most likely location would be along the most efficient maritime route from southern China to the Moluccas: the western littoral of the Philippines. While there is no direct reference in the Sung period texts to the area of southeastern Luzon surrounding modern-day Manila, the archaeological excavation of large quantities of finely made Sung porcelains in burials at the Santa Ana Site in Manila (Locsin and Locsin 1967; Peralta and Salazar 1974) and at other sites in the vicinity (Beyer 1947) indicates that this region

may also have had the complexly organized polities necessary to acquire significant volumes of foreign luxury goods.

Therefore, during China's Sung period, at least two large-scale long-distance maritime-trade-oriented polities developed in the Philippines, one likely centered at the mouth of the Agusan River in northern Mindanao and the other somewhere on the island of Mindoro in the northern Philippines, with a possible third "center" at or near present-day Manila. While Chinese records and currently available archaeological evidence provide no precise information on the complexity of political hierarchies or the scale of these polities, the general densities of archaeological materials suggest the possibility that these were "complex chiefdoms" of substantial scale between the late eleventh and early thirteenth centuries A.D. In contrast, during the late tenth and early eleventh centuries (and probably earlier), less dense archaeological indicators for settlement in the regions and intense competition to launch foreign trade voyages indicate that the political landscape was highly fragmented and likely comprised numerous small-scale competing chiefdoms.

### **Late-Thirteenth-Century to Early-Fifteenth-Century Philippine Polities**

By the Yüan (A.D. 1278–1368) and early Ming (ca. mid-fourteenth to early fifteenth centuries A.D.), the Chinese references to Philippine trade emissaries and ports indicate a geographic shift in Philippine trade centers and associated political configurations (Fig. 4.3). The Philippine polity known to the Chinese as Sulu, undoubtedly a precursor of the later Islamic Sulu sultanate centered at Jolo, joins P'u-tuan in lists of foreign polities sending trade shipments to South China ports at the end of the thirteenth century (Scott 1984:67). In the Chinese explorer Wang Ta-yüan's *Tao i chih lüeh* (Summary Notices of the Barbarians of the Isles), written in 1349 (see summary in Scott 1984:73–75), both Sulu and Ma-i are mentioned as important polities with substantial coastal ports engaged in the Chinese porcelain trade. In addition, two additional maritime trading centers known as Mintolang (identified by scholars as a polity at the mouth of the Pulangi River in Cotabato, probably the precursor to sixteenth-to-nineteenth-century Magindanao)<sup>3</sup> and Ma-li-lu (identified as Manila) are noted by Wang Ta-yüan as major maritime trading powers in the fourteenth-century Philippines. In his report, Wang Ta-yüan describes these polity "centers" as heavily populated and "wealthy" trade entrepôts controlled by kinglike rulers (Majul 1966: 145). Sulu seems to have particularly captured Chinese attention as a militarily powerful polity willing to test its strength against trade rivals to control the China–Spice Island trade. Chinese documents of the mid-fourteenth century record Sulu attacks on trading ports on the northeast coast of Borneo that were only rebuffed by the eventual interference of the powerful Java state of Majapahit (Scott 1984; see also K. Hall 1985: 226–227).

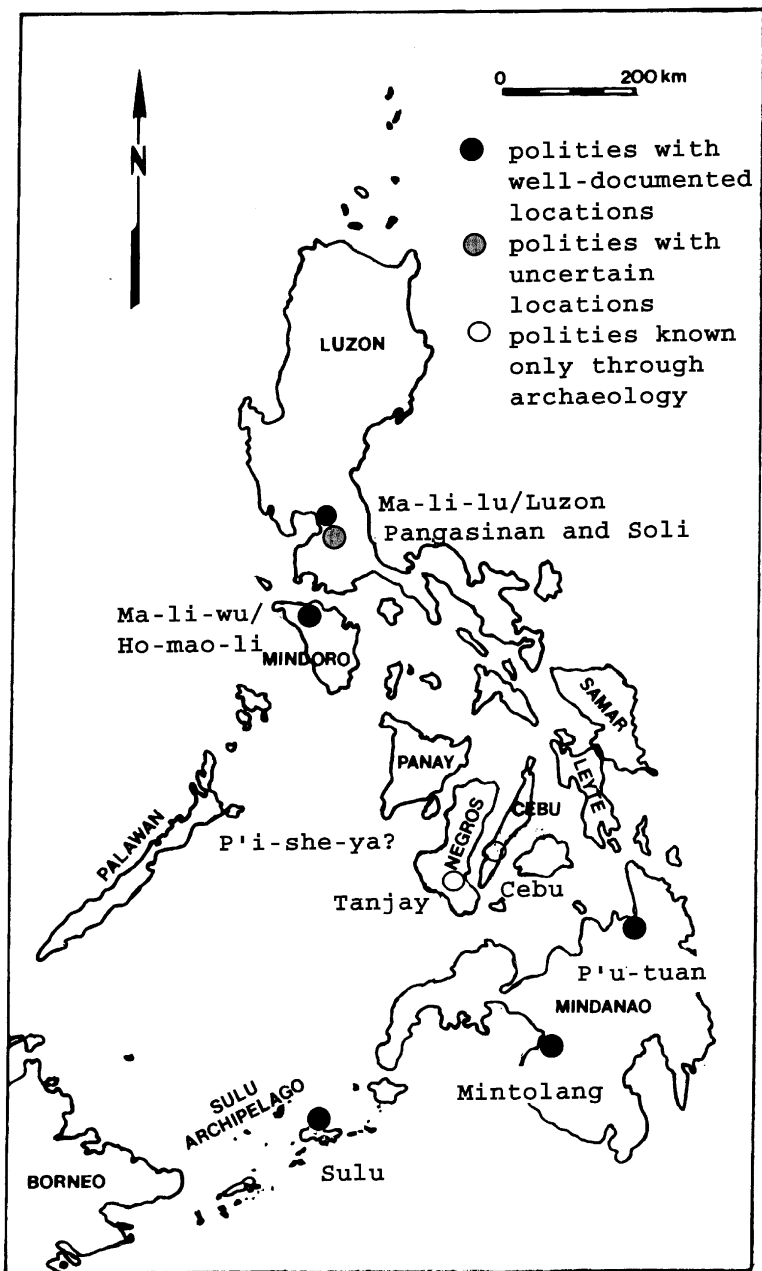


Figure 4.3. Location of late thirteenth to early fifteenth centuries A.D. Philippine polities known through historical texts or archaeological investigations.

The ascendancy of Sulu and Magindanao in the early Ming period and the relative decline in Chinese emphasis on Philippine polities along the western littoral zone of the archipelago may have been a function of shifting trade patterns away from the traditional Annam-Mindoro/Luzon–Western Visayas spice route to a heavier trade volume along the Sulu Sea–Java–Melaka route (Scott 1984:78; D. Hall 1981; K. Hall 1985). However, Chinese records suggest that new and powerful polities may have been emerging in southeastern Luzon and northern Mindoro in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Beginning in A.D. 1373, a series of tributary missions from “Luzon” (identified by Scott 1984 as Wang Ta-yüan’s Ma-li-lu, or Manila) and nearby polities of Pangasinan and Soli are noted in Ming court records (Scott 1984:67; Chen 1966:272–273; Wu 1959). Luzon (i.e., Manila) was considered a significant enough political tributary by the early-fifteenth-century emperor Yung-lo (A.D. 1403–1424) to warrant an official visit by a Chinese ambassador in 1405 during a tour of Southeast Asian tributary states and chiefdoms (which also included Sulu) (Chen 1966:272; Wu 1959). The Chinese notice of Luzon appears to have instigated a new round of tributary missions in the early fifteenth century by Luzon, Pangasinan, and a polity known as Mao-li-wu or Ho-mao-li (identified in Scott 1984:75 as Mindoro or Marinduque island, and perhaps related to the prior Ma-i).

Sulu’s first tributary mission to China in A.D. 1417 may have been in response to the Ming court’s attention to these northern polities. Sulu’s lavishly equipped mission included two Sulu rulers, a retinue of more than three hundred noblemen and slaves, and a large collection of tribute offerings (including precious gems, spices, tortoise shells, and pearls) (Majul 1966:147–148; Chen 1966:273; Scott 1984:75–77). Scott points out the political significance of Chinese terminology used in referring to the Philippine polities in the *Ming Annals* (1984:78). While the rulers of Ma-li-lu and Pangasinan (who also sent tribute missions at this time) were specified with Chinese titles glossed as “chief,” the Sulu and Mintolang (Magindanao) rulers were referred to by the Chinese term for “monarch” or “king” and were treated with the same court protocol as Iskander Shah of Melaka, the ruler of what was developing into the most commercially and politically powerful insular Southeast Asian maritime-trading state at that time (D. Hall 1981:221–235; K. Hall 1985:226–231; Wolters 1971).<sup>4</sup>

Archaeological investigations support historically based inferences of multiple power centers in the thirteenth to early fifteenth centuries but provide little direct evidence to evaluate Chinese impressions of Sulu and Magindanao as larger-scale and more complex polities than those to the north. Small-scale archaeological excavations in the Sulu region have unearthed early Ming ceramics (Spoehr 1973), but there are no regional-scale settlement studies or extensive excavations at the polity center of Jolo from which to assess polity scale and complexity in the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries. No formal archaeological work has been carried out on the Magindanao polity,

although isolated finds of early Ming porcelain in the region (Beyer and de Veyra 1947) support the documentary evidence for its development in this period. The presence of relatively large quantities of early Ming porcelains in burials along the northern Mindoro and southwestern Luzon coasts support the identification of these regions in Chinese documentary sources as prominent Philippine “centers” of early Ming trade (R. Fox 1959; Tenazas 1964), but the lack of settlement data at either the site or the regional level precludes any assessment of political scale and complexity. Excavations at Manila reported in Peralta and Salazar (1974) indicate occupation in this period but are also too limited to determine how large the primary center of this polity was or the geographic scale of its political influence.

The central Philippines may have had a political configuration of multiple small-scale chiefdoms in this period, with perhaps paramount chieftaincies beginning to develop at Cebu and a few other locales. The only Chinese references to the Visayas in this period are descriptions in both the *Chu fan chih* and the *Tao i chih lüeh* of a place or people called P’i-she-ya, where the heavily tattooed natives were viewed as less “civilized” than their contemporaries in Mindanao and the northern Philippines. Nonetheless, the P’i-she-ya were feared by the Chinese as particularly ruthless raiders and in fact were accused of carrying out devastating raids as far as the South China coast during this period (Scott 1984:74; Chen 1966:271; Craig 1914:4; Laufer 1907:253–255). The P’i-she-ya were described as consisting of numerous “chiefs” occupying substantial coastal settlements, capable of assembling raiding parties of hundreds of warriors, and possessing large seagoing vessels for warfare and trade (Scott 1984:74; Wu 1959; Chen 1966:268–271). While archaeological evidence indicates that the Zebu or Cebu chiefdom reached its height in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, excavations in late fourteenth to early fifteenth century deposits uncovered significant densities of early Ming porcelains and evidence for an indigenous iron industry (Nishimura 1992). Although Cebu is not mentioned in historical records until Spanish contact, it may have been expanding its political power in the central Philippines at this time.

To summarize, Chinese references to Philippine polities in the late thirteenth to early fifteenth centuries A.D. indicate a geographic shift in regional centers of economic and political power (see Fig. 4.3 above). Polities in the Sulu Sea area and on the southwestern Mindanao coast emerge in this period as the preeminent Philippine maritime-trading polities. However, the Chinese sources emphasize the growth of several competing maritime-oriented chiefdoms on the coasts of southwestern Luzon and northern Mindoro, while the Visayan-speaking central Philippines may have been divided into many smaller-scale polities. The general impression from historical sources and limited archaeological evidence is that this was a period of multiple regional centers of power engaging in intensive competition for foreign trade wealth.

### **Mid-Fifteenth Century to Sixteenth-Century Philippine Politics**

By the late Ming period (the mid-fifteenth century), the practice of launching official foreign “trade missions” from Philippine polities to the Chinese court had ceased, but eyewitness accounts of Chinese traders continued to be recorded. By the early sixteenth century, European documentary sources are available to corroborate the Chinese textual evidence in assessing Philippine political configurations. The Sulu and Magindanao polities continue to dominate the southern Philippines during this immediately prehispanic period (Beckett 1982; Majul 1966, 1973; J. Warren 1977b, 1982), while the political complexity and economic influence of Manila expands in the northern Philippines (Bernal 1966; Chan 1978; Peralta and Salazar 1974) and Cebu emerges as the primary trading center and most developed political power in the central Philippines (Fenner 1985; Hutterer 1973a; Nishimura 1992) (Fig. 4.4). The sixteenth-century Spanish expeditions of Magellan (recorded by Pigafetta in 1521) and Legaspi (1565a, 1565b, 1567, 1569, 1570) also noted the presence of two other major maritime-trading polities, one along the northern coast of Mindoro and the other possibly at the site of the earlier polity of P’u-tuan (Butuan). Both are described as centered at large fortified coastal settlements ruled by militarily powerful paramount chiefs who are heavily engaged in the late Ming porcelain trade.

Manila, mentioned but not well described in Chinese records of the early fifteenth to early sixteenth century (Chan 1978; Chen 1966), is described in sixteenth-century Spanish texts as a large palisaded town (well defended by Chinese-inspired but locally manufactured iron cannons) of at least two thousand inhabitants (and possibly up to ten thousand), with elaborate chiefly residences, public storage buildings, and quarters for metallurgical specialists (Relation of the Voyage to Luzon 1570:102–103). The prominence of Manila as a foreign trade center is underscored by Spanish reports of a “market plaza” area for the reception of foreign traders and a spatially discrete residential quarter housing several dozen Chinese and Japanese traders (p. Relation of the Voyage to Luzon 1570:103). The large and elaborately furnished house-compound of the paramount chief of Manila, Rajah Suleyman, included not only living quarters for elite kinsmen of the chief, but also attached metallurgical workshops focused on large-scale production of bronze and iron artillery. It is clear from the descriptions of European participants in the 1570 Spanish conquest of Manila that the chiefly center controlled a relatively large area of southeastern Luzon, with most of the coastal villages from Calatagan Peninsula north under the Manila sultan’s hegemony (Legaspi 1567, 1569).

At the time of the conquest, Manila and the surrounding area were controlled by a triumvirate of three blood-related paramount chiefs, an aged chief variously called Ache or Rajah Ladyang Matanda, his nephew and heir known as Suleyman (who appeared to be the primary leader and who

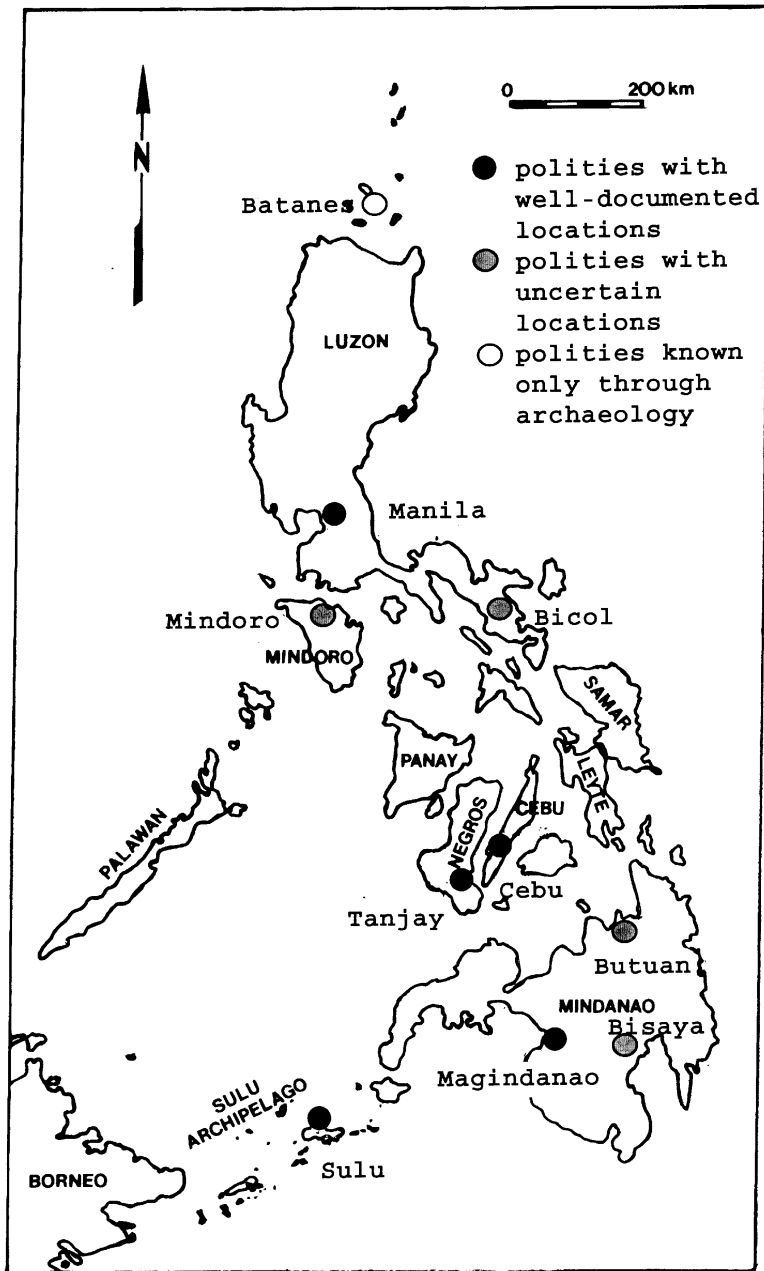


Figure 4.4. Location of mid-fifteenth to sixteenth century A.D. Philippine polities known through historical texts or archaeological investigations.

occupied the fortified center known as Manila), and Banaw Lakandula, Ache's cousin (who controlled another fortified center in Tondo a few kilometers upriver along the Pasig River). According to early Spanish accounts, farther upstream (near present-day Santa Ana) and just a short distance south along the coast (in present-day Pasay) were other prominent chiefs (the former known as Rajah Kalamayin and the latter an unnamed relative of his) who were under the political hegemony of Manila. The old chief Ache's maternal grandfather was a Brunei sultan, and as a young warrior he was sent to Brunei to command a naval force for his grandfather and to marry a Bornean cousin. Instead, the young Ache was captured in 1521 by the survivors of Magellan's expedition off the coast of Borneo, released for a large ransom, and returned to Manila with knowledge of the Spaniards fifty years before his eventual defeat (Moriz 1623:58–60; Pigafetta 1521c: 222). The political significance of these intermarriages and military links between elite lineages of Manila and Brunei will be discussed in Chapter 10.<sup>5</sup>

Initial excavations at the Santa Ana locale within modern-day Manila were aimed primarily at recovering burials, but substantial habitation debris is reported for fifteenth and sixteenth century levels (Peralta and Salazar 1974). More recent and still-unpublished excavations in other areas of the site report extensive remains of both metallurgy and possibly glass bead manufacture as well as massive quantities of foreign porcelains in deposits dated to the mid-fifteenth to mid-sixteenth centuries A.D. in the vicinity of Intramuros (Maria Dalupan, personal communication, 1987). Unfortunately, archaeological investigation of the prehispanic site is hampered by the contemporary urban sprawl of Manila, and thus there is little material documentation for when and how the polity emerged and expanded.

There are only a few brief sixteenth-century Spanish and Portuguese references to the Sulu polity, but none involved actual eyewitness accounts. Magellan's chronicler Pigafetta (1521a) met the Brunei Sultan Bulkeiah (or Saripara), who had a Sulu ruler's daughter as a wife (Putri Laila Men Chanei), but at the same time claimed to have once attacked the impressively fortified Sulu capital at Jolo with five hundred war vessels.<sup>6</sup> Father Francisco Combes, on a diplomatic mission to the Sulu sultan's court at Jolo in the mid-seventeenth century, identified leadership roles consistent with at least two levels of political hierarchy below the sultan (1667:44). Regional *datus* and local *datus* were described as having independent political followings outside the sultan's court. The great wealth of the Sulu sultan and his subordinate chiefs in the seventeenth century is emphasized by Combes' reference to the adornment of the sultan's courtiers in an impressive amount of gold status insignia (1667:44–45) and the Spanish friar's astonishment at a "musket-sized" pearl inlaid in a *datu's* sword hilt (1667: 73). The fortified center of the Sulu polity at Jolo (on an island of the same name) had a population variously estimated at two thousand individuals to about 3,500 houses (corresponding to more than ten thousand individuals)



at the time of significant European contact in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Kiefer 1972b:26), making it one of the most populous and areally extensive Philippine complex societies at that time. The polity center is described as including a large stockaded “palace” for the sultan, Islamic religious edifices, a spatially distinct “market” area, public warehouses to store trade goods, a large number of craft workshops (for full-time production of metal goods, textiles, and ceramics), and residential areas for foreign merchants living for substantial periods of time in the capital (particularly Chinese, who reached an estimated thousand in number by the mid-eighteenth century) (Hunt 1819; Kiefer 1972b; Majul 1965; Warren 1977a). As archaeological investigations of the Sulu polity are almost nonexistent (Spoehr 1973 is the only systematic archaeological study), there is little empirical evidence with which to assess aspects of the historical accounts.

Early- to mid-sixteenth-century Spanish texts refer to three chiefdoms that dominated the island of Mindanao and that were considerably larger in scale and complexity than neighboring polities. These included Magindanao (located in the floodplain of the Pulangi River in Cotabato, southwestern Mindanao), Butuan (probably a descendent of the ancient P'u-tuan mentioned in eleventh-century Chinese tributary records), and a polity called Bisaya that has not been clearly identified geographically but may be located in the Davao Gulf region of southwestern Mindanao (Legaspi 1565, 1569). Of these polities, Islamic Magindanao appears to have been the most prominent and has been the subject of the most exhaustive ethnohistorical analysis, as it survived as an autonomous polity well into the late nineteenth century (Ileto 1971; Saleeby 1905). Magindanao appears to have consisted of two political power centers that might be termed somewhat autonomous but economically integrated polities. The “lower valley” (*sa ilud*) Magindanao polity was located at the Pulangi River mouth and surrounding lower Pulangi River delta at present-day Cotabato.<sup>7</sup> Its political economy was heavily oriented toward control of maritime trade flowing north-south from the Philippines' western littoral to the Moluccas (Spice Islands) to the south and east-west through Sulu and Borneo to the other islands of Southeast Asia (see K. Hall 1985; Reid 1988). Magindanao political control incorporated a multiethnic population, including Ilanun coastal chiefs who specialized in sea raiding (Mednick 1977a) and functioned similarly to the *orang laut* sea warriors protecting the maritime trade routes of the sixteenth-century Melaka state (Andaya and Andaya 1982:42; see discussion in Chapter 12).

The “upper valley” (*sa raya*) Magindanao polity, centered around Buayan about fifty kilometers upstream, was dependent on the coastal Magindanao polity for access to maritime trade wealth, but had the economic advantage in terms of local subsistence production and control of exportable interior forest products. The wide and fertile alluvial plains of the interior suffered little of the devastating flooding of the coastal delta and were exceptionally productive in yielding surpluses of rice, root crops, and other staples. In

addition, only the upper valley chiefs had direct access to the valuable forest products needed as exports in foreign trade with the Chinese and other Southeast Asian polities, through traditional interior trade networks with adjacent tribal populations like the Tiruray. Competition between the upper and lower valley chiefly lineages for recognition as the superior political and military power in the region appears to have been endemic. Historical analysis suggests repeated conflicts, resulting in temporary political advantage to one center as second-tier chiefs realigned their allegiances according to political expediency. At the end of the sixteenth century, the Spanish perception was that Rajah Sirongan of the upper valley polity was the more powerful ruler in the region, in terms of both wealth and sheer numbers of lesser chiefs and villages owing him allegiance. However, by the early seventeenth century, Sultan Kudarat at the coastal center appears to have successfully expanded his political base through strategic marriage alliances and conquests among other coastal chiefs, eclipsing the interior rulers and consolidating both local and foreign perceptions of power through an impressively lavish Islamic court (Saleeby 1905). While these kinds of overtly hostile competitive interactions took place between the two political centers, reconstructed chiefly genealogies indicate frequent marriage alliances between elites in the two regions as well as strong similarities in Islamic ceremonialism and status regalia. Their enduring economic interdependency is evidenced by uninterrupted riverine trade despite political realignments, with foreign and locally manufactured prestige goods (e.g., porcelain, brass gongs, gold ornaments) flowing upstream against the downstream transport of rice and other agricultural crops, forest products, and captured slaves (mainly taken from interior tribal groups).

The coastal capital is described by early European witnesses as a heavily stockaded town defended by brass swivel guns and iron cannons, with the most prominent buildings being an Islamic mosque and a wooden administrative complex where the sultan lived and carried out his administrative duties. One European text describes the ostentation and ceremonialism of the sultan's court as he sat enthroned on a raised dais with his large entourage of allied chiefs, administrators, and royal relatives seated below him bedecked in gold ornaments, fine clothing, and gold-encrusted weaponry (Scott 1994:175–176). Historical sources make it clear that the Magindanao polities were “complex chiefdoms” or “paramount chiefdoms” (i.e., complex chiefdoms loosely integrating other smaller-scale chiefdoms through conquest), with multilevel political hierarchies and developing specialization in war and religious leadership. Religious advisors to the sultan, called “*pandita*,” helped maintain Islamic law and ritual, while warrior-chiefs known as “*raja laut*” coordinated maritime defense of trading vessels and attacks on neighboring polities (Saleeby 1905; Scott 1994:176). In the cosmopolitan coastal Magindanao center, many within the sultan's court were reported to be fluent in Malay, the languages of the Moluccas, and

Arabic, serving as hosts to both important foreign traders and Islamic scholars. Despite the unifying Islamic ideology, the Magindanao sultans, like the Sulu rulers and those of other Philippine polities, had only loose political control over local chiefs, who had independent power bases and were bound to the Magindanao court through prestige goods gifts and court ceremonialism. Unfortunately, there is no archaeological evidence, beyond sporadically reported finds of porcelain-laden burials, to add empirical weight to historical reconstructions. Archaeological investigation could help resolve significant issues about the origins of the Magindanao polities, their scale, complexity, relationship to other polities at particular times, and patterns of interpolity exchange that integrated them economically.

Butuan, with its well-watered and fertile alluvial valley, and proximity to both gold sources and interior forest products, continued to be a favorite port of call for Chinese junks and other foreign vessels in the sixteenth century (Legaspi 1565; Villalobos 1541). However, Scott suggests that by the period of late Ming trade, Butuan's former preeminence in the region had been eclipsed by the rising importance of Sulu and Magindanao along the Maluku spice route and perhaps by the rapid expansion of Cebu as a central Philippines trade port (1994:164).<sup>8</sup> Archaeological finds of foreign porcelains from the Butuan area tend to be biased toward the pre-Ming trade, suggesting diminishing access to foreign porcelains as competing trade centers in Mindanao and the Visayas arose.<sup>9</sup>

Historical and archaeological evidence are consistent in indicating the coalescence of Cebu as a large-scale maritime-trading chiefdom in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (Hutterer 1973a; Nishimura 1988, 1992). On its initial landings on several central Philippine islands, Magellan's 1521 expedition was directed to Cebu as the most important trade port in the vicinity and the seat of a regionally powerful chief (Pigafetta 1521a; 1521c:103–211; see also Fenner 1985:14). Members of Legaspi's later expedition in 1565 claimed that there was no port in the central Philippines of comparable scale (Legaspi 1565). While not actually traveling to Cebu, writers accompanying the 1525–1526 Loaisa expedition, the 1527–1528 Saavedra expedition, and the 1545–1546 Villalobos expedition all reported Cebu's widespread reputation in the southern archipelago as a prominent trade port renowned for its great wealth in porcelains, gold, and large pig herds (Blair and Robertson 1903–1909, 2:35, 42, 72). The first Spanish impressions are of a substantial-sized stockaded town and bustling port from which a large Siamese vessel had just departed, ruled by a paramount chief known as Humabon. Cebu is described by the Spaniards as extending for "more than one *legua*" (around six kilometers) along the coast (Blair and Robertson 1903–1909, 12:179), and Vander Meer estimates that the fortified area and settlement surrounding the fortifications combined may have covered an area of thirty square kilometers (1967:320). Based on Pigafetta's estimate that more than eight hundred Cebu inhabitants were baptized by

the Spaniards in the port in 1521, Fenner suggests that at least two thousand people lived in the coastal town and its immediate vicinity (1985:14).

The Spanish describe Datu Humabon's large wooden residence, craft workshops for metal production, extensive elite retinue draped in gold and other status goods, and impressive porcelain serving assemblages on which the Spaniards were served elaborate meals (Pigafetta 1521b:139). In his excavations at Cebu, Nishimura (1992) recorded relatively high densities of fragmented Ming period Chinese porcelains as well as Siamese and Annamese wares, from an astounding variety of kiln sites in the habitation deposits. Both Nishimura and Hutterer (1973a) also recovered substantial quantities of iron and bronze fragments, as well as iron slag and possible fragments of crucibles used in the smelting process, attesting to a large-scale metallurgical industry. Echevarria (1974) and Fenner (1985) use historical sources to argue that Cebu may have also specialized in cotton production and textile weaving for export in the sixteenth century. Because the prehispanic site is currently covered by a massive and sprawling urban center (Cebu City), the regional settlement pattern data that would help trace the rise of Cebu polity in regional terms is almost impossible to collect. However, the Spaniards accompanying Legaspi report the presence of fourteen or fifteen substantial settlements along the island of Cebu's eastern coast (cited in Fenner 1985:22), which may represent "secondary centers" associated with the Cebu polity and suggest the presence of a three-level settlement hierarchy.

At the time of the 1521 Magellan expedition, the Cebu paramount Humabon was engaged in a highly volatile conflict with a rival chief named Lapulapu who controlled a sizable settlement on a small island (Mactan) only a few kilometers across a narrow strait from Cebu (Pigafetta 1521). Lapulapu's chiefly center has never been unequivocally identified by archaeologists, although it may have been of substantial size, judging from the prodigious amounts of Ming period porcelain found in the construction of Cebu City's airport on Mactan Island. Pigafetta claims that Lapulapu had at his command more than fifteen hundred warriors, although he may have been motivated to exaggerate the force of an enemy that ended up routing the Spanish soldiers and killing Magellan. The Magellan expedition had unwittingly become embroiled in this interpolity rivalry, and the death of a portion of the Spanish force at the hands of Lapulapu was due to their ill-chosen alliance with the *datu* Humabon. Despite Datu Lapulapu's decisive victory in this 1521 battle, the ephemeral nature of political coalitions is emphasized by the Legaspi expedition's (1565) failure to mention the existence of any sizable polity on Mactan forty-four years after Magellan's death. Cebu had apparently regained its position as the preeminent polity in the region by this time, and the Mactan polity of Lapulapu had disintegrated into obscurity.

Another region of the archipelago that is likely to have supported at

least one fairly large-scale chiefdom is the Bicol River valley of the Bicol Peninsula (in the modern province of Camarines Sur in southeastern Luzon), according to early Spanish accounts. While the 1572 expedition of Juan Salcedo in the region reported an exaggerated figure of three thousand households in the principal “chiefly center” (Ortega 1573:135), other early European sources suggest that there were a number of heavily fortified towns defended by large warrior forces and supporting between four and eight hundred households (Lisboa 1628; de Rada 1574; Zamora 1565). Loarca’s (1582) enumeration of “tributaries” (i.e., numbers of subjugated individuals whom the Spanish could collect tribute from), though deemed inaccurate in their specific population estimates, suggests that in relative terms the Bicol Peninsula likely supported one of the highest population densities in the Philippines in the sixteenth century. The wealth of the Bicol chiefdoms lay not only in trading and booty-aimed raiding along the southern Luzon coast and into the eastern islands of the archipelago (de Rada 1574:181), but also in its unusually wide, well-watered, and fertile Bicol River floodplain and proximity to gold sources (Scott 1994:180–181). Reported finds of foreign porcelains are primarily early Ming and especially late Ming in date (Beyer 1947), indicating that these polities flourished in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, although there have been no extensive excavations of habitation sites or regional-scale archaeological surveys to confirm the suspected presence of at least one complex chiefdom.

Large-scale fortifications and Chinese cannons similar to those at Manila as well as the presence of a formidable military force are reported by the Spanish conquerors of Manila for two settlements on the northern coast of Mindoro (which, like Manila, were also defended by Chinese cannon technology) (Relation of the Conquest of the Island of Luzon 1572:143, 170). However, we know very little about the Mindoro polity other than that its chiefs, like those of Manila, were powerful enough to trade regularly with and intermarry with the ruling families of Brunei (Scott 1994:191). Archaeological research along the northern Mindoro coast is limited to scattered finds of Chinese trade porcelains dated from the Sung to the late Ming period (Beyer 1947; Solheim 1982; Tenazas 1964). While these finds attest to the importance of the area as a foreign trade destination between about the twelfth and sixteenth centuries, researchers have no clue where the historically referenced sixteenth-century polity center is located or any regional archaeological evidence for assessing the scale and complexity of the polity.

The sixteenth-century Spanish explorers, like the contemporaneous and earlier Chinese merchants, make reference to the existence of numerous smaller-scale polities dotting most of the major islands of the Philippines, most of which must have been organizationally less complex and territorially less extensive than the Manila, Cebu, Sulu, Magindanao, Bicol, Butuan, and Mindoro polities.<sup>10</sup> A substantial number of coastal settlements outside the well-known fifteenth- and sixteenth-century trade centers are described

as locales where regionally powerful *datu*s resided, along with aggregated populations of several hundred (and in many cases more than one thousand) individuals. These include many river mouth settlements along the western coast of Luzon north of Manila (Loarca 1582a:81–151; Keesing 1962:21, 53, 98–99, 102, 123, 149), on the island of Leyte (Blair and Robertson 1903–1909, 2:114–115; see also Loarca 1582a:49), on Panay (Loarca 1582a:67–71), and along the northern coast of Mindanao (Ribeira 1576: 282–284).

In summary, the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries saw the rise of a number of large-scale polities in the Philippine archipelago that were described historically or known archaeologically as smaller-scale polities in the preceding centuries (e.g., Cebu, Bicol), while other polities that were prominent in earlier periods appear to have declined as regional powers (e.g., Butuan and possibly Mindoro). Polities centered at Manila, Sulu, and Cotabato (Magindanao) continued their pre-fifteenth-century prosperity and may have significantly expanded. Of significance in the political expansion of these last polities was the adoption of Islam through contacts with Brunei, Melaka, and other Islamic kingdoms of island Southeast Asia, perhaps giving them a competitive edge in foreign trade moving through these Islamic kingdoms. In analyzing these patterns, one must be cautious in recognizing that not all prominent polities of the tenth to sixteenth centuries would have been of equal significance to the Chinese and Spanish recorders, that both historical sources and archaeological investigations are selective, and that one cannot hope to have unbiased evidence for political configurations at specific times. However, the general impression is a considerable increase in the number of large-scale coastal polities in the archipelago in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries compared to earlier phases and expanded competition between political centers.

### ***Political Cycling in the Tenth to Sixteenth Centuries***

Returning to the general issue of political cycling, the ethnohistorical and archaeological evidence from the Philippines indicates that the political landscape of the Philippine archipelago between the tenth and sixteenth centuries comprised numerous chiefdom-level polities of varying scale and complexity. Regionally powerful complex chiefdoms arose primarily in those areas with extensive, agriculturally productive alluvial plains and strategic access to maritime trade routes through the archipelago. However, political power centers shifted relatively rapidly within the archipelago, with few polities maintaining their trajectories of expansion and regional dominance for more than a century or even a few decades as other powerful polities arose to challenge them. Some of the historically and archaeologically known examples presented in this discussion are Mindoro's (Ma-i's) eclipse

by the expanding fifteenth-century polity of Manila in the northern Philippines, and P'u-tuan's decline and Sulu's rise as a maritime power in the southern Philippines. Also exemplifying these rapid political power shifts is the sixteenth-century conflict between the Cebu and Mactan polities of the central Philippines, which quickly resolved itself in favor of the former and resulted in the rapid collapse of the latter polity. These specific cases give strong support to the notion that political cycling was a significant process in forming the early to mid-second millennium A.D. political landscape in the Philippines. In discussing the evolutionary trajectories of particular polities, some of the causes of relatively rapid regional power shifts are evident—competition for foreign prestige goods trade, interpolity warfare and population displacement, and ecological variability and differences in productive potential within the archipelago. In subsequent chapters the root causes of political instability will be examined in more detail.

### **The View from a Single Region: Sixth-to-Sixteenth-Century Political Transformations in the Tanjay Chiefdom**

For most of the Philippine polities discussed in the preceding sections, scholars are unable to trace individually their long-term evolution. The ethnohistorical evidence and, more rarely, archaeological investigations have only given us brief glimpses of their political relations and geographic spheres of influence at particular times, generally at their peak florescence when they attracted notice by Chinese chroniclers and produced more visible archaeological remains. Systematically collected regional-scale settlement data from the Bais-Tanjay Region of Negros Island has allowed the construction of prehispanic settlement hierarchies relevant to political organization in the region from the sixth to sixteenth centuries A.D. This settlement evidence for the Tanjay basin polities provides a rare view of developing political hierarchies and processes of regional centralization within a single region of the Philippines. Thus, instead of taking horizontal slices across the archipelago within broadly defined time periods to construct a series of roughly synchronic vignettes of political configurations, we can attempt to construct a long-term political history of a time series of polities centered on the same region.

The earliest cultural phase for which we have reasonably representative regional settlement data for the Bais-Tanjay Region is the sixth-to-tenth-centuries Aguilar Phase.<sup>11</sup> Figure 4.5 presents the settlements recorded in all phases of regional surface survey that were dated to the Aguilar Phase (ca. A.D. 500–1000), and Table 4.1 provides statistics on average site sizes and densities for this and other phases based on the probability-based sample.<sup>12</sup> As shown in Figure 4.5, there is a nonuniform site-size distribution, with indications of a developing two-level settlement hierarchy already in the late

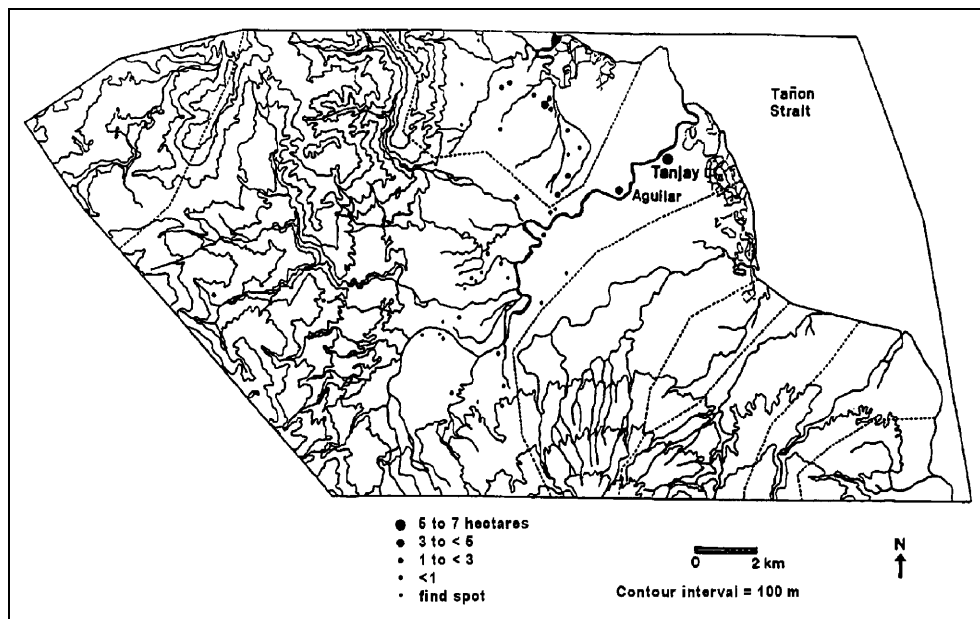


Figure 4.5. Aguilar Phase (ca. A.D. 500–1000) settlements recorded in the surface surveys of the Bais-Tanjay Region. Named sites are settlements that have been excavated.

first millennium A.D. Systematic auger coring, surface collections, and test excavations at the coastal center of Tanjay yielded a size estimate of five to seven hectares in this period (Table 4.1). Tanjay is only slightly larger than the approximately one- to three-hectare Aguilar and Lobendina sites about two kilometers upriver, but these sites together form a distinct tier above a large number of sites in the one hectare or less range (with roughly 50 percent of the sites falling below one thousand square meters in size).

Therefore, a two-level settlement hierarchy is distinguishable by the late first millennium A.D. in the Bais-Tanjay Region, a settlement pattern that may be indicative of a small-scale chiefdom. Settlement size hierarchies alone are not sufficient for detecting the presence of chiefdoms, since population aggregation may occur for reasons other than political centrality. However, in later chapters I demonstrate that elaborately decorated earthenware and metal goods were concentrated at Tanjay in the Aguilar Phase, and these goods moved differentially upriver and along the coast to other large centers in the region. Thus, the first millennium A.D. Tanjay community may have been one of a number of small-scale, maritime-oriented chiefdoms along the eastern coast of Negros Island in trade interaction. Excavations in the Bacong Region of Negros Island (Bacus 1995; Tenazas 1974) yielded elabo-



**Table 4.1. Estimated Size of Tanjay and Mean Site Size and Site Density for Sites One Hectare and Greater Recovered in the 1982 Full-Coverage Survey in the Bais-Tanjay Region, by Cultural Phase**

Period	Estimated Size of Tanjay (in ha)	Mean Site Size in Region (in ha)	Mean Sites/Sampling Unit (in sites/0.25 km <sup>2</sup> )
Aguilar Phase (ca. A.D. 500–1000)	5–7	1.38 (0.66)	0.76 (2.61)
Santiago Phase (ca. A.D. 1100–1400)	10–15	2.17 (1.57)*	0.63 (2.07)
Osmena Phase (ca. A.D. 1400–1600)	30–50	3.44 (1.12)*	3.27 (1.32)*

*Note:* Asterisk (\*) indicates a statistically significant change from the preceding period using a Student's *t* test at the .05 level of significance. Numbers in parentheses are standard deviations.

rate burials that suggest the presence of a contemporaneous small-scale chiefdom around forty kilometers to the south of Tanjay.

In the Bais-Tanjay Region, there appears to be a cultural hiatus between at least the late tenth century and early twelfth century A.D. during which there is minimal occupation at Tanjay and abandonment of many of the riverbank settlements occupied during the Aguilar Phase. Archaeological researches at Bacong to the south suggest a similarly dated break between an earlier simple chiefdom using elaborate local earthenware as status goods and later polities focused more heavily on foreign porcelains. While this period is poorly defined archaeologically, it may represent the collapse of the late first millennium A.D. chiefdom at Tanjay and possibly polities around Bacong. The dearth of settlements in the Bais-Tanjay Region that are assignable to this period suggests that some depopulation occurred in the area, and the local population may have been absorbed into other rising polities.

By the twelfth-to-fourteenth-century Santiago Phase, the regional settlement system had once again coalesced into a distinctly hierarchical one (Fig. 4.6), with Tanjay emerging as a clearly dominant primate center at an estimated ten to fifteen hectares (more than three times the size of the next largest site) (see Table 4.1). Excavations of Santiago Phase habitation layers at Tanjay indicated what were likely status-related differences in access to prestige goods such as porcelains and metals over the settlement. Archaeological evidence from Tanjay and other Bais-Tanjay Region sites indicate that the coastal center clearly dominated access to foreign porcelains in the region between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries. Excavations at Tanjay

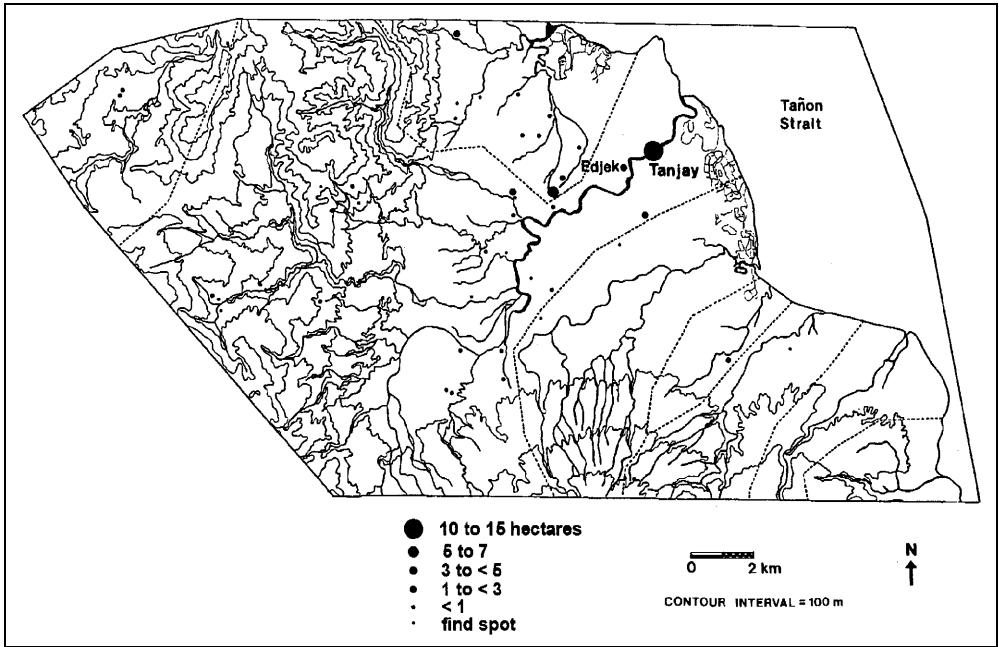


Figure 4.6. Santiago Phase (ca. A.D. 1100–1400) settlements recorded in the surface surveys of the Bais-Tanjay Region. Named sites are settlements that have been excavated.

also produced archaeological evidence for pottery manufacture and iron production in this phase. Thus, both regional-scale archaeological data and excavations at the coastal center suggest the concentration of sociopolitical elites at Tanjay and a central role for the settlement in the regional economy in the early second millennium A.D.

There were also a number of large settlements ranging from two to five hectares in size, located along the Tanjay River and the adjacent Panamanagan River. While none of these large twelfth- to fourteenth-century riverbank settlements have been excavated extensively, statistical analyses of surface collections indicate that foreign porcelains and other prestige goods are differentially concentrated at these possible secondary centers. The remaining lowland sites were small, contained largely mundane domestic debris, and are interpreted as small hamlets. While there is a statistically significant increase in the mean site size for settlements greater than one hectare in this period compared to the Aguilar Phase, the overall density of sites actually decreases slightly (see Table 4.1). This pattern suggests a trend toward increased concentration of the lowland population at the primary center and secondary centers rather than any overall regional population growth com-

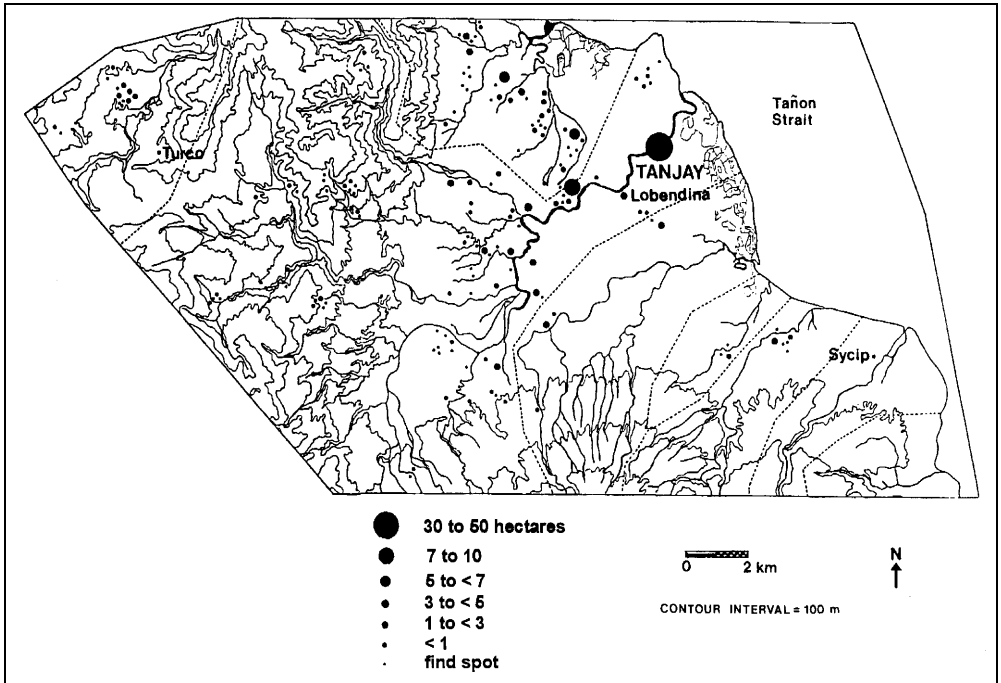


Figure 4.7. Osmena Phase (ca. A.D. 1400–1600) settlements recorded in the surface surveys of the Bais-Tanjay Region. Named sites are settlements that have been excavated.

pared to the earlier phase. In terms of distinct “levels” in a regional settlement hierarchy, the larger riverbank settlements show an almost continuous size variability with other settlements in the region. The general impression is one of a simple chiefdom similar in scale and complexity to the earlier polity in the Bais-Tanjay Region. However, the growing riverbank settlements indicate a trajectory toward a three-tiered settlement hierarchy.

By the fifteenth-to-sixteenth-century Osmena Phase, the geographic extent of the coastal center at Tanjay has increased twofold to its historically known size of about thirty to fifty hectares (Fig. 4.7 and Table 4.1). Archaeological excavations at Tanjay in cultural strata dated to this period produced evidence for two spatially discrete residential zones with differences in house size and marked differences in access to household wealth and subsistence goods. The coastal center also yielded artifacts and features pointing to iron production and pottery production on a more significant scale than in preceding periods. While two of the earlier riverbank secondary centers have disappeared, one has grown from five hectares to seven hectares, and four new secondary centers have emerged that fall in the four-

to seven-hectare range. The fifteenth and sixteenth centuries also appear to bring a significant increase in the population occupying the Tanjay River basin, as measured by both the density of sites recovered in systematic survey and mean site size. As shown in Table 4.1, the number of sites increases fivefold in this period and the average size of habitation sites larger than one hectare increases by about 50 percent. Much of this dramatic increase in the average site size is due to the tremendous growth of Tanjay and the concentration of population along the Tanjay River in a number of large secondary centers.

While a number of larger settlements were present along the Tanjay River in the preceding Santiago Phase, in the Osmena Phase these riverbank settlements have become significantly larger and have clearer archaeological evidence for functionally specialized roles. There are now three distinct tiers within the settlement hierarchy: Tanjay, a tier of secondary riverbank centers, and numerous small-scale villages and house clusters less than one hectare in size. The differential distribution of both foreign and locally manufactured prestige goods to these large upriver secondary centers suggests the presence of elites at the very least and possibly the presence of lower-ranking chiefs connected through kinship and alliance with the Tanjay chiefs. The expanded scale of the coastal center, the increased complexity of regional settlement hierarchies, and evidence presented in later chapters for increasingly centralized control of resource mobilization, trade, and production in the Tanjay River basin all point to the emergence of a complex chiefdom in Bais-Tanjay Region by sometime in the late fifteenth century to the mid-sixteenth century A.D.

In summary, a small-scale chiefdom appears to have developed and lasted several centuries in the Bais-Tanjay Region before the initiation of the foreign porcelain trade. The archaeological evidence suggests that sometime around the twelfth century, the coastal port of Tanjay reemerges as a substantial-sized chiefly center, and the local population begins to coalesce around large riverbank settlements. However, it is not until the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries that there is a dramatic change in the regional settlement hierarchies and significant population expansion in the region. In this immediately prehispanic period, there appears to be a significant increase in both the overall density of sites and the average site size along with the development of a more distinctly hierarchical, three-tiered settlement system centered on the hyperlarge coastal port of Tanjay. This development corresponds with archaeological indicators for intensified participation in foreign prestige goods trade in the late fifteenth to the mid-sixteenth centuries. For the emerging complex chiefdom in the Tanjay region and for other expanding fifteenth- and sixteenth-century chiefdoms, these changes in the regional economy are linked to the new demands and opportunities of expanded long-distance trade.

**Summary: Political Cycling in Philippine Chiefdoms**

The historical evidence indicates that the political landscape of the Philippine archipelago between the tenth and sixteenth centuries comprised numerous chiefdom-level polities of varying scale and complexity. Regionally powerful chiefdoms arose at various times in those areas with extensive, agriculturally productive alluvial plains and strategic access to maritime trade routes through the archipelago. Political power centers shifted relatively rapidly within the archipelago, with few polities maintaining their trajectories of expansion and regional dominance for more than a century or two as other powerful polities arose to challenge them. Between the tenth and sixteenth centuries there are several periods when coalescence into complex chiefdoms occurs more frequently within the archipelago (the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and the mid-fifteenth to sixteenth centuries), interspersed with periods when the islands appear to be more politically fragmented (the tenth century and the thirteenth to early fifteenth centuries). Settlement evidence from late first millennium A.D. Tanjay and from similarly dated cemeteries with elaborate burials elsewhere in the Philippines suggest that “simple chiefdoms” existed in many regions of the Philippines during the prehistoric Metal Age. It is likely that numerous cycles of interpolity competition and shifting regional political dominance occurred during this period. However, with the exception of the Bais-Tanjay Region settlement survey, there is a lack of systematic regional-scale settlement studies necessary to locate these earlier chiefly polities in time and space, to trace their growth and decline, to document their peer polity interactions with contemporaneous chiefdoms, and to gain a broader picture of political dynamics within the archipelago during prehistoric times.

For the historically known polities, the causes of regional power shifts appear to be multiple—interpolity competition for foreign prestige goods trade, interpolity warfare and population displacement, local limits on productive potential within the ecologically diverse archipelago, factional competition between local chiefs and would-be chiefs, and so forth. In addition, the rising importance of maritime porcelain trade to the political economy of Philippine chiefdoms is a particularly significant factor in the emergence of several powerful paramount chiefdoms (such as Manila, Cebu, coastal Magindanao, and Sulu) in the two centuries before European contact.

## Chapter 5

### Social Stratification in Contact Period Societies

One of the primary features of pre-state complex societies or chiefdoms is the presence of social ranking—that is, at least partially hereditary social status differences that are given structural rigidity through symbolic expression and, in most cases, confer distinct economic advantage (differential access to resources) on an “elite” stratum (Carneiro 1981; Earle 1987a, 1991; Service 1962). In chiefdom societies, there is a “pervasive inequality of persons and groups in the society” (Service 1971:145). However, Sahlins (1958), Goldman (1970), and Oliver (1989:883–956) note that status systems in the Polynesian chiefdoms vary considerably—in the degree to which ascriptive assignment may be modified by achieved rank, in their overall structural complexity (i.e., how many social strata are defined), and in the degree to which social strata are continuously graded or qualitatively defined. The traditional view contrasting strict hereditary ascription as characteristic of chiefly status systems (exemplified by Polynesian chiefdoms) with primarily achieved rank in “big man” systems (exemplified by Melanesian “tribal societies”) (Sahlins 1963) has recently come under fire as an unrealistically simplified dichotomy (e.g., Thomas 1989). Social stratification is manifested behaviorally in the presence of strong “taboos” or proscriptions on interclass marriage and social interaction (Goldman 1970; Oliver 1989; Sahlins 1958) and materially in insignia of social rank (Peebles and Kus 1977), differential energy investment in mortuary ritual (Goldman 1970:522–536; J. Brown 1971; Peebles and Kus 1977; Tainter 1973), differential wealth in households and varying energy expenditure in constructing residences (Feinman and Neitzel 1984; Plog and Upham 1983; M. Smith 1987), and dietary differences between individuals and households (Crabtree 1990).

This chapter will focus on ethnohistorical analysis of social stratification in contact period and later Philippine chiefdoms. Sixteenth-to-nineteenth-century Spanish accounts and early-twentieth-century ethnographic work are used to reconstruct traditional systems of social rank differentiation, and their behavioral and material manifestations, over a broad range of contact period complex societies in the Philippine archipelago. While this ethnohistorical study has limited time depth, it provides the baseline for the investigation in Chapter 6 of the evolution of these ranking systems in Philippine chiefdoms between the early first millennium A.D. and the mid-second millennium A.D.

Ethnographic and historical sources are remarkably consistent in describing basic social and political forms that appear to be characteristic of all Filipino complex societies as well as many chiefdoms and states in other regions of insular Southeast Asia. These include at least partially ascribed social strata, but with significant fluidity of movement between classes; positions of hereditary but highly unstable leadership; and hierarchical but not strongly vertically integrated political organization (i.e., decentralized polities) structured through highly personalized social alliances rather than territorially based units. The gradational and highly fluid social ranks, rather than rigidly defined social stratification, characteristic of these societies appear to have been manifested materially more often in quantitative than in qualitative differences in house form, household wealth, personal ornamentation, access to subsistence resources, and burial modes.

### Chiefs and Other Elites

Spanish documents of the early phases of colonization indicate the presence of a well-developed system of social stratification in many sixteenth-century Philippine lowland societies (Alcina 1688b:100–123; Loarca 1582a: 143–153; Morga 1609a:296; Plasencia 1589a:173–175; Chirino 1604b: 302–308; Dasmariñas 1591; Isla 1565:232; San Buenaventura 1613; see summaries in Alip 1965; Jocano 1975a; Krieger 1942; Scott 1980, 1994: 127–146). Early accounts were explicit and consistent in recognizing three or four distinct inherited social ranks or “classes,” at the apex of which stood a series of regional “chiefs” (Alcina 1688b:100–123; Morga 1609c: 50–51; Plasencia 1589a:173–175). It is likely that the early Spaniards would have been biased toward emphasizing indigenous social class differences because of their experiences with complex societies in the New World and their desire to justify their own social oppression of the archipelago’s inhabitants. However, Spanish claims for strongly developed systems of social stratification are supported by descriptions of ascriptive ranking in late-nineteenth and early-twentieth-century ethnographic accounts of extant chiefdoms such as Bagabo, Bukidnon, Maranao, Sulu, and Magindanao in the southern Philippines (Biernatzki 1985; Claver 1985; Cole 1913, 1956; Iletto 1971; Kiefer 1972b; Mednick 1965, 1977b; Saleeby 1905; J. Warren 1985). For example, anthropologist Fay Cooper Cole’s turn-of-the-century description of social organization among the Bagabo of central Mindanao indicates that at least three distinct hereditary social ranks were recognized: an elite class formed of *datus* and their cognatically defined close relatives (see Fig. 5.1), a nonelite or freemen class attached to *datus* in a patron-client relationship, and a small slave class comprising debt-bonded indigenes and foreigners captured in raids (Cole 1913).

The uppermost rank in contact period Philippine chiefdoms consisted of a birthright aristocracy or chiefly class (*datus*) that, paralleling chiefdoms



**Figure 5.1.** Bagabo chief Attos, Davao, Mindanao, in May 1901, wearing chocolate-brown embroidered cotton cloth, glass and gold bead jewelry, a bronze kris with carved ivory handle, and ivory earrings. The number of men he has killed in battle is indicated by the bars on the point of the turban hanging down by the side of his head. (Courtesy of the Dean Worcester Photographic Collection, Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan)

elsewhere (Carneiro 1981; Earle 1987a, 1991; Johnson and Earle 1987: 225–245), functioned as hereditary political authorities, war leaders, adjudicators of disputes, sponsors of luxury good artisans, and the pivots of complex systems of tribute mobilization and prestige goods exchange. The chieftainship was ideally hereditary and traced primarily along patrilineal descent lines to the eldest son. However, the sons of secondary wives and more distant kinsmen along both the paternal and maternal lines often laid



claim to the chieftainship if the intended heir was weak and uncharismatic. Additionally, even those lacking elite genealogies could aspire to the chieftainship through hypogamous marriages and through recognized prowess in warfare, trading, and wealth accumulation. However, many Philippine societies make clear linguistic and conceptual distinctions between “true *datus*” and “self-made *datus*,” or men of renown.

Political power involved control over compositionally shifting factions of followers rather than territories, and thus political power, wealth, and social prestige depended on how well chiefs could attract and extract resources from followers. The chief or *datu* had a right to exact tribute (in the form of agricultural products or craft goods) and to request services (such as seasonal field labor, participation in raiding expeditions, and elite house construction) from all households under his control, with the exception of members of the nonchiefly nobility. *Datus* were ranked not only according to their genealogical pedigrees, but also according to the scale of their alliance and clientage networks. Widespread political influence and social prestige were reflected materially in the quantity of agricultural surplus, slaves, and luxury good wealth (porcelains, gold, silks, metal weaponry) displayed in their households and mobilized at ritual feasts. In the more complex polities such as the Sulu and Magindanao sultanates and sixteenth-century Manila and Cebu, there were clear hierarchies of paramount and lesser chiefs forming more strongly centralized polities with greater emphasis on genealogical ascription of political titles and inheritable wealth, social rank, and prestige. In contrast, chiefly polities in other regions of the Philippines were characterized by weakly developed political hierarchies, small-scale political factions, less emphasis on hereditary ascription in leadership roles, and more opportunities for achieving prestige and social rank through wealth-accumulating and wealth-displaying activities such as raiding, trading, and ritual feasts.

Social cleavages between chiefs and the nonelite were manifested overtly in prescribed behaviors and linguistic conventions for interaction. Chirino observed special body postures and modes of address used by subordinates in interaction with *datus* and other elites in many contact period Philippine societies (1604b:240–242). As described by Scott for Visayan societies, “lower-class persons entered the presence [of elites] with head bowed, twisting and wriggling their bodies” so as to convey the proper degree of subservience (1994:136). According to the seventeenth-century *relación* of Diego de Bobadilla, the wives of chiefs and other high-ranking elite women generally were carried on the shoulders of their slaves when they ventured out of the chiefly house compound, so as not to be seen at the same level as commoners (1640:337). Daughters of high-ranking Visayan chiefs, according to Scott, were largely sequestered within the chiefly residence before marriage to avoid the polluting effects of contacts with those of lower rank (1994:60, 136). In the Bicol region of southeastern Luzon, chiefs and other

high-status individuals were viewed as so endowed with supernatural power that any lower-ranking person eating from serving plates or drinking from cups touched by them would become violently ill (Lisboa 1628). In addition to strict behavioral codes guiding interactions between individuals of differing rank, speech patterns appear to have been strongly formalized in communication between elites and nonelites in contact period Philippine complex societies. A common practice among some Philippine groups was the use of the third person (e.g., “the chief”) and flowery honorifics in speaking to those of higher rank (Mentrida 1637:365; San Buenaventura 1613:551).

Elements of status insignia associated with chiefs and other elites included ornaments of gold, silver, ivory, and semiprecious stones; garments of imported Chinese silk or elaborately woven cotton; flower diadems, gold-pegged teeth, and elaborate tattoos (see Fig. 5.2) (Relation of Occurrences 1565:140; Boxer manuscript 1590b:196–197, 217; Colin 1660b:160–163; Morga 1609b:269–272; Pigafetta 1521a:46, 50–51, 58, 64; Rodríguez 1565:126). A number of ethnohistorical sources report that membership in the nobility was permanently marked at birth in some central Philippine groups by cranial deformation: children of the elite class had their foreheads artificially flattened between two boards beginning at birth as a “mark of beauty” and social distinction (Bobadilla 1640:339).

The nonchiefly elite, referred to as *timawas* and *hidalgos* (Sp. “knights”) in the Boxer manuscript (1590), *nobleza* (Sp. “the third rank of nobility”) by Alcina (1688), *maharlika* (“great, noble”) by Plasencia (1589), and *maginoo* (“noble in lineage or parentage”) by San Buenaventura (1613), occupied with the *datu* this upper tier in the social hierarchy. This nobility was generally composed of those sharing the chief’s high-status genealogy (Plasencia 1589a:175), such as his brothers, cousins, and affines, although others with more remote kin ties, fictive kin relations, specialized skills, or exceptional ambition could rise to serve as “personal vassals” (Scott 1980:164) of the *datu*. They aided him in military campaigns (including outfitting themselves with weapons at their own expense, navigating boats for maritime raids, and participating in raiding activities) (Plasencia 1589a:173–176), they organized and attended *datu*-sponsored feasts (including ensuring against treachery by the hosts or guests through wine tasting) (Loarca 1582b:93), they participated in maritime trade expeditions sponsored by the *datu* (Plasencia 1589a:173–176), they arranged for the chief’s “ransom” if he were taken captive in warfare (Loarca 1582b:94), and they enforced the funeral taboos at the chief’s death (Chirino 1604b:302–308). In return for this support, members of the elite rank shared in the material wealth (including slaves) obtained in *datu*-sponsored raiding and trading (Loarca 1582b:94), in the public esteem accorded to successful warriors, and in the chief’s obligations to protect them and their families from harm both within and outside the *datu*’s district of control (Loarca 1582b:93).



Figure 5.2. Elite Filipinos wearing gold-embroidered silk clothing and gold jewelry. The male is carrying a long metal sword with wooden scabbard. (From the Boxer manuscript 1590)

As emphasized by Scott, the *datu* and this second tier of frequently (though not always) genealogically close elite were sharply separated from the remaining population by their largely nonproductive role in the subsistence economy (1980:165). In the case of the Tagalog *maginoo* and *maharlika*, Plasencia suggests that individuals of this rank were generally not required to pay agricultural tribute, but rather controlled their own commoner dependents or slave force to work their land for their own sustenance (Plasencia 1589a:173–176). “*Maginoo*” appears to refer to a general aristocracy or upper class that encompasses both the hereditary *datu*s and their male and female kinsmen. The Tagalog *maharlika* are described by Plasencia as primarily functioning in a military capacity, accompanying *datu*s on raiding and trading expeditions and sharing in the wealth to be gained from such activities. However, the word “*maharlika*” is probably derived from the Sanskrit “*maharddhika*,” meaning “a man of wealth, wisdom, or competence” (Reid 1983b:21; Scott 1994:224). The term appears as early as the seventh century in Srivijaya to denote a chief or other powerful individual who controlled slaves or bondsmen (K. Hall 1976:71, 99), and in precolonial Java it referred particularly to religious specialists who were elite advisors to the kings and exempt from tribute. Scott has suggested that *maharlika* are primarily high-status warriors, “a sort of diluted *maginoo* blood” resulting from secondary marriages of local elites with nonlocal elites of lower rank (1994:223). However, the association of this term with ritual specialists in precolonial Java and with generalized leadership in Srivijaya indicates the possibility that “*maharlika*” refers to a broader range of second-tier administrators performing important military, ritual, and possibly economic functions for a higher-ranking *datu*. While membership in the *maginoo* class of nobility appears to occur primarily through inheritance, Spanish sources are ambiguous about the origins of *maharlika* status. Analogies to militarily and ritually proficient “men of renown” in ethnographically known Philippine chiefdoms such as the Bagabo and Bukidnon (Cole 1913, 1956) suggest that these high-status positions were not inherited, but may have been largely acquired through successful performance.

The nonchiefly elite in the Visayas, termed “*timawa*” by Loarca (1582), by Morga (1609), and in the sixteenth-century Boxer manuscript (1590) and as the “third rank of nobility” by Alcina (1688b), were likely the offspring or descendants of a *datu*’s secondary wives (Scott 1994:131). Their position in social status hierarchies is described by Morga. “What the chiefs received from their followers was to be held by them in great veneration and respect. . . . The descendants of such chiefs, and their relatives, even though they did not inherit the lordship, were held in the same respect and consideration. Such were all regarded as nobles, and as persons exempt from the services rendered by the others, or the plebians, who were called ‘timaguas.’ The same right of nobility and chieftainship was preserved for the women, just as for the men” (1609a:296). As summarized by Scott, the

*timawa* served as personal vassals to the *datu*, with their most important role as warriors who accompanied the *datu* into battle, although they were also the primary contributors to chiefly feasts, they assisted in chiefly marriage negotiations and death rites, and they generally accrued significant ritual potency, political power, and wealth through their association with the chief (1994:131). Like the Tagalog *maginoo* and *maharlika*, they were largely exempt from the agricultural duties and other tribute-producing activities of the commoner and slave classes. However, unlike the Tagalog-speaking chiefdoms of the northern Philippines, the position of *timawa* as “men of consequence” in the community did not generally translate into independently inheritable wealth and status. While these warrior elites could acquire slaves and amass considerable material wealth through trading and raiding activities, their children’s inheritance of these status accoutrements was controlled by the chief (Loarca 1582a:158).

Analysis of early Visayan dictionaries compiled by the Spaniards reveals the presence of several specialized administrative positions of high rank that were likely filled by a *datu*’s close kinsmen (Scott 1994:130). These include the *datu*’s primary counselor, the *atubang sa datu*, or literally “one who faces the *datu*”; an assistant known as the *paragahin*, whose primary duty was tribute collection and food allocation at feasts; and a strongman (*bilanggo*) who enforced chiefly punishments. These individuals were close agnatic or collateral kinsmen of the chief and formed the nexus of his *sandig sa datu*, or “supporters of the *datu*,” and thus are likely to have enjoyed even higher social deference than the general class of high-status warriors signified by the term “*timawa*.” Spanish sources also suggest that certain luxury craft specialists (e.g., goldsmiths and ironsmiths, pottery producers, textile manufacturers, boat builders) and ritual specialists (e.g., curers and sorcerers) were supported in chiefly households and enjoyed some of the privileges and status of their elite patrons.

*Datus* in the Visayas and in some other areas of the Philippines appear to have been ritually potent sorcerers or shamans themselves, with ritual powers enhancing a *datu*’s political and economic control over his subjects. It is clear from the ethnohistorical sources, however, that there was a class of religious specialists, known as “*babaylan*” in Visayan, who performed for high-ranking *datu*s and other members of the elite in making the sacrifices associated with feasting events (see Chapter 11). In the Visayas, these shamans or spirit mediums most often were women, who obtained their skills in ritual healing and sacrifice from older female relatives with whom they apprenticed (Scott 1994:84). Among the Tagalogs of the northern Philippines, the *katulunan*, or ritual specialists, could be of either sex (if male, they were transvestites), but they were usually women who both inherited and learned their supernatural powers and rituals from older female relatives (Chirino 1604b; Plasencia 1589a; San Antonio 1738:319–320; Santa Ines 1676:78). There was considerable specialization among ritual

practitioners (e.g., curing, life-crisis transitions, agricultural rites, prognostication), with a loose hierarchy of ritual specialists functioning in rites from the household to the community level, many of which involved no elite participation. However, the ritual specialists performing at elite life-crisis events were typically individuals born into prominent families (Salazar 1683:130; San Antonio 1738:319; C. Warren 1977:252; see also Scott 1994:239), and they may have been closely related by kinship to the *datu*.<sup>1</sup> Successful ritual performance by the *babaylan* was remunerated by receiving from the chief a share of the choicest meat cuts from sacrificed pigs and buffalo as well as chiefly gifts of porcelain plates and gold jewelry (Pérez 1680:102; see also Scott 1994:84).

The identification of individuals as elite but not *datu*s in Philippine societies appears to have been based on their generally nonproductive status in the subsistence economy (i.e., exemption from agricultural activities and tribute) and their ability to accrue prestige and wealth (e.g., porcelain, gold, slaves) independently from the chiefs with whom they were associated. Many of the same behavioral proscriptions applied to interactions with *datu*s were also enforced with respect to the nonchiefly elite (e.g., the use of the third person in address, prostration before those of higher rank), especially if they were close kinsmen of the chief (Santa Ines 1676:72). This somewhat nebulous social stratum, however, consisted of both kinsmen of the chief and those who entered his intimate circle through exceptional military, ritual, artistic, and leadership skills.

## Commoners

The third tier in the sixteenth-century Philippine social hierarchy were the nonelite or commoners—on Luzon, Plasencia's Tagalog "*aliping namamahay*" (1589d:109) and Morga's "*timaguas*" (1609b:296), and in the Visayas, Loarca's (1582), Alcina's (1688b), and the Boxer manuscript's (1590b) "*oripun*." Early Spanish observers claim a series of strong interdictions against intermarriage with elite ranks and the obligation to provide subsistence support for the latter through agricultural tribute and/or service in craft production, maritime raiding, trading, and feast giving (Loarca 1582a:147–149; Morga 1609c:50; Plasencia 1589b:109–110). Miguel de Loarca, in one of the earliest descriptions of Philippine social structure, reports on these distinct rights and obligations that segregate commoners from members of the elite ranks:

The freemen of these islands, who are called *timaguas*, are neither chiefs nor slaves. This is their mode of life. If a *timagua* desires to live in a certain village, he joins himself to one of the chiefs—for each village usually has many chiefs, each of whom has his own dis-

trict, with slaves and *timagua* well known to him. . . . When feasts are given to other chiefs he must attend; for it is the custom that the *timagua* drink first from the *pitarilla*, before any chief does so. He must, with his weapons, accompany the chief when he goes on a journey. When the latter enters a boat the *timagua* must go to ply the oar, and to carry his weapons for the defense of the vessel. . . . For this service the chief is under obligation to defend the *timagua*, in his own person and those of his relatives, against anyone who seeks to injure him without cause.

(Loarca 1582a:147–149)

In return for a commoner's political fealty and economic subservience, the *datu* was expected to provide physical security and a share of the wealth accrued from trading, raiding, and feasting activities in which his vassal participated at his behest.

Plasencia (1589b:109–112) and Morga (1609b:296–299) also explicitly distinguish commoners from the group whose designation has been translated consistently as “slave.” Commoners, according to these Spanish sources, were allowed at least usufruct rights over land and houses that could be inherited over several generations, individual ownership of gold and other wealth (that could be bequeathed, however, only at the *datu*'s discretion), independent participation in economic activities such as trade, and at least nominal rights to attach oneself in a patronage relationship to a more benevolent *datu*. However, the *datu*'s economic sovereignty over the commoners in his political faction was expressed in his control over the inheritance of accrued wealth and agricultural livelihood: gold, slaves, and other valuables could only be inherited with the permission of the *datu* (see Scott 1994:145), and usufruct rights to agricultural land assigned by a chief could only be bequeathed by petition to its chiefly “owner” (Alcina 1668a: 75–76; see also Scott 1994:145, 229–231).

Scott (1980) emphasizes that the commoner class appears to have embraced a wide range of socioeconomic statuses that grade into the non-chiefly elite rank above and the slave rank below. Commoners in a more favorable position within this graded scale were released from their agricultural obligations through providing alternative services (e.g., military service or service as a rower in long-distance trade expeditions). For example, the Boxer manuscript describes a special subclass of *oripun* known as “*horohan*,” who functioned as lower-level warriors and who were included in feasts honoring their military prowess along with more elite war leaders (1590c:231). In his 1688 description of Visayan-speaking peoples of the central Philippines, Alcina refers to high-ranking commoners known as “*gintobo*” or “*mamahay*,” who served as warriors and maritime raiders attached to local chiefs, receiving some of the captured wealth from raiding activities (though a much smaller share than the noblemen *timagua*) (1688b:

100–123). Similarly, among the Maranao, Magindanao, and Sulu groups, an enterprising commoner could obtain significant prestige and wealth, and even eventually a formal political office as a nonhereditary local leader by organizing and arranging financing for a trading or raiding expedition (Saleeby 1905). Mednick outlines this process of economic and social ascendancy:

A man could gain wealth by acting as a *nakuda*, a leader of a pirate or trading expedition. The equipment necessary for such an enterprise could be obtained from a *datu* or a sultan in return for a share of the proceeds, and the *nakuda* supplied the fighting men and acted as organizer. If the expedition was successful, the freeman might have enough wealth to support retainers, attract more followers, and obtain the valued prestige items. Given these he could then form an alliance with some more powerful person, promising him aid, cooperation, and probably a share of the taxes he collected; in return he was given a title and a position in the political hierarchy.

(1974:21)

Because of the lack of a strongly territorial political base and the tenuous nature of patron-clientage relations between chiefs and commoners, commoners were not inextricably bound to a particular *datu*, but could remove themselves from the authority of a chief who was too autocratic and oppressive (Loarca 1582a:147–149; Plasencia 1589b:112). In Visayan societies described by the Spaniards, the term for a chief or *datu*'s alliance group or faction (including both *oripun* and *timawa*), "*haop*," is cognate with "*sakop*," or "kindred" (Scott 1994:135–136), suggesting that commoners were bound to their chiefs by either real or conceptualized "kinship" ties. The Tagalog term for a political faction under a *datu*, the "*barangay*," also refers to traditional Philippine outrigger boats and the ancestral kin units of Philippine myth who originally settled various islands and valleys of the Philippines (Scott 1994:220). Again, the conceptualization is that commoners were related by kinship, however distant, to their elite patrons, creating strong moral and economic obligations that tended to constrain the pull of economic independence. At the same time, the Spanish descriptions make it clear that a patron's tribute and labor demands on *alipin nama-mahay* or *oripun*, and his coercive power to enforce these demands were inherently limited by his ability to provide the physical protection and economic security necessary to keep his subordinates from defecting to another chief. Even in the most complex maritime-trading states of island Southeast Asia, the rights and obligations between leaders and followers mirrored those of kinsmen (L. Andaya 1993b:67–68; Gullick 1965:137–138), requiring constant affirmation through reciprocal exchanges of material goods and services. As summarized by Barbara Andaya: "Relations between leaders and



followers mirrored the obligations of kinfolk. . . . Like a parent, the overlord should give protection, assistance and occasionally a stern rebuke; in return, the vassal/child should return loyalty, respect and service. The ideal of personal and continuing reciprocity which grew out of concepts of kinship lay at the heart of the Southeast Asian polity, and it could well be argued that whatever 'structure' can be discerned in most early kingdoms was ultimately based on the bonds of family" (1992:408–409).

### Slavery in Philippine Societies

At the lower end of its socioeconomic scale, the commoner class graded into a fourth tier in the status hierarchy, generally translated by the Spaniards as "slaves." Early Spanish accounts emphasize the prevalence of slavery in Philippine complex societies, as elsewhere in Southeast Asia, and the tremendous economic significance of an institutionalized slave class: "These slaves constitute the main capital and wealth of the natives of these islands, since they are both very useful and necessary for the working of their farms. Thus they are sold, exchanged, and traded, just like any other article of merchandise, from village to village, from province to province, and indeed from island to island" (Morga 1609b:274).

Both anthropologists and historians have emphasized the wide range of social relations referred to as "slavery" by early European observers, the necessity of analyzing this phenomenon within specific cultural contexts, and the difficulty of defining a broadly comparative or universal concept of slavery (Miers and Kopytoff 1977; Watson 1980). It is important to recognize that the European colonizers were probably justifying their economic disenfranchisement of Southeast Asian societies by emphasizing indigenous slavery (Reid 1983b). Early historical accounts of the Philippines and other areas of Southeast Asia sometimes refer to slavery in describing the dyadic vertical ties between patrons (*datus* or other elites) and clients (lower-ranking individuals, particularly commoners) that might be better described as dependency (Hoadley 1983:92; Reid 1983b:2). Ethnohistorical analyses demonstrate that these types of dyadic ties are distinct from the social and economic relationship of slavery if we define the latter explicitly as someone who is owned by another in the legal sense, who can be legally purchased, rented, mortgaged, bequeathed, or otherwise alienated like private property (Reid 1983b:2–3; Sutherland 1983:261). Those glossed as "freemen" or "commoners" in Southeast Asian societies were enmeshed in a dependency relationship with elite patrons that obligated them to pay tribute and to perform services such as agricultural labor, elite house construction, or raiding, but their services and resources could not be transferred without consent to another patron (Hoadley 1983:91–93; but see Reid 1983a:160; 1988:120–121).<sup>2</sup>

In most Southeast Asian complex societies, there were a number of paths by which an individual could enter into a state of slavery or bondage, including: (1) inheritance (by being the progeny of slave parents); (2) economic reversal, causing an individual or his or her kinsmen to sell the individual into bondage; (3) failure to meet debts (with the individual serving as collateral); (4) judicial punishment (or the inability to pay assessed fines); and (5) capture in warfare (Reid 1983a:158; 1988:131; J. Warren 1985:215–236). That the same multiple means of becoming enslaved were common in Philippine chiefdoms is evidenced in an early Spanish report on traditional forms of slavery:

Some are slaves because their fathers and grandfathers were such; others sold themselves . . . either to make use of the money or to pay their debts; others were captured in war; others became slaves because, being orphans, they were held in that condition for food and expenses; others were sold in times of famine by their fathers, mothers, or brothers; others bear that name because of loans, for interest multiplies rapidly among the *Indios* and the *Moros*, and thus a poor man becomes a slave. There are men who become slaves on account of crimes, and failure to pay fines and penalties.

(Davalos 1584:61)

Debt-bondage, whether as a result of inability to pay bridewealth in marriage negotiations, inability to meet trading agreements, borrowing against crop failure, gambling, or other economic calamity, was the most common type of slavery in Southeast Asia (Reid 1988:131). Debt-bondage appears also to have been widespread in the Philippines at the time of contact, particularly among the Tagalogs (Bobadilla 1640:331; Morga 1609c:53; Sande 1576b:225–226; see also Keesing 1962:190–191), although some of the southern Philippine maritime trading powers that were most economically dependent on slavery (e.g., Sulu, Magindanao, Maranao) focused on slave raids against outsiders as the primary means of augmenting their slave labor pool (Ileto 1971:35; Mednick 1965, 1977a:202, 1977b:215; Saleeby 1905; J. Warren 1985:216). Spanish sources suggest that debts that might lead to debt-bondage in the Philippines accrued through cockfight gambling (Dasmariñas 1590:411; Pigafetta 1521b:155; Sánchez 1617:132; see discussion in Scott 1994:112), steep bridewealth payments (Santa Ines 1676:90; see also Chapter 10), and possibly financing of ritual feasts associated with various life-crisis events (see Chapter 11). Visayan *ayuey* and Tagalog *alipin sa gigilid* debt-bonded slaves lived in their master's house (or in close proximity) and received most of their basic needs (food, clothing, and shelter) from him (Scott 1983:144, 149). Many Spanish sources suggest that most slaves acquired through debt-bondage did not fit the European conception of total economic disenfranchisement, since "slaves" were allowed to retain some degree of economic independence. For example,

debt-bonded *ayuey* in the Visayas were often eventually settled on their own plots of land and their labor divided into *lan-o* or *tagolaling* (“the work a slave does for himself,” frequently one day out of four or up to three days out of five) and *tampok* (literally, “a precious stone” or “work he does for his master”) (Scott 1991:15–16).

Reid notes the common practice in precolonial Southeast Asia of obtaining capital in times of economic reversal by pawning oneself or one’s relatives, with the labor of the debtor serving to pay off the “interest” on the debt, but never the debt itself (1983b:11). Because the debt itself was never reduced through bondage (and thus had to be paid through another source such as wealth accumulated in trading), it often assumed a permanent character and was inherited from one generation to the next (Morga 1609c: 331; also see J. Warren 1985:216). Many elites attempted to retain the perpetual services of their debt-bonded slaves by paying the bridewealth payments for their offspring or securing other forms of debt with mounting interest (Rada 1574), as illustrated in San Buenaventura’s (1613) definition of the Tagalog word “*bintang*”: “to add more and more every day to a debt someone owes . . . lending him more with the intent that he will not be able to repay it.”

Judicial punishments were also a frequent origin of slave status. *Datus* acted as judges for what we would term criminal cases (i.e., infractions against recognized behavioral norms) and civil claims (i.e., disagreements between individuals or kin groups concerning resources such as land use or inheritable wealth) involving people within their alliance groups or factions (see Scott 1994:138–140, 221). Since less serious infractions, such as robbery or inappropriate lack of deference to those of higher rank, were generally resolved by imposing fines rather than by inflicting bodily harm, the inability to meet the imposed debt resulted in enslavement (Blair and Robertson 1903–1909, 16:322–329). As summarized by Miguel de Loarca:

The rules which they observe for punishing anyone so severely as to enslave him are as follows: for murder, adultery, and theft; and for insulting any woman of rank, or taking away her robe in public and leaving her naked, or causing her to flee or defend herself so that it falls off, which is considered a great offense. If a thief commits a great robbery, he and all his relatives (or at least his nearest kin) are fined. If unable to pay the fine, they are made slaves. This law applies to all classes, and even to the chiefs themselves; accordingly, if a chief commits any crime, even against one of his own slaves or *timaguas*, he is fined in the same manner. But they are not reduced to slavery for lack of means to pay the fines; as, if they were not chiefs, they would be slaves. In case of a small theft, the punishment falls upon the thief alone, and not on his relatives.

(1582c:280)

Because judicial codes in Philippine complex societies generally stipulated the most severe fines for those of lower rank, they were designed to indebt the commoner to the point of remanding his labor (and possibly that of his kinsmen) wholly over to the control of the offended party or arbitrating *datu* (also see J. Warren 1985:216–217).<sup>3</sup>

Spanish sources suggest that slave raiding was widespread in the Philippines at the time of contact and that captured slaves were a major source of economic wealth for chiefs (Gutiérrez 1636:207; Legaspi 1569:38; Maldonado 1575:180; Rada 1569:50). Spanish estimates of the numbers of slaves controlled by a typical *datu* or member of the nobility generally ranged between one hundred and three hundred (e.g., Alcina 1688a:227; Bobadilla 1640:331; San Antonio 1738:327; Santa Ines 1676:85). Slave raiding to augment chiefs' polygamous harems, to obtain economically productive agricultural workers and servants, and even to obtain potential victims for sacrifice continued in more remote areas of Luzon and Mindanao well into the early twentieth century (Worcester 1913:6–12 for Luzon; Cole 1913 for the Bagabo of Mindanao). In terms of sheer numbers of foreign captives, the Islamic polities of Mindanao (particularly Sulu, Magindanao, Maranao) appear to have been the major Philippine aggressors in slaving expeditions both within and outside the archipelago in the sixteenth century (Herrera 1573:147; Sande 1578:176) and into the colonial period (D. Hall 1968:339; Reid 1983b:31; Tarling 1963:146; J. Warren 1985:147–211). Warren estimates that between 200,000 and 300,000 foreign slaves were brought into the Sulu sultanate in the period between 1770 and 1870 (averaging two to three thousand per year, transported on between sixty and two hundred seagoing vessels), and during this period the population of Jolo Island (the capital of the Sulu sultanate) comprised more than 50 percent foreign slaves (1985:208–209). In 1870, two upper valley Magindanao *datu*s, Datu Utu of Buayan and the sultan of Kabuntalan, are reported to have each owned several thousand slaves (Ileto 1971:35), probably obtained through upriver trade from the coastal Magindanao sultanate (Beckett 1982:396) and through raids in the uplands against such groups as the Tiruray (Schlegel 1979).

Relatively low population levels, a fragmented geography, and an abundance of rich agricultural land in most regions of Southeast Asia meant that control of people, rather than land or capital, was key to political power. In societies in which an individual's labor was a valuable asset, it is not surprising that institutionalized forms of slavery would become an integral part of the social and economic fabric (Reid 1983a:156–157; 1983b:8). Many Southeast Asian precolonial cities (e.g., Angkor, Ayudhya, Melaka, Banten, Aceh, and Makassar) had economies that were fueled by slave labor, and slaves were the most valuable form of movable property (Mabbett 1983; Manguin 1983:210; Reid 1993a:13; Thomaz 1993:75, 82–86). Besides providing agricultural labor, slaves in Southeast Asian societies performed in an astounding variety of occupations, including fishing, sailing, building elite residences and public works, mining, craft production (includ-

ing metallurgy and weaving), entertaining, serving as concubines or domestic servants, trading, interpreting, writing for illiterate masters, fighting as warriors, raiding to acquire additional slaves, and even functioning as high-ranking ministers (Reid 1983b:22). Slavery in Southeast Asia conformed to what Watson (1980) and Reid (1983a) refer to as an “open slave system,” in which captured or purchased slaves are eventually assimilated into the dominant cultural group (sometimes within a single generation) rather than prevented from doing so in order to maintain their economic and social exclusion (as in a “closed slave system”).

James Warren’s (1985) detailed ethnohistorical analysis of slavery in Sulu as well as Spanish accounts of other Philippine societies (e.g., Colin 1660b:178; Chirino 1604a:126; Santa Ines 1676:85) suggest that slaves were rapidly integrated into the economic and social fabric of the group that seized them. Slaves were used to vend pottery, cloth, and food at local markets or to foreign traders, they were used as oarsmen in maritime trading expeditions, they procured export goods such as *trepang* and pearls, they worked as artisans in woodworking and metallurgy, they entertained and served in *datus*’ residences, they functioned as interpreters in encounters with foreigners, they served as warriors in raids, and they even participated in capturing other slaves to augment a *datu*’s labor force. Warren suggests that Sulu during its height in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was developing a “slave mode of production” in agriculture and crafts that freed up the high-status retainers of *datus* to pursue their trading and raiding interests full time (1985:221), somewhat akin to what Leach describes for the Kachin of Burma (1965:232). However, Reid points out the importance of “distinguishing between slave workers who were centrally managed and who thus made possible a scale of production not otherwise available in a household-oriented economy, and the majority whose bondage merged into a kind of serfdom or household membership” (1983b:22). Reid would reserve the former for commercial production of goods like textiles, large-scale transport by slaves, and other maritime-trade-related production activities that occupied the bulk of the slaves at port cities like Melaka, Brunei, and Johor (Reid 1983b:23; see also Kathirithamby-Wells 1993:129; Thomaz 1993:75). Sulu farm slaves provided for their own subsistence from often distant fields and gardens assigned to them by their masters, remitting a fixed portion of the crops that passed up the tributary hierarchy, similar to taxes paid by nonslave Tausug (Warren 1985:221–222). Thus, slave labor in the subsistence realm was integrated into existing kinship modes of production rather than used to create the type of centralized plantation systems that characterized European colonial economic systems. Farming by slaves simply expanded the factional and tributary networks of *datus* and allowed individuals to finance greater participation in external economic activities such as trade.

Spanish accounts suggest that, for many Philippine societies, slaves also constituted a major form of inherited wealth that could be manipulated for

building chiefly alliance networks as part of marriage dowries and elite gift exchange (Alcina 1688a:227; Loarca 1582a:285; Morga 1609c:52; Santa Ines 1676:85). A major component of brideprice payments in many regions of the Philippines were slaves, whose labor was transferred to the households of the new in-laws, the young couple, or both, along with other “valuables” such as porcelain vessels, metal gongs, and gold ornaments (Santa Ines 1676:90; see also Scott 1994:141, 144). The view that slaves were inheritable property is perhaps best illustrated in Francisco Alcina’s recounting of a number of Visayan legal cases in which the disposition of slaves owned by a deceased *datu* or important *timawa* was the major issue in competing claims of inheritance (1688a:227). Morga writes that, if there were multiple heirs laying claim to a slave, they would “share” his labor according to their inheritance status, moving him from household to household (1609c:52).

Warren’s study of slavery as an economic institution in the Sulu polity suggests that competition to acquire slaves through raiding and debt-bondage may have increased during periods of great economic stress and political fragmentation. During such times, individuals were most likely to pawn themselves to obtain subsistence and protection, and *datu*s were particularly keen to augment their labor resources and political following relative to other chiefs.<sup>4</sup> In a broad comparison of slavery in Southeast Asia, Reid notes that institutionalized slavery was most prevalent in those regions with multiple power centers, particularly in periods of greater political and economic competition (e.g., Bali, South Sulawesi, Nias, and the Philippines versus Thailand and Java in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries) (1983a:18).

Both historical sources and early ethnographic accounts of Philippine societies emphasize that “slaves” of all types often eventually left the slave ranks by accumulating enough wealth to buy themselves out of bondage or through marriage with nonslaves. Slaves serving as goldsmiths, oarsmen in raids, or as their *datu*s’ trading emissaries were often allowed to accrue independent wealth, which could eventually be used to pay an established price of manumission (usually set in gold) (San Antonio 1738:325). In the Visayas, slaves who could accumulate gold or other valuables through trading and craft activities might make a payment known as “*lowas*,” which liquidated their bondage to a master and allowed them to move into the “commoner” ranks (Scott 1991:15). If another person made this payment on the slave’s behalf, he or she would become the indentured property of the new patron and thus would simply make a lateral transfer to a newly defined slave status. Marriages, or at least concubinage, with nonslaves was a frequent means of moving individuals out of the slave ranks (Bobadilla 1640:331–332; Loarca 1582c:285; Plasencia 1589c:148–149). Spanish sources are consistent in reporting that, while slaves themselves generally did not change their status through marriage with nonslaves, they could elevate their children from slave status.<sup>5</sup>

While Europeans were surprised by the general “mildness” of slave status

in the Philippines, citing the ease with which both debt-bonded and foreign slaves were incorporated into households and treated similarly to kinsmen (Reid 1983b:24), many slaves were not so fortunate in their circumstances. Slaves were economic commodities to be exchanged or sold at will, like gold, cloves, pearls, or other valuables, and many slaves captured by Philippine raiders were marketed outside the archipelago, where they labored under conditions that were significantly worse than those faced by indigenous household and field slaves. While some of the hundreds of thousands of slaves captured by Sulu, Magindanao, and Maranao slave raiders were integrated into the local labor force and economy, a far greater portion were marketed west to traditional indigenous slave-trading ports such as Makassar, Melaka, Aceh, and Banten, and to newly founded colonial ports such as Batavia, where they met an even more uncertain fate (Reid 1993b: 170; J. Warren 1977b:165–166; 1985:182–211).

It is also clear from the early Spanish accounts (e.g., Loarca 1582c:276–277; Pérez 1680:116; San Antonio 1738:314) and ethnographic observations within extant late-nineteenth-century and early-twentieth-century Philippine polities (e.g., Cole 1913:97, 104–105, 114–119) that a portion of the slaves captured in warfare and slave raids were intended as sacrificial victims to be used in ritual associated with the death of a chief, in rites terminating a revenge cycle, or as an accompaniment to a variety of ritual feasting events (see Chapter 11). For example, Cole recorded an observed case of human sacrifice (1913:114–119). Recently captured foreign slaves were generally selected as the victims for human sacrifice, rather than debt-bonded indigenous slaves, slaves taken in local skirmishes, or long-term foreign captives, presumably because the former had not yet been integrated into the social and economic fabric of the society. However, Warren notes that interior Bornean societies that practiced similar sacrificial rites in association with agricultural fertility ceremonies and chiefly mortuary ritual intensified their use of human victims (rather than animals) and began to favor foreign captives rather than warriors captured in battle with neighboring groups precisely because of an upsurge in the availability of cheaply priced foreigners in exchange for valuable Bornean forest products (1977b:165–166). Warren suggests that, in Borneo, the wider availability of “cheap” sacrificial victims from long-distance slave raiding opened up these sacrificial events to broader participation by lower-ranking commoners who could sponsor smaller-scale versions of elite ceremonies.

### **Movement between Social Ranks: Manipulation of Genealogy, Class Exogamy, and Achievement-Based Status**

A significant issue in comparing contact period Philippine sociopolitical structures to complex societies elsewhere is the degree to which social ranks

are ascriptive versus achievement-based and the relative permeability of social boundaries. Early Spanish accounts are inconsistent in their discussions of status inheritance and interclass mobility. Some Spanish observers suggest rigid rules of ascription were the norm in social rank assignments, particularly with regard to the chiefly elite:

These principalities and lordships were inherited in the male line and by succession of father and son and their descendants. If these were lacking, then their brothers and collateral relatives succeeded. . . . The descendants of such chiefs, and their relatives, even though they did not inherit the lordship, were held in the same respect and consideration. Such were all regarded as nobles, and as persons exempt from the services rendered by the others or the plebians.

(Morga 1609b:296)

In these three classes, those who are *maharlikas* [nobles, elite] on both the father's and mother's side continue to be so forever.

(Plasencia 1589b:111)

Morga's description of chiefly succession would suggest an emphasis on patrilineal descent, with the position of *datu* moving ideally from father to son. However, discussions of marriage and inheritance rules in the majority of the Spanish texts indicate that descent was reckoned bilaterally, and this was even true for chiefly succession (Alcina 1688a; Chirino 1604b:293–296; Colin 1660a:82–98; Plasencia 1589a:174–176; Salcedo 1576:73). Salcedo noted the presence of a maternal uncle-nephew pair of chiefs ruling at Manila at the time of the initial Spanish voyage to Luzon (1576:73–104), and several brother and uncle-“nephew” pairs of chiefs were recorded as controlling areas around the port of Cebu in 1565, when Legaspi first landed (Relation of Occurrences 1565:132).<sup>6</sup>

While chieftainships and membership in the elite stratum in the contact period Philippines were obtained at least partially through inheritance, some early European accounts suggest a strong achieved component of social ranking. A number of Spanish sources indicate that individuals moved relatively often into the “noble” class and even into the *datu* position through superior performances in warfare, trading, and wealth acquisition:

They have in each town a chief whom they obey and respect. The [chiefs] are largely brave Indians whom they have made lords because of their deeds.

(Boxer manuscript 1590b:189)

The chiefs attain that position generally through their blood; or if not that, because of their energy and strength. For even though one



may be of low extraction, if he is seen to be careful, and if he gains some wealth by his industry and schemes—whether by farming and stock-raising, or by trading; or by any of the trades among them, such as smith, jewelry, or by carpentry; or by robbery and tyranny, which was the most usual method—in that way he gains authority and reputation, and increases it the more he practices tyranny and violence. With these beginnings, he takes the name of *datu*; and others, whether his relatives or not, come to him, and add credit and esteem to him, and make him a leader.

(Colin 1660b:178–179)

Early Spanish descriptions suggest that, while in theory chiefly status was hereditary; elite economic and social privileges, automatic; and obeisance of nonelite, proscribed, a chief's ability to retain his hereditary mandate to rule was dependent on his performance. Elites retained their status only through building large constituencies of clients and allies through such activities as gift exchange and periodic chiefly largesse, strategic marriages, successful raiding campaigns, and frequent and elaborate feast giving.

A significant level of permeability between all hereditary social ranks is suggested in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Spanish descriptions of indigenous marriage rules (e.g., Chirino 1604b:293–296; Plasencia 1589a: 173–185; Colin 1660a:82–98). While rank-endogamous marriages were reported by the Spanish chroniclers as the culturally prescribed ideal, a significant degree of social mobility (both upward and downward) through interclass marriage was observed by the Spaniards. Part of the explanation for this lack of rigidity in marriage rules undoubtedly lies in demography: low population levels limited the number of suitable marriage partners among the local elites. The pervasiveness of rank-exogamous marriages is illustrated by the complex set of conventions for assigning both the spouse and subsequent progeny to an appropriate social rank (Bobadilla 1640: 332; Morga 1609c:52–54). As noted by Scott, it was not unusual for *datu*s and other elites to take numerous secondary wives from the lesser elite class (or “nobility”), from the commoner class, or even from among the slaves (1994:128). This practice mirrors the practice in nearby Maluku of a chief taking secondary wives of widely varying social ranks from far-flung villages within his general political sphere as a means of expanding the alliance networks essential to rule (L. Andaya 1993b:66–67). That the Visayan language had a specific term for males who moved into the elite ranks and even for chieftainship through hypogamous marriages (“*sabali*,” i.e., marrying-in *datu*) suggests that this was not an uncommon occurrence (Scott 1994:128, 141).

The best-known description of an institutionalized hypogamous marriage system is Edmund Leach's (1965) analysis of marriage patterns among the Kachin of Burma. In Kachin society, according to Leach, men preferen-

tially marry women of equal or higher status, with commoner men striving to procure a wife of aristocratic descent and aristocratic men competing for women of the chiefly lineage. Superior status is associated with the role of “wife givers,” while a significant portion of an aristocratic man’s politically manipulable wealth (in the Kachin case, measured in cattle) derived from the large marriage payments accrued from lower-ranking “wife receivers” married to their daughters and other females under their control.

Ethnohistorical references to marriage practices in contact period Philippine complex societies appear to indicate that neither hypogamy (males marrying into a higher rank) nor hypergamy (females marrying into a higher rank) was the preferential pattern, since the Spanish accounts cited above suggest that both types of marriages occurred. However, Beckett’s description of the Magindanao marriage system is instructive in interpreting European perceptions of indigenous marriage rules:

Basic to the [marriage] system was the principle of hypergamy, according to which a woman might marry a man of equal or higher, but not inferior rank. A man, on the other hand, might marry beneath him; indeed an important *datu* had wives of every degree, including concubines who were his slaves. The sons of these unions were to be called *datu*, but they were not all of equal standing, and probably few would be entitled to claim the succession. In the same way, the rank of daughters varied, which was an advantage to their father since he could always find one to bestow on an ally, however low born. Because of her connection with himself he could claim a high bride price, but because of her mother’s status he could claim she was not marrying beneath her.

(1982:397)

This description suggests that hypergamy may have been the preferred marriage rule for the upper tier of *datu*s and their kinsmen. Males may only have appeared to be moving up the social scale because they were betrothed to the daughters of *datu*s and their secondary wives (daughters who were actually of low status owing to their mother’s social position). I will return to these issues in Chapter 10, where I will consider how the transfer of women and wealth through marriage and brideprice payments was used to expand the network of patron-client ties and interelite alliances that were the foundations of Philippine political organization.

Significant movement between social ranks could also occur through individual achievement in warfare, trading, agricultural production, craft manufacture, ritual feasting, or other activities associated with prestige enhancement and wealth accumulation. Both early Spanish chroniclers and ethnographic accounts of traditional Philippine chiefdoms make it clear that elite status and even the position of *datu* could be achieved through

remarkable performance in warfare, the acquisition of exotic knowledge in long-distance voyages, and the strategic disbursement of trade-obtained wealth. While the ambitious man could often transform noninherited status into inheritable elite rank within a few generations by using the wealth accrued through trading and raiding to pay the large dowries for hypogamous marriages, linguistic distinctions marking “real” elites and those with elite pretensions indicate that genealogies were still significant in reckoning social rank. The San Buenaventura dictionary notes the term “*maygintawo*,” used to refer scornfully to a “*hidalgo* by gold, not by lineage” in Tagalog societies (1613:551). San Buenaventura also notes that the ritualized boasting among *datus* that set the precedence of serving at ceremonial feasts and established the dowries in marriage negotiations was of two types: *bansag* (“boasting of lineage and wealth”) and *lingas* (“boasting of wealth and ferocity”). Those who improperly engaged in the former, claiming to be of an ancient chiefly descent line when in fact of a less exalted lineage, were met with caustic rejoinders such as “*Sino ang nagpuno sa inyo di alipin din?*” (Who founded your line if not a slave?) (San Buenaventura 1613:172).

### Conclusions: Social Ranking and Social Mobility

Previous anthropological writings on social organization in contact period Philippine lowland societies have frequently contested the presence of social stratification characteristic of chiefdoms. Warriner has suggested that the multiplicity of social ranks described in the early Spanish texts may be a reflection of the sixteenth-century writers’ familiarity with medieval European society rather than an emic view of Philippine social structure (1960: 27). Similarly, Lynch has argued that social stratification in Philippine societies was not as pronounced as early Spanish writers suggest, and outside the Islamic sultanates Philippine societies operated more similarly to the “big man” achievement-based status competition of New Guinea societies (1965:164). He maintains that these prehispanic social cleavages can largely be reduced to two well-demarcated but highly permeable ranks, a small elite and a larger nonelite stratum—with the latter politically subjugated to the former but not marked by substantial differences in wealth and status that could be inherited from one generation to the next.

Central to Warriner’s and Lynch’s inability to find social classes is the failure to recognize that dynamic interplay between hereditary assignment of social rank and personal dynamism may be more characteristic of chiefdoms than rigidly ascribed social status hierarchies. Anthropologists have tended to overemphasize the hereditary component of social ranking in societies referred to as “chiefdoms” (e.g., Carneiro 1981:43, 57–58; Flannery 1972:99; Peebles and Kus 1977:422; Renfrew 1973; 1984:203–207; Service 1971:145–155; 1975:72–80). This view appears to be based on too lit-

eral an interpretation of Sahlins' (1963) classic dichotomy between Melanesian "big man" and Polynesian "chiefly" societies as discrete sociopolitical "types": one characterized by wholly "achieved" status obtained through factional politics and the other by largely inherited status immutably assigned at birth (Douglas 1979; N. Thomas 1989; see also Feinman and Neitzel 1984). Sahlins himself recognized this fluidity of social rank and the significant achievement component in chiefly political roles even in the most complex of Polynesian chiefdoms (1958:1–10; see also Oliver 1989: 923–925, 944; Urbanowicz 1979:232–233). As noted recently by Sahlins (1989), the salient point of contrast between the essentially tribally organized big man societies of Melanesia and the chiefdoms of Polynesia lies not in the mechanisms whereby social status and political power are obtained (i.e., "achievement" versus "ascription"), but in the nature of the power base—whether status and privileges reside in a fixed "position" or "office" (which can be ascribed or achieved in chiefdoms) or are wholly created through the personal dynamism of individuals (in big man societies).

In the Philippines, social ranking involved both inherited and achieved elements, and a significant degree of social mobility between ranks was common. Individuals moved into the elite class and even into positions of chiefly authority through class-exogamous marriages, superior performances in warfare, trading, and wealth acquisition, and manipulation of ambiguous descent rules. However, social mobility through nonascriptive means appears to have been greater in the Philippines and in Southeast Asia in general than in chiefdoms outside of Southeast Asia. Cognatic descent rules and the practice of polygamy created a far-flung network of kinship relationships that an individual could call on to lay hereditary claim to political leadership roles and inherited rank and wealth. The construction of political power bases through personal alliances and patron-client relations rather than inherited territories meant that social status and wealth could easily be accrued by non-nobility. Low-ranking individuals could gain considerable status and power by allying themselves to a powerful chief or by attracting their own large alliance networks and status recognition through feats in warfare, ritual, and trading, in the style of New Guinea big men. The ethnographic and historical evidence also suggests that while rank-endogamous marriages were at least weakly proscribed, individuals and whole kin groups moved vertically within the social hierarchy through a single fortuitous or ill-advised marriage.

Ecological heterogeneity, strong regional differentials in labor productivity, and an economic emphasis on movable wealth favored redistribution of manpower and social networks as adjustments to rapidly changing economic conditions. During periods of economic stress and political fragmentation, one would expect a proliferation of nonhereditary *datus* from the commoner class, ambitious and charismatic individuals taking advantage of local power vacuums to accrue followers and wealth from weakened

hereditary leaders. However, at the same time, chiefs and rising elites continuously incorporated both economically distressed commoners and foreign captives into the slave or debt-bonded rank to replace labor lost to upward mobility and political realignments with more powerful chiefs. Thus, social rank was never inflexible, but constantly renegotiated and redefined.

## Chapter 6

# The Dynamics of Social Ranking: Changing Patterns of Household Wealth and Mortuary Differentiation

Spanish documents and early ethnographic accounts synthesized in the preceding chapter suggest that a highly developed system of social stratification existed in many lowland Philippine societies at the time of European contact. However, social ranks in Philippine chiefdoms, like political leadership roles, were traditionally fluid and dynamically created in constant interplay between genealogical manipulation and status competition through feasting, strategic marriages, raiding, and trading. Changes in the ways in which wealth was created and manipulated—greater reliance on foreign prestige goods trade, transformations in local prestige goods production systems, expanding circulation of goods in competitive feasting—undoubtedly contributed to evolving status hierarchies. Thus, social organization in sixteenth-century Philippine societies represents a historical endpoint in what were likely dynamic social systems of growing complexity.

Unfortunately, pre-sixteenth-century Chinese descriptions of social organization in Philippine chiefdoms are almost nonexistent, giving little ethno-historical time depth with which to examine long-term processes of social evolution. Therefore, in this chapter, archaeological evidence is brought to bear on the evolutionary dynamics of Philippine social hierarchies, focusing on burial and settlement remains dated from the two millennia preceding European contact. While a relatively large number of burial sites of this period have been excavated, mortuary analyses are limited by problems of unsystematic sampling of burial populations and a lack of sufficient data on socially meaningful associations in burial programs. Therefore, many arguments for changing social hierarchies are necessarily based on qualitative observations of burial patterns rather than on quantitative analysis. In addition, since large-scale excavations of prehispanic Philippine settlements of any period are extremely rare, interpretations of growing household status and wealth differentials must be based on archaeological work at just a few sites. Status-related dietary differences between households have recently been studied through zooarchaeological and paleoethnobotanical analyses at Philippine sites (Gunn 1997; Junker, Mudar, and Schwaller 1994; Junker, Gunn, and Santos 1996; Mudar 1997). However, since the archaeological record of differential access to food resources in Philippine stratified societies reflects not only daily household consumption patterns but also differential participation in the competitive feasting system, I will reserve discussion of these dietary differences to Chapter 11.

The available settlement and burial evidence is consistent in recording increasing social status and wealth differentiation over time during the roughly two thousand years of complex society formation in the Philippines. Simple, dichotomous status hierarchies characterizing the early first millennium A.D. incipient Philippine chiefdoms are replaced by multitiered status hierarchies, manifested in complex gradations of wealth in households and burials (derived from both indigenous luxury good production and foreign trade) by the mid-second millennium A.D. Increasing status differences in household wealth, mortuary treatment, and dietary choices in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries coincide with the emergence of a number of politically complex and territorially expansive polities in the Philippines. In this and subsequent chapters, I will examine how these new sources of prestige goods become incorporated into indigenous systems of wealth manipulation and status display.

### **Material Manifestations of Social Ranking: The Ethnohistorical Evidence**

Historical sources suggest that variation in social rank was materially reflected in the size and architectural complexity of domestic structures. Chinese and Spanish records note that large riverbank and coastal chiefly centers traditionally consisted of fifty or more wooden pile-houses arranged around one or more chiefly residences. The chiefs' houses were multiroomed, raised on high pilings above the surrounding single-roomed commoner structures, frequently stockaded, and liberally furnished with both locally produced and foreign prestige goods—imported Chinese, Annamese, and Siamese porcelains; gold serving dishes and ornaments; metal gongs, bells, and drums; gold-ornamented spears and other weaponry; elaborately carved wooden boxes and tables; and exotic textiles (Relation of the Voyage to Luzon 1570:102–103; Bobadilla 1640:337; Chao Ju-kua (1225), in Scott 1984:68–70; Dampier 1697:225; Pigafetta 1521c:49–50, 58–59). The accumulation and household display of heirloom wealth, known as “*bahandi*” in a number of Visayan languages (Scott 1994:129), was essential to a *datu*'s continued political authority and social standing, since it was the major symbol of rank and power.

The hostile encounter between members of the Legaspi expedition and Manila's Rajah Suleyman ended in the burning of the latter's house compound. However, the Spanish chroniclers published eyewitness accounts of the “prewar” splendor of the paramount chief's dwelling:

Those who saw [chief] Suleyman's house before it was burned, say that it was very large, and that it contained many valuable things, such as money, copper, iron, porcelain, blankets, wax, cotton, and wooden vats full of brandy; but everything was burned to the ground

with the house. Afterward, the iron and copper furnished gain to whosoever wished to take it, for a great quantity of it which this house and others contained was found on the ground after the fire. . . . Next to Suleyman's house was another which was used as a store-room. It contained much iron and copper, as well as culverins and cannon which had melted. Some small and large cannon had just been begun. There were the clay and wax molds, the largest of which was for a cannon seventeen feet long, resembling a culverin. The Indians said that the furniture alone lost in Suleyman's house was worth more than five thousand *ducats*.

(Relation of the Voyage to Luzon 1970:102–103)

Fay Cooper Cole, in his turn-of-the-century ethnographic investigations in southeastern Mindanao, provides a very similar description of Bagabo *datu*'s houses:

In each settlement or district will be found one large house built on the same general plan as the smaller dwellings, but capable of housing several hundred people. This is the home of the local *datu* or ruler. All great ceremonies are held here, and it is the place to which all hasten when danger threatens. It is the social center of the community, and all who desire go there at any time and remain as long as they wish, accepting meanwhile the food and hospitality of the ruler. . . . In addition to the customary furnishings are hundreds of objects testifying to the wealth of the *datu*. Clothes, boxes, dozens of huge copper gongs, drums, ancient Chinese jars and plates, spears and shields, beaded clothing, baskets. . . .

(1913:66)

A description of nineteenth-century paramount chief Datu Uto's house among the interior Magindanao of Cotabato in southwestern Mindanao (reported in Iletto 1971:37–38) echoes this emphasis on chiefly status display in residential structures. Datu Uto's abode, unlike commoner or lesser-elite houses, is described as multiroomed (with the rooms separated by finely carved wooden screens) and large enough to accommodate more than thirty of his kinsmen, retainers, and slaves; the entrance was flanked by an array of bronze cannons, which not only served as a defensive deterrent but also "symboliz[ed] the status and power of the owner of the house" (Iletto 1971:37). The interior is described by nineteenth-century witnesses as containing large copper and wooden chests filled with gold, silver, and copper ornaments and coins, objects of tortoise shell and ivory, and other objects of wealth to be used as political currency in procuring and rewarding allies. In addition, the interior walls of the chief's house were lined with an impressive arsenal of daggers, spears, swords, shields, imported European shot-



guns, and other armaments symbolically attesting to his regional military supremacy.

A nineteenth-century account of Tausug (Sulu) chiefly residential compounds (known as “*kutah*” or “*cotta*”) in the Parang area of Jolo indicates that, while chief’s houses were constructed out of the same bamboo and wood materials as commoner dwellings, they were enclosed by a wood, earth, and stone wall ringed on the outside by a two- to four-meter-wide ditch (Guillemand 1886:65–66). Some stockades appear to have been constructed similarly to that of the sultan’s royal residence, with double rows of thick wooden piles filled in the center with hard-packed earth and large stones, although other *datu*’s house-compounds in the nineteenth century had coral-block or earthen walls. For added security, the bottom of the surrounding ditch was often planted with a densely grown thicket of bamboo that would be difficult to pass through without being detected. The entrance of the *kutah* was protected by thick wooden barricades and Chinese-style iron cannons placed on the fortifications. Although the interior of the chief’s house was a single and not very impressively sized room, this room contained lavish wood furnishings and was overflowing with large quantities of Chinese and European porcelain, glass, metal objects, and other foreign trade goods (see Fig. 6.1). Like the Magindanao chiefly residences, weaponry (including iron and bronze spears and European guns) was prominently displayed along the walls of the house to emphasize the *datu*’s military might and readiness to defend those within his faction.

These passages emphasize the fact that the chiefly abode was not simply an expanded version of a commoner dwelling but was functionally differentiated from the latter. The chief’s house-compound did not merely serve as a personal residence for the chief and his retinue, but was also the community’s political, economic, and ritual center. Elite economic activities (storage of prestige goods and subsistence surplus for financing trading expeditions, feasts, marriage dowries, and other elite activities), warfare and defense-related activities (the production and storage of the chief’s arsenal of weapons), and social and ritual action (competitive feasts, life-crisis rituals, and sacrifice) were localized there and reflected materially in the diverse household assemblages of chiefly residences.

Social status differences were also clearly reflected in mortuary ritual and burial practices. Certain elements of death ritual appear to have been common to all adult individuals, regardless of rank—such as the performance of mortuary sacrifices and feasts, and interment with various food offerings and household goods intended to sustain the deceased on his or her journey to the netherworld (Boxer manuscript 1590b:223; Chirino 1604a:133–135; Loarca 1582b:88–89). Burial of commoners and slaves generally involved interment, with or without a simple wooden coffin, beneath or beside the individual’s house (Boxer manuscript 1590b:208; Chirino 1604a:134; Colin 1660b:173; Plasencia 1589b:122), or, less com-



**Figure 6.1.** Interior of Tausug *datu*'s spacious house, showing fine wooden furnishings and heirloom brass containers, in December 1891. (Courtesy of the Dean Worcester Photographic Collection, Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan)

monly, in an open field away from habitation areas (Chirino 1604a:134; Colin 1660b:174). Grave accompaniments appear to have reflected gender-specific activities and the individual's prowess in performing them. Males were generally buried with metal weapons of varying quantity and quality, and females with domestic goods such as looms and earthenware pots (Colin 1660b:174). A number of Spanish chroniclers indicate that deaths occurring through violence (i.e., warfare and raiding) were responded to by a cycle of revenge killings against the perpetrators, often involving the taking of trophy heads, which were incorporated into the mortuary rites (Chirino 1604a:135; Colin 1660b:175).

The burial rites of chiefs and members of their elite retinues were distinguished by more complex ritual prescriptions and by more elaborate graves and grave furnishings. As noted by Colin (1660b:174) and Chirino (1604a:134–135), the severity and length of the burial fast and the elaborateness of the feast marking the end of the mourning period varied according to the social rank of the deceased. In cases where the deceased was a chief, interment was not immediate but followed up to a week or more of mortuary ritual within the chief's house as the body was wrapped and anointed with

strong perfumes by the chief's wives and displayed to the public under a specially constructed canopy (Pigafetta 1521a:67–68).<sup>1</sup> Special interdictions and prohibitions involving the whole district were associated with the period of mourning when the death involved a chief (see also Boxer manuscript 1590b:210; Chirino 1604a:135; Colin 1660b:175):

One of the observances which is carried out with the most rigor is that called "*larao*." This rule requires that when a chief dies all must mourn him and must observe the following restrictions: No one shall quarrel with any other during the time of mourning, and especially at the time of the burial. Spears must be carried point downward, and daggers be carried in the belt with hilt reversed. No gala or colored dress shall be worn during that time. There must be no singing on board a *barangay* [i.e., boat] when returning to the village, but strict silence is maintained. They make an enclosure around the house of the dead man; and if anyone, great or small, passes by and transgresses this bound, he shall be punished.

(Loarca 1582b:89)

Death ritual functioned not only as an overt status marker for the deceased, but also as a measure of the social prominence and political sway of the entire chiefly kin group. The Spanish documents suggest that a death event was a time when a kin group made use of its network of social alliances to bring in "gifts" (in the form of subsistence goods or manufactured items) to be used in the preburial ritual, as actual "grave goods," or in the postburial feasts, and to bring in people to participate in the ritual and to serve as mourners. Loarca writes that the Visayan *timagua* (commoners) were required to contribute alcoholic drinks (palm wine) and agricultural products to the funeral proceedings to feed the many mourners and to serve as grave offerings (1582:87),<sup>2</sup> while members of the elite class associated with the deceased through kinship or alliance contributed porcelain and other high-status trade goods or locally manufactured goods for the burial ceremony and grave accompaniments (see also Boxer manuscript 1590b:210; Chirino 1604a:133; Colin 1660b:173). Allied chiefs from outside the polity were required to make ceremonial gift exchanges at the mourning-terminating feasts as part of ongoing prestations of prestige goods maintaining political ties (Loarca 1582b:89). The extensiveness and strength of the alliance network contributing to the mortuary ritual were overt measures of a kin group's social rank and political influence vis-à-vis other kin groups as well as opportunities for reinforcing and expanding political power relations.

Interment always involved the use of a wooden coffin (Boxer manuscript 1590b:209; Colin 1660b:174; also see Blair and Robertson 1903–1909, 2:139). The coffin and grave accompaniments were immediately placed in an

elaborate wood-railed pit under the house or were displayed in the chief's house itself for some period until subsequent burial (Colin 1660b:174). The amount and quality of grave goods, including such prestige items as gold ornaments, Chinese porcelain, imported textiles, aromatics and perfumes, elaborately decorated metal weaponry, and high-status foods in ceramic containers (Boxer manuscript 1590b:215–216; Chirino 1604a:134; Loarca 1582b:88; also see Blair and Robertson 1903–1909, 2:139; 3:199), as well as the number and quality of the textile shrouds used to wrap the body (Colin 1660b:173), were dependent on the social position of the deceased and his relatives (Boxer manuscript 1590b:209, 233; Chirino 1604a:134; Colin 1660b:173). According to the Boxer manuscript, a typical elite burial would consist of at least five finely made textile shrouds wrapping the body, heavy gold earrings and a choker of beaten gold around the neck, and at least five porcelain plates and jars (some of which contained fragrant oils and possibly food as offerings), all laid within a wooden coffin placed in a large burial pit that was sometimes topped by a bamboo fence or a small protecting structure (1590b:215–216).

The most elaborate burials witnessed by the Spanish chroniclers, however, were those of powerful chiefs, who were interred in large “boat-coffins” and sometimes accompanied by sacrificed slaves or animals (Boxer manuscript 1590b:209, 233; Chirino 1604a:134; Colin 1660b:174; Plasencia 1589d:122; also see Blair and Robertson 1903–1909, 3:199). These burials are described most vividly in the following passages:

Shortly before the entrance of the faith into the island of Bohol, one of the chiefs of that island had himself buried in a kind of boat, which the natives call “*baranguay*,” surrounded by seventy slaves with arms, ammunition, and food—just as he was wont to go out upon his raids and robberies when in life; and as if he were to be as great a pirate in the other life as in this.

(Colin 1660b:174)

Before interring him [the chief], they mourned him for four days; and afterward laid him on a boat which serve as a coffin or bier, placing him beneath the porch, where guard was kept over him by a slave. In the place of rowers, various animals were placed within the boat, each one being assigned a place at the oar by twos—male and female of each species being together—as for example two goats, two deer, or two fowls. . . . If the deceased had been a warrior, a living slave was tied beneath his body until in this wretched way he died.

(Plasencia 1589b:122)

Burial of sacrificed slaves with elite individuals, whether or not involving a “boat-coffin,” was relatively commonplace in Philippine lowland societies

of the contact period (Boxer manuscript 1590b:198, 233; Chirino 1604a: 134; Colin 1660b:174; Loarca 1582b:88; also see Blair and Robertson 1903–1909, 2:139; 3:199). Cole's (1913) ethnographic account of human sacrifice in association with a chief's mortuary rites among the early-twentieth-century Bagabo supports Spanish claims that this was a significant part of elite burial programs. Slaves and other valued burial accompaniments (gold, porcelain, and food offerings in finely made dishes), the Spaniards claimed, served to sustain the deceased individual in the afterlife (Boxer manuscript 1590b:209, 223, 233; Loarca 1582b:88).

### **Archaeological Studies of Architecture and Household Wealth Differences in the Prehispanic Philippines**

A number of ethnographic, archaeological, and ethnoarchaeological investigations of complex societies outside Southeast Asia have demonstrated that relatively clear material differentiation of wealth and social rank can be made by analyzing the amount of energy invested in residential architecture (e.g., Arnold and Ford 1980; Cordy 1981; Feinman and Neitzel 1984; Hirth 1993; McGuire 1983; Plog and Upham 1983). In a cross-cultural study of historically and ethnographically known pre-state complex societies in the Americas, Feinman and Neitzel show that, in most cases, chiefs can be differentiated from nonelite members of a society by the size of their houses, the mode of house construction, exterior and interior house ornamentation, and house location within a settlement (1984:75). Even in the absence of archaeologically visible architectural features, discrete spatial concentrations of portable luxury goods (particularly identifiably foreign imports) have been used effectively to argue for the presence of elite housing at prehistoric settlements (e.g., Flannery 1976; Marcus and Flannery 1996). As summarized by Michael Smith, numerous ethnographic and ethnohistorical studies have shown that, in general, the quantity and quality of portable household goods are good predictors of the socioeconomic status of the group residing in a house (1987:303; also see G. Miller 1980; Otto 1977). However, certain types of household possessions are more significant symbols of status and wealth than others, particularly those that involve a high labor input and function in activities involving extrahousehold participants such as interhousehold hospitality, feasting, and ritual (M. Smith 1987:308–319; also see Feinman et al. 1981).

In the Philippines and in Southeast Asia in general, there have been relatively few archaeological studies of household architecture and household status goods that might reveal evolving wealth differentials and social stratification in prehistoric and early historic period societies (Henriksen 1982; Sorensen 1982). Most archaeological investigations in Southeast Asia continue to focus on burial sites or on nonhousehold settlement features such as larger-scale moats or fortifications, stone menhirs, craft workshops, or

other areas of specialized production. The dearth of research on households within settlements undoubtedly arises out of pessimism about the probability of finding interpretable archaeological traces of structures and household goods often wholly constructed from perishable materials (Bronson 1979; Bronson and Wisseman 1976). In the Philippines, findings of Metal Age and later habitation debris have been largely coincidental to excavations of underlying burials (R. Fox 1959; Fox and Legaspi 1977; Tenazas 1968, 1974). Other archaeological sites containing evidence for habitation are in caves, where the nature and duration of site occupation is unknown (Coutts 1983; W. Peterson 1974; Thiel 1980; Tuggle and Hutterer 1972), or the area opened up by excavations is currently too limited for inter-household comparisons (Bacus 1997; Dizon and Santiago 1994). Only three settlement sites, all dated after the tenth century A.D., have yielded pile-houses and other substantial habitation features over a wide enough horizontal expanse to be analyzed in terms of social variables. These include the eleventh-to-sixteenth-century occupation levels at Tanjay (Hutterer 1981; Junker 1993a; Junker, Mudar, and Schwaller 1994), fourteenth-to-sixteenth-century settlement deposits at Cebu (Hutterer 1973a; Nishimura 1988, 1992), and eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Tausug (Sulu) *datus*' residences in the Parang region of Jolo (Spoehr 1973). These archaeological studies demonstrate that, while architectural features of pile-houses are often archaeologically subtle, they are not invisible. Even in the absence of clear architectural features, the nature and spatial distributions of domestic artifacts can be analyzed in terms of social contexts, and we can begin to look at the evolutionary dynamics of social ranking systems.

### **Household Status Differentiation in Eleventh- to Sixteenth-Century Tanjay**

In excavations directed by Karl Hutterer and myself at the chiefly center of Tanjay, remnants of seven pile-house structures were recorded, six of which were dated to the most recent prehispanic phase (the fifteenth-to-sixteenth-centuries Osmena Phase) and one structure to the preceding eleventh-to-fourteenth-centuries Santiago Phase (see Junker 1993a; Junker, Mudar, and Schwaller 1994). The portions of habitation structures dated to the Osmena Phase were recovered from two spatially distinct areas of the settlement: three from the Osmena Park locale (Structures 3–5) and three from the Santiago Church locale (Structures 7–9), roughly two hundred meters to the west.<sup>3</sup> Habitation structures in both areas consisted of raised pile-houses, ringed by outdoor hearths, oval-shaped trash pits, thick midden deposits, and high densities of habitation debris (earthenware sherds, porcelain fragments, marine shell, animal bone, chipped stone, metal fragments, and carbonized plant remains) (see Fig. 6.2). However, the San-

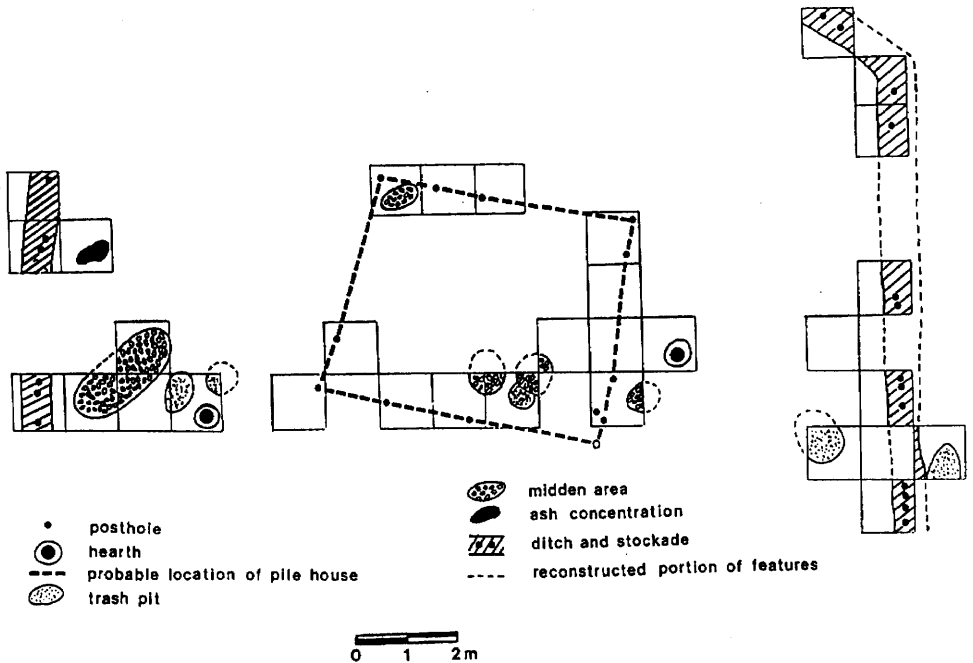
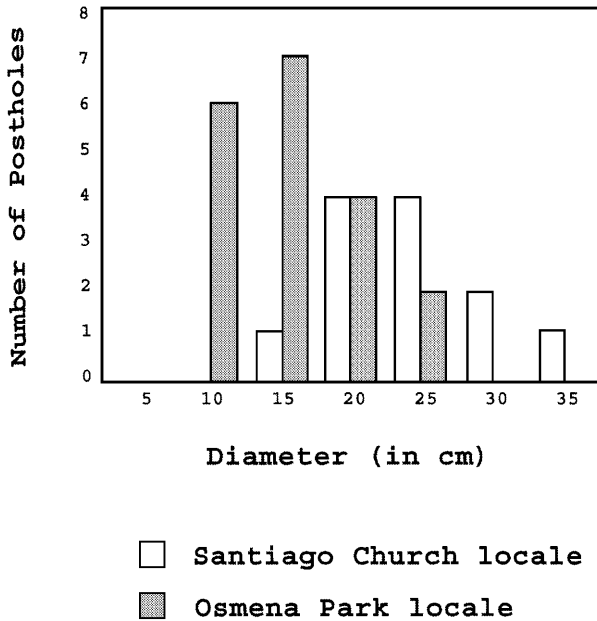


Figure 6.2. Reconstructed layouts of a chiefly house-compound (pile-house no. 7) dated to the fifteenth to sixteenth centuries A.D. at Tanjay, Negros Oriental, Philippines.

tiago Church locale houses had larger posthole diameters, indicating that the supported pile-houses were larger or were elevated higher off the ground (see Fig. 6.3). In addition, zones of high-density habitation debris, presumably representing the “house-yard” area where the most intensive domestic activities took place, appear to be areally more extensive at the Santiago Church locale, where estimates for Structures 7, 8, and 9 are 230 square meters, 155 square meters, and 146 square meters, respectively, compared to 112 square meters and 124 square meters for structures 3 and 4 at Osmena Park (no estimate is available for the house-yard area of Structure 5). Finally, the larger Santiago Church locale houses were surrounded by one- to two-meter-wide ditches backed by wooden stockades (Fig. 6.2), features that were missing from the smaller Osmena Park locale houses. While this analysis is based on a limited number of incompletely preserved domestic structures, the variability in domestic architecture suggests that the Santiago Church locale represents a higher-status residential zone in the fifteenth to sixteenth centuries.

The spatial distribution of what are likely to have been household prestige goods, or *bahandi*, supports the identification of the Santiago Church



**Figure 6.3.** Comparison of posthole diameters of fifteenth to sixteenth century A.D. pile-houses from two distinct residential zones at the site of Tanjay, Negros Oriental, Philippines. Student's *t* test of the difference between posthole means = 6.19 (significant at the .001 level).

locale as an elite residential zone. Mainland Asian trade porcelains, iron and bronze weapons, and fine earthenware pottery were some of the household status goods mentioned in Spanish accounts that we found in significant quantities in the archaeological record at Tanjay and whose differential distribution could be analyzed in quantitative terms. We segregated probable prestige earthenware from mundane domestic earthenware assemblages by assessing labor input, elaboration of design, and relative scarcity (see Chapter 9). One type of high-quality ceramics that appears to have been produced at Tanjay in this phase is a well-fired red ware, consisting primarily of jars and shallow bowls decorated along the shoulder and rim with carved geometric designs, incised lines, linear punctations, stamped florets and open circles, fingernail impressions and appliqué ridges, used alone or in varying combinations ("Tanjay Red Ware"). Another fancy ware consists of extremely thin walled, well-fired, buff-colored bowls ("Tanjay Red-Slipped Ware"), covered with a highly burnished red slip and frequently decorated with incised curvilinear lines along the rimless opening.



**Table 6.1. Comparisons of Densities (in gm/m<sup>3</sup>) of Prestige Goods and Plain Earthenware Associated with Houses in Two Spatially Distinct Residential Zones at the Fifteenth-to-Sixteenth Century Philippine Chiefly Center of Tanjay**

Structure No.	Porcelain	Red-Slipped Earthenware	Decorated Earthenware	Metal	Plain Earthenware
<i>Osmena Park Locale</i>					
3	88.5	1.9	27.8	34.1	862.1
4	163.9	4.2	20.8	54.2	1166.7
5	98.6	0.0	20.9	87.1	827.5
<i>Santiago Church Locale</i>					
7	302.3	49.0	46.0	904.1	2003.9
8	345.2	26.7	39.0	460.4	1737.2
9	405.7	24.4	33.3	588.4	1041.3

Source: Junker, Mudar, and Schwaller 1994.

We compared the relative densities (measured in grams per cubic meter) of these probable prestige goods in the three unstockaded habitation structures recovered at the Osmena Park locale (Structures 3–5) and the three stockaded residences recorded at the Santiago Church locale (Structures 7–9). As shown in Table 6.1, the density of imported Asian mainland porcelains in habitation deposits associated with the three Santiago Church locale houses is two to three times that of the Osmena Park locale structures; furthermore, densities of red-slipped earthenware and metal are at least tenfold higher and densities of decorated earthenware are roughly twice as high at the former than at the latter locale. Analysis of variance (ANOVA) tests (Table 6.2) show that differences in access to status goods are significantly greater *between* residential zones than *within* each residential zone.<sup>4</sup> In contrast, a comparison of plain earthenware densities for the two areas shows that there are no statistically significant areal differences in access to domestic wares.<sup>5</sup> Thirteen extremely rare earthenware types found in the fifteenth-to-sixteenth-century habitation deposits at Tanjay, which likely represented foreign imports into the site, were also differentially distributed to the stockaded residences in the Santiago Church locale (see Junker 1990a). Finally, glass beads imported from elsewhere in Southeast Asia (see Harrisson 1964; Lamb 1965), a set of carved bone objects resembling Chinese personal grooming utensils (R. Fox 1959), and small carved limestone figurines were found exclusively within the stockaded Santiago Church house-compounds (see Figure 6.4).<sup>6</sup>

**Table 6.2. Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) Testing the Statistical Significance of Areal Differences in the Densities of Prestige Goods and Plain Earthenware Associated with the Two Residential Zones at Tanjay, Negros Oriental, Philippines**

Source of Variability	Degrees of Freedom	Sum of Squares	Mean Sum of Squares	F Statistic	Significance
<i>Porcelain</i>					
Between areas	1	93,051.30	93,051.30	24.7892	.01
Within areas	4	15,014.83	3,753.71		
Total	5	108,066.13			
<i>Red-Slipped Earthenware</i>					
Between areas	1	1,437.10	1,437.10	15.2042	.05
Within areas	4	15,014.83	3,753.71		
Total	5	16,451.93			
<i>Decorated Earthenware</i>					
Between areas	1	396.91	396.91	14.0350	.05
Within areas	4	113.13	28.28		
Total	5	510.04			
<i>Metal</i>					
Between areas	1	556,584.37	526,584.37	19.9202	.05
Within areas	4	105,738.54	26,434.64		
Total	5	662,322.91			
<i>Plain Earthenware</i>					
Between areas	1	618,310.10	618,310.10	4.3876	not signif.
Within areas	4	563,679.70	140,919.93		
Total	5	1,181,989.80			

Source: Junker, Mudar, and Schwaller 1994.

Only a single recognizable structure was recovered from the Santiago Phase deposits, precluding the type of in-depth analysis of areal differences in house form and content carried out for the Osmena Phase. However, it may be significant that the structure excavated at the Santiago Church locale (Structure 2), like those dated to the later prehispanic phase, is large and features a ditch-and-stockade complex. Most of the artifacts from the Santiago Church locale and the Osmena Park locale could not be assigned to specific pile-houses, but average densities of prestige goods were com-

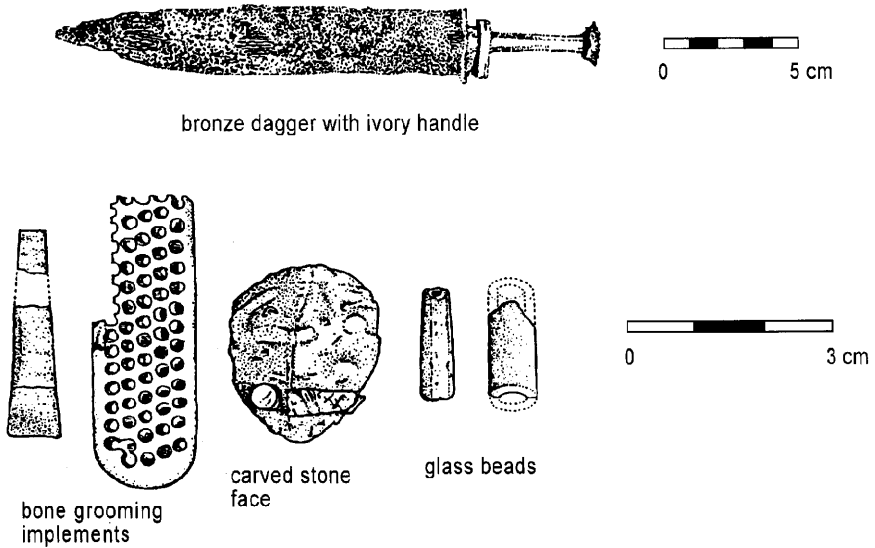


Figure 6.4. Exotic and rare goods differentially distributed to elite stockaded residences at Tanjay in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

pared statistically for the two excavation locales as a whole. Finely textured earthenware with incised, impressed, and applied decoration (“Tanjay Red Fine Ware”), probably manufactured at Tanjay, was identified along with metal goods and Sung, Yüan and early Ming porcelains as probable prestige goods in this period.

Table 6.3 compares the densities (measured in grams per cubic meter) of mainland Asian trade porcelains, metal, and decorated earthenware for the two areas of the site, with plain earthenware densities provided for comparison. As shown in Table 6.3, all of the presumed prestige goods exhibit considerably higher densities at the Santiago Church locale in the vicinity of the ditch-bounded Structure 2. In contrast, plain earthenware pottery densities are not significantly different between the two locales, with the Santiago Church locale yielding only slightly higher ceramic densities.<sup>7</sup> Five earthenware types that have been identified as exotic imports in this period are also differentially distributed to the stockaded pile-house in the Santiago Church locale, and all of the foreign glass beads were recovered from this area of the site.

Thus, there is some evidence to suggest the presence of “high-status” and “low-status” residential zones at the coastal center of Tanjay as early as the beginning of the second millennium A.D. In the twelfth to fourteenth centuries, foreign porcelains, exotic glass beads, metal artifacts, and even

**Table 6.3. Comparison of Densities (in gm/m<sup>3</sup>) and Ratios of Porcelain, Decorated Pottery, Metal, and Earthenware at the Osmena Park and Santiago Church Locales in the Santiago Phase**

	Mean Densities (grams/m <sup>3</sup> )			
	Porcelain	Decorated Earthenware	Metal	Plain Earthenware
Osmena Park	79.9 (s=69.4)	2.3 (s=2.4)	11.3 (s=12.3)	832.4 (s=1123.5)
Santiago Church	169.2 (s=78.4)	18.4 (s=12.4)	78.4 (s=96.4)	1,057.1 (s=1003.2)
Student's <i>t</i> value (d.f. = 64)	2.38	7.61	6.46	0.74
Significance	.05	.001	.001	not signif.
	Mean Ratios (gm per gm plain earthenware)			
	Porcelain	Decorated Earthenware	Metal	
Osmena Park	0.096 (s=0.052)	0.003 (s=0.003)	0.014 (s=0.023)	
Santiago Church	0.160 (s=0.097)	0.017 (s=0.011)	0.074 (s=0.053)	
Student's <i>t</i> value (d.f. = 64)	2.02	6.32	7.48	
Significance	.05	.001	.001	

Source: Junker 1993a.

Note: *s* = standard deviation.

locally manufactured fine earthenware are strongly segregated in the presumed elite households. However, by the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, a wider segment of the population at Tanjay is gaining access to prestige goods. During this phase, foreign porcelains, decorated earthenware, and metal goods are still found in significantly higher densities in the large stockaded residences, but they are more widely distributed to households in the nonelite sector of the community. Locally produced decorated earthenware, in particular, appears to be emerging as a second-tier prestige good for emulating the elaborate porcelain assemblages of the chiefly elite. Its presence may reflect a broadening social participation in foreign trade, ritual feasting, and other activities associated with prestige goods acquisition and exchange.

**Household Evidence for Social Stratification at Other Prehispanic Philippine Sites**

Nishimura's (1988, 1992) excavations of fourteenth-to-sixteenth-century habitation deposits at Cebu have yielded archaeological evidence consistent with these findings. While the urban character of contemporary Cebu precluded large-scale horizontal excavations with house features, systematic collection of prehispanic habitation debris from dispersed locales within the settlement allowed interareal comparisons of household assemblages. Nishimura found that populations inhabiting Cebu in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries may be divisible into elite and non-elite sectors on the basis of access to Asian mainland trade porcelains (Nishimura 1992:503–504). Of the ten excavated locales at Cebu, nine locales had high densities of foreign porcelains and are likely to have been high-status habitation zones in the town's core, while one locale had few porcelains and is interpreted as a low-status habitation zone. However, Nishimura found statistically significant differences in both the relative quantities and the quality of foreign porcelains among these elite residential areas, suggesting finely graded interhousehold variation in access to foreign trade goods even within the elite social stratum. For example, only one area of probable elite habitation yielded exceptionally high quality blue-and-white Chinese porcelains in the late-fifteenth-century to sixteenth-century occupation phase (Nishimura 1992:648), while the remaining five locales yielded primarily mass-produced, poorer-quality porcelains from southern Chinese kilns. This same locale, along with another locale about one kilometer to the north (Cathedral Plaza) also yielded the highest overall densities of glazed trade ceramics (Nishimura 1992:655), suggesting that this area of the settlement might represent the house-compounds of the highest-ranking paramount chief and his retinue, as described by Magellan's expedition (Pigafetta 1521a–c).

Areal differences in household access to iron, bronze, decorated earthenware, and glass beads were almost continuously graded in the areas of Cebu excavated by Nishimura. Unlike in the statistical studies of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Tanjay household prestige goods, he could find no distinct quantitative breaks in areal densities of nonporcelain prestige goods assemblages. However, it is likely that all but one of Nishimura's excavation locales were in the elite sector of the settlement and that his data illustrate fine status gradations within the nobility or aspiring nobility. Unfortunately, there are few pre-fifteenth-century archaeological remains from Cebu with which to evaluate whether this continuously graded distribution of status goods over the settlement in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries represents the growth of a lower-tier elite who are emulating the lavish household furnishings of the paramounds with poor-quality porcelains and less prestigious locally manufactured status goods.

**Table 6.4. Size and Features of Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century *cottas* of the Parang Area, Jolo, Excavated by Alexander Spoehr (1973)**

<i>Cotta</i> Date	Approximate Size (in m <sup>2</sup> )	Fortifications	Associated Remains
<i>Cotta Labuan</i> ca. 1880	1,088 m <sup>2</sup> (inside only); 2,112 m <sup>2</sup> total	stone and earth wall (2+ meters); ditch (4 m wide, 1 m deep); completely surrounding	postholes from pile-house; European and Asian porcelains, earthenware, unworked mollusk shell, pottery net sinkers, shell bracelets, worked shell, iron knives, glass fragments, metal cooking pot, iron nails, metal hinges for chests, brass ornaments, brass betelnut boxes, brass lime containers, expended cartridges, Chinese coins, British Borneo coins; boulders near entrance to mount swivel cannon
<i>Cotta Daan</i> ca. 1880	1,788 m <sup>2</sup> (inside only); 3,500 m <sup>2</sup> total	stone and earth wall (2 to 3.8 m wide, 1.3+ m high; ditch (4 to 7 m wide); both on two sides, mangrove swamp on third side	postholes from pile-house; goldsmith's mold for casting, European and Asian porcelain, earthenware, whetstones, musket balls
<i>Cotta Laum-Sua</i> mid-nineteenth century	896 m <sup>2</sup> (inside); 1,596 m <sup>2</sup> total	earth wall (4 m wide; height unknown); ditch (2 m wide, depth unknown); completely surrounding	no pile-house features; European and Asian porcelain, earthenware, glass fragments, iron blades, iron cooking utensils, metal chest fittings, other iron, brass ornaments, metal kettle, other brass; Sulu, Chinese, and British coins

*Continued on next page*

Table 6.4—Continued

<i>Cotta</i> Date	Approximate Size (in m <sup>2</sup> )	Fortifications	Associated Remains
<i>Cotta Bunga-Ammas</i>			
mid-nineteenth century	4,221 m <sup>2</sup> total	earth wall, ditch (both heavily disturbed by modern plowing)	postholes from pile-house; adjacent cemetery with thirty-eight graves (seven with elaborate coral grave frames and headstones), European and Chinese porcelains, earthenware, glass fragments, iron knife blades, iron nails, metal chest fittings, other iron fragments, lead musketballs, brass ornaments, metal expended cartridges, Chinese coins
<i>Cotta Wayngan</i>			
late eighteenth to early nineteenth century	576 m <sup>2</sup> (inside only); 1,152 m <sup>2</sup> total	earth wall, ditch (height, width, depth unknown)	postholes from pile-house; European and Chinese porcelain, earthenware, unknown stone disks, andesite body scrubbers, worked shell, worked bone and antler, glass beads and glass fragments, iron knives, iron nails, metal chest fittings, lime containers, game pieces of black coral, iron Sulu coins, Chinese coins

The only other example of large-scale, systematic investigations of habitation remains at a chiefly center are Alexander Spoehr's archaeological excavations of five abandoned eighteenth- and nineteenth-century *kutah* or *cottas* (*datus*' residences) on Jolo Island associated with local Tausug *datus* outside the Sulu polity center at Jolo (1973:88–102). While these chiefly residential compounds are postcontact in date, the Sulu polity was still

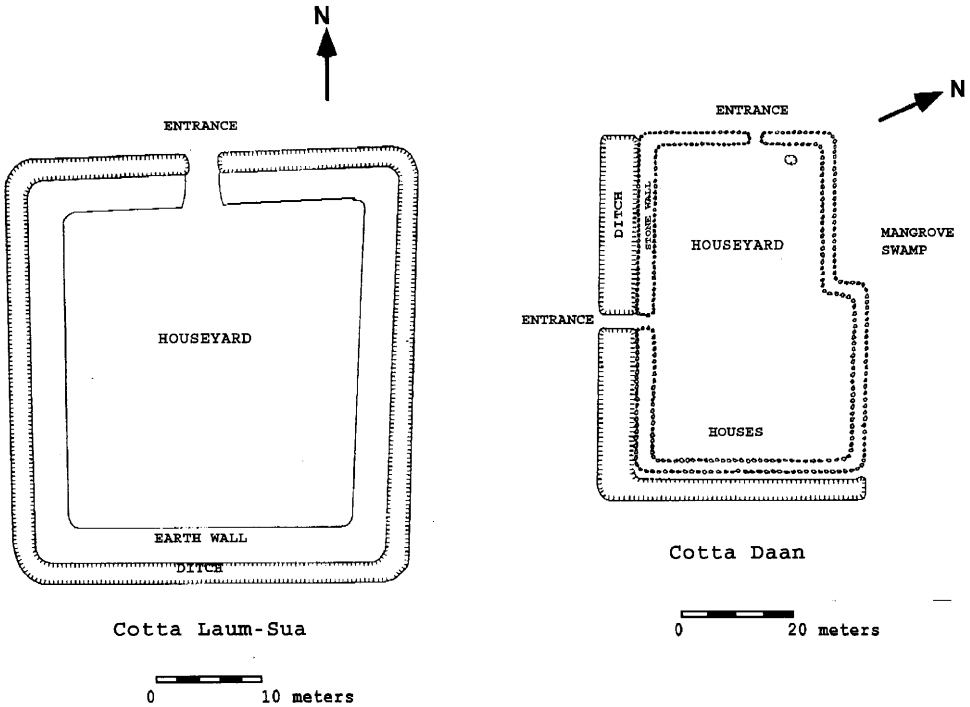


Figure 6.5. Layout of late-eighteenth-century to mid-nineteenth-century Tausug *datus'* fortified residential compounds. (Redrawn from Spoehr 1973)

functioning relatively independently of colonial control until the very late nineteenth century, and oral histories collected by Spoehr indicate that these *cottas* were the residential loci of traditional *datu*-centered political factions. Features mapped on the surface and subsurface remains recovered from excavation units confirmed Guillemard's (1886) and others' historical descriptions of Tausug chiefly abodes. The *datus'* residential compounds recorded by Spoehr (see Fig. 6.5 and Table 6.4) were generally square or rectangular in shape, ranging from about 1,100 square meters to more than 4,000 square meters in size, with well-constructed earthen, stone or wooden fortifications and ditches surrounding the central pile-house and associated courtyard.<sup>8</sup> While the central pile-houses were not particularly large,<sup>9</sup> the chiefs' vastly greater household wealth was archaeologically visible in dense middens containing Chinese and European porcelain sherds, bronze, brass and iron objects, European firearms, European glass, foreign coins, the metal remnants of storage chests, and other expensive and exotic goods (see Table 6.4). Of particular interest is Spoehr's recovery of a goldsmith's casting mold in one Tausug chiefly compound, since historical accounts of Sulu and other



Table 6.5. Comparisons of Percentages of Luxury Goods with Size of Chiefly House-Compound in Eighteenth and Nineteenth-Century Tausug Cottas

	Size (total in m <sup>2</sup> )	Porcelain/Plain Earthenware	Decorated/Plain Earthenware
Cotta Labuan	2,112	0.380	0.037
Cotta Daan	3,500	0.531	0.037
Cotta Laum-Sua	1,596	0.182	0.065
Cotta Bunga-Ammas	4,221	0.270	0.041
Cotta Wayngan	1,152	0.114	0.095

Correlation (size versus porcelain ratio) = 0.5900; not significant at the .05 level.

Correlation (size versus decorated earthenware ratio) = -0.7486; not significant at the .05 level.

contact period Philippine polities indicate that luxury good artisans frequently worked within the chief's house-compound under his direct sponsorship as "attached specialists" (see Chapter 9).

Unfortunately, there is no archaeological sample of similarly dated non-elite house-compounds on Jolo that could be compared in size, architectural elaboration, and assemblage content to the *datus*' residential compounds. In addition, all of the *datus*' residences excavated by Spoehr fall within a relatively short time span, during the period of late Ch'ing Chinese and early European trade, and there are no obvious evolutionary changes in the chiefly residential compounds except for the replacement of earthen fortifications with stone at later sites. As shown in Table 6.4, the *datus*' residential compounds vary significantly in the size of the fortifications and interior courtyard area. An interesting question is whether the size and architectural complexity of the *cotta* reflects the scale of the occupying *datu*'s political faction and his position within regional political or status hierarchies. While Spoehr was able to collect some historical data on the chiefly lineages occupying some of the stockaded compounds, the individual histories were not detailed enough to reconstruct precise genealogical relationships and the political significance of the individual *datu*. However, quantitative data on porcelain and decorated local earthenware densities provided in Spoehr's report (1973:175, 216) suggest a strikingly similar pattern to the later phase of occupation at Tanjay in which foreign porcelains and locally made elaborate earthenware appear to form a hierarchy of status goods. Table 6.5, presenting the porcelain/earthenware and decorated/plain earthenware ratios at each of the five *datu*'s residential compounds and their relationship to compound size, shows that there is a *posi-*

*tive* correlation between size and relative porcelain densities, but an *inverse* relationship between size and local decorated earthenware densities. While the correlation coefficients for both these relationships are relatively high, the small sample size of only five excavated chiefly house-compounds means that even these strongly positive and negative correlations are not statistically significant at the .05 level. However, the patterning suggests that higher-status *datus*, presumably living in larger and more elaborately fortified residential compounds, had the greatest trade access to foreign porcelains as household display goods, while lower-ranking *datus* were more likely to use locally manufactured and less prestigious decorated earthenware as serving pieces in their homes.<sup>10</sup> This finding is consistent with the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Tanjay evidence, which shows that, once large volumes of foreign porcelains are entering Philippine ports as prestige goods, locally manufactured luxury goods such as decorated earthenware become more widespread as status markers in the households of lesser elites and even nonelites.

### **The Evolution of Social Ranking at Philippine Burial Sites**

Numerous archaeological studies have suggested that the hereditary social ranks characteristic of chiefdoms can be recognized archaeologically not only through differential access to objects of “wealth” that act as status symbols in a domestic context, but also through analyses of variation in mortuary practices (e.g., Beck 1995; J. Brown 1971; Chapman, Kinnes, and Randsborg 1981; O’Shea 1984; Orton and Hodson 1980; Peebles and Kus 1977; Tainter 1978). Cross-cultural studies have shown that the death of a higher-ranking individual generally involves an increased amount of corporate involvement in mortuary ritual and is manifested in increased energy expenditure in the burial process (Binford 1971; Saxe 1970). This process may include increased complexity and duration of funerary ritual, more elaborate treatment of the body, a larger or more elaborately constructed grave or tomb, or inclusion of a substantially larger quantity of grave goods with higher prestige value (Tainter 1975, 1978). In societies with at least partially ascribed social ranking, the general argument is that status-related variation in body positioning, grave form, and burial furniture should cross-cut age and sex categories, and it should be archaeologically distinguishable from mortuary variability attributable to age differences, gender roles, or achieved statuses.

In most early archaeological studies of the relationship between social roles and statuses and burial remains, single cemeteries were analyzed and a one-to-one correspondence between material elaborateness of burials and social status was assumed. More recently, a number of significant issues have

been raised with regard to this relatively simplistic equation. An important issue is that of burial "sampling," both on the level of individual cemeteries and within the larger regional sphere within which a complex society functions (J. Brown 1995:17; Goldstein 1995:101). Unsystematically sampled portions of single cemeteries have often been used by archaeologists to represent burial programs and their social dimensions within a particular complex society as a whole. The importance of a regional perspective in mortuary analysis as well as in settlement studies is succinctly summarized by O'Shea: "Methodologically, the multi-site approach provides a means for distinguishing categories of differentiation that represent intentioned, region-wide patterns (even among infrequently expressed social statuses) from those that are idiosyncratic or site specific. It can also increase the usefulness of small or incomplete archaeological samples by allowing their qualitative characteristics to be viewed in light of larger and better documented sites in the region" (1995:127).

Another problem basic to archaeological mortuary analyses is that of establishing chronological contemporaneity between individuals in a given burial population, given the generally gross chronological divisions possible through archaeological dating techniques. While it is difficult in the case of individual burials in open cemeteries, it may be more so in large-scale corporate funerary monuments, since monumental tombs may be used over long periods for different purposes by differently organized social groups (Graves 1986). Other critiques of early archaeological studies of social aspects of mortuary patterning have considered general problems of differential preservation of burial remains (Alekshin 1983:141), as well as preservation differences related to rank-specific mortuary practices (such as cremation burial for certain social segments or practices like tattooing or feather adornment associated with elites; see Trinkhaus 1995). In addition, a number of recent works have emphasized the limitations of material burial remains in representing the total funeral rite, since in many complex societies expressions of rank may occur primarily in nonmaterial ritual that is not visible in the archaeological record (Bartel 1982; J. Brown 1995:15). As noted by Andrew Strathern in his discussion of mortuary rites in Melanesian societies, it is the amount of material wealth and energy that flows to the deceased's kinsmen in funeral exchanges rather than treatment of deceased's body per se that is the primary measure of social rank and connectedness:

Death is seen primarily as an occasion for regenerating exchange ties. Much more emphasis is placed on the acts of payment and exchange which follow hard on the funeral than on the interment of the dead person or the construction of memorials for him or her. . . . There is little or no idea that the way the body is laid in its grave

can influence the security of the ghost, or that the dead person's spirit can use any of the treasures of the living world in its subsequent existence. For these reasons, the burial of valuable shells with the bodies of the deceased would make no cultural sense.

(1980:219)

Even in societies that emphasize the actual interment as a statement of the social persona and status of the deceased, Orton and Hodson (1980) suggest that the use of "wealth" scores in assigning social classes in a burial population (e.g., Frankenstein and Rowlands 1978:84; Peebles and Kus 1977; Shennan 1975; Tainter and Cordy 1977) may be misleading, since burial events are synchronic points within the life-cycle of a kin group. Since mortuary rites represent one context in which prestige objects are exchanged, accumulated, and "invested" within a larger ongoing cycle of prestations between kinsmen and allies (Strathern 1980), the elaborateness of the mortuary ritual might signify the particular economic conditions of a kin unit at a particular time and not over its lifetime (Orton and Hodson 1980:106). Finally, a number of scholars have urged closer attention to ideological dimensions of specific societies that might affect how social relations are perceived and symbolized materially (e.g., Humphreys and King 1980; Shanks and Tilley 1982). For example, cultural perceptions of social deviance determine how a nonconforming individual will be treated at death (in some societies with extraelaborate ritual, and in others, withholding even the most basic mortuary rites; see Saxe 1970:11; Shay 1985). Unnatural death events (e.g., drowning, death in warfare) can also have important ideological implications that override an individual's social position and require special mortuary treatment. Such events may distort status-based mortuary distinctions if the burial sample is small (Shay 1985:223).

In the case of contact period Philippine complex societies, there is a rich ethnohistorical literature that allows us to evaluate what aspects of mortuary ritual and death-related social exchanges might and might not be reflected in the material treatment of the deceased. The extensiveness of political ties of obligation, subservience, and loyalty would be expected to be manifested on the death of a powerful chief or a member of his family. Metcalf and Huntington, in a discussion of the role of mortuary ritual in complex societies of Southeast Asia (1991:135–144), note that the extreme public pageantry and grandiose wealth display must be seen in the context of political systems rife with "cosmic pretention and chronic competition" (p. 136). Not surprisingly, the Spanish chroniclers report that the death of a *datu* or other high-ranking individual in the sixteenth-century Philippines was a time of significant social competition and negotiation of political relationships, as the deceased's kinsmen strove to attract a large contingent of mourners to the protracted mortuary ritual and feast. Many of the social

transactions accompanying a death would involve circulation of sustenance and goods between living members of participant kin groups and thus would not be directly visible in burials. Ethnohistorical sources suggest that the social rank and political sway of a deceased male and his kin group were reflected directly in the elaborateness of the burial feast, the number of participants and complexity of mortuary ritual, and the length and severity of interdictions and prohibitions instituted during the mourning period. Ethnohistorical analysis further indicates that treatment of the corpse itself varied according to social rank, including body preparations, the size and relative elaborateness of the burial pit, and the amount and quality of the grave accompaniments.

Because many contact period Philippine chiefdoms are described as burying their dead beneath the contemporaneously occupied house-compounds of the deceased's kinsmen, we can compare patterns of household wealth (reflecting mortuary feasts and death rites exchanges, among other household transactions) with "interred" wealth for an overall picture of inter-household status differentiation. Because burials beneath house-compounds are presumed to be cumulative over a number of years, the problem of short-term wealth fluctuations within the kin group that might affect the elaborateness of the burial program may be addressed by looking at multiple burials within a habitation locale.

The most severe problem in extracting social dimensions from mortuary practices at Philippine burial sites is the lack of systematic sampling both within cemeteries and within larger regions. Archaeological investigations of burial sites in the Philippines are considerably more frequent than of habitation sites, with a significant number of burials excavated from the cultural phases relevant to the question of complex society development. However, selection of cemeteries for archaeological investigation and of burial samples within those cemeteries has been largely guided by art historical or commercial concerns (i.e., the presence of elaborate trade porcelains or earthenware burial jars). Formal mortuary analysis, aimed at eliciting aspects of social structure (gender roles, kin group organizations, social ranking) through detailed qualitative and quantitative study of burial associations, has yet to be carried out widely in the Philippines (Dalupan 1985; Junker 1993b; Nishimura 1988) or even in East and Southeast Asia in general (Higham 1989:153–157, 186, 293–296). Another fundamental problem with most of the existing burial data is an overwhelming emphasis on description of elaborate burial goods and a lack of precise information about the association between differences in mortuary treatment and age/sex characteristics of the burial population. Therefore, the interpretations of changing patterns of social ranking presented here are primarily based on qualitative and impressionistic observations rather than detailed statistical analyses of contexts and associations.

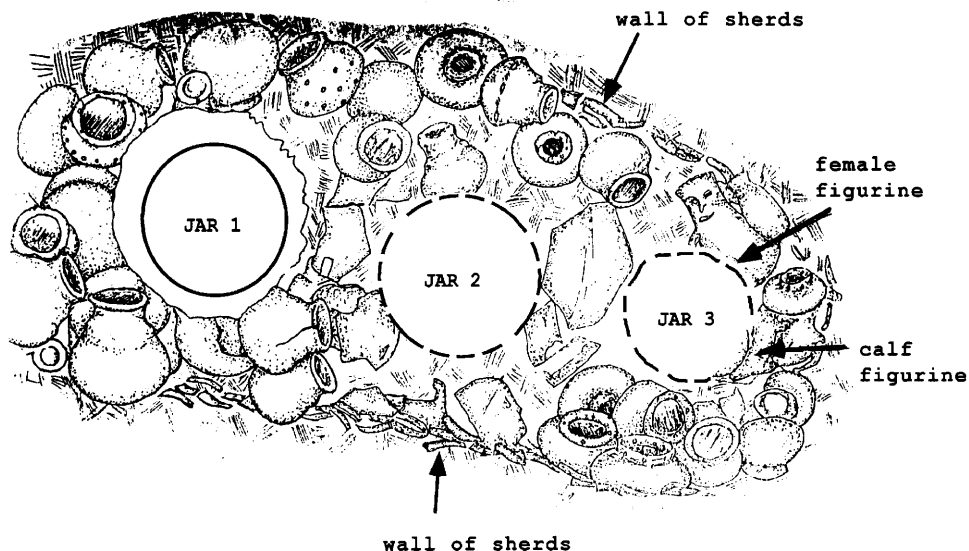


Figure 6.6. Secondary jar burial excavated by Tenazas (1974) at the Metal Age (ca. mid–first millennium A.D.) burial site of Magsuhot, Negros Oriental.

**Burial Evidence for Social Status Differentiation at First Millennium B.C. to First Millennium A.D. Metal Age Sites**

Metal Age cemeteries in the Philippines consist of elaborate primary and secondary “jar burials” with lavish grave accompaniments, often placed in caves (Briones and Chiong 1977; Dizon 1979, 1996; R. Fox 1970; Fox and Evangelista 1957; Hutterer 1974; Kurjack and Sheldon 1970; Maceda 1964, 1965, 1967; Mascuñana 1987; Salcedo 1979; Solheim 1964, 1968; Tuggle and Hutterer 1972).<sup>11</sup> The earthenware or carved stone burial containers frequently are artistically sculptured anthropomorphic, zoomorphic, or abstractly decorated vessels or boxes, often accompanied by other finely made and lavishly decorated earthenware vessels, bronze and iron implements, bronze and shell ornaments, beads, and other locally manufactured goods. Although some of the grave goods appear to be gender-specific, most are status goods that cross-cut age and sex categories in their differential distribution within the burial populations. Some extremely elaborate child and infant burials (and contrastingly depauperate adult male burials) suggest at least some hereditary ascription of social rank in this period.

In analyzing social dimensions of mortuary patterns, we might first look at Tenazas’ (1974) excavations at the Magsuhot Site in southeastern Negros, one of the few open-air Metal Age burial sites recorded in the Philippines.

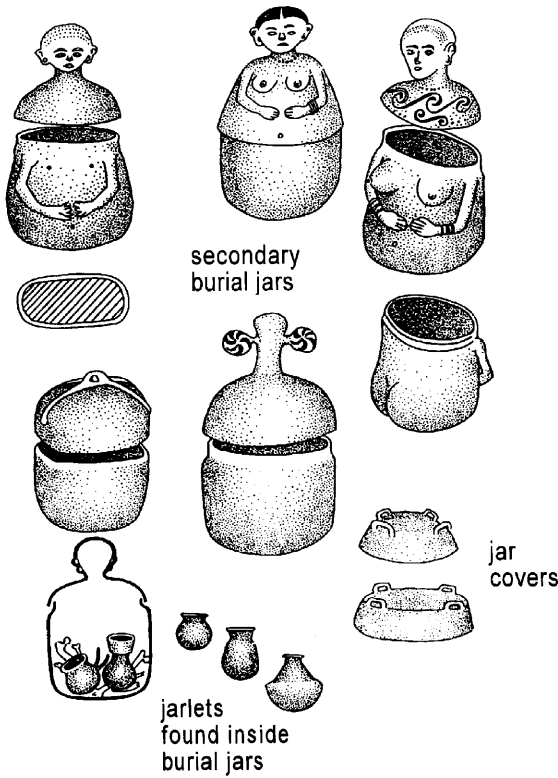


Figure 6.7. Anthropomorphic earthenware pottery from jar burials at Ayub Cave, South Cotabato, Mindanao, dated to the Metal Age. (From Dizon 1996)

A simple jar burial with no grave accompaniments provides a striking contrast with two extremely complex jar burials with extensive burial offerings, including numerous iron implements, glass beads, clay figurines, and seventy to a hundred elaborate earthenware vessels. One of the elaborate jar burials contained a young adult female with two children, dismembered and placed together in an enormous cylindrical jar with a decorated lid, 52 centimeters in diameter and 74 centimeters high (Fig. 6.6). The secondary burials were accompanied by at least ninety elaborately decorated earthenware vessels, some of which were footed dishes containing what were likely meat offerings (represented by chicken and pig bones), hundreds of multi-colored paste beads, two clay figurines (a pregnant woman and a young carabao), and several highly corroded iron implements (Fig. 6.7).

The best-known Metal Age jar burial sites are those of Tabon Cave, Manunggul Cave, and related sites on the island of Palawan (R. Fox 1970). In one chamber of Manunggul Cave with secondary jar burials radio-carbon-dated to the eighth or ninth century B.C., a particularly spectacular

earthenware burial jar was recovered that has become one of the centerpieces of the Philippine National Museum collections. The exterior of both the jar and its lid are incised, impressed, and painted with curvilinear and punctate decoration, and the top of the lid is molded into a boat with two paddling figures. Fox (1970) describes the grave accompaniments to this and other jar burials at the site as consisting of earthenware jars and bowls with elaborate morphologies (including pedestaled vessels and truncated conical forms) and diverse decoration (including red slip, carved paddle impressing, incising and impressing of geometric designs, and resin coating), bronze axes, ornaments of jade, carnelian, onyx, and other semiprecious stones, and shell bracelets and beads. Fox notes that while some burials (including the elaborate jar described above) contain large numbers and significant diversity of these burial goods, others contain very few burial accompaniments, although no listing of individual burial associations has been published. Eight well-described jar burials at the Little Tigkiw Site in Sorsogon Province (southeastern Luzon) exhibit the same simple dichotomy in wealth and status characteristic of the Palawan sites and the Magsuhot Site. Graves at this site are divisible into those *with* burial furnishings and those *without* burial furnishings, with half of the burials containing small quantities of imported glass beads and iron implements (Dizon 1979).<sup>12</sup>

More recently, about two hundred partially intact anthropomorphic earthenware pottery urn burials dated to the Metal Age have been discovered at the near-coastal Ayub Cave Site in South Cotabato within what was historically Magindanao territory (Dizon 1996; see Fig. 6.6). Dizon notes that each individual depicted on the anthropomorphic lids is unique, and he has suggested that the urn artisans were attempting to capture the individual physical traits and personalities of the deceased. As at the Cotabato, Sorsogon, and Negros sites, the urn interments were accompanied by a variety of grave goods, including earthenware pottery with cord-marked and incised decorations, glass beads, glass bracelets, earthenware beads, shell implements, shell ornaments, and iron blades. No detailed report with artifact associations and skeletal analysis is yet available on this site (Dizon 1996). However, Dizon reports significant differences in both quantities and quality of grave accompaniments (personal communication, 1995) that might reflect at least two distinct tiers in a status hierarchy.<sup>13</sup>

Although the Metal Age cemetery excavation reports generally lack the type of information on burial associations necessary for quantitative treatment of social aspects of mortuary programs, some qualitative observations can be made. Variation in burial jar forms and grave goods at sites with minimal disturbance indicate differential mortuary treatment that may represent status-related burial practices. In comparison to tenth-century and later cemeteries associated with lowland Philippine complex societies, mortuary differentiation is not particularly complex and often involves a simple dichotomy between those individuals possessing grave goods and those



without. At the Magsuhot Site, there are subadult and female burials with unusual amounts and varieties of grave goods, while some adult males lack grave accompaniments. This differentiation may suggest some hereditary social ranking in this period, supporting the settlement evidence for the rise of chiefdoms with regionally integrated political hierarchies by at least the sixth century A.D. in many areas of the Philippines.

### **Burial Evidence for Social Status Differentiation at Eleventh- to Fourteenth-Century Philippine Sites**

While secondary jar burial in caves or open sites continues to be practiced into the early second millennium A.D. in some parts of the Philippines, most cemeteries of this period reflect mortuary practices described in later Spanish accounts: open-air pit or log-grave burials, often under or directly adjacent to contemporaneous habitation (R. Fox 1959; Fox and Evangelista 1957; Fox and Legaspi 1977; Junker 1993a; A. Legaspi 1974; Locsin and Locsin 1967; Solheim 1982:76–78; Tenazas 1964). The beginnings of significant participation by Philippine coastal polities in the South China Sea luxury good trade (see Chapter 7) is evident in this period, with significant quantities of Chinese porcelains and other foreign goods as burial accompaniments, particularly at cemeteries associated with polities along major maritime-trading routes (Fig. 6.8). Rare types of porcelain or other relatively unique foreign commodities, common foreign porcelain types, and locally made luxury goods such as decorated earthenware appear to form prestige goods hierarchies, with both the quantity and the quality of burial goods marking the status of individuals within a complex and multi-tiered system of social ranking. Unfortunately, published archaeological reports often provide no detailed information on the demography of the burial population and artifact-skeletal associations. In most cases, we have only qualitatively based and incidental inferences by the excavators about variation in burial programs that might relate to social ranking.

Perhaps the most elaborate and best-known cemetery dated to this period are the burials excavated at the Santa Ana Site, near the center of present-day Manila (Fox and Legaspi 1977; Locsin and Locsin 1967). The site is located along the Pasig River, a few kilometers upriver from the locale where, in the late sixteenth century, Rajah Suleyman ruled in the fortified town of Manila and met the Spaniards led by Miguel de Legaspi. The late-eleventh-century to late-fourteenth-century site is described as consisting of habitation remains as well as the large cemetery area. In the published reports, there are references to extensive “refuse middens” containing brackish water and riverine shells, animal bones (primarily deer, pig, and water buffalo), charcoal, earthenware and porcelain sherds, and significant quantities of iron slag and metal debris (Fox and Legaspi 1977:6–7; Peralta and Salazar

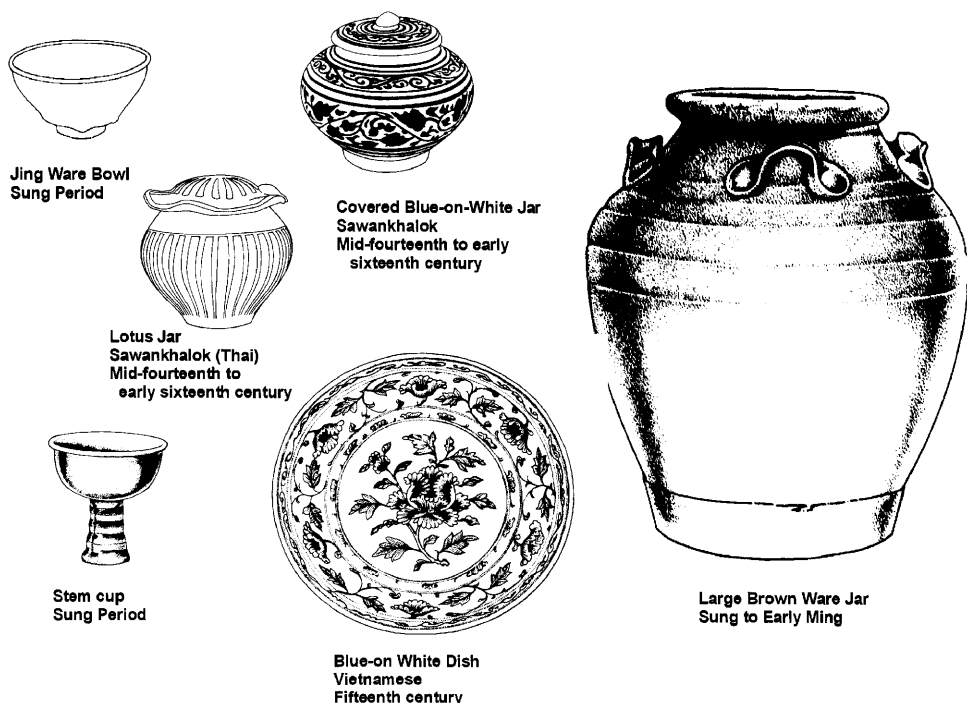


Figure 6.8. Foreign porcelain commonly found in burials at tenth-century to sixteenth-century cemeteries in the Philippines. (Redrawn from Wilson 1988)

1974:50), indicative of intensive habitation and ironwork. More than two hundred burials were unearthed by the Locsins in 1961 and published in 1967 (Locsin and Locsin 1967), and an archaeological team from the Philippine National Museum excavated more than seventy additional burials in 1966 (reported in Fox and Legaspi 1977 and Peralta and Salazar 1974). The Locsins published appendixes on artifact associations, but not age and sex identifications, in their report on the excavated porcelains (1967:203–220). I have converted their findings into quantitative burial good counts.

Grave accompaniments in the Santa Ana burials consist primarily of Chinese porcelains of remarkable variety, with a smaller number of burials also containing decorated earthenware vessels, glass bracelets and beads, clay spindles and spindlewhorls, iron and bronze implements, shell bracelets, Chinese coins, clay net sinkers, metal bells, metal rings and bracelets, perforated animal horn pendants, soapstone figurines (depicting people and animals), and polished stones. In addition, Fox and Legaspi (1977) report the presence of animal bone and charred plant material as possible food

offerings in some of the graves, as well as the impressions of mats, netting, and textiles in the iron implements recovered from some burials. My statistical analyses of grave goods in the Locsin project burials indicate that 30.2 percent of the Santa Ana burials contained no grave accompaniments and another 30.7 percent of the burials had five or fewer porcelain vessels, while the nine “richest” burials (comprising 4.5 percent of the burial population) yielded more than 25 percent of all recovered porcelains in the cemetery site (see Fig. 6.8). The social status of individuals appears to have been symbolized in the quantities of foreign porcelains, their diversity (i.e., the number of distinctive types, as defined by kiln origins and glaze styles), their relative quality (as defined in terms of raw materials, glaze quality, workmanship, and elaborateness of decoration), and their relative scarcity or uniqueness as foreign trade goods (i.e., how often they are found at island Southeast Asia sites).<sup>14</sup> There is a strong positive correlation between the quantity of porcelains accompanying a burial and the number of distinct varieties of porcelains in the grave; that is, a burial containing a large number of porcelains will generally also have a wider range of porcelain types originating from many Chinese kilns and trading sources. However, the extent of looting at the site is not clear, and we cannot say for certain that complete mortuary assemblages were excavated from all burials.

Probable locally manufactured goods (including earthenware pottery, shell jewelry, animal horn pendants, clay net sinkers, spindles and spindle-whorls, beads of varying raw material, soapstone figurines, and metal bells) show an inverse correlation with foreign porcelains, with a tendency to be found more often in burials that lack porcelain or contain small amounts. Of nonceramic goods, only iron and foreign coinage exhibit a positive (but not statistically significant) correlation with foreign porcelains. These patterns suggest a hierarchy of social value in grave furnishings, in which locally manufactured ceramics and mundane household goods function as lower-status alternatives to foreign porcelains in signaling the relative social ranking of the deceased.

In their report, Fox and Legaspi (1977) comment that the graves excavated in the Santa Ana churchyard and adjacent Aeropagita locale included nineteen graves of infants and children containing a total of 170 finely made late Sung porcelains (with seven of the graves yielding more than ten vessels each). While a male adult burial represented the richest grave among those excavated by the National Museum (with 57 Chinese porcelain and stoneware grave accompaniments), the two next richest graves belonged to infants (with 31 and 22 porcelain and stoneware vessels). These elaborate burials are sharply contrasted with other adult male interments, with less than five porcelain vessels as grave accompaniments or, in a few cases, lacking any associated burial goods.

Representative of a twelfth- to fifteenth-century cemetery that has less spectacular burial remains is the Santiago Phase cemetery at Tanjay. The

**Table 6.6. Comparison of Burials underneath Two Distinct Residential Zones at Tanjay in the Twelfth to Fourteenth Centuries A.D. Phase of Occupation**

Burial No.	Residential Zone <sup>1</sup>	Grave Size <sup>2</sup> (m <sup>2</sup> )	Age/Sex <sup>3</sup>	Grave Goods
<i>Burials with grave goods</i>				
SA6	elite	2.35	adult male	1 porcelain vessel
SA9	elite	2.00	juvenile (<6 yrs.), sex unknown	1 earthenware 1 bronze blade
SA14	elite	2.50	adult male (?)	2 bronze objects, 1 iron blade
SA19	elite	2.75	adult, sex unknown	1 bronze object
SA20	elite	3.20	adult female	1 earthenware vessel
SA21	elite	2.50	adult female (?)	1 earthenware vessel
<i>Burials without grave goods</i>				
SA4	elite	1.80	adult, sex unknown	none
SA7	elite	1.90	adult, sex unknown	none
SA10	elite	2.10	adult, female (?)	none
SA11	elite	1.80	adult, sex unknown	none
SA12	elite	1.75	juvenile (6–12 yrs.), sex unknown	none
SA13	elite	1.50	juvenile (<6 yrs.), female (?)	none
SA15	elite	2.00	adult, sex unknown	none
SA17	elite	1.70	juvenile, sex unknown	none
SA18	elite	1.90	adult, sex unknown	none
OP17	nonelite	1.90	adult male	none
OP18	nonelite	1.80	adult female	none
OP21	nonelite	2.00	adult male	none
OP22	nonelite	1.90	adult male	none

1. The “elite” residential zone is the Santiago Church locale and the “nonelite” residential zone is the Osmena Park locale approximately 250 meters to the east.

2. The size of the graves was approximated based on soil changes.

3. Cases where the age approximation or gender identification of the skeleton is uncertain are designated by (?).

mortuary remains consist exclusively of single primary burials in rectangular pits, including fifteen burials recovered underneath the stockaded Structure 2 at the Santiago Church locale and four burials from the Osmena Park locale that cannot be directly correlated with contemporaneous habitation structures. Immediately striking about the Santiago Phase burials at Tanjay are their relative poverty and unelaborateness compared to the

richly furnished graves at Santa Ana. This observation supports the settlement pattern evidence that Tanjay was a relatively small-scale chiefly polity in the early second millennium A.D., and it suggests that the Tanjay chiefs had access to a significantly less diverse range of both foreign and locally manufactured prestige goods than larger-scale chiefdoms centered around Manila, northern Mindoro, Sulu, and southwestern and northern Mindanao. As summarized in Table 6.6, the primary distinction in mortuary treatment at Tanjay in this phase is the presence or absence of prestige goods (imported porcelain, slipped and decorated earthenware, and iron and bronze implements). In contrast to the Santa Ana cemetery, only one type of foreign porcelain was found in the burials (Sung-Yüan period green-glazed celadon of generally poor quality) along with a generally limited range of locally manufactured luxury goods. Access to prestige goods in burials cross-cuts age and sex categories, a pattern consistent with at least some ascribed component to social ranking (see Junker 1993b for quantitative analysis). All of the burials containing prestige goods were from underneath the large stockaded pile-house in the elite residential zone.

The excavations of early second millennium A.D. burial sites like Santa Ana and Tanjay suggest that, in some areas, social status hierarchies have become more complex than in the preceding Metal Age, with rank gradations shown by multitiered systems of social value attached to foreign and locally produced luxury goods. Large-scale eleventh- to fourteenth-century Philippine maritime-trading polities that had captured a large volume of the Chinese trade were able to monopolize access to the highest-quality and most diverse foreign goods. Less desirable foreign imports and locally produced luxury goods were probably regarded as poorer substitutes, more widely available as objects of status and wealth for lower-ranking elites and socially mobile commoners. In this early period of the Chinese porcelain trade, smaller-scale polities with more sporadic foreign trade ties, like the chiefdom centered at Tanjay, focused on locally made earthenware vessels, indigenous or imported bronze and iron goods, and relatively poor quality foreign porcelains as the primary symbols of status and wealth in mortuary ritual.

### ***Burial Evidence for Social Status Differentiation at Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Philippine Sites***

The grave furnishings in fifteenth and sixteenth century A.D. cemeteries in the Philippines simultaneously reflect the evolution of significantly more complex social status hierarchies in expanding maritime-trading polities and the wider distribution of foreign trade wealth within previously excluded segments of the population. Beginning in the late fourteenth century and early fifteenth century, Chinese porcelains and Southeast Asian glazed

ceramics appear more frequently in burial sites outside the major Philippine trade centers, and these foreign prestige goods are no longer exclusively associated with elite habitation zones within individual sites. While a large number of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century cemeteries are known in the Philippines (Beyer 1947; R. Fox 1964, 1967), very few have been systematically excavated and published (e.g., Fox 1959; Hutterer 1973a; Junker 1993b; Legaspi 1974; Nishimura 1988, 1992; Salcedo 1979), since the presence of mainland Asian porcelains as grave furnishings has attracted significant illicit looting at such sites.

Some of the better-documented and most spectacular burial sites dated to this period are several late-fourteenth-century to late-fifteenth-century cemeteries on the western coast of the Calatagan Peninsula in Batangas Province, southwestern Luzon (about one hundred kilometers south of Manila). More than five hundred graves were excavated through the combined efforts of Olov Janse in 1940 and Robert Fox and his Philippine National Museum team in the early 1950s (Fox 1959; Janse 1941, 1946), with the largest number of burials recovered from the adjacent sites of Kay Tomas and Pulong Bakaw. As at the earlier Santa Ana Site, the archaeologists reported the presence of large shell middens, charcoal, and other habitation debris at all four of the burial locales and at nearby sites lacking burials.<sup>15</sup>

Neither Janse's (1941, 1946) general discussion of the Calatagan sites nor Fox's (1959) more detailed report on the Kay Tomas Site and Pulong Bakaw Site burials provide detailed listings of grave associations and age/sex identifications on individual burials, precluding formalized quantitative mortuary analysis. However, Fox (1959) includes a number of tables in his report and makes a number of qualitative observations that are useful in assessing the nature of social status differentiation in burial programs at the sites. Grave furnishings include a few late Yüan (A.D. 1280–1368) porcelains, but primarily Chinese porcelains of early Ming (late fourteenth century to fifteenth century A.D.) date, fifteenth-century Annamese and Siamese porcelains, Philippine decorated earthenware, glass beads of foreign derivation, glass bracelets both foreign-derived (probably Annamese) and locally made, brass, copper, and gold ornaments, iron blades and spearheads, Chinese-style brass handles and locks of wooden chests, clay net sinkers, and clay spindlewhorls. The grave accompaniments suggest a primarily fifteenth-century date for the cemetery, with the few earlier porcelains possibly representing heirloom pieces. Fox reports that food remains were commonly recovered from the interior of the burial vessels (most often locally made earthenware) or scattered over the burial pit, including shells (cowries and giant clam), fish bones, deer and pig bones, and unidentified organic plant remains. Thus, the range of burial goods is comparable to the earlier Santa Ana cemetery, although most of the nonceramic materials appear to be locally made rather than obtained through Chinese trade.

Fox's descriptions of the cemeteries indicate that slightly more than 50 percent of the burials contained foreign porcelains, while more than 60 percent yielded plain, decorated, and slipped earthenware (1959:355).

Of interest in interpreting the relative status value of various burial goods is Fox's tabulation showing an inverse relationship between the numbers of foreign porcelains and locally made earthenware as burial accompaniments (Fig. 6.9): burials with no porcelains or a single porcelain are more likely to contain earthenware than burials containing three or more porcelains (1959:346). Fox's discussion of the earthenware forms (pp. 344–345, 372–379) and his accompanying plates suggest that many of the earthenware jars and bowls were attempts to replicate Chinese porcelain forms, but their distribution in “porcelain-poor” graves indicates that these locally manufactured vessels were considered inferior-status goods used in interments for which household heirloom porcelains were not available. Fox also notes that the bulk of the porcelain in the Calatagan graves consists of mass-produced, relatively poorly executed and monotonously formed blue-on-white bowls and dishes (Thai Sawankhalok wares), with a few exceptional porcelain pieces reserved for a small number of graves (p. 345). Both the quantities of the porcelains associated with individual burials (the maximum number of vessels is seven) and their quality (as measured in terms of diversity of forms and styles, and the relative artistry of execution) are remarkably poorer than what is found in the earlier Santa Ana cemetery, although a large percentage of the graves at Calatagan contain foreign porcelain. Fox notes that a number of graves stand out by their assemblage of high-quality Chinese porcelain, while mass-produced Sawankhalok porcelain, low-quality Siamese and Annamese porcelains, and locally produced earthenware (some mimicking Chinese forms) are more widely distributed among the remaining burials, substituting quantity for grave good quality (p. 345).

Fox reports that some of the most elaborately furnished burials are those of juveniles in graves and infant jar burials containing porcelain jars and metal and glass ornaments (pp. 351–352). Although gold ornaments are extremely rare at both burial locales (only four burials yielded gold jewelry and one burial had gold-pegged teeth at the two sites), the most elaborate gold piece, a unique finger ring manufactured out of a rare alloy of gold, silver, and copper, was recovered with the remains of a child at Pulong Bakaw. In contrast to some of the rich child and infant burials, many of the adult male burials contained only locally made metal tools or no grave goods whatsoever, indicating that social ranking reflected in mortuary ritual probably involved a hereditary component.

A fifteenth- to sixteenth-century cemetery in Batangas Province, east of Calatagan in southwestern Luzon, may be representative of burial patterns in smaller lowland settlements ruled by minor *datus* and largely peripheral to major Philippines polities and maritime trade routes. At the Calubcub

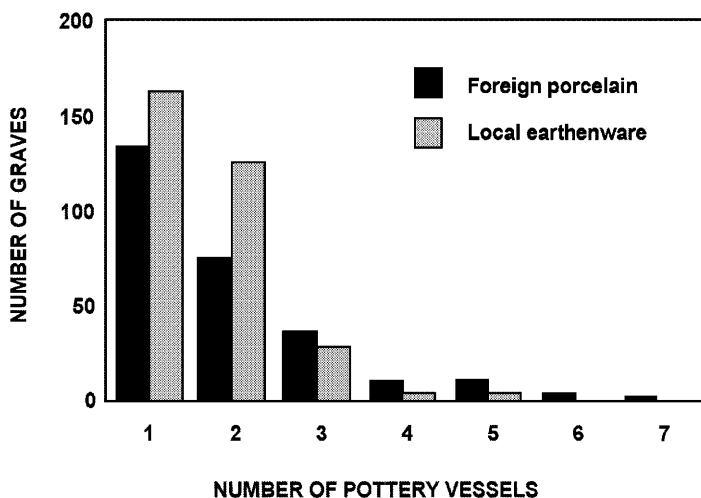


Figure 6.9. Number of graves containing various quantities of foreign porcelain and local earthenware at the fifteenth-century Calatagan Site.

Segundo Site, Salcedo (1979) excavated sixteen primary burials, most of which uniformly contained single earthenware jars incised with geometric patterns around the neck and flange, with possible food remains in the interior. No large prehispanic polities in the immediate vicinity in the early to mid-second millennium A.D. are described in either Spanish or Chinese texts, although Beyer (1947) in his “Outline Review of Philippine Archaeology” mentions findings of Chinese porcelain sherds in the region in the 1930s. Only one burial at the Calubcub Segundo Site contained foreign prestige goods, consisting of a late Ming celadon bowl, a single earthenware pot, and fragments of carabao (water buffalo) teeth in association with an adult (probably male). This burial, along with a probable adult female burial with two decorated earthenware pots, an earthenware stove, twelve glass beads (of unknown origin), and two tiny gold fragments are the richest burials in a cemetery otherwise characterized by uniformly few grave accompaniments.

The fifteenth- to sixteenth-century cemetery at Tanjay shows a similar dichotomy between a few rich burials with foreign porcelain, animal parts, gold-pegged teeth, metal weapons, and earthenware pots and a larger number of poor burials with no grave goods (Junker 1993b; Junker, Gunn, and Santos 1996). However, in contrast to the eleventh-to-fourteenth-century burial phase at Tanjay, burials within both the elite and nonelite residential zones contained foreign porcelains and bronze in addition to locally produced status objects. While the sample sizes are admittedly small at both



the Calubcub Segundo and Tanjay burial sites, I would suggest some preliminary interpretations of their divergent burial programs. Small-scale communities with no regionally powerful chiefs like Calubcub Segundo may have had limited access to foreign trade goods and instead concentrated on localized production of luxury goods such as decorated earthenware and gold ornaments as status objects. Perhaps the only community members with regular access to trade porcelains would be those living in the household of the local *datu*, who received porcelains as gifts from vertically allied higher-ranking chiefs or through accompanying the latter on raiding or trading expeditions. In contrast, at the larger center of Tanjay, a wider range of individuals were gaining some access to exotic prestige goods by the fifteenth-to-sixteenth-century height of foreign trade, and status hierarchies were becoming more finely graded and complex.

### **Conclusions: Changing Household and Burial Status Distinctions**

The archaeological evidence for evolving household and burial wealth differences is meager for all periods of complex society development in the Philippines, since prehispanic social organization has not been a traditional focus of archaeological investigation. The earliest published and quantifiable habitation data relevant to household status differences come from eleventh-to-fourteenth-century Tanjay. We have virtually no systematically excavated settlements from the critical first millennium A.D. Iron Age. However, the limited evidence from Tanjay, Cebu, and the Parang region of Jolo indicate that, by the immediately precolonial phase (the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in the Visayas and the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in the Sulu zone), status hierarchies were extremely complex and were encoded in multitiered material symbols of value. Pre-fifteenth-century house-compounds at Tanjay show a strong qualitatively as well as quantitatively defined dichotomy between elite households with access to a wide variety of both foreign and locally made luxury goods and nonelite households with relatively little access to these status commodities. In contrast, by the fifteenth century, there is evidence for wider access to prestige goods by larger segments of the population, with status hierarchies that are significantly more complex, finely graded, and largely quantitatively measured as well as qualitatively defined.

A similar pattern of increasing complexity in social strata is evident in analysis of burial patterns at Philippine cemeteries. In the Metal Age cemeteries, there are generally two discernible burial ranks, characterized by sharp distinctions in both the quantities and quality of grave goods and mortuary treatment, rather than graded differences along a relatively continuous scale. Most of the Metal Age burials are secondary urn burials or

urn cremations, but there is a clear dichotomy between exceptionally rich burials (some of which are subadults) with elaborate earthenware vessels, metal goods, and shell ornaments as grave accompaniments and poor burials with few or none of these goods. In contrast, burials from the Early Porcelain Period and Late Porcelain Period are considerably more complex, with many gradations in the diversity and numbers of grave accompaniments as well as in the form and labor requirements of the burial chamber. For example, at the eleventh-to-fourteenth-centuries burial site of Santa Ana, analyses of the relative production value put into various burial goods, their relative rareness at Santa Ana and contemporaneous sites, and their associations with other grave goods suggest that the status value of individual burial assemblages was calculated along a number of complex dimensions (e.g., finely executed Chinese porcelains versus mass-produced wares, authentic Chinese porcelains versus Siamese or Annamese replicas, foreign porcelains versus locally manufactured earthenware ceramics, fancy pottery versus more mundane household goods). The result was an almost continuous grading of status relationships, reflecting the emergence of significantly more complex status hierarchies after the tenth century A.D.

As detailed in the next chapter, the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries saw a massive expansion in both the volume and the geographic reach of the Asian mainland porcelain trade in the Philippines, and the emergence of large-scale maritime trading ports at Cebu, Manila, Jolo, Cotabato, northern Mindoro, and a number of other locales along strategic trade routes. The grave furnishings in fifteenth-to-sixteenth-century cemeteries and household assemblages of the same period reflect the evolution of social status hierarchies of even greater complexity in polities with expanding maritime trade. At the same time, the increased trade volume into the Philippines in general, made possible through Chinese mass-production of porcelain and the emergence of competing kilns in mainland Southeast Asia, may have effected wider access to foreign trade wealth within previously excluded segments of the population. While the fifteenth-century Calatagan burial sites lack the spectacular quantities of finely executed porcelains recovered from the earlier Santa Ana Site, a larger percentage of graves contain foreign porcelains. Similarly, comparisons of household assemblages at Tanjay show a substantial increase in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in access to foreign porcelains and to prestige goods in general in non-elite sectors of the settlement. In subsequent chapters, I will examine how individuals defined and redefined their social rank through the accumulation and exchange of valuables in social contexts such as ritual feasting and marriage negotiations. Expanding social access to the heirloom wealth that was eventually incorporated into burial and household deposits implies not only transformations in social hierarchies, but changing social, political, and economic relations within these systems of prestige goods acquisition and circulation.

## **Part III**

# **Foreign Trade and Internal Transformation**



## Chapter 7

### The Long-Distance Porcelain Trade

Sometime at the end of the first millennium A.D., and intensifying just before Spanish contact, Philippine chiefdoms became involved in long-distance prestige goods trade with the Chinese and with other Southeast Asian polities. Chinese porcelain and other exotic luxury goods from outside the archipelago, while not replacing indigenously manufactured prestige goods, became key symbols of social status and political power for the Philippine chiefly elite. As discussed in earlier chapters, this trade is evidenced ethnohistorically and archaeologically in the increasing use of foreign imports in elite bodily ornamentation, as “wealth” objects in the households of hereditary elite, and as grave accompaniments in high-status burials. Both ethnohistorical sources and archaeological evidence suggest that this foreign luxury good trade reached its height in terms of volume and interpolity trade competition in the fifteenth to sixteenth centuries. The increasing emphasis on foreign luxury goods in Philippine political economies corresponded with the emergence of more organizationally complex and territorially expansive chiefdoms and kingdoms in a number of regions of the Philippines in the two centuries before Spanish contact.

If control of wealth-generating foreign trade was a significant factor in these sociopolitical developments, how did Philippine chiefs regulate social access to foreign trade goods so that they retained their value as restricted status objects and manipulable political currency? If the giving of foreign luxury goods as gifts was an important material means of expanding a sovereign’s network of alliances and client relations, then it is necessary to focus on the strategies used by Philippine rulers to monopolize foreign trade and keep foreign goods from circulating in the alliance networks of their political rivals. Later chapters will specifically explore how the expanding importance of maritime luxury good trade in indigenous political economies was supported through changes in internal systems of resource mobilization, production, and distribution (Chapters 8 and 9) and changes in the objectives and intensity of militaristic activities (Chapter 12). This chapter will focus more narrowly on chiefly strategies and activities that channeled foreign trade exclusively into the hands of the sociopolitical elite and offered avenues for wealth accumulation as the basis for political power. These strategies include restrictive social contexts for exchange (the ruler as patron to the foreign trader), restrictive geographic contexts for exchange (the trade

“entrepôt,” elite sponsorship of trade voyages), aggressive recruitment of trade partners (tributary missions to the Chinese court), and ideological manipulation of foreign knowledge obtained in the course of trade interactions (the ruling elite as the translators of foreign culture).

### **Patterns of Foreign Trade in the Seventh to Sixteenth Centuries A.D.: Documentary and Archaeological Evidence**

Since the trade strategies of Philippine rulers and their foreign trade partners were dynamic and responded to larger economic and political processes within the Southeast Asian maritime trading sphere, I begin this chapter with an overview of maritime trade patterns in Southeast Asia over the last two millennia and how Philippine peoples participated in these long-distance trade networks. Chinese trade and tributary records of the tenth to sixteenth centuries, contact period Spanish documents, and archaeological evidence in the form of trade goods and trading settlements provide the sources for examining changes in the organization, volume, intensity, political and social context, and material emphasis of foreign trade from the seventh through sixteenth centuries A.D. Ethnohistorical and archaeological analysis point to a massive expansion of foreign luxury good trade in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, accompanied by changes in trade inventories, the political and economic objectives of trade, and the way in which foreign trade was organized and administered.

#### ***Pre-Tenth-Century Trade***

A common view among historians before the 1970s was that the Malayo-Polynesian speakers of Southeast Asia participated in a very limited way in the South China Sea–Indian Ocean luxury good trade well up to the sixteenth century, with Chinese, Indian, and Arab vessels responsible for most long-distance shipping in the region (Coedes 1968; Meilink-Roelofs 1962; Van Leur 1967; Wheatley 1971). However, other Southeast Asian historians have recently critiqued the previous emphasis on external forces driving the late first millennium A.D. Southeast Asian trade (K. Hall 1985:42–44, 78–79, 98–99; Manguin 1993:200; see also Wolters 1967). Recent historical reconstructions have begun to demonstrate the technological and navigational sophistication of Malay coastal populations (Manguin 1980, 1993; Reid 1993c:43–53). In fact, historical interpretations now suggest that Malay peoples of Southeast Asia, rather than Chinese, South Asians, or Arabs, were the primary voyagers linking the South China Sea and the Indian Ocean before the tenth century A.D.<sup>1</sup>

Before the fifth century, the empires of China primarily emphasized their

overland routes to South Asia and the Near East, and there are very few textual references to the kingdoms that occupied the Nan Yang, or Southern Ocean (Andaya and Andaya 1982:17). It was not until the Buddhist Liu Sung dynasty (A.D. 420–479) and Southern Qi dynasty (A.D. 479–502) were established in the south, cut off by a hostile northern kingdom from traditional overland caravan routes, that the Chinese began to look southward for maritime trade (K. Hall 1992:196). Yet many historians argue that China itself did not develop large ocean-going vessels until the eighth and ninth centuries (Andaya and Andaya 1982:17; Taylor 1992:174). Thus, it was the Malay seamen of the Sunda and Malacca strait regions who carried commodities from India and Sri Lanka to the west, navigated through Southeast Asian waters, and delivered these cargoes to southern China ports (Andaya and Andaya 1982:17; K. Hall 1992:196). Chinese texts suggest that in the fifth and sixth centuries, numerous small-scale maritime-trading kingdoms specializing in transshipping goods in this expanding trans-Asiatic trade network arose along these critical straits connecting the South China Sea and the Indian Ocean (Andaya and Andaya 1982:18–19).

Despite the absence of documentary evidence for Philippine participation in these early Southeast Asian maritime trade networks, Hutterer argues that early trade contacts outside the archipelago are manifested in the appearance of foreign-made metal and stone ornamental objects in the Philippines in the late first millennium B.C. and early first millennium A.D. (1977a:184–186; see also K. Hall 1992:185). While archaeological investigations have yet to discover the elaborate “Dongson” bronze objects circulating through Vietnam, Thailand, and the Malay peninsula in the first hundred years B.C. (Bellwood 1985:280–289; Higham 1989:190–238), both iron and bronze appear to have been first introduced to the Philippine archipelago at this time. Bronze and iron objects, carnelian and jade beads, glass ornaments, gold jewelry, and possibly earthenware ceramics found in some burial sites are cited by Hutterer as probable Southeast Asian imports into the Philippine archipelago during the Metal Age. However, this early extra-archipelago trade appears to be sporadic, geographically dispersed, and low-volume, with no archaeological indicators of concentrated trade at particular coastal ports.

Beginning in the seventh century, the previously more diffuse trade by numerous competing island Southeast Asian centers of roughly similar scale and complexity gave way to regional dominance by the kingdom of Srivijaya (Fig. 7.1), located somewhere along the eastern coast of Sumatra (probably centered at Palembang) and known through Chinese historical records, indigenous epigraphy, and archaeological evidence (Andaya and Andaya 1982; K. Hall 1992; Wolters 1967, 1971).<sup>2</sup> Reliable Chinese documentary evidence for pre-tenth-century Philippine trade with China, or indirect trade through intermediaries like Srivijaya, is absent (Wu 1959:74;

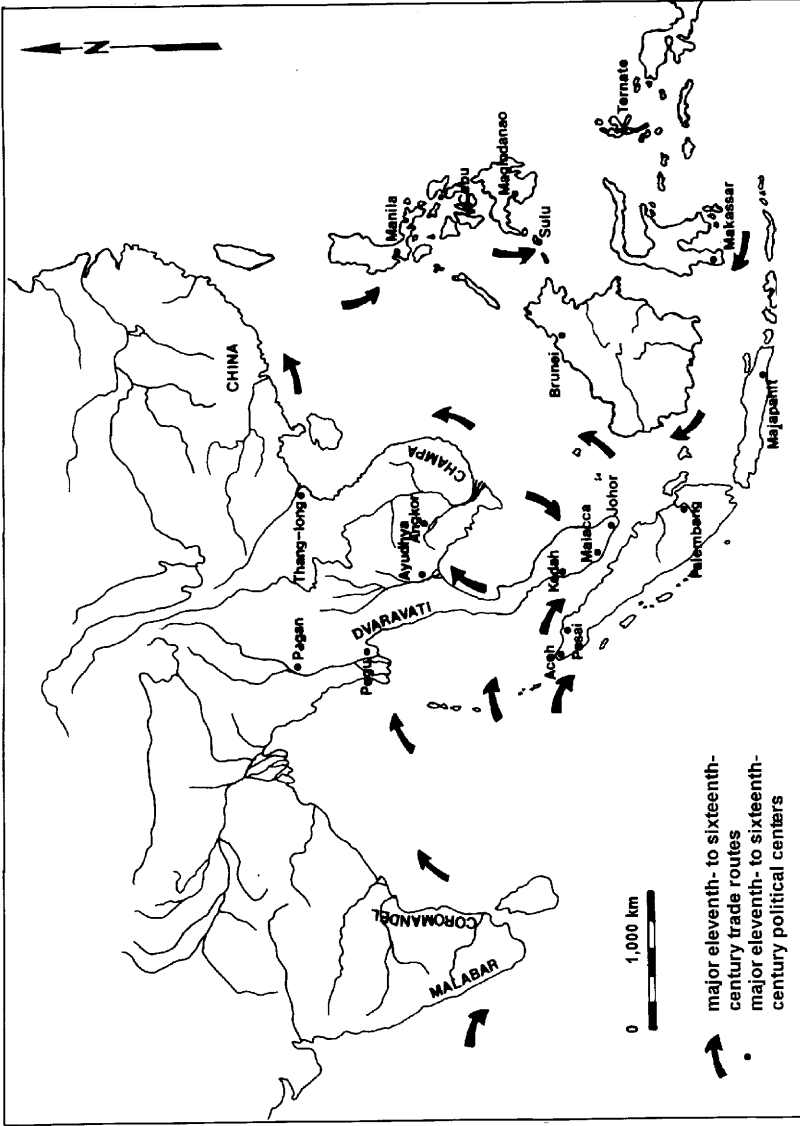


Figure 7.1. Location of Southeast Asian maritime-trading polities mentioned in the text. (Adapted from Hall 1985)



R. Fox 1967:52; Scott 1984:63). However, T'ang and Five Dynasties period (A.D. 618–960) porcelains contemporaneous with the height of Srivijaya's power in the Malacca strait region have been found in small quantities at archaeological sites along the western littoral of Luzon (up to the Babuyan Islands), in northern Mindoro, along the northern Mindanao coast, in the Sulu archipelago, and scattered through the central Philippines (e.g., southern Samar and Leyte, and in the vicinity of Cebu), as shown in Figure 7.2 (Beyer 1947; Hutterer 1973b:108; Solheim 1982:76).<sup>3</sup> T'ang period international trade was focused essentially on small-scale Chinese import of luxury or prestige goods such as aromatics, drugs, and exotic forest and ocean products (e.g., kingfisher and peacock feathers, parrots, pearls, coral, and ivory) (Wolters 1967:40–42, 138, 150, 243; Schafer 1967:77, 238–239) in exchange for Chinese porcelains and silk (Wolters 1967:40–42, 78–79, 82; Wang 1959:91–95; Wheatley 1959:96–98).

The lack of reference to trade voyages into Philippine ports in Chinese economic records for this period has led to the logical assumption that the comparatively few pre-tenth-century Chinese porcelains at Philippine sites were transported by non-Chinese merchants (Beyer 1979:112; Taylor 1992:174). While a number of prominent archaeologists working in the Philippines have assigned a primary role to Arab, Persian, or Indian merchants in this earliest Chinese-Philippine trade (Beyer 1948; R. Fox 1964),<sup>4</sup> most historians now suggest that Southeast Asian middleman traders handled the bulk of early trade (K. Hall 1975:196; Manguin 1993).<sup>5</sup> A strong argument can be made that Malay traders from Borneo or from the expanding Sumatran ports associated with Srivijaya were the foreign merchants who delivered small quantities of porcelains and possibly other luxury goods not visible in the archaeological record to the Philippines at this early date. There is also the possibility of Philippine voyages outside the archipelago to procure porcelains at other Southeast Asian ports or in southern China. The sophisticated knowledge of tributary trade politics demonstrated by tenth-century Philippine polities such as Ma-i and P'u-tuan suggests long-term involvement in extra-archipelago voyaging and trade.

Whoever these long-distance voyagers were, the archaeological evidence suggests that this trade was sporadic and low-volume. Finds of T'ang period porcelains are scattered throughout the northern, central, and southern Philippines, with no dense concentrations of finds at particular coastal sites. Only a small number of seventh to ninth century A.D. Philippine polities participated in T'ang period trade, probably through trade relations with Bornean or Javanese merchants, who themselves may not have had direct access to Chinese luxury good sources. Analysis of the small-scale sixth-to-ninth-century chiefdom centered at Tanjay reveals a political economy focused on internal prestige goods production and possibly interisland luxury good exchange, with no evidence for any trade contacts outside of the Philippine archipelago. The Philippines appear to have been relatively

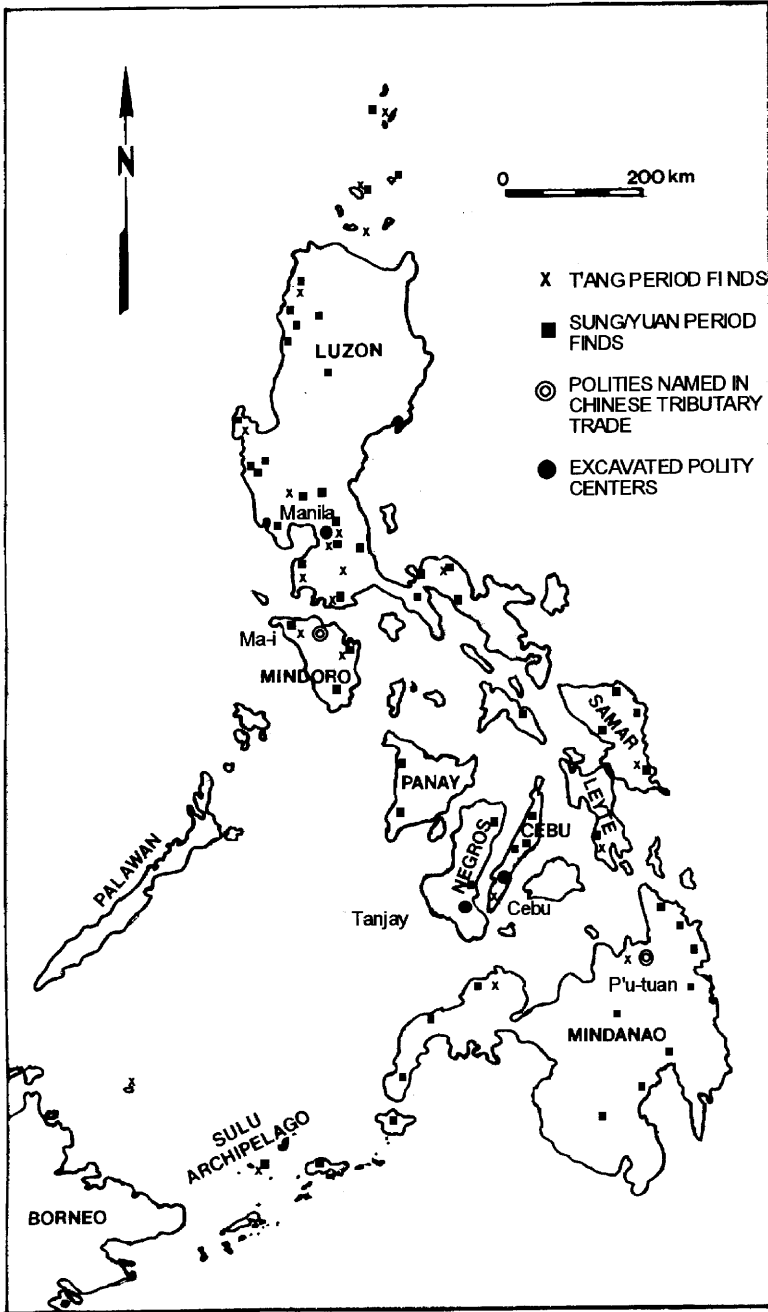


Figure 7.2. Locations where T'ang, Sung, and Yüan porcelains have been found in the Philippines, with eighth- to early-fourteenth-century coastal centers known from Chinese sources or excavated.

peripheral to the Southeast Asian maritime trading networks until the early second millennium A.D., when the fall of Srivijaya and diffusion of trade power to multiple independent island Southeast Asian centers initiated a competitive search for new sources of exportable forest products to the west and the south.

### **Tenth-to-Fourteenth-Century Sung Period and Yüan Period Trade**

It is not until the Sung (A.D. 960–1279) and Yüan (A.D. 1276–1368) periods that substantial Chinese documentary sources and firmly dated archaeological evidence for regular Chinese-Philippine trade emerges. During the first two centuries of this period, non-Chinese maritime traders (primarily Malay merchants but also Arabs and Indians) controlled most of the actual transport of Chinese goods in this international commerce. This is indicated by the surprising lack of knowledge by the Chinese even in the twelfth century of the ultimate source of many of their luxury good imports (Scott 1984:67)<sup>6</sup> and the organization of Chinese coastal trade entrepôts to include special housing areas for what must have been substantial numbers of alien traders (Wu 1962:475). While in the early Sung period direct Chinese participation in the South China Sea trade is limited, Southeast Asian administration of this commerce moved away from a Srivijaya monopoly to more diffuse control of Southeast Asian trade routes.<sup>7</sup> The new geographic foci of international commerce were the emerging coastal entrepôts of eastern Java, which were in closer proximity to the insular Southeast Asian sources for many of the Chinese imports (Hall and Whitmore 1976: 305–320; K. Hall 1992:208–215). Major trade routes from the west ran along both coasts of Sumatra, and from the east across the South China Sea and either around the west coast of Borneo or along the western littoral of the Philippines. As Srivijaya disintegrated and a variety of smaller-scale polities competed for power in island Southeast Asia, Arab traders expanded their role as merchant middlemen in the eleventh and twelfth centuries (Hall 1985:196).

However, it is unlikely that early Sung period trade into the Philippines was wholly carried out by these western merchants, as argued by a number of scholars (Beyer 1964:5; R. Fox 1964:102; 1967:54). Philippine trading vessels as well as Arab and Chinese merchant ships were probably making the journey between the Philippines and China as early as the tenth century, as indicated by the reference to Ma-i (Mindoro) traders in the A.D. 972 official Sung history. Early Sung records document the formation of a Chinese bureaucratic structure for administering foreign merchants from western Arab lands, Java, Borneo, Palembang, and Ma-i who regularly entered the South China ports of Hang-chou, Ming-chou, and Ch'üan-chou (Scott 1984: 65). By the early eleventh century the Philippine lowland polity known as

P'u-tuan (centered at Butuan on the north central Mindanao coast) was also in regular contact with the Southern Sung court through a series of tribute and trade missions beginning in 1001 (Scott 1984:66–67). In the later *Tao i chih lüeh* (“Description of the Barbarians of the Isles,” by Wang Ta-yüan, A.D. 1349, summarized in Wu 1959:108) and other Yüan period chronicles, Filipino voyaging to South China ports such as Ch'üan-chou to obtain cargoes of luxury commodities was considered commonplace, with the voyagers (according to Wang) gaining considerable local status through their direct participation in the prestige goods trade.

The fall of the Northern Sung Chinese capital at K'ai-feng in A.D. 1127, with consequent closing of overland caravan routes across the Central Asian steppes and relocation of the capital in the south at Hang-chou, resulted in an increased Chinese economic orientation toward maritime trade (Taylor 1992:174). The late twelfth century witnessed an explosion of direct Chinese participation in South China Sea and even Indian Ocean commercial activities. By the thirteenth century, massive Chinese junks joined Malay ships as the dominant voyagers along Southeast Asian trade routes, with maritime commerce becoming so economically critical for the Southern Sung that Scott suggests that “the Sung Dynasty was literally supported by tariff revenues on overseas trade” (1984:65; see also Wheatley 1959:21–24; Shiba 1970:45–50). The expansion of direct Chinese shipping and “private” trade by entrepreneurial Chinese merchants occurred at the expense of the strictly controlled tributary trade (Wolters 1971:4) and has been cited as a major factor in the demise of the once-powerful Srivijayan kingdom, which thrived economically on exclusive tributary status with the Tang and early Sung rulers (Taylor 1992:174–175; Wolters 1971:4). The twelfth century saw the rise of multiple maritime trade powers in the Straits of Malacca, as local ports and their rulers were able to trade independently with the Chinese rather than relying on more indirect procurement of Chinese goods through asymmetrical trade with the powerful Srivijayan port of Palembang (Taylor 1992:175).

The Sung period trade through Southeast Asia, as in the earlier Tang period, was primarily a luxury good trade, although toward the end of the period bulk trade in ceramics and textiles became a significant element of this commerce. As noted by Wheatley (1959:31–39), an A.D. 1141 Chinese inventory of imported goods includes a staggering variety of commodities (more than three hundred). Aromatics, spices, resins, and drugs that had been important in Tang period trade continued to be the primary high-volume trade items originating in Southeast Asia. As detailed by Kenneth Hall, by the twelfth century, Southeast Asian spices were becoming a highly demanded luxury good in China, India, Western Asia, and Europe, and Java was developing into a pivotal intermediary in this international spice trade (1985:205–210). Marco Polo, on his return trip from China in the thirteenth century, reported that Java used its surplus rice and cotton textile production to bring into Javanese ports sapanwood and diamonds from

Borneo, sandalwood incense from Timor, nutmeg and other spices from Maluku, pepper from eastern Sumatra, and pearls presumably from the Sulu region of the Philippines, all of which were fed into international trade networks at the busy Javanese coastal trade entrepôts (as cited in Hall 1985:210).

Java attempted to solidify its control over the lucrative spice trade in the thirteenth century by extending its authority over southeastern Sumatran ports and the critical Malacca Straits. However, the Chinese countered Javanese expansion through military intervention in the straits region between 1292 and 1294, through the opening of new trade markets and trade routes with direct Chinese commercial transport and through the development of South Chinese textile and ceramics industries geared toward large-scale export (Hall 1985:212–213; Hall and Whitmore 1976:322–323). It was not until the Sung dynasty that Chinese porcelains attracted an overseas market comparable to that for silk in the preceding dynasties and large quantities of porcelain began to be traded into Southeast Asian centers (Hall 1992: 211–212).

Several late Sung and Yüan period Chinese documentary sources specifically refer to direct Chinese participation in the Philippine foreign trade and attest to the wide variety of trade commodities other than the archaeologically recovered Sung porcelain involved in this trade. The thirteenth-century *Chu fan chih* lists the local “Ma-i” (Mindoro) and “San-hsü” (unknown islands along the western littoral of the Philippines) products as beeswax, cotton, pearls, tortoise shell, medicinal betelnuts, abaca (native hemp), cloth, and coconut-heart mats in exchange for Chinese porcelain, trade gold, iron pots, lead, colored glass beads, iron needles, and silk textiles (translated in Scott 1984:69–70). Wang Ta-yüan’s *Tao i chih lüeh* indicates that as the trade relationship between Chinese merchants and populations of the northwestern Philippines developed, the Ma-i lowlanders began to engage in high-volume production of a finely woven patterned cotton and abaca export cloth, while the Chinese increased their export emphasis on finely made porcelains and silk textiles (summarized in Scott 1984:73–75; also see Wu 1959). This early-fourteenth-century account and other Yüan period chronicles begin to make frequent reference to southern as well as northern Philippine trade centers. Ports identified as Sulu and what is postcontact Cotabato (the capital of the sixteenth-to-nineteenth-century coastal Magindanao polity in southwestern Mindanao) are described as having already well-developed internal networks for amassing large quantities of exportable forest and maritime products (e.g., sandalwood, laka-wood, ebony, animal hides, and pearls). The luxury good cargoes of Chinese junks and foreign Southeast Asian vessels docking at these southern Philippine trade ports included pure gold and silver, wine, lacquerware, Gujarat silk, Javanese textiles, and an array of Chinese porcelain ware.

The archaeological record for the eleventh to fourteenth centuries A.D. in

the Philippines generally supports the Chinese textual evidence for the volume and nature of commodities involved in the Sung and Yüan period trade. Large quantities of Sung and Yüan period porcelains have been recovered from coastal sites and some interior sites on almost all the major islands of the Philippines (Beyer 1947; R. Fox 1964; Locsin and Locsin 1967; Hutterer 1973b:108). Archaeological evidence for substantial Sung and Yüan period occupation at Cebu and nearby sites (Hutterer 1973a; Nishimura 1988, 1992) and in the vicinity of Manila (Tenazas 1968, 1970; Locsin and Locsin 1968) adds these settlements to the list of Philippine maritime-trading polities mentioned in Sung and Yüan period Chinese documents (i.e., Mindoro, Magindanao, and Sulu) as coastal polities of the eleventh to fourteenth centuries. Because there is no specific mention of Cebu, Manila, and other settlements yielding foreign porcelains in Chinese records, it is not known whether direct contacts with Chinese traders were made or if the chiefs at these ports obtained their foreign wealth through intra-archipelago prestige goods exchanges.

Fox notes that both the archaeological and historical evidence are consistent in recording considerably more heterogeneity in Sung period trade commodities in comparison to later periods (1967:55). He points out that early second millennium A.D. burials excavated in the Philippines commonly contain a wide variety of nonceramic Chinese imports (e.g., mirrors, scales, coins) that are generally absent from later Ming period graves (typically yielding only porcelains). Fox has also observed that, in comparison to the later Ming period, the Sung period porcelains are of markedly finer quality and exhibit a significantly wider range of forms (1967:56; see also Addis 1967–1969:32–33; Hutterer 1973b:120). He suggests that the Sung period Chinese merchants may have been testing the Philippine market by offering a variety of products and determining which commodities generated the most demand and commanded the highest return in local exports (1967:55–56). Several centuries later, this strategy appears to have been duplicated by the late Ming period Chinese traders at Manila in introducing themselves to the Spanish market at the newly colonized trade entrepôt (Riquel 1573:245; also see Cole 1912:5).

However, Chinese, Arab and Malay traders were dealing with multiple trading polities of varying scale and complexity and probably with a diverse range of trade interests in the Philippines. The fourteenth-century account of Philippine trading by Wang Ta-yüan *Tao i chih lüeh* suggests that Chinese traders recognized that the luxury good preferences of Philippine chiefs were not uniform and varied regionally. Wang Ta-yüan enumerates Chinese imports and exports associated with various fourteenth-century Philippine polities (Fig. 7.3), including those known to the Chinese as San-tao (probably along the northeastern coast of Luzon), Ma-i (probably along the northern coast of Mindoro), Min-to-lang (somewhere in Mindanao), Ma-li-lu (Manila), and Sulu (the Sulu polity based at Jolo) (see Zaide,

	<b>San-Tao</b> (northeast Luzon)	<b>Ma-l</b> (northern Mindoro)	<b>Min-To-Lang</b> (Mindanao)	<b>Ma-li-lu</b> (Manila)
<b>Chinese Imports</b>	beeswax textiles cotton	kapok beeswax tortoise shell betelnut textiles	wuli wood musk sandalwood cotton animal skins (leather)	tortoise shell beeswax laka-wood "jwu-bah" cloth kapok
<b>Chinese Exports</b>	copper beads porcelain bowls iron	iron cauldrons other iron red silk ivory silver coins	lacquer ware cauldrons (copper?) "Java" cloth red silk blue cloth "tou" (uniden- tified) tin wine	ting bronzes blue cloth porcelain jars iron cauldrons "big pots"

Figure 7.3. Imports and exports associated with various fourteenth-century Philippine polities, as enumerated in Wang Ta-yüan's *Tao i chih lüeh* of A.D. 1349.

ed., 1990, 1:9–13 for translated text). While there is no reason to believe that Wang Ta-yüan's inventory is an exhaustive or fully accurate one (he was an adventurer/trader, rather than an official Chinese archivist or historian), the regional variation in both imports and exports is unlikely to be wholly a product of idiosyncratic reporting. Wang Ta-yüan's Chinese export list indicates that specific types of finely made porcelains, bronze, and iron objects that could be recast into locale weaponry were popular trade commodities in the northern Philippines, while gold, silver, and textiles (both cotton and silk) were more often mentioned in the southern Philippines.<sup>8</sup> The foreign luxury good preferences of local Philippine chiefs may have varied according to a number of factors, including variation in local access to valued raw materials such as iron or gold, local production of prestige goods, elite knowledge of Chinese products through participation in trade voyaging or tributary missions, alternative non-Chinese sources of foreign trade goods, and the complexity of local status hierarchies.

Areas of the Philippines farthest from alternative indigenous or Borneo sources of iron (i.e., the northern and west central Philippines) may have

had the greatest demand for Chinese iron, while central Philippine polities near cotton-growing areas (e.g., Wang Ta-yüan's Ma-i polity of Mindoro and the later-recorded polity of Cebu) noticeably omit cotton cloth from their import inventories and in fact exported cotton outside the archipelago. Those fourteenth-century polities that have diverse inventories of Chinese luxury goods on Wang Ta-yüan's list (Sulu, Ma-i, Min-to-lang, and Ma-li-lu) have a history of Sung period and/or early Ming period participation in the formalized tributary missions to China and are also identified through ethnohistorical and archaeological reconstruction as probable "large-scale" chiefdoms in fourteenth-century Philippine political configurations (see Chapter 4). Wang Ta-yüan's polity of San-tao and the archaeologically known Tanjay and Cebu are smaller-scale polities and minor players in fourteenth-century foreign trade networks in the Philippines, and their luxury good imports from China are correspondingly less diverse.

In contrast to the diverse Chinese exports reported in Wang Ta-yüan's trade inventory is the almost monotonous similarity of Philippine products imported by the Chinese from these widespread sources (with the exception of the pearls from the Sulu Sea region). If most Philippine polities could offer the same variety of products to foreign merchants, then it must have been aspects of trade organization (i.e., the volume of export goods that could be amassed, the security of the trade port, and the port facilities for traders) that differentiated some Philippine polities as more desirable trade centers for foreigners.

### ***Intensified Trade in the Late-Fourteenth-Century to Early-Sixteenth-Century Ming Period***

With the establishment of the Ming dynasty in A.D. 1368 and for the next two centuries, the Chinese attempted to regulate external trade and bring all foreign commerce under direct government administration. This attempt at centralized control of foreign trade was implemented primarily through restrictive trade policies in which only officially recognized, tribute-paying polities were allowed to enter Chinese ports, and private Chinese merchants were officially prohibited from directly engaging in Southeast Asian trading activities (D. Hall 1981:72–73; Moorhead 1965:119–123; K. Hall 1985:222–231). In the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, the Chinese sent a number of imperial envoys to various Southeast Asian polities to impress the local political leaders with their military strength, to encourage the establishment of official "tributary" relations, and to consolidate their desired control over the South China Sea trade (D. Hall 1981:72; K. Hall 1985:222–223). This strategy appeared to be successful in stimulating a flurry of trade/tribute missions to China by Malay, Javanese, and Philippine coastal centers (Scott 1984:75–78; D. Hall 1981:72; Wu 1962:



477–478). Despite the Ming policy to restrict private Chinese merchant involvement in Southeast Asian trade, large-scale illicit or contraband trade continued to flourish on a level surpassing the Sung period trade (R. Fox 1967:57), becoming the primary mode of trade with the Philippines and other regions of Southeast Asia (Ts'ao 1962:429–432).

The fourteenth to sixteenth centuries saw the development of generally more diffuse rather than single-center-dominated patterns of long-distance trade in Southeast Asia (K. Hall 1985:222–231). Complex interconnected regional networks linked Chinese, Javanese, Indian, Arab, and Malay merchants, with individual traders generally operating within geographically limited trade spheres. There are few historical references to the types of lengthy voyages characteristic of pre-fourteenth-century trade in which commodities were directly transported to distant ports. Distinct commercial zones developed in the Straits of Malacca region (with the rise of the early-fifteenth-century Melakan state), in southern Thailand and coastal Vietnam (with the development of the maritime-oriented fourteenth-century Thai state of Ayudhya), in the Java Sea (with the ascendancy of the thirteenth-to-fifteenth-century Java-based Majapahit state), and in the Sulu Sea/Philippines/northeastern Borneo region. In the last zone, the emerging fourteenth- to sixteenth-century Sulu, Magindanao, and Brunei sultanates as well as other Philippine complex chiefdoms served as trade intermediaries between China and the Moluccas. Nutmeg, cloves, mace, sandalwood, tropical birds, and other exotic commodities flowed from the Moluccas (the famous “Spice Islands”) into the Sulu Sea zone (K. Hall 1985:226), where pearls, wax, hardwoods, and other locally gathered maritime and forest products were added to the export cargo at Jolo (Warren 1977a). These export cargoes were then channeled westward to Java and Melaka or northward through the Philippines, where local commodities were again added to the export stream to be exchanged with Chinese traders at Philippine ports or transported by Philippine vessels to South China ports.

By the late Ming period, early Spanish documents provide a more detailed picture of the nature and volume of this long-distance trade. According to the Spanish accounts, in the early and mid-sixteenth century large trade ships were regularly arriving at what are identified as some of the larger Philippine coastal ports—including Manila (Relation of the Voyage to Luzon 1570:82–104), Mindoro (*ibid.*:74–75, 77; Morga 1609b:290), Pangasinan (Morga 1609b:289), Cebu (Pigafetta 1521a:55), Jolo (Sulu) and Cotabato (Magindanao) (Majul 1966, 1973; Warren 1982). The historical records indicate that vessels arrived not only from China but also from Borneo (Legaspi 1565a:206–207; Legaspi 1569:57; also see Blair and Robertson 1903–1909, 2:116–117), Thailand (Pigafetta 1521a:55), and Japan (primarily at Manila and Mindoro) (Relation of the Voyage to Luzon 1570:101; Artieda 1569:204; Legaspi 1567:238; Maldonado 1572:298). The relative scale and intensity of this trade is indicated by the estimate of

several early Spanish observers that twelve to fifteen large Chinese junks entered the port of Manila each year at the time of contact (Maldonado 1572:299; 1575:180). Japanese merchants largely confined themselves to northern Philippine ports such as Manila, arriving in two to three ships annually in the mid-sixteenth century (Artieda 1569:204; Carieri 1699–1670:58; Maldonado 1572:298; 1575:180). In the first recorded Spanish encounter with Chinese trading ships during the initial Spanish voyage to Luzon from the Visayas, the Spanish contingent led by Juan de Salcedo clashed with the crews of two Chinese junks anchored off the coast of Mindoro and, upon boarding the conquered vessels, provided the following description:

There were about eighty Chinese on board the two ships, about twenty were killed in the fray. The soldiers searched the cabins in which the Chinese kept their most valuable goods, and there they found silk, both woven and in skeins; gold thread, musk, gilded water-jugs, and other curious articles—although not in a large quantity, considering the size of the ships. The decks of both vessels were full of earthen jars and crockery; large porcelain vases, plates and bowls; and some fine porcelain jars, which they called *simoratas*. They also found iron, copper, steel, and a small quantity of wax which the Chinese had bought.

(Relation of the Voyage to Luzon 1570:75–76)

Through such direct encounters with foreign trading vessels and through observations at Philippine coastal commercial centers, the sixteenth-century Spanish recorded rosters of trade commodities involved in these Chinese-Philippine exchanges. These included such Philippine products as gold, pearls, wax, hardwoods, drugs, raw cotton and cotton textiles, bird nests, gums and resins, spices (particularly cinnamon and ginger), amber, pearls, shells, honey, wild animal skins, and carabao horns (Alvarado 1548:68–69; Artieda 1569:205; Enríquez 1574:226; Legaspi 1567:238; Legaspi 1569:58; Morga 1609b:301; Riquel 1573:245; Sande 1576a:74; Sande 1577:99; Seuilla 1566:225). In exchange, the Chinese supplied porcelain, stoneware, iron, silver, tin, copper, lead, brass, metal bells, perfumes, benzoin, lacquer boxes, painted tapestries, colored cotton and silk textiles, hammered gold beads, and large-scale artillery (e.g., cannons) (Relation of the Voyage to Luzon 1570:76, 103; Legaspi 1569:57–58; Mirandaola 1565:123; Morga 1609b:285, 287; Seuilla 1566:225; Villalobos 1541:72).

There is also historical evidence for the increasing presence of Philippine voyagers at foreign ports in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Wang Ta-yüan's *Tao i chih lüeh* reports that Filipino traders from a polity known as San-tao (probably along the western Luzon coast) regularly went to the southern Chinese coast at Küang-chou (Canton) on trading expeditions (in

Zaide, ed., 1990, 1:9). Early Spanish documents suggest that trade voyages to the Chinese coast and to island Southeast Asian polities to the west and south were relatively frequent in the early sixteenth century and that Filipino traders had significant direct knowledge of island Southeast Asian trade ports such as Melaka, Borneo, and Ternate (in the Moluccas) as well as more distant Asian lands such as Myanmar (Bobadilla 1640:342; Pigafetta 1521b:163; Pires 1515:51–52; also see Scott 1984:80–81). For example, a contingent of Magindanao traders were among the foreign merchants in Martaban (Myanmar) at the time of its surrender to the King of Pegu; a crew primarily composed of Luzones (Tagalog-speaking people from Manila or nearby polities in Luzon) was captured from a “pirate vessel” off the China coast by a mid-sixteenth-century Portuguese ship; and a Filipino trader/mercenary of unknown ethnicity was appointed as the garrison commander by King Aren at the Melakan vassal port of Aru.<sup>9</sup> The best documentary evidence for Filipino presence at foreign trade ports is the 1515 *Suma Oriental* of early Portuguese explorer Tome Pires, who, in describing the cosmopolitan flavor of the port of Melaka (at the time, the most prominent island Southeast Asian maritime-trading center), notes the presence of a semipermanent colony of five hundred Luzones traders along with two or three of their ocean-going “junks” (Wheatley 1961:316–317). These northern Philippine traders are claimed by Pires to have regularly carried merchandise to the strategically located port along the Straits of Malacca by way of Borneo, and the Borneans are described as their primary trade partners and political allies (Pires 1515:51–52). Ethnohistorical records are inconsistent on the significance of Philippine traders relative to the Malays, Arabs, Indians, Thais, Burmese, Chinese, and Japanese who composed substantial resident merchant and trader colonies at major entrepôts like Melaka. Pires suggests that the Luzones were minor economic players (i.e., “little thought of”) in this bustling early-sixteenth-century commercial center (1515:51).<sup>10</sup> However, a Luzon chief, Rajah Aregemute, was prominent enough at the Melaka port for the Portuguese to appoint him head administrator for all Muslims at the time of Portuguese conquest.

Chinese documentary sources and early Spanish accounts also strongly suggest that Filipino voyagers served as an important group of middlemen traders in the Chinese-Maluku spice trade by the fourteenth century. Chinese records of Southeast Asian tours authorized by the Ming emperor Yung-lo between 1403 and 1413 to augment Southeast Asian commerce included visits to Philippine and Bornean polities as well as the large entrepôt of Melaka but make no mention of Maluku (Reid 1993c:4, 205–206). Reid suggests that direct Chinese voyaging to Maluku was halted around 1400 because of the increasing numbers of Malay and Javan intermediaries who could make the voyage more expediently (p. 4). An alternative view has been argued effectively by a number of historians: that it was likely that the Chinese themselves never made the arduous journey to Maluku until the

Portuguese period, owing to the length of the voyage and the inability of their large junks to negotiate the dangerous passages between the southern islands (L. Andaya 1993b:2; Scott 1982:47). Instead, Chinese merchants may have regularly exchanged their porcelains for spices in Brunei or Philippine ports like Manila and Sulu, and it was these smaller and more manipulable Philippine and Bornean ships and their knowledgeable navigators who made the final journey to obtain the precious spices.<sup>11</sup> Thus, the historical evidence supports the view that Philippine traders were regular and frequent voyagers to Ternate and other Maluku ports by at least the fourteenth century.<sup>12</sup>

The archaeological evidence from late fourteenth to late sixteenth century Philippine sites (again, primarily burial sites), attests to the historically documented expansion of Chinese trade in the Ming period (Fig. 7.4). Ming period porcelains are found in massive quantities at sites within or near historically known trade ports, and they are frequently even recorded in association with upland settlement (Beyer 1947; R. Fox 1964, 1967; Locsin and Locsin 1967). Some archaeologists have estimated a tenfold or more increase in the quantities of late Ming mainland Asian porcelains recovered at excavated burial and settlement sites compared to sites yielding earlier Sung, Yüan, and early Ming wares (Beyer 1947; R. Fox 1964, 1967; Locsin and Locsin 1967). At Cebu there is only sparse evidence for Sung, Yüan, and early Ming period porcelains (Hutterer 1973a; Nishimura 1988, 1992; Tenazas 1968), but porcelain densities increase dramatically in association with the fifteenth-to-sixteenth-century late Ming trade (Nishimura 1992: 655). Early Ming porcelain was recovered from only one of the ten excavation locales tested by Nishimura, and test-pit densities were less than 500 grams per cubic meter, while late Ming porcelains were found at eight of the ten excavation locales, in some areas exceeding densities of around 1,000 grams per cubic meter. Chinese porcelain densities increase more than two-fold between the Santiago Phase (149.93 gm/m<sup>3</sup>) and the Osmena Phase (328.96 gm/m<sup>3</sup>) occupation at the coastal chiefly center of Tanjay, suggesting a significant upsurge in the Tanjay chiefs' participation in the porcelain trade.<sup>13</sup> Interestingly, while the absolute volume of foreign trade porcelains increases dramatically, the percentage of foreign porcelains in the total ceramic assemblage (i.e., the ratio of porcelain to locally made earthenware) remains relatively constant in both periods: 0.160 for the Santiago Phase and 0.18 for the Osmena Phase, or between 15 and 20 percent for both pre-fifteenth-century and fifteenth-to-sixteenth-century occupation phases.<sup>14</sup> Production of local status earthenware apparently kept pace with the expanded importation of foreign porcelains (see Chapter 9).

The diversity of nonceramic foreign imports into the Philippines decreases in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (R. Fox 1967:59). Furthermore, Ming trade porcelains are of considerably poorer quality than previously, consisting of coarse and homogeneous plates and bowls rather than the

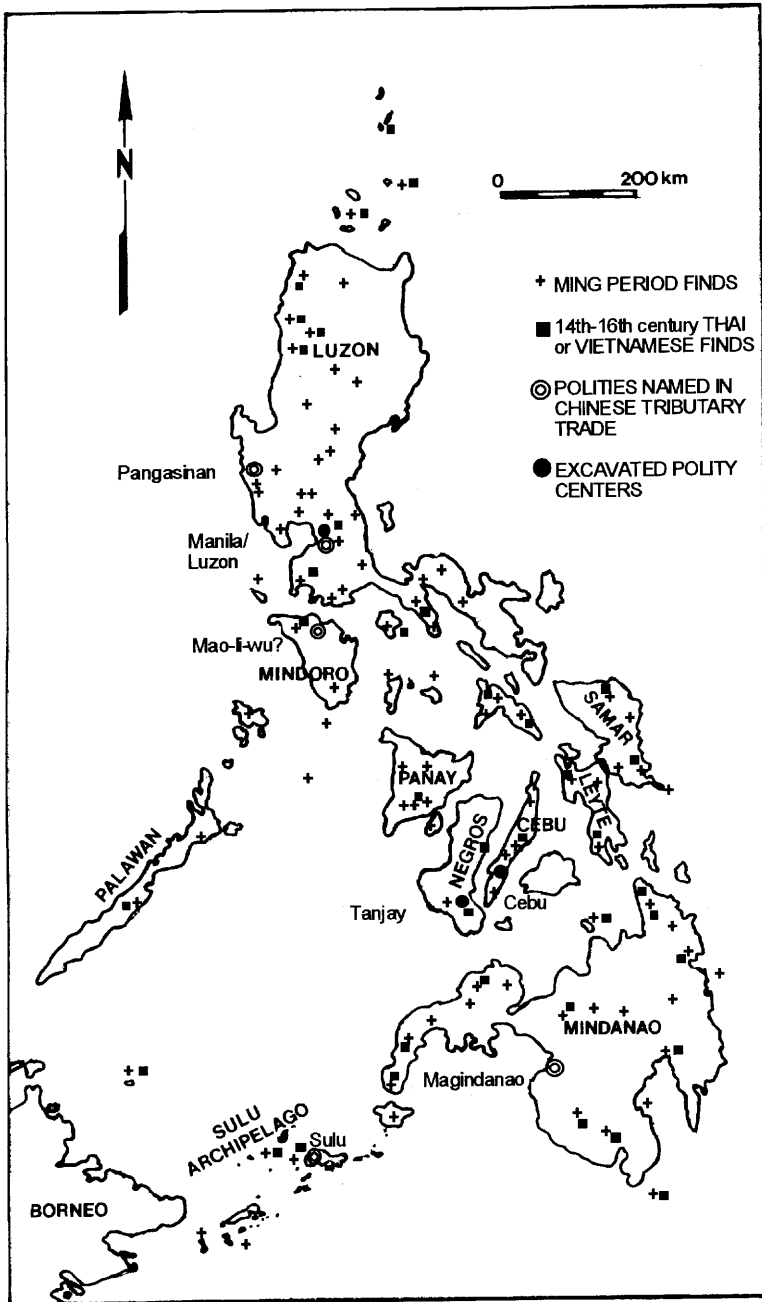


Figure 7.4. Locations where Ming Chinese, Siamese, and Annamese porcelains have been found in the Philippines, with late-fourteenth- to mid-sixteenth-century coastal centers known from Chinese sources or excavated.

delicate and morphologically elaborate forms of the Sung period (R. Brown 1989). From the perspective of the Chinese and middleman traders bringing porcelain and other foreign goods into the Philippines, the early period of testing the Philippine market with a selection of relatively high quality and diverse luxury commodities quickly established that they were dealing with potentially expanding demand by a relatively undiscerning group of local elite consumers. While transporting a few rare specialty items for particularly high-status clients, Ming period Chinese junks largely bore cargoes with homogeneous and poorly executed wares manufactured specifically for export (R. Fox 1967:59, 1964:107). A farcical story of Chinese attempts to respond to changing local trade demands is repeated in an early-seventeenth-century Spanish account of Chinese-Spanish commerce at Manila:

Those Chinese merchants are so keen after gain that if one sort of merchandise has succeeded well one year, they take a great deal of it the following year. A Spaniard who had lost his nose through a certain illness, sent for a Chinese to make him one of wood, in order to hide the deformity. The workman made him so good a nose that the Spaniard, in great delight, paid him munificently, giving him twenty *escudos*. The Chinese, attracted by the ease with which he had made that gain, loaded a fine boat load of wooden noses the following year, and returned to Manila. But he found himself very far from his hopes, and quite left out in the cold; for in order to have a sale for that new merchandise, he found that he would have to cut off the noses of all the Spaniards in the country.

(Bobadilla 1640:342)

Nishimura quantitatively documented this pattern of “homogenization” and quality decline in the porcelain assemblages excavated at Cebu (1992: 661–740). While Yüan and early Ming porcelains are stylistically diverse and have relatively high quality pastes and glazes, late Ming wares are dominated by mass-produced, low-quality export porcelains from the South China kiln sites of Swatow and Ching-te-chen (p. 661). The porcelain forms are also astonishingly monotonous, with between 80 and 90 percent of the assemblages consisting of highly standardized plates and bowls (p. 670). Nishimura also notes that, in the mid-fifteenth- to sixteenth-century occupation phase, there is considerable spatial variability in the quality of the porcelains over the settlement, with two types of comparatively good quality porcelains recovered almost exclusively in a single habitation locale (pp. 647–651). Using Nishimura’s well-defined criteria for assessing trade porcelain quality, I examined a sample of fifteenth- to sixteenth-century trade porcelains from two excavation locales at the coastal center of Tanjay and from excavations at two upriver secondary centers, the Mendieta Site (five

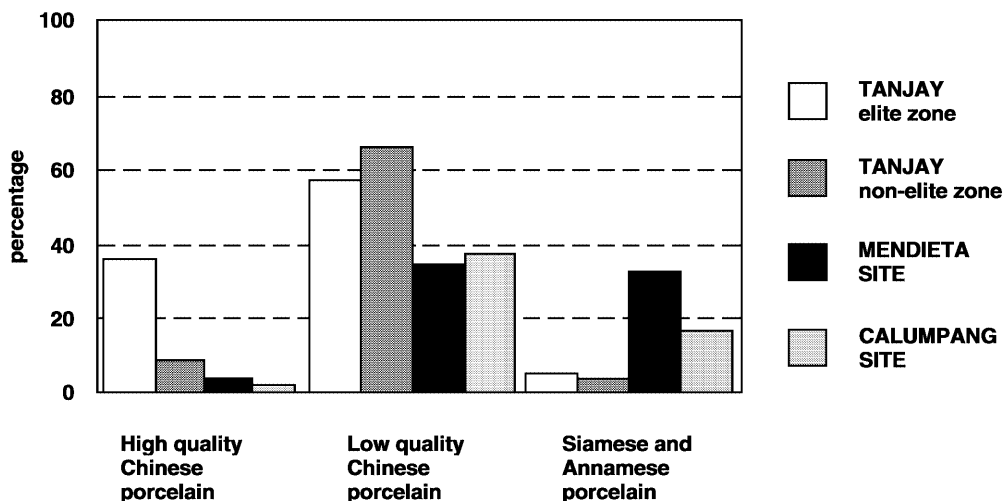


Figure 7.5. Distribution of porcelain types at the coastal chiefly center of Tanjay and at two upriver secondary centers, Calumpang and Mendieta, in the Osmena Phase in the Bais-Tanjay Region, Negros Oriental.

kilometers from Tanjay) and the Calumpang Site (nine kilometers upriver from Tanjay). Figure 7.5 shows that the large stockaded chiefly residences at Tanjay have the highest percentage of better-quality non-Swatow blue-and-white wares and celadons. However, both elite and nonelite residential locales at the coastal port have access to higher-quality porcelains than upriver settlements that were likely occupied by lower-status individuals who received their porcelains through alliance gift giving from Tanjay chiefs. The Tanjay evidence therefore suggests that Philippine chiefs retained the best porcelains for their own household use in such activities as chiefly sponsored feasting, but large quantities of the more cheaply made porcelains were required to finance expanding alliance exchanges.

Therefore, the Chinese strategy of mass-producing relatively poorer quality porcelains at a few southern kiln sites exclusively for foreign trade indicates the adjustment of Chinese markets to what must have been a massively expanding demand by Philippine chiefs for these prestige-enhancing commodities (Hutterer 1973b:124). While initially foreign imports may have been restricted to the uppermost tier of the social hierarchy (*datus* and their close elite kinsmen), chiefs and other elites may have increasingly used porcelains, particularly lower-quality ones, as material incentives to cement vertical patron-client ties with lesser elites and even loyal commoners as both the hierarchical complexity and scale of alliance networks increased in the later phases of prehispanic chiefdom development.

This foreign trade strategy of testing the market for local standards of social as well as economic value is common in cases where a complexly organized state-level society or empire is attempting to import needed raw materials by exporting luxury goods to peripheral smaller-scale states and chiefdoms whose concepts of politically functioning and status-imbuing wealth are not immediately understood. For example, the Greek, Phoenician, and later Roman traders into “barbarian” Iron Age Europe adjusted their export strategies as they assessed the scale and preferences of elite demand for imports, assessing the least costly and most dependable means of obtaining needed raw materials and basic resources (e.g., metal ores, grains, cattle, salt, timber, and slaves) for their burgeoning urban centers and expansionistic trade colonies (Frankenstein 1994). Earlier Iron Age (Hallstatt) fortified centers and mounded elite burials yielded a wide variety of exquisitely made foreign luxury commodities that were not noticeably stylistically or materially inferior to those found in contemporaneous elite Greek households and tombs. However, by the middle part of the Late Iron Age (La Tene I/II), the Greeks were concentrating their exports on a much narrower range of luxury good exports, primarily wine-holding amphorae and ceramic and bronze drinking vessels and wine-mixing cauldrons that had limited resemblance to elite Greek household assemblages and may have been produced specifically for foreign export (Dietler 1990; Wells 1984:113–116).

Another indication of the considerable Philippine market for porcelains in this period is the appearance of competing trade porcelain sources from kilns in Thailand and northern Vietnam (the fourteenth- to fifteenth-century Sawankhalok and Chaling Siamese production centers and Tonkin area Annamese production sites) (c.f. R. Brown 1989; Guy 1986). Despite their patently inferior quality in comparison to contemporaneous Chinese wares, these Southeast Asian porcelains grew in popularity in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, particularly in the more distant and small-scale trading ports of the central Philippines. While major trade centers at Manila and Sulu continued to favor the technologically and aesthetically superior Ming Chinese porcelains, Siamese and Annamese porcelains frequently constitute 20 to 40 percent of the total fifteenth- and sixteenth-century trade wares at some southern Philippine coastal settlements (R. Fox 1959:370–372; R. Fox 1964:106–107).

Interestingly, in the Bais-Tanjay Region, comparatively fewer non-Chinese porcelains have been recovered from the chiefly center at Tanjay and at upriver settlements. At the chiefly center, only roughly 5 percent of the porcelain in habitation deposits dated to the Osmena Phase are of Siamese and Vietnamese derivation (Junker 1990a). However, upriver secondary centers and other interior sites yield higher percentages of these lower-status porcelains. Two fifteenth-to-sixteenth-century Tanjay River trade centers (the Mendieta and Calumpang sites) yielded porcelain assem-



blages that comprised between 15 and 35 percent non-Chinese wares (see Fig. 7.5). Of the other 285 sites in the region with foreign porcelains in their artifact assemblages, more than half yielded more than 15 percent Thai and Vietnamese porcelains.

The ethnohistorical and archaeological evidence from the Philippines suggest that, as exotic prestige goods are channeled into expanding alliance networks, multitiered systems of value may develop. Unique, finely made, and rare foreign products are restricted to the highest social echelon. Mass-produced foreign goods of lower quality are more likely to be obtained through trade by the lower-ranking elite or used as political currency in gifts to subordinates within a chief's alliance network. The social value of these goods is likely to vary when viewed from the perspective of Chinese traders, paramount chiefs, lower-ranking elites, commoners, and upland tribal peoples. Because foreign luxury good trade in Iron Age Europe does not appear to have followed a similar process of widening infiltration into local political economies, archaeologists such as Pare (1991) and Dietler (1990) have minimized the impact of foreign trade on sociopolitical developments in such societies. In the Philippine case, I would argue that the comparatively few but heterogeneous and high-quality export wares entering the archipelago before the fifteenth century were primarily intended for a limited market of chiefs and other high-ranking elite. In contrast, the massive influx of porcelain of varying quality from numerous competing Chinese, Annamese, and Siamese kilns in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries may reflect the increasing importance of foreign porcelains in local Philippine political economies, with the large cargoes of homogeneous and less attractive wares intended for a growing market of lesser nobility, commoners of distinction, interior tribal leaders, and others in alliance or client relations with chiefs.

### **Traders and Chiefs: Local Control of Foreign Luxury Good Trade**

In addition to providing details of trade cargoes and maritime trade routes for the burgeoning South China Sea luxury good trade, Chinese and Spanish historical records also include clues to the organization of this foreign trade on the Philippine end. Philippine chiefs restricted access to foreign luxury goods and maintained their social value as exclusively elite prestige goods by controlling the geographic loci and social contexts of exchange. Foreign trade monopolies were created by developing the port facilities and economic base to attract foreign vessels and serve as profitable trade partners. At the same time, Philippine chiefs, who depended on foreign-derived wealth as a significant source of power and prestige, relied on a number of institutionalized mechanisms—ritualized exchange partnerships with foreign mer-

chants, restrictions on the movement of foreign traders, and military “protection” of foreign vessels—to ensure exclusivity of access to these foreign status goods.

### ***Coastal Trade Ports and International Entrepôts***

A significant issue in examining the internal organization of foreign trade in various periods is whether direct contact with foreign merchant vessels was restricted to a few prominent centers of particularly large-scale Philippine polities or if a more diffuse pattern of commerce was typical. In addition, if the Chinese porcelain trade tended to concentrate at a limited number of trade centers, can these Philippine centers be viewed as true trade “entrepôts” like contemporaneous Melaka or Majapahit, with resident merchants and at least a partially marketized economy? Most references to Spanish contact period Philippine ports such as Manila, Jolo, and Cebu use the term “entrepôt” interchangeably with “trade center.” However, the concept of an *entrepôt* needs to be examined critically, since it has special implications with regard to the economic functioning of a coastal center within a larger supraregional economic sphere. As defined by Polanyi (1963, 1957) and others (e.g., Dalton 1978; Hodges 1978; Geertz 1980b), “entrepôts” or “ports of trade” are generally “politically deactivated” locales existing primarily for the interaction of foreign traders and in relative isolation from the surrounding society. They generally comprise a polyglot, polyethnic, and polysocial population, and they are economically focused on luxury good exchanges that are administered through a monetized system or a system of customary equivalencies. This type of trade port is characteristic of many late first millennium and early second millennium A.D. island Southeast Asian states such as Srivijaya, Samudra-Pasai, Melaka, Majapahit, Johor, and Kedah (Geertz 1980b; Van Leur 1967; Wheatley 1961).

Fox claims a general absence of major trade centers in the Philippines in the Sung period, with the possible exception of Manila, suggesting that Chinese and Southeast Asian ships simply traded directly with coastal settlements on all the major islands of the Philippines (1967:55). However, some of the Chinese texts of this period indicate a considerably more complex trade pattern. Chao Ju-kua’s *Chu fan chih* describes the large coastal port at the center of the polity of Ma-i as a centralized locale where Chinese trading ships customarily transported their cargoes. According to Chao Ju-kua, porcelain and other goods arriving at Ma-i were subsequently transhipped to other settlements on the island (of Mindoro) by Filipino rather than Chinese traders. The Chinese writer documents a formalized and centrally administered procedure of registering the foreign vessels and their goods with local officials, requiring payment of port fees and tribute to the local paramount chief, followed by apportionment of the import goods to a number of intermediary local traders (translation in Scott 1984:68–69).

More direct trade to smaller-scale coastal ports, however, is suggested in Chao Ju-kua's description of the region known as San-hsü (The Three Islets), representing a less politically centralized population than Ma-i (Chao Ju-kua indicates that the natives "belong to no common jurisdiction"). In their trade dealings with what appears to be a series of smaller-scale coastal polities, the Chinese vessels are described as moving relatively rapidly along the coast between the larger settlements (described as having populations in the thousands), stopping for only a few days of direct and intensive trading at each small port (translation in Scott 1984:69–70). Thus, the Chao Ju-kua text suggests that during the Sung period, larger-scale polities (such as Ma-i and Butuan) concentrated foreign imports at the paramount center, from where they were distributed to elites and others at distant centers through well-developed internal networks of exchange. However, some foreign trading ships engaged in direct exchanges with less influential chiefs controlling smaller-scale coastal ports.

By the Ming period, the Chinese and early Spanish documents record the presence of a number of large-scale coastal ports to which Chinese and Southeast Asian trading vessels sailed on a regular basis. These large ports are described as having well-developed harbor facilities as well as craft specialists and merchants specifically geared toward production, collection, and transport of commodities intended for foreign trade. The many references in the sixteenth-century Spanish literature to interisland transport of foreign trade commodities on vessels emanating from major ports such as Manila, Mindoro, Jolo, northern Mindanao, and elsewhere (see Chapter 10) suggest that the dominant trading pattern in this period may have been a form of "central place exchange": foreign luxury goods were concentrated by powerful paramount chiefs at large-scale polity centers and then distributed through prestige goods exchange networks by interisland trading.<sup>15</sup>

As described by the Spanish chroniclers, sixteenth-century Manila shared some features with the Indonesian and Malaysian trade entrepôts of the same period, although on a less developed scale. These include a heavy emphasis on maritime trade for economic survival, well-established port and market facilities and internal networks for transporting commodities from the center, an emphasis on large-volume movement of luxury goods, the possible use of gold and silver as exchange standards (though not as currency), and the presence of an alien resident population (Relation of the Voyage to Luzon 1570:92–104; Relation of the Conquest of the Island of Luzon 1572:141–158). Spanish recorders of the Legaspi expedition to Manila in 1565 claim that at least several dozen Japanese were at least semi-permanently housed at the coastal trading center,<sup>16</sup> and several hundred Chinese were quartered in a discrete section of the fortified town that may have later evolved in the Spanish period into the Chinese *parian* (i.e., "market"). Jolo, the trade port capital of the Sulu sultanate, may not have developed into a true entrepôt until the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, at which time its trade relations with China and its pivotal role in the Sulu

Sea spice trade reached its zenith, marked by the emergence of a population of resident Chinese merchants (Warren 1977a, 1982). While one early Spanish chronicler notes the presence of a *parian* in Cebu with two hundred Chinese merchant residents (Chirino 1604b:276), no mention is made of resident foreign traders in Pigafetta's (1521) and Legaspi's (1565b, 1567, 1569) earlier descriptions of the Visayan trade center. That suggests that this foreign sector may have been attracted by Spanish trade opportunities subsequent to Spanish colonization (see discussion of postcontact trade expansion in Philippine polities in Bernal 1966).

In summary, the documentary evidence indicates that foreign trade was concentrated at a few large Philippine ports by the early second millennium A.D., but diffuse island-hopping trade at smaller-scale coastal settlements continues throughout the second millennium. However, none of the pre-seventeenth-century coastal ports, with the possible exception of immediately precontact Manila, had developed into large-scale maritime-trading entrepôts with resident foreigners, standardized mediums of exchange, and specialized trade administrators.

### **Chiefs as Trade Administrators**

The Chinese and early European chronicles on Southeast Asia maritime-trading polities are frequently sketchy on the specific mechanics of the internal organization of trade, but a characteristic feature of these systems appears to be the economically pivotal position of the regional chieftain or monarch. Chiefs or kingly rulers of these polities typically directly levied customs duties or port fees on all incoming vessels, closely controlled the activities of local merchants (who were frequently members of the elite class) dealing with the foreign traders, served as patrons for craft production activities associated with long-distance trade, and generally controlled the bulk of profits from port commercial activities.

Since the historical evidence for foreign trade administration in contact period Philippine polities is relatively meager, it is useful to start with comparative material from historically better-known Southeast Asian polities outside the Philippine archipelago. The eminence of polity rulers in administering and controlling foreign luxury good trade in traditional Southeast Asian kingdoms is particularly well documented by Wolters (1967, 1971), K. Hall (1976; 1985:78–102), and others for the seventh-to-eleventh-century Malay state of Srivijaya. The bulk of foreign trade revenues flowing into the Srivijaya coastal center were channeled by the Srivijayan rulers into central coffers, through a well-established system of obligatory customs duties and tribute payments collected not only at the state's major entrepôt but also at numerous subordinate ports. Nonroyal members of the elite associated with the ruler's court were placed in positions of control

over port and market areas to facilitate and enforce fee collections, while alliances reinforced by redistributing luxury imports to local chiefs ensured the continuing flow of commodities through various segments of the internal trade network. As outlined by Hall, trade in the capital's market area was carried out under strict royal control (1985:99–100). Control was effected through a well-developed bureaucracy of state officials known as “supervisors of trade and crafts,” state-established rates of value for various commodities in gold and silver equivalents, and strict regulation of the movement and activities of foreign merchants. Hall suggests that, in its earliest phases of development, the Srivijaya political economy may have amassed external wealth primarily by skimming profits (including port fees and tribute) from what was essentially a free trade system in which access to foreign luxury goods was not wholly exclusive to the royal elites (p. 100). However, the Srivijayan monarch and associated elite gradually tightened their control over luxury good access by establishing monopolies over local commodities that were the major export items in this foreign trade.

The Srivijaya political leaders provided a land base, ocean-going vessels, and military weapons to Malay sea nomads in return for a substantial share of the goods obtained in subsequent raiding and trading activities (K. Hall 1976). Before the coalescence of Srivijaya as a powerful state in the straits region, it is likely that these sea nomads were independent pirates who preyed upon any merchant ships who passed through the dangerous currents and shoals of this crucial sea passage (K. Hall 1992:201–202). Unable to suppress these sea raiders militarily, the Srivijaya rulers could ensure the safety of merchant vessels entering Srivijayan trade ports only by becoming the economic patrons of these predatory groups, essentially buying their services as trade protectors. Srivijaya's ultimate success in attracting foreign traders was in large part due to this ability to guarantee safe passage for trading vessels through its control of this Malay naval force (Hall 1992: 202). However, Hall emphasizes that the loyalty of this protective militia to the Srivijayan leaders was precariously bought by shares in trade revenues: “If their [the rulers'] ability to provide [revenues] on a regular basis was ever to decline, the sailors could strike new alliances with rival ports, or revert to piracy” (1992:202).

The principality of Melaka gained international trade prominence in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries because of the strategic location of its primary coastal entrepôt along the Melaka straits separating the Indian Ocean from the South China Sea. An early European visitor to Melaka, the Portuguese explorer and trader Tome Pires, described a bureaucratically complex port management system designed to ensure maximum profit and economic control for the Malaysian rulers (Andaya and Andaya 1982:31–51; Gullick 1981:11–18; Miksic 1984; Thomaz 1993). Melaka's strategies for monopolizing trade in the region continued the successful traditions of Srivijaya

by providing the administrative infrastructure and resources necessary to meet the needs of foreign traders, by ensuring the safety of passing ships through winning the allegiance of traditional pirate groups inhabiting the straits area, and by controlling an efficient system for funneling resources from hinterland areas to the port. At Melaka, harbormasters (*syahbandar*) were assigned to administer trade with particular foreign nations, providing caravans of elephants to transport foreign cargoes from the vessels to large-scale underground warehouses where goods could be stored until the winds allowed the arrival of intended trade partners (Andaya and Andaya 1982:42–43). Foreign merchants were allotted specific trade berths where a “lord of the trading center” (the ruler’s personal representative in charge of trade) would inventory the goods, removing a percentage for port fees to be remanded to the port ruler,<sup>17</sup> with the remaining merchandise then available for general trade (Miksic 1984:244; Thomaz 1993:73). In addition to these trade tariffs, gifts had to be presented to the Melakan ruler, to the ruler’s “lord of the trading center,” and to the appropriate harbormaster for that foreign polity (Andaya and Andaya 1982:43; Gullick 1981:13). Thousands of foreigners (including Filipinos) resided semipermanently at Melaka, requiring additional administrative personnel to house them and regulate their activities.

Similar to the Srivijayan polity, the Melakan rulers dealt with the problem of piracy by funneling some trade profits to the *orang laut*, the mercenary Malay raiders inhabiting the straits area, who in turn protected vessels traveling to Melakan ports and attacked ships of trade rivals (Andaya and Andaya 1982:42; Thomaz 1993:77; Wheatley 1961:307–320). Since most of Melaka’s foreign traders coming from the west were Muslims (including Indians, Persians, and already Islamicized Malays such as the Pasai kingdom), it is not surprising that the Melakan rulers quickly embraced Islam at the beginning of the fifteenth century, establishing cultural as well as economic ties to its most lucrative trade partners (Andaya and Andaya 1982:52; Andaya and Ishii 1992:516–517; Thomaz 1993:79–81). The success of Melaka’s trade infrastructure is evidenced in its growth to become the largest urban center in Southeast Asia in the early sixteenth century (an estimated population of 100,000 to 200,000) (Thomaz 1993:71), trade volumes that nearly rivaled those of the wealthiest European ports such as Seville (Andaya and Andaya 1982:44), and its role as the intersection of maritime-trading networks that stretched from the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf to Japan and the Philippines.<sup>18</sup>

Like the Melakan and Srivijayan rulers, the Sulu sultan and influential *datus* centered at Jolo held exclusive rights to foreign luxury commodities through a number of institutionalized trade practices (Majul 1966, 1973; Warren 1982, 1985). These included a formal system of port fees administered directly by the royal court, obligations exacted on foreign merchants to extend “credit” to the sultan and other members of the elite (frequently

forcing the foreign traders to exchange below the going rate or to forgo payment altogether), and enforcement of the ruler's monopoly over trade of particularly valuable local export items (such as pearls, forest hardwoods, tortoise shell, and bird nests). In addition, they imposed tariffs or port fees on incoming foreign vessels transporting trade commodities from Jolo, from other islands in the Sulu archipelago, and from Mindanao, Borneo, and the Visayas. The traditional seafaring group known as the Ilanun served the Sulu rulers as maritime raiders and as the primary naval force for protecting Sulu sea lanes (Tarling 1963; Warren 1985; see also Chapter 12).

Other mid-second millennium A.D. Philippine polities known through Chinese and Spanish texts appear to have been similar to the larger-scale Sulu polity in the economically pivotal role of chiefs in foreign trade. Chao Ju-kua, in his *Chu fan chih*, describes Chinese shipping to a relatively well regulated trade port: "When trading ships enter the harbor, they stop in front of the official plaza, for the official plaza is the country's place for barter and trade, and once the ship is registered, they mix together freely. Since the local chieftains make a habit of using white umbrellas, the merchants must present them as gifts" (in Scott 1984:68). The passage continues on to describe how the commodities from the foreign vessel were transferred to local middlemen traders, presumably attached to the chiefly elite, for redistribution through the chiefly alliance network. The Chinese merchants were obliged to wait at the coastal port without immediate recompense, while the local officials exchanged the foreign goods at other coastal trade ports and inland along major rivers, sometimes returning after several months. Exportable local products (forest hardwoods, rattan, beeswax, metal ores, spices) were also amassed through these internal exchange networks, which appear to have been activated only on the arrival of foreign traders.

What is significant in Chao Ju-kua's chronicle is that the port is clearly administered and controlled by a chiefly elite who regulate port entry by foreign vessels. While no explicit reference is made to customs duties or port fees, compulsory gifts or tribute to the ruling authorities is mentioned as a customary practice. The "registration" of the foreign ships mentioned in the text could well involve the commodity inventorying and official assignment of a cargo levy (i.e., the chief's share) as practiced at Sulu, Melaka, and other developed entrepôts. Even in the case of the more "barbarous" Philippine trade locale (still unidentified) referred to by Chao Ju-kua as San-hsü, the Chinese merchants are described as recognizing the necessity for dealing with "the real boss of the traders" (i.e., the local chief) when approaching a coastal port for trade. The text indicates that Chinese traders were required to provide the local political leader with gifts of silk umbrellas, porcelain, and rattan baskets, and then await his permission before disembarking and commencing their trade activities (in Scott 1984: 69–70).

The Spanish records for the immediate postcontact period provide some support for this view of the organization of coastal Philippine trade ports before the mid-sixteenth century. Sixteenth-century descriptions of Manila record the presence of a well-fortified, heavily populated trade port, with special quarters for resident Chinese and Japanese merchants, craft specialists associated with elite residences, and a well-organized port area, administered by a single paramount chieftain and a number of lesser chiefs (Relation of the Voyage to Luzon 1570:92–104; Relation of the Conquest of the Island of Luzon 1572:141–158). The *maharlika*, the “noble” vassals of powerful Tagalog chiefs who served primarily in a military capacity, may have been significant in physically protecting foreign trade routes and traders. They were a warrior-elite who accompanied chiefs on trading and raiding voyages. Largely financed and equipped by their chiefly patron, they received a share of the “profits” of ensuing raids and commerce (Loarca 1582a:149–151; Plasencia 1589b:109). The Tagalog warrior-sailors also appear to have been responsible for ensuring the safety of long-distance trading vessels coming into Luzon ports, if the merchants aboard were allied with the local chief. This arrangement for recruiting an experienced maritime fighting force for protecting a chief’s trading interests and raiding the passing vessels and ports of political rivals is reminiscent of the Malay nomads serving the Srivijayan and Melaka polities and the *orang kaya*, the merchant-seamen vassals of the port rulers of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Johor (L. Andaya 1975a, 1975b) and Aceh (Reid 1975).

Upon initially landing at the southern port of Cebu, the Spanish explorer Magellan and his crew were immediately informed by the ruler of the coastal settlement that they were required to pay tribute to the port owner (i.e., the paramount chief). The paramount chief claimed that tributary offerings were the “custom for all ships that entered their ports,” pointing out that a recently departed Siamese vessel had just remanded part of its cargo of gold and slaves as this compulsory tribute payment (Pigafetta 1521a:55). In addition, the paramount chief and his elite retinue served as the administrators for any foreign exchange interactions, channeling all commercial transactions with the Spaniards to designated locales and storing Spanish goods in or adjacent to what appear to be elite residences (Pigafetta 1521a:60). The port administrators simultaneously served as official “hosts” to foreign merchants, responsible not only for ensuring chiefly control over exchange interactions, but also for providing temporary housing, subsistence, and entertainment for the visiting traders (Pigafetta 1521a:58–59).

One of the first accounts of chiefly economic activities by a Filipino writer is consistent with Chinese and Spanish descriptions of chiefly strategies for controlling trade at coastal ports. Juan Macapahal, the great-grandson of the paramount chief Sri Banaw Lakan Dula, who controlled the port of Tondo (on the northern shore of the Pasig River, right across from Manila) at the time of conquest by Miguel de Legaspi in 1571, writes:



Don Carlos Lacandola [Sri Banaw Lakan Dula] . . . was lord and most noble of the town of Tondo, and of the surrounding towns, whose natives paid him tribute and vassalage and other recognition as their natural lord, and when ships from China came to this bay, they similarly paid him duties and anchorage fees, he removing their sails and rudder for this purpose, and taking their merchandise by paying half its value at the time and the other half the next year, without any other natives being able to buy anything from the Sangleyes [Chinese] but only from said Lacandola, from which he had much profit.

(Macapagal 1660:219)

Foreign traders coming into the port of Tondo with cargoes of porcelains and other luxury goods were apparently required to do business exclusively with the polity's paramount chief, who enforced collection of import tariffs by physically disabling the foreign vessels. The remaining cargo, once port duties were paid, was traded exclusively to the local ruler and his representatives.<sup>19</sup>

The Sánchez dictionary (1617) contains a number of traditional trade terms in Visayan languages that reflect chiefly attempts to administer and control foreign luxury good trade coming into Philippine coastal ports. These terms include the often adjoined Visayan words of "*doong*," translated as "anchorage by a foreign vessel," and "*gaga*," translated as "to prevent a merchant from making port or trading before paying tributary [anchorage] fees," as well as the nouns "*honos*," "anchorage fees or tributary fees," and "*bibit*," "tariffs on imports" (see Scott 1994:73–74, 129). The semantic segregation of "tributary fees" and "tariffs" suggests that, similar to foreign trade at more developed Southeast Asian ports, personal gifts of discretionary volume and value presented to the port ruler and his associates to acknowledge formal alliance (the "tributary fees") were separate transactions from general tariffs paid to the port administrators according to the cargo content and value.

Chinese and Spanish accounts of the internal dynamics of foreign trade relations in Philippine maritime polities before the seventeenth century are relatively limited. However, when examined with reference to better-documented systems of trade regulation associated with more developed insular Southeast Asia maritime-trading polities, some broad parallels are evident. The paramount political leader in all these cases plays an economically pivotal role in administering and controlling long-distance trade through a number of institutionalized trade mechanisms and structures. Chiefs in the prehispanic Philippines, as elsewhere in island Southeast Asia, also financed and equipped outgoing trade voyages, controlled local luxury good production that appears to have been linked to foreign trade, and maintained monopolistic access to particularly valuable raw materials and other export-

able resources. Control of these aspects of the internal economy were geared at maximizing foreign trade profits while, at the same time, limiting general public access to this trade-derived wealth and buffering internal sources of wealth from direct seizure by external powers.

### **Tributary/Trade Missions to China as a Competitive Strategy**

The elite rulers of many Philippine polities were not content to remain passive beneficiaries of foreign trading expeditions into their ports, but instead took an active role in soliciting foreign traders. "Tributary missions" by gift-bearing Southeast Asian chieftains and kings to the Chinese court have been analyzed by historians as a competitive strategy for gaining favored trade status with the Chinese state (Andaya and Andaya 1982:23–24; K. Hall 1976; Wolters 1971:39–48), with such missions increasing in frequency during periods of increased political fragmentation and interpolity trade conflict (K. Hall 1985:78–79; R. Smith 1979:445–451). Until the Southern Sung period (A.D. 1127–1279), the trade policies of the Chinese emperors expressly outlawed private commerce and required that all foreign commodities enter Chinese ports in the form of royally sanctioned tributary missions. The idea of tributary trade had originally begun as a way to control China's economic and political relations with nomadic neighbors, but was later extended to all foreign groups desiring economic interactions with the Chinese state (L. Andaya 1992:346).

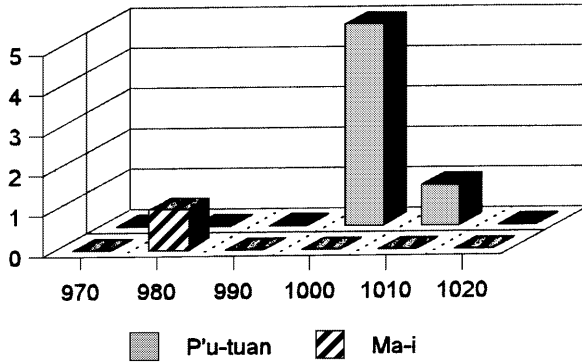
These tributary missions involved sea and overland voyages to the imperial court by Southeast Asian leaders, accompanied by large entourages of nobility, bodyguards, and servants, and armed with formal petitions requesting a tributary relationship. The bestowal of tributary status was not commensurate with actual political hegemony or economic sovereignty by the Chinese, but was a well-tuned Chinese strategy for controlling the flow of wealth in and out of China's borders, for carefully selecting advantageous trade partners, and for perpetuating Chinese emperors' view of China as the center of the universe to which all other polities were naturally subservient. In exchange for recognizing imperial China as nominal overlord, a polity's tributary status would accord it with privileged trade relations and a constant source of foreign wealth as well as court titles and imperial regalia that enhanced the polity ruler's prestige and political legitimacy at home. The massive cargoes of tributary offerings accompanying the contingent were viewed by the Chinese as proper material recognition of their superior role in the political and economic relationship. However, from the perspective of the tributary polity, the large volume and diversity of their gifts were intended as proof of their ability to provide trade goods of the type and scale desired by the Chinese.

The frequency and elaborateness of tributary missions by Southeast Asian polities between the seventh and sixteenth centuries exhibits a periodicity that simultaneously reflects Chinese foreign trade policies and the degree of political fragmentation and interpolity competition in Southeast Asia. As summarized by Kenneth Hall: “The opening and closing of Chinese markets constituted a ‘rhythm of trade’ that is reflected as well in the pattern of tribute missions sent to the Chinese court from Southeast Asia. Frequent missions from many states represented times of political and economic competition during which states solicited Chinese patronage. Few missions indicated periods of relative stability—that is, the Chinese recognized one state that dominated others” (1985:78). For example, a flurry of tributary missions by the early Hinduized kingdom of Funan (encompassing the lower Mekong region) in the mid-third century A.D. were likely aimed at establishing Funan ports like Oc-éo as the primary Southeast Asian commercial entrepôts in the burgeoning India-Chinese maritime trade (p. 70). At the peak of Funan’s political and economic power in the fourth century—when historical records suggest that Funan centers were unsurpassed in Southeast Asia in their architectural splendor, Hindu ceremonialism, commercial wealth, and cosmopolitan mix of Chinese, Indian, Persian, and Southeast Asian traders (Hall 1982:192–196)—tributary missions were few, since there were few threats to Funan trade supremacy (Hall 1985:43). With the establishment of an all-sea route from India to China through the Malacca and Sunda straits in the fifth century, Funan commercial dominance was directly challenged by Malay trading kingdoms to the south, and the fifth century saw a large upsurge in tributary missions by Funan, by former Funan satellites, and by rising polities along the Sumatran and Javanese coasts (Hall 1985:43).

Srivijaya’s political and economic fortunes are similarly chronicled in peaks of tributary embassies in the seventh century, as Srivijaya attempted to consolidate its ascendancy over other straits area polities such as the Jambi-Malayu, and in the late tenth century and early eleventh century when Srivijaya’s trade hegemony was challenged by the rise of multiple competing trade centers in Java and regions to the east (Andaya and Andaya 1982:23–24; Hall 1992:207–215). As shown in Figure 7.6, the late tenth century to early eleventh century was a peak of tributary trade for Southeast Asia in general (as measured in terms of both the frequency of missions by individual polities and the number of Southeast Asian polities launching trade missions), and it was the first period when the involvement of Philippine polities is recorded.<sup>20</sup> The relaxation of restrictions on non-tributary trade by China’s Sung dynasty and the coalescence of several new major regional powers in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries (e.g., Sukhothai, Ayudhya, Majapahit) resulted in a lull in tributary embassies (Wolters 1971:4). With the establishment of the Ming dynasty in 1368, China once again adopted restrictive trade policies and reemphasized for-

(A) A.D. 970 - 1020

NUMBER OF TRIBUTARY MISSIONS



(B) A.D. 1370 - 1420

NUMBER OF TRIBUTARY MISSIONS

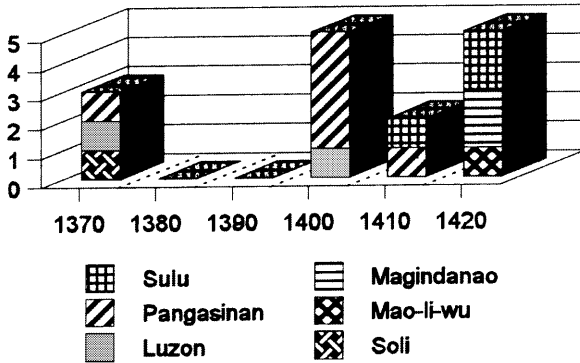


Figure 7.6. The number of tributary missions to the Chinese court from various Philippine polities by time period.

mal tributary trade, with a new surge in the number of Southeast Asian tributary missions (Reid 1993c:10–16). The massive upsurge in the demand for Southeast Asian products in China, India, the Near East, and Europe at the beginning of the fifteenth century and the consequent proliferation of Southeast Asian trade centers encouraged investment in tributary missions as a means of assuring a polity’s share of the lucrative trade. However, the

ultimate failure of the Chinese to restrict private (nontributary) trade and the rise of Melaka as the major western trade entrepôt and regional commercial power led to a dramatic decline in tributary missions in the mid-fifteenth century, hastened by the entrance of Europeans into the Southeast Asian economy (Reid 1993c:15).

The earliest undisputed Philippine voyages to the Chinese court were a series of early eleventh-century visits by a polity known as P<sup>3</sup>u-tuan (probably located at Butuan, along the coast of northern Mindanao) (Scott 1984: 66–67; K. Hall 1985:334; Wolters 1983:58; see also Chapter 4). However, a polity known as Ma-i (identified as a Philippine polity most likely located along the northern coast of Mindoro) was listed in a 972 Sung edict assigning a superintendent of maritime trade to administer trade vessels coming from Srivijaya and polities on Borneo, Java, and other poorly known southern islands:<sup>21</sup>

In the fourth year of the Kai Bao period [A.D. 972], a superintendent of maritime trade was set up in Guangzhou, and afterwards in Hangzhou and Mingzhou also a superintendent was appointed for all Arab, Achen, Java, Borneo, Ma-i and Srivijaya barbarians, whose trade passed through there, they taking away gold, silver, strings of cash, lead, tin, many-colored silk, and porcelain, and selling aromatics, rhinoceros horn and ivory, coral, amber, pearls, fine steel, sea-turtle leather, tortoise shell, carnelians and agate, carriage wheel rims, crystal, foreign cloth, ebony, sapan wood, and such things.

(in Scott 1989:1)

A long-distance voyaging vessel with several Ma-i chiefs landed along the Canton (Guangzhou) coast in 982 (Scott 1989:1–2). There is some debate among scholars whether the Ma-i delegation constituted a formal tributary mission that applied to the Chinese court or if the appearance of the Ma-i chiefs was simply a trade voyage with no official recognition by the Chinese court (Scott 1989:2).<sup>22</sup> However, the inclusion of Ma-i among the list of polities to be administered from the Chinese court by the newly appointed superintendent of maritime trade suggests that this polity had some formal status as a legal foreign trade entity.

The polity of P<sup>3</sup>u-tuan attracted some notoriety in Chinese documents of this period for the furious pace of its trade missions in the first decade of the eleventh century and for the audacity of its rulers' persistent requests for favored trade status far beyond its objective significance in the South China Sea trade. After the initial arrival at the Chinese court on 17 March 1001, the P<sup>3</sup>u-tuan rulers launched almost annual tributary missions over the next ten years, offering both indigenous products (e.g., parrot feathers, tortoise shells, slaves) and nonlocal products (e.g., camphor, cloves, and other spices) as proof of trade relations with Maluku and other polities to

the south. The P'u-tuan rulers were successful in obtaining formal recognition by the Chinese court as an official tributary polity and receiving the customary ceremonial regalia associated with their installation as foreign "princes of the realm." However, the aggressive P'u-tuan chiefs vexed Chinese officials with their efforts to augment their ceremonially rendered gifts of Chinese gold, silver, court costumes, and royal banners through additional illicit purchases of what were closely regulated political symbols and not free market commodities.<sup>23</sup> The P'u-tuan ruler who financed most of the early-eleventh-century tributary missions (named in Chinese records as Kiling or *Ch'i-ling*) had the audacity to complain about P'u-tuan's lowly tributary status, requesting elevation to a rank equal with that of Champa (along with Srivijaya, one of China's oldest and most powerful island Southeast Asian tributary states). "Your humble servant observes that the Emperor has bestowed two caparisoned horses and two large spirit flags on the Champa envoy; he wishes to be granted the same treatment and to receive the same favors" (translated in Scott 1989:4).<sup>24</sup> Despite the clear perception of the Sung Chinese court that the P'u-tuan rulers were of minor consequence in the then-known political geography of Southeast Asia, they could not afford to ignore a trade source who demonstrated even more direct access than Champa and Srivijaya to the precious spices of the south such as camphor and cloves. The ability of the rulers of P'u-tuan and Ma-i to finance and undertake the long voyage across the South China Sea and their exclusive eyewitness knowledge of Chinese culture may have been significant factors promoting their continued political and economic dominance in the Philippine archipelago in the next few centuries.

After a hiatus of several centuries, Chinese court documents record a flurry of "trade missions" to China by Philippine polities in the late fourteenth to early fifteenth centuries (Scott 1984). These officially recognized court visits primarily involved chiefdoms strategically located along the western littoral of the Philippines (western Luzon, northern Mindoro, western Mindanao, and Sulu), the most direct maritime corridor for trade to the south (eventually reaching Maluku, the "Spice Islands"). In 1373, the first tributary or trade mission from a polity known as Ma-li-lu or Luzon (located at Manila Bay and the precursor of the Spanish-documented polity of Manila) is noted in Ming court records (Scott 1984:67; Chen 1966:272; Wu 1959; see also Chapter 4), followed three years later by a joint mission involving emissaries from Luzon (presumably the Manila polity), Pangasinan (probably along the modern Pangasinan Province coast north of Manila), and an unidentified polity known as Soli (Chen 1966:273). The Luzon polity was considered a significant enough political tributary and trade partner by the early-fifteenth-century emperor Yung-lo (1403–1424) to warrant an official visit by a Chinese ambassador in 1405 during a tour of Southeast Asian maritime-trading states and chiefdoms (Chen 1966:272; Wu 1959). This official court recognition of Luzon's favored trade status

instigated a new round of competitive foreign trade missions in the early fifteenth century by Luzon and the polities known as Pangasinan and Mao-li-wu or Ho-mao-li (identified by Scott [1984:75] as a polity on either Mindoro or Marinduque), Sulu (at Jolo), and possibly Magindanao (at Cotabato, Mindanao) (Chen 1966:273; Majul 1966:147–148; Scott 1984: 75–77; Wu 1962:477–478). The record of these tributary missions suggests a proliferation of China-bound voyages in the late fourteenth to early fifteenth centuries, as multiple polities competed to attract the attention of the burgeoning number of Chinese ships entering Philippine waters at this time.

The tributary mission for which there is the most comprehensive description is that of the Sulu polity in 1417 (Chen 1966; Majul 1966:147–148; Scott 1984:7–10, 75–77). Accompanying the Sulu leaders was a large retinue of 340 “wives,” “ministers,” “warriors,” and “retainers,” as well as a substantial cargo of what the Chinese referred to as a “tributary offering” consisting of gold, pearls, precious stones, spices, and tortoise shells. The Sulu rulers,<sup>25</sup> upon presentation to the emperor, were invested as “princes of the realm,” feasted at a state banquet in their honor, presented with ceremonial insignia and royal seals, and laden with luxury goods (fine porcelains, brocaded court costumes, horses, bolts of silk, strings of copper coins, and gold and silver ornaments) intended to signify overtly the grandeur of the Chinese court and China’s cultural supremacy (Scott 1989:7–8). As the Sulu delegates proceeded down the Grand Canal for their return voyage to Sulu, the unfortunate Sulu paramount (Paduka Batara) fell ill and died at Te-chou (Shantung Province) and, as a declared prince of the realm, was eligible for royal burial rites. He was entombed in a large crypt with a memorial archway, gateway, and memorial tablet proclaiming him “Reverent and Steadfast.”<sup>26</sup>

That the initial Sulu trade mission in 1417 successfully launched the Sulu polity as a significant player in the early Ming southern spice trade is evidenced in the subsequent series of trade missions to Peking in the next decade by Sulu rulers and the leaders of adjacent Philippine polities.<sup>27</sup> One of these rival polities was Kumalalang, located on Dumanguilas Bay in the province of Zamboanga del Sur in southwest Mindanao, whose leaders tried to challenge Sulu trade domination in the south but apparently did not have the resources to mount trade missions as spectacular and frequent as those of the Sulu rulers.<sup>28</sup> Sulu’s unmatched success in the tributary trade missions contributed to its growth as an international trade emporium in the early fifteenth century, as measured by both the expanding volume and the diversity of its export commodities: while Wang Ta-yüan’s 1349 *Tao i chih lüeh* (summarized in Scott 1984:73–75) mentions only relatively small quantities of locally obtained products (abaca cloth, beeswax, tortoise shell, pearls and laka-wood) as Sulu export offerings prior to the formal trade missions, the tribute list associated with the 1421 court visit includes numerous high-priced non-Sulu products, such as brazilwood, black pepper and spices

native to Maluku, foreign tin, and “plum blossom” (i.e., first-class) camphor (Scott 1989:14). By 1618, Chang Hsieh’s *Tung hsi yang k’ao* (Investigations of the Eastern and Western Oceans) describes Sulu as a wealthy and regionally powerful trade center of several thousand inhabitants that mass-produced numerous local export goods such as pearls, gold trinkets, cotton cloth, and marine food delicacies, and simultaneously functioned as a significant intermediary in trade for spices from the south (Hsu 1962; also see Warren 1985).

The tributary missions from the Philippine polities at the beginning of the fifteenth century appear to have been directly related to regional political struggles within the archipelago. The northern polities of Ma-li-lu, Mao-li-wu, and Pangasinan were probably attempting to consolidate their positions along the eastern (Maluku-Borneo-Luzon-Fujian) maritime trade route. Similarly, the southern Philippine polities of Sulu, Magindanao, and Kumalalang were competing for dominance along the southern (Maluku-Java-Melaka) Southeast Asian trade routes. Once the purpose of obtaining legitimacy as an exclusive regional trade power was achieved (and, as a consequence, competitors were shut out of “legal” trade avenues), it was no longer necessary continually to reinforce their position through costly court visits.<sup>29</sup> The significant size and complexity of the Manila polity in Spanish descriptions a century and a half later suggests that the struggle for foreign trade supremacy in the north was decided in favor of polities in the Manila Bay area. Sulu was apparently the victor in this struggle for foreign trade supremacy in the south (in fact, Kumalalang disappeared in later Ming and early European documentation).

### **Conclusions: Chiefly Strategies for Maritime Trade Competition**

Historical records and archaeological evidence suggest that Philippine lowland societies may have engaged in extra-archipelago maritime trade for metal goods, earthenware pottery, glass beads, and other commodities derived from India, China, and Southeast Asia since at least the first millennium A.D. However, this early trade was sporadic and of low volume, with many coastal settlements like Tanjay generating status goods wholly from indigenous production and intra-archipelago trade. After the tenth century, Chinese porcelains and other extra-archipelago luxury goods show up increasingly in archaeological deposits at Philippine coastal centers, probably transported by Southeast Asian middlemen more often than directly exported by Chinese traders. In this early period of long-distance trade, foreign traders were still attempting to gauge the scale and cultural preferences of the Philippine market for exotic prestige goods as well as the ability of



specific Philippine polities to provide export commodities of the desired type and volume. A wide range of relatively high quality porcelains, lacquerware, silks, and other luxury goods were offered by foreign traders at a select number of well-known Philippine ports.

As indigenous demand for porcelains and other exotic goods dramatically expanded in the Philippines and the number of alternative sources for forest product exports grew after the fourteenth century, foreign traders shifted toward a mass-production strategy in which massive cargoes of cheaply made porcelains were traded widely throughout the archipelago. By the fifteenth century, 15 to 20 percent of the ceramics at even smaller-scale maritime-trading centers like Tanjay were foreign porcelains rather than indigenously manufactured earthenware. Foreign porcelains had become key symbols of status, wealth, and political power in Philippine complex societies, spreading into the ranks of the nonelite as they strove to emulate the prestige symbols of the nobility.

Since the distribution of foreign luxury goods became increasingly critical to expanding a sovereign's network of allies and subordinates, Philippine rulers developed a number of strategies to monopolize foreign trade and to keep foreign goods from circulating in the alliance networks of their political rivals. Philippine chiefs attempted to attract foreign trade partners by investing in port facilities (e.g., good harborage, military protection for traders, housing and provisions for foreign merchants), by developing efficient systems for mobilizing desired export goods, and (in the larger-scale polities like Sulu) by developing a bureaucracy of specialist trade administrators. At the same time, foreign trade goods were concentrated in the hands of the chiefly elite by restricting the geographic locales and social contexts for interaction with foreign traders and by ritualizing these exchanges (as ceremonial "gifts" and "tributary" offerings).

While possession of a secure port and assured exports gained competitive advantage for a maritime-trading chief, foreign trade competition was most overtly expressed through rival tributary missions to the Chinese court. The launching of a tributary trade mission was a particularly costly venture, requiring well-constructed long-distance sailing vessels, an amassed cargo of export commodities of sufficiently impressive value, volume, and diversity, and the ability to support for many months a large and grandly outfitted retinue. However, for Philippine chiefs who could successfully launch a series of increasingly elaborate tributary missions, the payoff was often enormous in terms of future foreign trade revenues and the enhanced prestige gained through possession of Chinese titles and royal seals. In periods of greater political fragmentation in the Philippines, when historical records and archaeological evidence indicate expanded competitive interactions among numerous polities of similar complexity and scale, there is an upsurge in tributary trade missions aimed at deflecting foreign trade

wealth away from potential trade rivals. Two such peaks occurred: one in the late tenth to early eleventh centuries and another in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. In both periods, the larger-scale polities emerging out of these competitive interactions were generally chiefdoms whose rulers had been most successful in capturing favored foreign trade status through lavish tributary missions.

## Chapter 8

# Mobilizing Resources: Regional Production, Tribute, and Lowland-Upland Exchange Systems

Ethnohistorical sources suggest that within the lowland core of historic period Philippine maritime-trading polities, in the alluvial river basins close to each chief's center of political power, formalized tribute systems and luxury good production by sponsored craft artisans provided revenues to support the chiefly political economy. The surplus production necessary for sustaining the chief's household and elite retinue was obtained not through direct ownership of lands within a fixed geographic territory, but rather through the development of clientage relationships that granted a chief the right to collect agricultural tribute from political subordinates. Slave labor captured through intensive investment in maritime and riverine slave raiding was also a significant means of expanding chiefly surplus in many of these societies, since agricultural surplus could be expropriated directly by slave-owning chiefs rather than accumulated sporadically through the tribute system. Thus, in the core area of these lowland polities, chiefs had a number of mechanisms for directly mobilizing resources essential to sustaining their roles as social elites and powerful political leaders.

However, one of the challenges facing Philippine rulers centered at coastal ports was the establishment of economic control over an ecologically distinct and geographically remote hinterland, frequently inhabited by an ethnically heterogeneous population with varying sociopolitical configurations and economic orientations. In the Philippines, the interior uplands were inhabited by an amalgam of culturally and linguistically distinct groups ranging from small bands of hunter-gatherers to tribally organized swidden cultivators and emergent ranked societies practicing intensive agriculture. While the interior uplands yielded resources that were significant to lowland coastal economies, the populations of these hinterland regions were too geographically remote, mobile, and ecologically specialized for direct conquest, political subjugation, and economic control by lowland polities to be a viable alternative. Instead, lowland polities and adjacent upland tribal peoples generally formed extensive interactive networks that were often loosely integrated through political and social as well as economic ties.

Archaeological evidence suggests that economic specialization and "symbiotic" exchange relations are a long-term response to ecological diversity in the Philippines and have considerable time depth even beyond the period of lowland complex society development. However, long-distance maritime

trade significantly transformed the organization and scale of what once were localized exchange partnerships between individual lowland farmers and adjacent interior swidden farmers or forest collectors. These internal domestic good trade networks became directly linked to the lowland chiefs' political strategies for controlling the wealth-generating foreign trade because of the nature of Chinese import good demands. In return for their primarily luxury good cargo, Chinese traders desired interior forest products (spices, tropical hardwoods, abaca cloth, metal ores, animal pelts). These were commodities that the coastal chiefs did not control directly but had to amass through symbiotic exchange relations with interior upland peoples that were not under the direct political hegemony of the lowland chiefs.

Archaeological and ethnohistorical data suggest that early to mid-second millennium A.D. chiefs centered at Philippine coastal ports increased their competitiveness in foreign trade by developing the more efficient internal mobilization systems necessary to establish themselves as a stable export source. Some specific mechanisms for improving reliability of internal mobilization systems may have included (1) increasing tributary demands on subordinates, (2) increased use of an economically disenfranchised slave agricultural labor force through expanded slave raiding and debt-bondage institutions, (3) shifts in the location of upriver secondary centers to more energetically efficient collection points for collecting resources, (4) consolidation of interior and upland exchange relations through the influx of lowland prestige goods such as Asian mainland porcelains, and (5) centralized mass-production of lowland products such as earthenware for intensified coastal-interior trade.

### **The Spatial Organization of Production and Exchange: The Dendritic Settlement System**

In examining the regional settlement organization associated with different forms of political economy, cultural geographers and anthropologists have distinguished what are termed "dendritic" systems from the more lattice-like "central place" systems (Hirth 1978; Santley and Alexander 1992; C. Smith 1976). Dendritic systems are characterized by the concentration of regional political and economic control within a single primate center, which exerts weakening authority over a series of linearly radiating settlements (Fig. 8.1). This type of system contrasts markedly with "hegemonic" or "territorial" systems, in which political and economic control expands outward from a powerful regional center in a latticelike pattern toward the polity's periphery, and even distant settlements are strongly integrated with the polity center through a large provincial bureaucracy (Santley and Alexander 1992; Hassig 1985).

Most empirically observed cases of strongly dendritic systems occur in

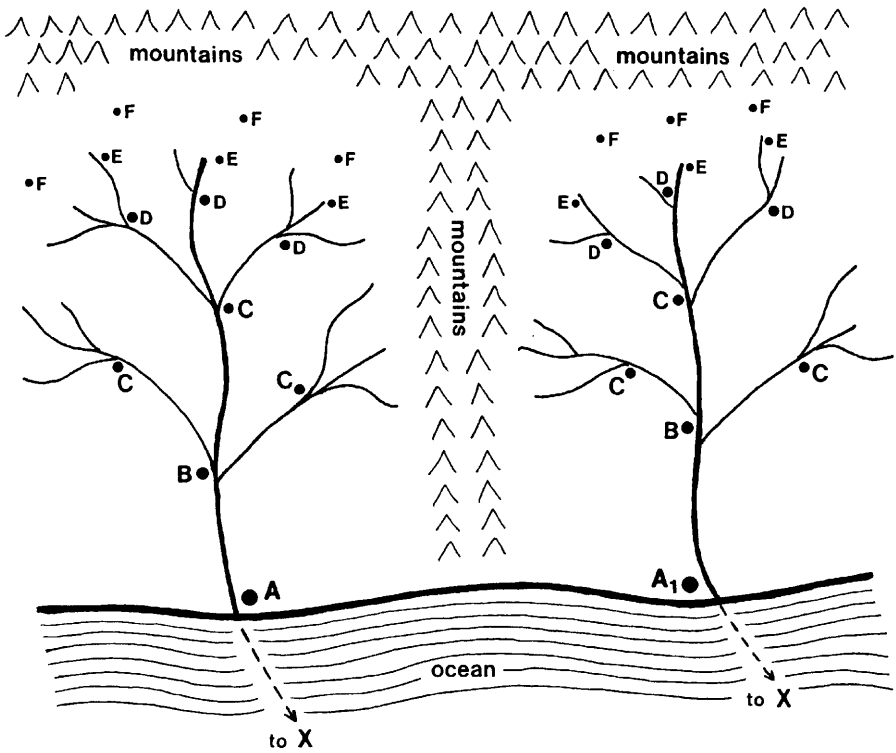


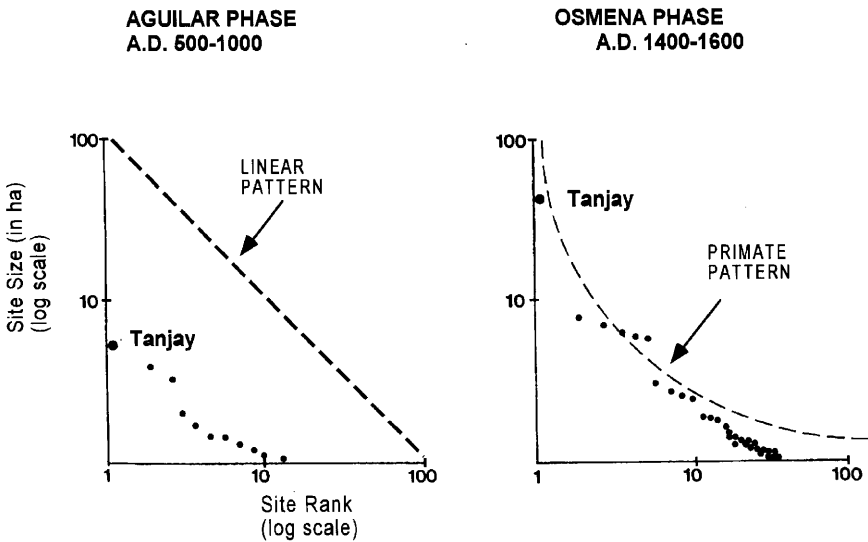
Figure 8.1. Hypothetical settlement system for coastal-centered, maritime-trade-oriented polities in Southeast Asia. (Adapted from Bronson 1977)

situations where long-distance trade plays a dominant role in the internal economy, concentrating economic advantage and political power with those settlements located favorably for articulation with external trade systems. In addition, Carol Smith suggests that dendritic systems commonly develop in situations of marked intraregional ethnic diversity, in which a politically complex core occupied by the dominant ethnic or cultural group controls trade into a less complexly organized periphery occupied by one or more politically subjugated ethnic groups (1976:345–353). A third, and perhaps the most critical, feature characteristic of such systems comprises environmental or cultural constraints on transport resulting in a linear convergence of trade networks on a single, strategically located center. The result is a settlement system characterized by (1) concentration of a sociopolitical elite in a single “primate” settlement, (2) a descending degree of economic and political hegemony with increasing distance from the primate center, (3) more low-level centers than are typical of a central place lattice system, (4)

allegiance of each lower-level center only to the center directly above it, and (5) a strongly unidirectional flow of significant economic resources from periphery to center, reflecting pronounced regional economic and political power differences (Kelley 1976:221).

The “rank-size” analyses of geographers (e.g., Haggett 1965) have helped archaeologists to visualize how different spatial patterning in settlements might reflect distinct processes of political and economic centralization in complex societies (Blanton 1978; Crumley 1976; G. Johnson 1977, 1980, 1981; Kowalewski 1990a, 1990b; McIntosh and McIntosh 1990; Upham 1982). Human geographers have noted that highly urbanized societies worldwide exhibit a consistent relationship between the population of settlements and their rank in a regional settlement hierarchy. In such urbanized societies, a plot of settlement size (i.e., population) versus site rank on dual logarithmic scales produces an approximately linear pattern with a few heavily populated cities and many smaller settlements (Fig. 8.2). Geographers generally attribute this empirical regularity to economic factors favoring cost minimization and efficiency maximization in transporting goods. This pattern is characteristic of “mature” urban systems with a stable political core and highly centralized economies. In contrast, a concave or “primate” rank-size pattern (see Fig. 8.2) is one in which a single hyperlarge center dominates the settlement hierarchy and secondary centers are poorly developed. This settlement pattern may indicate an incipient stage in the development of an urban system that later conforms to the rank-size structure (Crumley 1976:65; Kowalewski 1990a:51). However, primate settlement patterns often characterize both emerging and mature polities with a dendritic political economy (Santley and Alexander 1992:26–27). Resources are channeled in dendritic systems unidirectionally to a primate center serving as a strategically located “gateway community” for foreign trade (Kelley 1976; C. Smith 1976; Vance 1970).<sup>1</sup>

A number of anthropologists and historians have recognized that the dendritic, primate settlement model is consistent with the spatial organization of many historically known Southeast Asian maritime-trading polities (J. Allen 1991; B. Andaya 1995; L. Andaya 1975a:189, 195; Bronson 1977; K. Hall 1985:1–20; Kessler 1978:38; Miksic 1984:241; Wolters 1967:252, 341–342). In Southeast Asian maritime-trading polities, the polity capital is hyperlarge, a primate coastal center located at the mouth of a major navigable river. In a study of dendritic settlement systems in ancient Mesoamerica, Hirth refers to these strategically located centers as “gateway communities,” which, because of their strategic location at the intersection of riverine and sea routes, could simultaneously monitor the commodities flowing into the polity from external sources and through the polity between distinct ecological zones (1978:38). This single center at the coast dominates the regional settlement system and exerts economic, political, and ritual control through alliance-based exchanges over the interior hinterland



**Figure 8.2.** Ideal rank-size distributions for settlements in highly urbanized societies (linear pattern) and primate settlement systems focused on a single hyperlarge center (concave pattern), overlain over rank-size plots for two prehispanic settlement phases in the Bais-Tanjay Region.

that serves as its agricultural base and source of exportable commodities for foreign trade. Secondary centers, tertiary centers, and/or small agrarian villages radiate out in a dendritic or branching pattern along the interior river course and its tributaries. Bennet Bronson's abstract model of such a settlement system (shown in Fig. 8.1) depicts the coastal centers of two competing maritime-trading polities occupying adjacent alluvial systems (A and A1), both participating in long-distance trade interactions with X. Points B and C represent second-order and third-order upstream settlements strategically located for the control of the interior movement of resources. Point D represents relatively distant upriver settlements that serve as the initial concentration points for products originating in the more remote lowland areas of the drainage basin and in adjacent upland areas occupied by ethnically distinct, tribally organized swidden-cultivating people and mobile hunter-gatherers (points E and F).

The chiefly rulers at A maintain the flow of goods toward the coastal center through direct coercion of the adjacent lowland populations centered at B and C (and more distant settlements D under the control of B and C). Ethnohistorical sources suggest that this is achieved through a combination of gift-sealed alliances with local leaders, ideological sanctions by the ritually powerful lowland chiefs, and military threats (B. Andaya 1995:545–

547; Gullick 1958:48–49; K. Hall 1976:90–100; Wolters 1967:341–342). Because of the high level of mobility and geographic remoteness of upland groups represented by E and F, direct political domination by coastal chiefs and militarily or ritually enforced participation in the lowland economic system is generally not feasible. The lowland rulers at the coastal port A are more likely to rely on individually transacted alliances with interior leaders, cemented by the interior flow of prestige goods and status-conferring titles (Miksic 1984:241). The chiefly ruler centered at A must develop sufficiently stable and exclusive economic relations with interior populations to prevent any attempts by X (the foreign trader) to circumvent the coastal center at A and trade directly with interior source.

Secondary and tertiary centers function primarily as “bulking centers” to concentrate goods for shipment downriver (Andaya and Andaya 1982: 11; Reid 1993c:53–61; also see C. Smith 1976; Santley and Alexander 1992). They are generally strategically located along riverine transport routes in such a way that attempts to bypass them in delivering goods downstream would be difficult if not impossible. Archaeologists would expect these upriver trade centers to be located at critical points of transport convergence within the river basin and to yield significantly greater quantities of both interior and coastal trade goods than the surrounding settlements. In a recent archaeological study of the Musi River basin of Palembang, McKinnon (1993) notes that large riverbank sites up to eighty kilometers inland have megalithic architecture (limestone menhirs and dolmens), in association with bronze jewelry and blades, glass beads, and imported Chinese stoneware and porcelains primarily ranging from the ninth to thirteenth centuries in date (also see Manguin 1992:69–72). McKinnon suggests that iron, salt, and textiles might be added to these archaeologically visible coastal imports and that these large inland centers were the concentration points for alluvial gold, ivory, rhino horns, resins, honey, birds’ nests, and possibly pepper collected by upland groups for export to the coastal populations that may have been linked to Srivijaya hegemony to the north (1993:236).<sup>2</sup>

Similarly, Jane Allen (1991) compiles archaeological data from the hinterlands of the historic Kedah to demonstrate the presence of numerous large riverbank interior centers that probably functioned as intermediaries in the Kedah-centered regional trade, as evidenced in concentrations of Kedah-derived ceramics and Indian-style ritual structures. Through careful geological reconstruction of the Merbok and Muda river basins, Allen was able to demonstrate that the economic significance of various upriver settlements shifted according to rapidly changing alluvial configurations, that is, inland centers that were well situated for efficiency of transport at one time were displaced when river shifts reduced their advantageous position as trade bulking centers. Leaders at these upriver centers were allied to the rulers at the polity center through the flow of prestige goods, and sometimes elite



kinsmen of the ruler were sent to the hinterland as trade and tribute administrators (K. Hall 1985:92).<sup>3</sup> A general feature of this type of dendritic settlement organization is a pronounced gradient in access to foreign luxury goods moving into the hinterland from the primate center, with riverine centers closer to the polity center limiting the flow of prestige goods to centers farther upstream (Kelley 1976:222–223).

A number of historical sources for river-based Southeast Asian polities have also suggested that upriver secondary centers may not have functioned purely as trade conduits for lowland-produced goods. In some cases, these interior centers were discrete production locales for the pottery, metal goods, textiles, or other commodities for export into the interior, owing to closer proximity to metal ores or other necessary raw materials (Reid 1988:100–101). As noted by Gullick, the decentralized structure of the traditional Malay polity meant that second-tier chiefs under the political hegemony of the coastal ruler and interior leaders allied through trade with the coastal chiefs could not rely wholly on the paramount's largesse (1965:129). They had to finance their own wealth-producing economic activities, such as mining operations, metallurgy, or fine ceramics manufacture. Ethno-historical studies of iron manufacture in Borneo indicate that, at the time of European contact, some of the finest ironwork was taking place in these interior centers near the sources of the raw material (Christie 1988).

The Bais-Tanjay Region is currently the only region of the Philippines where there is sufficient regional-scale settlement pattern data to examine the long-term growth of a dendritic settlement system (Junker 1990a, 1990b, 1996; Macdonald 1982b). Regional settlement patterns tracing the development of a series of Tanjay-centered chiefdoms over roughly a thousand-year period were presented in Chapter 4 as part of the archaeological analysis of evolving political hierarchies in the region (see Figs. 4.5, 4.6, and 4.7). In that chapter, I indicated that a two-tiered settlement hierarchy was present in the Bais-Tanjay Region as early as the A.D. 500–1000 Aguilar Phase, dominated by the coastal center of Tanjay, which is strategically at the intersection of riverine and maritime trade routes. Even in this earliest phase the regional settlement organization is riverine-oriented and dendritic in form. Four possible secondary centers (ranging from one hectare to three hectares in size) appear to be emerging in the Aguilar Phase. However, these more extensive village sites are only slightly larger than the average village site and do not form the distinct size tier seen in later regional settlement hierarchies.

A settlement hierarchy with at least two levels continues to be visible in the regional archaeological settlement evidence in the early second millennium A.D. Santiago Phase. However, Tanjay has reemerged as an even larger coastal port (increasing more than threefold to an estimated fifteen hectares) and is identifiable as a primate center. The first clear archaeological evidence emerges in this period for Tanjay's special function as locus for

chiefly political, economic, and ritual activities. Excavations at Tanjay yielded evidence for elite and nonelite habitation zones and burial areas, ceramic and iron production areas, ritual paraphernalia not found at other sites, and the largest concentration of foreign trade goods (porcelain, bronze, ivory objects, and glass beads) in the region. Three of the Aguilar Phase upriver secondary centers (with the exception of the Aguilar Site) were reoccupied but expand in size in this period (ranging from two to five hectares). The remaining settlements mirror, in size and assemblage content, those of the Aguilar Phase: small riverbank lowland agricultural villages containing much ceramic and metal debris; both lowland and upland chipped stone and animal bone concentrations, probably representing hunter-gatherer camps; and upland sites with significant amounts of ceramics that may have been the homesteads of shifting cultivators.

By the Osmena Phase, the coastal chiefly center at Tanjay had increased twofold to threefold in size from the preceding cultural phase, and the regional settlement hierarchy had a distinct tier of secondary centers that were both more numerous and larger than those of the early second millennium A.D. (eleven sites are larger than one hectare, with several more than five hectares in size). Rank-size analysis shows that these secondary centers, for the first time, form a distinct size-segregated tier within a three-tiered settlement hierarchy (see Fig. 8.2).<sup>4</sup> The settlement system surrounding Tanjay exhibits a dendritic form even before Chinese trade, although it is not until the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries that it shows a fully developed primate pattern dominated by a hyperlarge coastal center.

The most relevant issue here is whether changes occurred in the size, location, hierarchical relations, and archaeological content of village sites outside the primary coastal center and whether this changing settlement organization indicates transformations in the internal economy. Locational analyses that examined each site of the three immediately prehispanic periods with respect to natural and cultural features found no statistically significant changes from the Aguilar Phase to the historic period in the distribution of settlements with respect to elevation zone, navigable versus nonnavigable rivers, distance to the nearest river, distance to the coast, and soil types (Junker 1990b:195–198). Where there are significant changes in settlement organization is with regard to the spatial relationship between the settlements themselves. Linear nearest neighbor analysis was used to examine the spatial distribution of upriver secondary centers along an approximately fifteen-kilometer stretch of the Tanjay River for the most recent three prehispanic phases (Stark and Young 1981). The linear nearest neighbor (LNN) statistics (Table 8.1) indicate that these primary points of interaction between lowland coastal chiefs and the ultimate producers of exportable raw materials become more regularly spaced over time. For the Aguilar Phase and Santiago Phase, the LNN statistic shows wholly random spacing of secondary riverbank centers up and down the Tanjay River. This random-

**Table 8.1. Linear Nearest Neighbor Analysis of the Spatial Patterning of Secondary Centers along the Tanjay River for the Three Prehispanic Phases of Settlement in the Bais-Tanjay Region, Negros Oriental**

Cultural Phase	Number of Sites ( <i>n</i> )	Total Distance along River in Kilometers (L)	Total distance to Nearest Neighbors (M)	Linear Nearest Neighbor Statistic (LNNS = M/L)	Results
Aguilar	3	5.700	2.495	0.4377	not significant
Santiago	3	5.700	2.495	0.4377	not significant
Osmena (main branch of Tanjay River)	8	8.845	8.445	0.9548	significant at .01 level
Osmena (north branch of Tanjay River)	3	5.700	4.615	0.8096	significant at .01 level

Source: Junker 1994b.

ness changes dramatically in the Osmena Phase to a locational tendency toward regular spacing along the Tanjay River, with large secondary centers found at regular two- to three-kilometer intervals. Not only are the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century secondary centers more evenly spaced through the lowland hinterland, but they also appear to have become a magnet for lowland population attracted by trade opportunities. A simple probability statistic (the *Z* statistic) was used to test whether small village settlements tend to be located with higher frequency than expected near riverbank secondary centers in the three later prehistoric periods (see Table 8.2). The results show that in the late first millennium A.D. Aguilar Phase, small lowland villages are actually repelled from close association with the riverbank centers, and in the early second millennium A.D. Santiago Phase the relationship is purely random. However, by the mid-second-millennium Osmena Phase, a larger-than-expected number of smaller settlements are clustered around the secondary centers, presumably as a function of their expanding role in regional production and trade.

If, as specified by Central Place Theory (Christaller 1966; Crumley 1976; Haggett 1965), the geographic “centrality” of larger-scale settlements indicates some attempt at heightened economic control over the surrounding

**Table 8.2. Comparison of the Probability of an Individual Small Site Having a Large Settlement as Its Nearest Neighbor for the Three Prehispanic Phases in the Bais-Tanjay Region**

	Aguilar Phase	Santiago Phase	Osmena Phase
Total number of settlements in the contiguous block survey sample ( $N$ )	21	17	51
Settlements $\geq 1$ hectare ( $n_1$ )	8	4	24
Settlements $< 1$ hectare ( $n_2$ )	13	13	27
Expected probability of nearest neighbor being a large settlement ( $p_1$ ) <sup>1</sup>	0.4000	0.2500	0.4800
Expected probability of small sites with large sites as their nearest neighbor	5.20	3.25	12.96
Actual proportion of nearest neighbors that are large settlements ( $p_2$ )	0.1538	0.2310	0.5550
Actual number of small sites with large sites as nearest neighbors	2	3	15
Z statistic <sup>2</sup>	1.81*	0.16	0.78

Source: Junker 1994b.

\* Significant at the .05 level.

1. This is calculated as  $p_1 = n_1 / (N - 1)$ .  $N - 1$  is used in the denominator because a site cannot be a nearest neighbor with itself. Possible nearest neighbors are defined as sites within the contiguous block survey transect and cannot be external sites or the transect boundaries.

2. This is calculated as  $Z = (x_1 - M) / S$  where  $M = (p_1)(n_2)$ ,  $x_1 = (p_2)(n_2)$ , and  $S = (n_2)(p_1)(1 - p_1)$ .

smaller-scale settlements, then the Tanjay River settlement data may suggest expanding control of hinterland resource mobilization systems by the Tanjay chiefs. However, the specialized production and distribution functions of a secondary center cannot be inferred from size and location evidence alone. To detect the presence of elite administrators and specialized economic, political, and ritual activities predicted at such sites, it is necessary to look more closely at their archaeological content through assemblage analysis and excavation of features. All these large riverbank settlements have been systematically surface-collected, and several have been excavated, allowing comparisons with artifact assemblages at smaller lowland villages and other settlement types.

Three of the upriver secondary centers have been extensively excavated (Junker, Gunn, and Santos 1996)—the five- to seven-hectare Mendieta Site (five kilometers from Tanjay), the approximately three hectare Diaz Site (six

kilometers from Tanjay), and the 1.6 hectare Calumpang Site (nine kilometers from Tanjay) (see Fig. 4.7 for site locations). All three sites contained extensive Osmena Phase occupation, although the Mendieta Site was also inhabited during the Aguilar and Santiago phases. I focus on Osmena Phase settlements because of the larger database of surface-collected and excavated sites. Foreign porcelains comprised more than 10 percent of the total ceramic assemblages recovered from both surface collections and excavated fifteenth-to-sixteenth-century occupation levels at the three large riverbank centers. Not only porcelain, but also elaborately decorated earthenware, bronze, iron, and glass beads are found in significantly higher ratios relative to mundane goods (e.g., plain earthenware and shell, bone, and stone tools) in comparison to smaller settlements.<sup>5</sup> The occupants of these riverbank centers may have been lower-ranking *datus* or other lesser elites controlling riverine trade, since they mimicked the elite styles of the coastal polity center but had access to smaller quantities of prestige goods wealth and lacked some of the unusual and rare items available to Tanjay chiefs.

No clearly patterned house-compounds or burials were identified at these sites that would make it possible to assess intrasite status differentiation. However, excavations at Calumpang yielded iron slag, large numbers of iron implements, clay objects that might be the remnants of crucibles or pottery *tuyeres* (air tubes), heavy ore-processing tools, and other archaeological evidence for a considerable volume of iron-ore processing, smelting, and iron-working (see Junker, Gunn, and Santos 1996). While the dendritic model predicts that the bulk of local production of and external trade for manufactured goods will be concentrated in the primate center and funneled through linear networks to hinterland settlements, it is often more efficient for secondary centers closer to interior export markets to produce export goods independently. I have noted that local *datus* within these polities often operated independently of paramount chiefs in economic matters. Since the Calumpang Site is located close to ferrous outcrops, it was ideally situated to produce iron implements for interior exchange. The beginnings of iron metallurgy at the site in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries may indicate expanding trade and specialized production along the Tanjay River, which in turn were stimulated by the resource demands of foreign trade.

### **Agricultural Production and Tribute Mobilization in the Polity Core**

Philippine chiefs' control over agricultural production was guaranteed through the maintenance of several types of social relations. Within the core area of the polity, chiefs had the right to make land tenure grants and collect agricultural tribute from their political subordinates. In some Philippine polities, a significant portion of a chief's agricultural surplus was accumu-

lated through direct control of a slave labor force that cultivated lands under his own tenancy or harvested marine resources from chief-owned fisheries. In keeping with the decentralized and alliance-based political structure of these polities, land tenure systems, tribute relations, and capital investments in agricultural productivity were centered at the local level. Amassing of surplus at the polity center was dependent on volatile personal alliances between the paramount chief and local chiefs under his political sway.

### ***The Productive Base: The Organization of Agriculture and Land Tenure in the Polity Core***

All the developed contact period Philippine lowland polities were to some degree dependent on large-scale intensive agricultural production, combined to a greater or lesser degree with exploitation of marine food resources and animal husbandry. However, economic self-sufficiency in food production varied considerably as a function of population size, the relative productivity of the environment, the scale and structure of the political unit (as a determinant of the number of specialist nonproducers relative to producers), and the degree to which the polity was economically oriented toward long-distance trade. The traditional upper valley and coastal Magindanao chieftains (of the Pulangi River basin in southwestern Mindanao) provide a contrast in this regard. The upper valley chieftains employed a large slave labor force for large-scale rice production on the extensive low-lying, swampy interior plain. Combined with trade for upland forest products, intensive rice production generated not only sufficient surplus to sustain the chiefly political economy, but also additional surplus that could be exported to less productive lowland areas. In contrast, the economic prosperity of the coastal Magindanao polity was heavily dependent on maritime trade into the region's principal port at the mouth of the Pulangi River. Even basic subsistence goods were imported in substantial volume to maintain a large segment of the population involved in full-time raiding and trading activities (Beckett 1982; Majul 1973; Iletto 1971). As noted by Beckett (1982), Spanish attempts to reduce maritime raiding in the Sulu Sea and to wrest control of the lucrative spice trade away from coastal Magindanao resulted in an abrupt decline in the lower valley sultans' power in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In contrast, the more agriculturally focused upper valley chiefdoms continued to prosper on the basis of internal production well into the nineteenth century.

Sulu, even more than coastal Magindanao, organized its economy around the collection and distribution of marine and forest products, with ever-increasing manpower devoted to the labor-intensive work of procuring these valuable trade items and trading them at Jolo or at foreign ports. Despite the massive importation of slave labor obtained through maritime raids, the

spiraling demands of foreign trade meant that much of the potential agricultural work force was allocated to trade-related activities (Warren 1982). By the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, a deficit in local rice production was met by large-scale importation of rice and other staples from Manila and the Visayas (Warren 1977a, 1977b). In contrast, the major trade-oriented polities centered at Manila and Cebu, perhaps because of their smaller scale and potentially more productive hinterland areas, appear to have been largely agriculturally self-sufficient. Historical sources suggest that Manila and Cebu may have even been net exporters of agricultural products at the time of Spanish contact, although there is some evidence to suggest that rice may occasionally have been imported in trade with even more agriculturally productive Visayan regions such as the islands of Panay and Negros (Loarca 1582a:43, 69, 73).

Ethnohistorical work on the Sulu polity suggests that, in Philippine chiefdoms, rights over disposition of agricultural lands, agricultural tribute exactions, and rights to the products of slave labor were decentralized, in the sense that they operated primarily at the local level. Rather than directly administering local tributary systems, paramount chiefs relied on a combination of their own locally controlled production, tribute moving up the political hierarchy through unstable vertical alliances with local chiefs, and their greater involvement in foreign trade to provide the economic support for their political activities (Kiefer 1972a, 1972b). Shortfalls in agricultural surplus at the polity core were generally not met by tightening control over hinterland lands and production or by attempting to increase tributary contributions of lower-ranking chiefs. Instead, the rulers at Jolo began to import staple goods through their long-distance trade networks, and they massively increased their emphasis on maritime slave raiding to augment the agricultural labor force under their direct control (Warren 1985).

The sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Spanish sources suggest that the smaller-scale chiefdoms that dotted the coastlines of most of the major islands of the Philippines had similar mechanisms for establishing and administering a hinterland agricultural base. Spanish writers suggest that local chiefs were the ultimate owners of all lands within their political jurisdiction.<sup>6</sup> However, unlike the fixed territories and hierarchy of explicitly demarcated land grants characteristic of Polynesian chiefdoms (Hommon 1986), land rights were nebulously defined by the size of a chief's alliance network, which expanded and contracted over time. A chief had the right to distribute arable lands within this nebulous territory to kin groups in his alliance network as well as to reserve particularly productive lands and certain land use privileges for himself and his elite kin (Alcina 1688a:78–95; 1688b:113–114; also see Scott 1980:150).<sup>7</sup> The sixteenth-century Spanish chronicles make it clear that usufruct rights to land were not inherited from one generation to the next (although a deceased man's children were generally allowed to continue its use). This arrangement allowed the chief con-



Figure 8.3. Filipinos engaging in farming activities in the early eighteenth century, as illustrated in a 1734 map of the Philippines by Murillo Velarde. The woman under the house is husking rice. (From Reid 1988:23)

siderable flexibility in reallocating lands, presumably to individuals or kin groups with whom he had a close alliance and who would assure him a steady source of tribute income (Boxer manuscript 1590b:195).<sup>8</sup>

### **Agricultural Intensification as a Means of Expanding Chiefly Political Surplus**

Staple crops in the lowland Philippines included not only rice but millet, taro, yams, and bananas intercropped in swiddens (*kaingin*) with natural drainage (see Fig. 8.3), with wet-rice monocrop cultivation rarely practiced except in a few river valleys with unusually high population densities (Alcina 1688a:88–89; Sánchez 1617:257; see also Scott 1990:291; 1994: 35–43, 180–181). Rice appears to have been the preferred food, but early Spanish sources indicate that rice production was insufficient in most regions of the Philippines to allow year-round consumption (Alcina 1688:101–102;



Paes Soto Mayor 1597:157), so that “even *datus* with many slaves ate root crops in certain seasons” (Scott 1990:291). Scott suggests that the majority of the population subsisted primarily on root crops (yams and taro) throughout the year, with rice functioning as a higher-status food and a more infrequent addition to household larders (1994:39–40).<sup>9</sup> The Spanish accounts suggest that periodic shortfalls in the surplus rice needed for chiefly feasts and for consumption within elite households were dealt with through inter-island trade or riverine trade into the uplands (see discussion later in this chapter) rather than attempts at lowland agricultural intensification (Scott 1990:292; 1994:36).

In regions of higher population densities, historic Southeast Asian polities have often responded to the demands of a growing maritime-trade economy by intensifying local agricultural systems. For example, historical reconstructions suggest that expanding maritime trade provided the impetus for the construction of large-scale hydraulic works for wet-rice production in the early first millennium A.D. Vietnamese polity of Funan (K. Hall 1985:56–57). The increased agricultural output was used to provision the expanding population of merchants and sailors entering Funan ports like Oc-eo (Van Liere 1980).<sup>10</sup> With low population densities relative to available land,<sup>11</sup> the relatively high productivity of Philippine alluvial soils, and the viable option of importing foodstuffs through trade to meet shortfalls, there would be little incentive for Philippine societies to invest in labor-intensive forms of agriculture such as wet-rice growing. This view is consistent with Ester Boserup’s (1965) much-cited study that showed that populations attempting to intensify agricultural production will generally turn first to the less expensive choice of expanding labor use in existing fields before engaging in these technologically complex and even more labor-intensive forms of farming (see also Geertz 1963; Meer 1979).<sup>12</sup>

The only regions of the Philippines for which there is archaeological and historical evidence for substantial prehispanic investment in large-scale terracing and irrigation systems are in Bicol Province of southeastern Luzon and the central cordillera of Luzon. The Bicol Region may have had one of the highest population densities in the Philippine archipelago at the time of contact (Scott 1994:179), and the unusually extensive alluvial plain of the Bikol River is particularly suited to irrigated rice.<sup>13</sup> In the central Luzon cordillera, the narrow interior valleys have been sculpted into an astounding man-made landscape of highly productive wet-rice terraces, with complex dikes and canals feeding from mountain streams (Conklin 1980). However, the cultural groups who built and continue to use these extensive terrace systems (including the Bontoc, Ifugao, Kalinga, and Benguet) are considerably less sociopolitically complex than the lowland chiefdoms discussed here (Barton 1949; De Raedt 1989; Dozier 1967). Construction of the more than 20,000 kilometers of stone-faced agricultural terraces and water control systems appears not to have involved any centralized management by

regional-scale political leaders (Conklin 1980). Paleoethnobotanical and archaeological work on the terraces suggests that they may be late and even postcontact in date (Bodner 1986), although their antiquity is far from clear.

Recent population levels (around 100 to 250 persons per square kilometer for the Ifugao) are high for contact period Philippines, but they are not particularly dense for Southeast Asian agricultural societies in general, and levels may have been lower in the past. Conklin (1980) notes that about half of the Ifugao's farming involves shifting cultivation, and there do not appear to be severe land shortages, suggesting that population pressure on land resources was not a particularly significant factor in the development of the Ifugao terraced irrigation systems. Thus, agricultural terracing and intense irrigation farming among the Luzon cordillera groups may have been a response to the steep topography of these interior alluvial valleys and other ecological or cultural factors that have not been examined adequately.

Early historical accounts of Philippine chiefdoms indicate that, where agricultural intensification was necessary, it was generally achieved through increased capture of slave labor in maritime raids (see Chapter 12) and through more extensive land clearance for new swidden fields, rather than through capital investment in technology such as hillside terracing and hydraulic works.

### ***Tribute and Labor Mobilization Systems in the Polity Core***

The term "tribute" generally refers to an essentially one-way flow of resources (agricultural goods or other commodities) from the members of politically subjugated and socially lower-ranking strata of a society to an "elite" stratum. "Tribute" is generally applied to cases in which this expropriation of resources has a regular periodicity, is imposed on an entire class of people rather than individually and selectively applied, implies the presence of an administrative structure for moving the tribute contributions to polity leaders, and implies the availability of centrally controlled means of physical coercion or strong ritual sanctions to enforce resource contributions (Earle 1977; Pershitz 1979). This type of resource mobilization is generally associated with relatively complex societies, such as chiefdoms and states (Dalton 1969:74; Earle 1977, 1987a:291–298; Flannery 1972:99–100; Fried 1967:186–191; Friedman and Rowlands 1977; Peebles and Kus 1977; Sahlins 1958:16–18, 46; Steponaitis 1978; Webb 1974:367–368), and is applied to cases of both internal social stratification (e.g., the regular appropriation of resources from a nonelite class that is ethnically indistinct from the elite population) and external conquest (e.g., taxes imposed on a conquered alien community).

Early Spanish sources claim the existence of this type of tribute mobilization system for Philippine chiefdoms (Loarca 1582a:143–153; Plasencia 1589b:109; Morga 1609b:296; Boxer manuscript 1590b:201–202). Local

chiefs had the right to exact regular agricultural tribute from all members of the commoner and slave populations within their jurisdiction, consisting of fixed annual quotas (i.e., a predetermined quantity of rice) or alternatively a negotiated percentage of total agricultural production (a percentage that is reported to have ranged from less than 50 percent to close to 100 percent). The amount of tribute demanded by a chief appears to have been dependent on the social rank of an individual and whether he or she possessed specific nonagricultural skills that could be harnessed by the political leader as an alternative mode of service. Therefore, while tribute was compulsory, it was at the same time individually negotiable and variable. Some commoners, having demonstrated prowess in warfare, luxury good production (e.g., goldsmithing and ironsmithing), or ritual performance, were almost entirely free from tribute exactions (with service to the chief viewed as a substitute for agricultural contributions). In contrast, particularly heavily indebted debt-slaves or hereditary slaves were compelled to remand virtually all of their agricultural products over to their chieftain "owner." Father Juan Francisco de San Antonio's description of traditional Tagalog tributary systems indicates that standardized measures of rice were demanded by southern Luzon chiefs from their commoner constituency, with the number of *gantás* (approximately three liters of rice) dependent on the amount of land cultivated by individual families (1738:333–334).

While historical sources suggest that Philippine chiefly political economies had elements of what Earle (1987a) refers to as "tributary finance," there are some important differences in these mobilization systems in comparison to the better-known Polynesian chiefdoms. In the Polynesian chiefdoms, agricultural tribute collection and resource mobilization as well as large-scale redistribution of resources were largely administered from the polity center under the direction of the paramount chief (Earle 1977:225–227; Goldman 1970:509–511; Johnson and Earle 1987:233–236; Kirch 1984:160–167; Sahlins 1958:16–18). In the weakly centralized Philippine polities, individual segments of a chiefdom (i.e., a local chief and his alliance network) functioned more independently in their mobilization strategies. While institutionalized mechanisms existed for transferring tribute and trading and raiding profits to upper levels of the political structure, resource flow up the political hierarchy was sporadic. Chiefs of all ranks had independent subsistence bases from which to extract resources and were not wholly dependent on the upward flow of tribute from district chiefs (see Kiefer 1972a:43–48; Scott 1980).

In addition to this direct levy of tribute, chiefs were able to generate further agricultural surpluses through periodic demands on their followers for communal agricultural labor in chieftain-"owned" fields from which only the elite retinue of the chief were exempt. Commoners and slaves were also required to participate in other kinds of subsistence activities (e.g., work at a chief's "fishery") and in chiefly financed manufacturing activities (textile manufacture, in particular, is mentioned by Loarca 1582b:145), trade expe-

ditions, and raiding activities. Cole (1913), in his report on the Bagabo of southeastern Mindanao; Manuel (1971), in his ethnographic study of the nearby Manuvu; and a number of studies of northern Mindanao Bukidnon populations (Biernatzki 1985; Claver 1985) all make reference to periodic and compulsory agricultural labor in the local chiefs' fields, rather than direct "tribute" exactions, as the source of the chiefs' agricultural surplus.

Most of the amassed chiefly wealth was siphoned off to maintain the households of the chief and his elite entourage, to invest in public projects and new income-producing schemes, and to fund the chieftain's alliance-building activities. However, a small portion of the chief's accumulated surplus was redistributed back into a chieftain's alliance network, in the form of occasional material aid to subordinates and periodic chieftain-sponsored ritual feasts in which commoners participated. Francisco Colin claimed that contact period Philippine chiefs were generally obligated to fulfill any reasonable requests from their subordinates for assistance (1660b:185–186), an obligation that is echoed in later ethnographic accounts of Bukidnon, Bagabo, Manuvu, and Tausug chiefs (Biernatzki 1985:43; Cole 1913:97, 111–120; Cole 1956:94–117; Kiefer 1972a; Manuel 1971:196–197, 230–231, 267).<sup>14</sup> These allotments might include emergency rice rations in the event of crop failure, contributions of luxury goods to meet bridewealth payments or to settle a legal case, or weapons and subsistence goods to finance a personal revenge raid. The chief's contributions were generally offered as a form of "generalized reciprocity" that engendered no direct obligation of repayment, only continued loyalty and a diffusely defined expectation of future reciprocation. As suggested by Biernatzki in his ethnographic study of chieftainship among the Bukidnon populations, "the principal sign of datanship [is] the ability to give things away freely" (1985:43), with the chiefly benefactor gaining considerable local prestige by his particularly generous "gift" giving. For Sahlins, "the supreme art of Polynesian politics" was the redistribution of this material fund of power in such a way as to maintain minimally the structural integrity of the system, while at the same time reserving as much wealth and political power at the apex of the political hierarchy as possible for further political and economic expansion of the system.

### ***Archaeological Evidence for Changes in Agricultural Production in the Prehispanic Philippines***

In response to the increasing demands of the foreign luxury good trade, Philippine chiefs may have intensified agricultural production and tribute exactions to amass export resources and to support a burgeoning population of specialists and foreign traders at the chiefly center. General population growth, more top-heavy sociopolitical hierarchies, more investment in warfare, and expansion of competitive feasting may also have been significant

factors in transforming subsistence production and tributary systems in the centuries just before European contact. The lack of archaeological discoveries of large-scale irrigation works of unequivocally prehispanic date suggests that inundated rice was not common in the Philippines at any time in the past. As noted above, archaeological research into the relative antiquity of terraced irrigation systems in the Luzon cordillera have revealed age estimates ranging from the first millennium B.C. to the Spanish period (Bodner 1986; Majer 1973; see also Conklin 1980; Eggan 1941; and F. Keesing 1962: 318–324 for ethnohistorical points of view). No archaeological investigations have been carried out to determine the antiquity and development of irrigation works in regions where maritime-trading chiefdoms are historically known to have built them, such as the Bicol Peninsula.

Historical and ethnographic sources indicate that increased agricultural production in the Philippines was generally achieved through intensifying labor or through more extensive land clearance for new swidden fields, rather than through capital investment in technology such as hillside terracing and irrigation systems. Although it is difficult to document increased agricultural labor archaeologically, the process of deforestation and expansion of agricultural field systems has been studied in Polynesia through detailed palynological studies and geomorphological analysis (Bahn and Flenley 1992; J. Allen 1991; Hommon 1986; Kirch 1984; McGlone 1983). For the Philippines, there are no paleoethnobotanical studies in any region of complex society development that are focused on this issue. However, some limited geomorphological studies around Cebu (Nishimura 1992) and within the Tanjay River drainage (Schwab 1983) suggest an increase in sediment loads in the rivers and more rapid coastal progradation in the two centuries just before European contact, geomorphological changes that were probably related to expanded deforestation in the hinterland of these polities. Furthermore, in her analysis of archaeological faunal assemblages from Cebu and Tanjay, Mudar (1997) notes a substantial drop in the use of deer in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, indicating that forested deer habitats were increasingly distant from these coastal settlements in this period. Thus, there is some evidence to suggest that chiefs at Tanjay and Cebu were responding to the increasing demands of an expanding political economy (e.g., intensified foreign trade, increasing specialization, escalating ceremonial feasting) by intensifying agricultural production through extensive land clearance.

### **The Role of Lowland-Upland Exchange in the Regional Political Economy**

In the Philippines, exchange among intensive rice agriculturalists along the coast, swidden rice and root crop farmers of the uplands, and forest foragers of the interior is likely to have been related to intraregional ecolog-

ical diversity. This trade involved the movement of both mundane subsistence goods and manufactured household products, and appears to have been integral to the economy of all these exchange partners. Trade contacts between interior hunter-gatherers and coastal populations involved both direct interaction, frequently taking place at the ecotone between upland and lowlands, and indirect “down-the-line” exchange with adjacent upland tribal swidden farming groups functioning as trade intermediaries.

While there is considerable debate about the antiquity of these symbiotic exchange relations, archaeological and historical evidence suggests that lowland-upland trade expanded and transformed with the growing participation of lowland chiefdoms in foreign prestige goods trade (Hutterer 1974, 1976; Junker 1994b:243–247; 1996). Philippine chiefs competing to attract foreign trade to their coastal ports are likely to have intensified exchange relations with interior foragers and tribal peoples who could provide forest hardwoods, spices, metal ores, resins, and other export products desired by the Chinese.

### ***Trade with Upland Swidden Agriculturalists***

In many regions of island Southeast Asia, ecological specialization and interethnic trade between adjacent coastal complex societies and interior groups (generally less complexly organized tribal societies or chiefdoms) were basic to regional economies (B. Andaya 1975; L. Andaya 1975a; Gullick 1965:125–127; K. Hall 1975; 1985:1–20, 81–90, 215, 218–219, 234; Miksic 1984; Wheatley 1983). Upland groups controlled a number of resources that were significant to lowland craft production (e.g., metal ores, forest hardwoods, rattan, wax, resins), subsistence (e.g., surplus upland rice to meet shortages, hunted meat, honey), and participation in foreign trade (e.g., spices, gold and iron, gums and resins, hardwoods). Upland groups were in turn critically dependent on the coastal populations for iron tools and weapons, salt, earthenware pottery, lowland livestock, and marine resources. Even the most developed of the Southeast Asian lowland maritime-trading polities, such as Palembang, Srivijaya, Aceh, Melaka, and Johor, had neither the administrative infrastructure nor the military capacity to enforce a far-reaching tributary system and direct political sovereignty over populations controlling critical interior resources. Instead, movement of subsistence goods and other products between upland and lowland generally involved the selective activation of alliance-structured reciprocal exchange relations between lowland chiefs and upland political leaders with access to these critical commodities. Lowland prestige goods (e.g., elaborate metal weaponry, Chinese porcelains, silks), ceremonial paraphernalia, and status-imbuing political titles were often conferred on interior leaders, whose growing demand for lowland symbols of power and prestige fueled continuing economic cooperation.

Early Spanish sources indicate the operation of the same kind of alliance-structured exchange relations between lowland chiefdoms and less complex upland agriculturalists in the contact period Philippines (Artieda 1569:202; Colin 1660b:151; Loarca 1582b:115; Morga 1609b:275, 284–285; Sande 1576a:68–69). Miguel de Loarca emphasizes the importance of these trade relations to the basic household economies of both groups:

There are two kinds of people in this land, who, although of the same race, differ somewhat in their customs and are almost always on mutually unfriendly terms. One class includes those who live along the coast, the other class those who live in the mountains; and if peace seems to reign among them, it is because they depend upon each for the necessities of life. The inhabitants of the mountains cannot live without the fish, salt and other articles of food, and jars and dishes of other districts; nor, on the other hand, can those of the coast live without the rice and cotton of the mountaineers.

(1582a:121)

The sixteenth-century Spanish chroniclers record that forest products (e.g., wax, honey, hardwoods), gold ore, cotton, and possibly dry rice from upland populations were counterbalanced by maritime products, livestock, salt, and manufactured goods (e.g., cotton textiles, earthenware pottery, iron implements) from the coastal groups (Artieda 1569:202; Morga 1609b: 275, 284–285; Loarca 1582a:115; Sande 1576a:68–69). While the Spaniards seemed to recognize that the upland swidden farming groups adjacent to lowland chiefdoms were ethnically and linguistically distinct from the latter, they frequently insisted that upland groups were integrated into the lowland “system of policy or government” (Colin 1660b:151), because upland tribal leaders adopted the political titles and prestige regalia (e.g., gold ornaments, porcelain heirlooms) of the more complex societies with whom they traded. From passages in the Spanish chronicles, it is clear that these trade partnerships were tenuous and depended on continuous ritualized gift giving, particularly the flow of lowland status goods and ceremonial titles into the interior. Negotiated lowland-upland alliances were frequently punctuated by hostilities, slave taking by lowland populations, and head taking by both groups (Legaspi 1567:239–243; Loarca 1582a:121).

One of the best ethnographic and historical analyses of these institutionalized trade pacts is Schlegel’s account of the swidden-cultivating Tiruray inhabiting the upland area south of the Pulangi River basin of Mindanao and loosely integrated into the Magindanao polity in the fourteenth to nineteenth centuries (1979:105–109). The Tiruray were dependent on lowland exchange for procurement of both critical household goods (including textiles, iron tools for swidden agriculture, earthenware pottery, and the essential coastal-processed salt for their subsistence) and nondomestic craft goods to be used in bridewealth payments, for status display, for warfare, and for

ritual purposes (including metal weaponry, brass boxes, gongs, and metal jewelry). In exchange, Tiruray-collected forest products, including most prominently beeswax, rattan, and a kind of tropical forest sap used in the manufacture of copal varnish, were exported to the lowlands. For the Magindanao chieftains, these upland products were prized export commodities, which were traded or transported downriver to the coastal port at Cotabato, where Sulu middlemen, Chinese merchants, and Malay maritime traders offered mainland Asian porcelains, silks, and other prestige goods in exchange. Tiruray settlement mobility and the rugged interior terrain made a strategy of lowland military incursion and centrally administered control of upland forest products unfeasible. Thus, the uninterrupted flow of the valuable forest trade commodities from hinterland to coast was assured through the establishment and maintenance of individually contracted mutually beneficial political alliances between particular lowland *datus* and upland leaders. These were formalized through a ritual oath-taking ceremony that ended with the bestowal of honorific Magindanao (i.e., Islamic) political titles on the local Tiruray leaders.

Similar institutionalized trade alliances are recorded by Conklin for the Hanunoo of Mindoro, highland tribally organized agriculturalists who interacted with both coastal maritime chiefdoms and adjacent tropical forest hunter-gatherers: “Between ten and fifteen percent of the annual yield in rice and some other crops are used in trade with other Hanunoo (for other plant products, local manufactures, salt, or beads), with the more interior Buhid (for plant products, pots, medicines), and with lowlanders (for salt, beads, metal objects, and other ‘imported’ goods such as scented hair oil and flashlights). The general character of trade in this part of Mindoro involves an impressive, though sporadic, flow of plant products towards the coast, balanced by the inland movement of beads and salt” (1957:153). These types of upland-lowland exchange alliances appear to have been widespread in the Philippines at the time of contact and continued in many regions into recent times. There are ethnographic or historical accounts of interethnic exchange relationships for the Manuvu (with the upper valley Magindanao) (Manuel 1971:218–219, 343–344), for the Tagbanua shifting cultivators of Palawan (with the coastal “Moro” populations) (C. Warren 1977:233, 240; see also R. Fox 1954; Conklin 1949), and for the upland Tinguian and Apayao (with the coastal Ilocos Sur and Ilocos Norte populations) (see Keesing 1962:121, 135, 139).

### **Lowland Trade with Upland Hunter-Gatherers**

Ethnohistorical, linguistic, and archaeological evidence all point to a long history of intense and frequent trade interactions between Philippine hunter-gatherer groups and adjacent agriculturalists of both the uplands and the



lowlands (Headland and Reid 1989; Hutterer 1974; J. Peterson 1978c). Grouped under the general term “Negrito” or referred to by various self-designated terms (e.g., Agta, Ata, Batak), Philippine hunter-gatherers comprise some twenty-five ethnically and linguistically distinct groups, together numbering about fifteen to twenty thousand people and inhabiting the interior tropical forests of most of the major islands of the archipelago. The most isolated and “unacculturated” of these groups, the Agta of northeastern Luzon and the Batak of Palawan Island, have been the focus of the most intense ethnographic study (Eder 1987; Griffin 1984, 1989; Griffin and Estioko-Griffin 1985; Headland 1986; J. Peterson 1978a; Rai 1982). These highly mobile bands typically occupy small, frequently relocated camps within the interior rainforest, with subsistence focused on bow and arrow hunting and trapping of wild pig, deer, monkey, and small mammals; river fishing; and forest collecting of wild starches. However, rice obtained through trade or grown seasonally in small swidden plots is a significant dietary staple in even the most isolated of these groups. There is ongoing debate on whether trade with sedentary agriculturalists and the practice of small-scale rice cultivation are recent phenomena or, alternatively, represent long-term adaptations involving situationally shifting economic modes and cross-cultural interaction (Eder 1988; Griffin 1984; Headland and Reid 1991; Rai 1982).

Both linguistic and archaeological evidence support the contention that these hunter-gatherer/agriculturalist trade interactions have considerable prehispanic time depth in the Philippines, as elsewhere in Southeast Asia. Linguistic work has demonstrated that Philippine Negrito hunter-gatherers speak Austronesian languages that are related to those of adjacent non-Negrito populations (L. Reid 1987), pointing to sustained and long-term interaction (Headland and Reid 1989). While the archaeological evidence for prehispanic hunter-gatherer/agriculturalist exchange is limited, isolated finds from a number of sites and periods are consistent with what Headland and Reid (1989) call an “interactive” rather than “isolate” model of relations. For example, archaeological remains from scattered sites in northeastern Luzon reveal that either rice agriculturalists were living in close proximity to areas presently inhabited by Agta hunter-gatherers or the Agta themselves were engaging in some shifting cultivation at least 3,500 years ago (W. Peterson 1974; Ronquillo 1995; Snow et al. 1986; Thiel 1980). Similarly, Hutterer’s (1973b) regional settlement study along the Basey River of Samar recorded roughly contemporaneous stone-tool-yielding occupations in caves (interpreted as hunter-gatherer camps), open-air settlements (interpreted as the house clusters of agriculturalists), and cave burials, with evidence for trade interactions over a substantial time span before European contact. This archaeological evidence, though meager, points to the early coexistence of food producers and hunter-gatherers in the heavily forested interior of the Philippines, a coexistence that may have been main-

tained through ecological specialization and economic symbiosis (Hutterer 1974, 1976).

The seeming ubiquity of trade relations with adjacent farmers and horticultural activities by recent tropical forest foragers in Southeast Asia has led inevitably to debate on whether such strategies are vital to survival in the carbohydrate-poor tropical forest (Eder 1987:45–51; Griffin 1984; Headland and Reid 1989, 1991). Some ethnographers have suggested that a pure foraging adaptation is not viable in the interior tropical forests of Southeast Asia and that a hunting-and-collecting specialization was only possible with the advent of food production by adjacent coastal or lowland populations (e.g., Bailey et al. 1989; Dunn 1975; Headland 1987; Headland and Reid 1989). Some anthropologists working in Southeast Asia have even taken the extreme position that many interior tropical forest foragers are actually former agriculturalists who became specialized collectors of forest products in response to the demands of Chinese trade over the last thousand years (C. Hoffman 1986; Seitz 1981). However, this view cannot adequately explain archaeological evidence for early Holocene occupation of the wet rainforests of the interior Malay peninsula, northern Sumatra, southwestern Thailand, and Vietnam by stone-tool-using, preagricultural “Hoabinhian” populations (for summaries, see Bellwood 1992:85–89 and Higham 1989:31–65). In addition, too little is known about the ecological limitations of tropical forest habitats for human colonization either on a general level or in specific cases to make an argument based purely on ecological grounds (Hayden 1981:349).<sup>15</sup> Present archaeological data from the Philippines do not contribute meaningfully to the general issue of “pristine” interior foraging, since no precisely datable preagricultural hunter-gatherer sites have yet been identified in the upland tropical forests of the Philippines.

Tropical forest hunter-gatherers, faced with an environment with high species diversity but low biomass and patchy (and somewhat unpredictable) resources, generally have a high level of residential mobility, depend very little on long-term storage of resources, and have few resources that can be targeted for intensive exploitation through logistical foraging. Bilaterally related extended families are the primary coresidential units among Philippine foragers (Eder 1987:28; Estioko-Griffin 1985:21; Griffin 1989:63), units that fluctuate in size and composition according to a seasonal round of economic activities and according to social factors (e.g., exogamy, social friction) (Estioko-Griffin and Griffin 1975:243). These extended family residential clusters generally move upstream or downstream along specific river drainages that, while not constituting formal territories, are part of their long-term social and economic identities (Griffin 1984:104–105; 1989:61).<sup>16</sup> Most Philippine foraging groups recognize seasonal differences in the availability of resources, ease of transport, and possibilities of social interaction, cognitively dividing their year minimally into “rainy” and “dry”

seasons characterized by varying economic choices, mobility strategies, and settlement patterns (M. Allen 1985; Eder 1987:68–71; Griffin 1989).

For example, the Agta groups of northeastern Luzon nucleate in longer-term camps along the upper or middle tributaries of the river system in the rainy season (approximately October to February), living off stored rice from the recent harvest or trade, and hunting wild pig, deer, and monkey (Estioko-Griffin 1985:21–23; Griffin 1984:105–113; 1989:64–69). The dry season (approximately May to September) is a time of greater mobility, settlement dispersion, and diversification of subsistence activities. In this season, smaller bands move both upstream and downstream to target specific resources, building camps consisting of flimsily constructed lean-tos often occupied for only a few days (Estioko-Griffin and Griffin 1975:243). A wide variety of economic activities take place out of these small, short-term camps, including hunting (game drives involving smaller animals are particularly favored), collecting (including wild roots, fruits, greens, and honey), spear-fishing and mollusk collecting in rivers that were impassable in the rainy season, and engaging in periodic horticultural activities in nearby swidden clearings. Of significance to the issue of upland-lowland trade are references to trading expeditions during the dry season when travel was less arduous, to meet lowland trade partners in order to exchange hunted meat and forest products for rice, lowland manufactured goods, and other lowland subsistence commodities (Griffin 1984:107–113). Allen notes that the Agta often made special collecting trips into the far interior forests at this time to procure the honey, rattan, orchids, and other tropical forest products desired by their lowland trade partners (1985:23).

Ethnographic accounts of the trade relations between Philippine foragers and adjacent agricultural populations suggest that groups like the Agta engaged in both direct trade with lowlanders inhabiting the core of maritime-trading polities and indirect middleman trade involving upland swidden groups as trade intermediaries. Early historical documents suggest that upland foragers came downstream far enough to make direct contacts with lowland farmers at riverbank trade centers in the early second millennium A.D. Since it is unlikely that Chinese maritime voyagers personally traveled beyond the coastal trading ports, Chao Ju-kua's thirteenth-century account of what are almost certainly members of a Negrito group from either the Visayas or Palawan (Hirth and Rockhill 1911:162) suggests that these foragers ventured periodically into the lowlands near the coastal port to trade forest products directly to coastal agriculturalists. Chao Ju-kua writes in his A.D. 1225 *Chu fan chih*: "In the remotest valleys there lives another tribe called the *Hai-tan*. They are small in stature and their eyes are round and yellow (brown), they have curly hair and their teeth show (between their lips). They nest in tree tops. Sometimes parties of three or five lurk in the jungle, from whence they shoot arrows on passers-by without being seen, and many have fallen victims to them. If thrown a porcelain bowl, they will

stoop and pick it up and go away leaping and shouting for joy” (Zaide, ed., 1990, 1:7). Chao Ju-kua’s highly accurate description of Negrito physical characteristics suggests the strong possibility that this passage represents an eyewitness sighting at a coastal port, although ideas about their settlements and proclivities toward raiding appear to reflect the conveyed prejudices of lowland Filipinos who might have viewed their interior trade partners as inferior “savages.” The reference to porcelains in association with the Haitan is significant in establishing that these interior foragers were indeed linked into coastal trade networks by at least the thirteenth century.

### **Archaeological Evidence for Changing Patterns of Lowland-Upland Exchange**

The ethnohistorical evidence suggests that these symbiotic relationships between economically specialized lowland and upland groups were probably a long-term adaptation to ecological diversity that predated the development of a strong lowland focus on foreign prestige goods trade (Hutterer 1974, 1976). Many of the exchanged goods were clearly critical household products for local consumption, and it is likely that, in the absence of foreign trade incentives, these commodities were traded through simple reciprocal exchange relations between individuals independent of chiefly administration.<sup>17</sup> However, once upland raw materials and forest products became critical to lowland chiefs’ participation in foreign luxury good trade, these lowland-upland exchange systems may have come increasingly under the lowland chiefs’ coercive control. Monopolistic access to exportable interior products and their mobilization in sufficiently high volume could only be ensured through the establishment of centralized access points, specialized trading personnel, and prestige goods exchanges that cemented ties with interior leaders. Thus, the spatially concentrated pattern of lowland-upland trade and the emphasis on luxury good circulation at Spanish contact probably reflect this expanding mobilization for external markets in the early second millennium A.D. Trade in earlier periods was likely more organizationally and spatially diffuse, primarily involving household products. The changing role of upland-lowland exchange in chiefly political economies is best analyzed through archaeological investigation.

Excavated archaeological sites of agriculturalists and hunter-gatherers along the ecotone between upland and lowland zones have indicated some antiquity for interethnic staple goods exchanges in the Philippines (Coutts 1983; W. Peterson 1974; Thiel 1980; Tuggle and Hutterer 1972). The archaeological evidence suggests that these groups lived in close proximity and shared some elements of material culture from at least the Neolithic Period. However, none of the investigated sites have been placed in a larger, regional context, and most do not have the significant time depth to examine

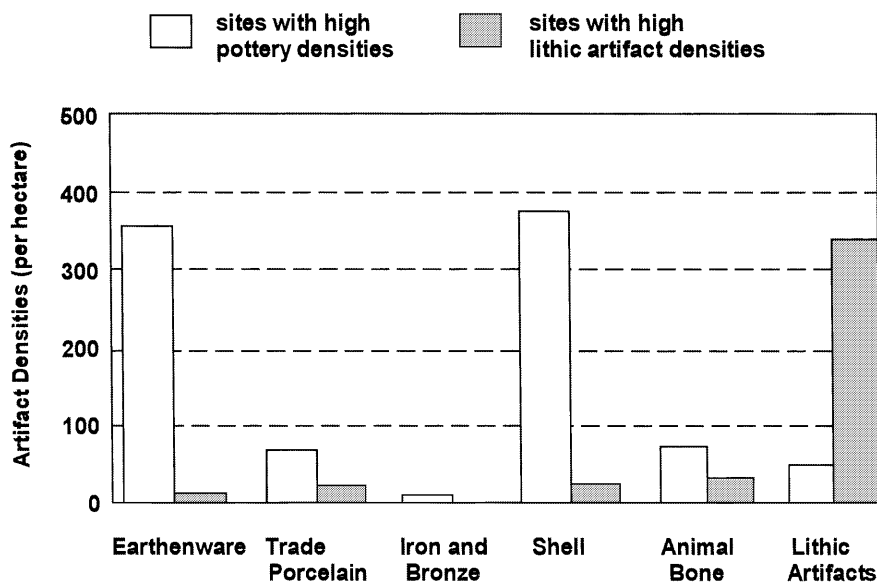


Figure 8.4. Comparison of artifact densities for two types of sites in the Bais-Tanjay Region: sites primarily yielding earthenware pottery and sites primarily yielding chipped stone artifacts.

the long-term dynamics of these trade systems. Therefore, I turn once again to the regional survey database from the Bais-Tanjay Region.

The mountainous interior of the Tanjay Region was inhabited by both tribally organized swidden farmers known as Bukidnon and Ata hunter-gatherers who were linked economically to lowland farmers through extensive interethnic trade networks (Cadelina 1980; Oracion 1961, 1964; Rahmann 1975). The 176 Bais-Tanjay Region sites with evidence for substantial occupation recovered in the 1982 survey can be segregated into two distinct types of settlements based on qualitative and quantitative differences in their artifact assemblages.<sup>18</sup> As shown in Figure 8.4, the first type is characterized by relatively high densities of earthenware, shell, and animal bone, and low to moderate densities of foreign trade porcelains, metal objects (both bronze and iron), and lithic material, with the surface scatters ranging from about 0.1 hectare to more than seven hectares in size. In the lowlands, excavations at these type of sites have yielded abundant evidence for permanent occupation (posthole patterns, hearths, pits, midden areas, and occasionally craft production areas and burials) (see Hutterer 1981, 1982b; Junker 1993a, 1993b, 1994b). They are interpreted as the villages of fully sedentary intensive agriculturalists incorporated economi-

**Table 8.3. Comparison of Lowland and Upland Sites with Chipped Stone in the Bais-Tanjay Region Identified as Possible ‘Hunter-Gatherer Camps’**

	Lowland Sites ( $< 100$ m elevation)	Upland Sites ( $\geq 100$ m elevation)
Number of sites analyzed	120	11
Mean number of sites/km <sup>2</sup>	6.08*	1.12*
Mean site sizes (in hectares)	0.65*	0.21*
Mean lithic densities (in items/1000 m <sup>2</sup> )	15.9*	70.4*
Mean pottery densities (in items/1000m <sup>2</sup> )	25.4*	6.8*

Source: Junker 1996.

Note: \* indicates statistically significant (at the .05 level) differences between lowland and upland sites, using Student’s *t* test.

cally and politically into the chiefdom centered at Tanjay. In the upland zone, these sites are uniformly smaller (generally less than one hectare), and they are less likely to contain lowland-derived metals and foreign trade porcelains. They most likely represent the dispersed homesteads of partially sedentary upland tribal swidden farmers importing manufactured goods from the lowlands.

Contrasting with these primarily pottery-yielding sites are both lowland and upland sites with artifact assemblages dominated by lithic material and animal bone (Fig. 8.4). These sites are also considerably more compact than the presumed agricultural homesteads and villages, ranging from .01 hectares to 2.6 hectares, but averaging only about 0.25 hectares in size (see Table 8.3).<sup>19</sup> While these sites could conceivably represent extraction locales associated with swidden farmers, there are several aspects of site patterning that would argue against this interpretation. Although the sites are small, they are extremely dense, with concentrations of lithic material, bone, and other artifacts that are too high to be consistent with brief site use as a butchering locale. Another type of site not included in this analysis consists of isolated finds of stone tools or metal tools (sometimes in association with a few bones) more plausibly represent hunting episodes. Furthermore, while stone implements are diverse and show various stages of production, metal tools are either absent or rare. It seems unlikely that swidden farmers would almost exclusively use stone tools for hunting and agricultural activities when metal implements were readily available through trade. Finally, the occasional earthenware, porcelain, and shell objects found at these sites suggest that these were places where valued trade goods were obtained or transported. All of these lines of evidence point to these locales as probable “camps” of mobile hunter-gatherers.

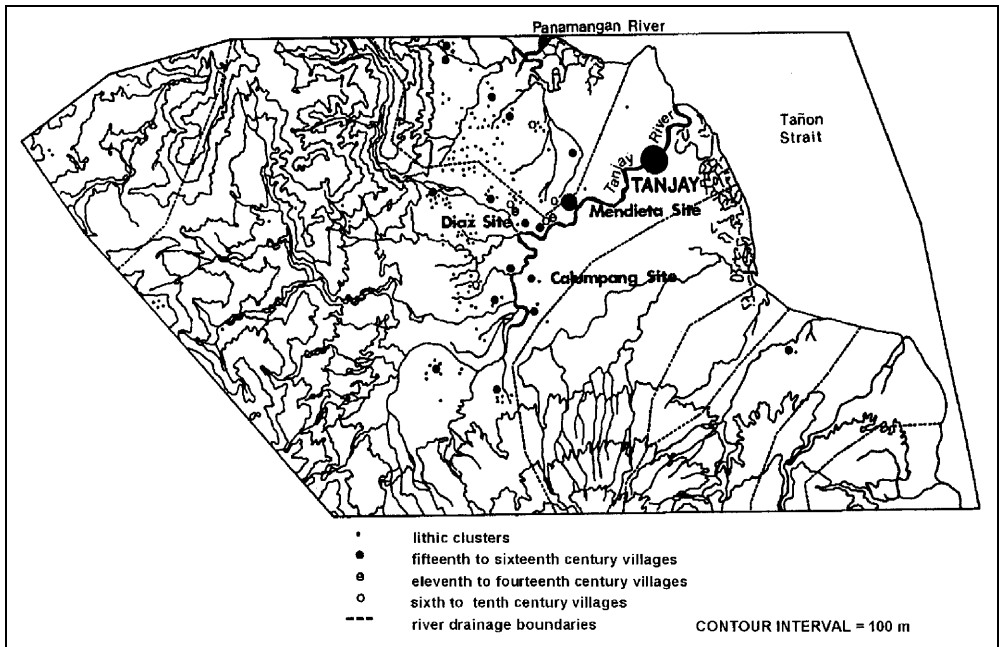


Figure 8.5. Location of chipped-stone clusters relative to large lowland villages (one hectare or greater in size) dated to the sixth to sixteenth centuries A.D. Also shown are the locations of excavated sites, including Tanjay.

One of the ways in which prehispanic hunter-gatherer mobility strategies and trade with adjacent agriculturalists can be assessed archaeologically is through analyses of settlement patterns. Since ethnohistorical reconstructions of traditional mobility patterns suggest movement upstream and downstream for seasonal subsistence and exchange activities, we can compare features of chipped-stone sites along upstream tributaries of the Tanjay River (and adjacent rivers in the research region) above 100 meters elevation to lithics-yielding sites concentrated along the Tanjay River's lower tributaries below 100 meters (presumably in closer proximity to lowland agriculturalist trade partners). The 1982 regional survey yielded eleven potential hunter-gatherer camps (i.e., sites with high lithic artifact densities) in the upland zone (higher than 100 meters) and 120 sites in the lowland zone (below 100 meters).<sup>20</sup> The upland and lowland camps differ significantly in terms of density of sites, site location, site size, and density of cultural material. As shown in Table 8.3, the lowland zone has a greater density of these presumed hunter-gatherer camps, and the camps are, on average, larger in size than those of the uplands. However, while the upland sites are smaller and

less numerous, they generally have higher artifact densities within their compact surface areas. As shown in Figure 8.5, the upland camps are never more than one kilometer from rivers, tending to cluster on relatively flat terraces above small tributaries of the Tanjay River that provided water during the rainy season. This finding is consistent with settlement preferences of the Agta of northeastern Luzon and other extant Philippine foragers, who generally establish their base camps close to rivers for daily access to drinking water, fishing opportunities, and easy transport routes.

The more numerous, larger lowland sites are even more strongly clustered than those of the upland zone. The majority of sites are tightly clustered in the upper reaches of the Panamangan River drainage and the northern branch of the Tanjay River, with most sites within three kilometers of the abrupt transition between lowland alluvial plain and uplands. A statistical analysis of clustering tendencies, using the variance/mean ratio, confirms the comparatively higher degree of clustering among these seasonal hunter-gatherer camps on the lowland margins: The 6.08 mean sites per square kilometer for the lowland zone in Table 8.3 show a variance of 148.35 sites per square kilometer, for a variance/mean ratio of 24.4; whereas the 1.12 mean sites for the upland zone display a variance of 5.71 sites per square kilometer, for a ratio of 5.1. Furthermore, these clustered chipped-stone scatters are themselves clustered in close proximity to specific lowland agriculturalist settlements strung along the Tanjay and Panamangan rivers and their subsidiaries (see Fig. 8.5). A statistical test presented in Table 8.4 indicates that these chipped-stone sites are found near riverbank agricultural settlements more often than would be expected under conditions of purely random placement of the two site types. These lowland camps are particularly concentrated around two of the largest fifteenth-to-sixteenth-century riverbank trade centers: the seven-hectare Mendieta Site (located around five kilometers upriver from the chiefly center at Tanjay) and the two-hectare Diaz Site (located about seven kilometers upriver from Tanjay) (see Fig. 8.5). The proximity to these and other large riverbank settlements would suggest that economic interactions with the lowland villagers were one of the magnets drawing upland hunter-gatherers periodically to these particular locales.

Differences in site form and composition suggest that the upland and lowland sites represent different settlement components of a seasonal round of hunter-gatherer activities involving movement along the river between the tropical forests of the mountainous interior and the lower-elevation forests on the margins of the alluvial plain. The dense accumulation of artifactual material at the upland sites suggests longer-term occupation, consistent with ethnographic accounts of rainy season camps established near swidden plots or productive forest zones at a time when mobility was impeded by dangerously swelling rivers and constant downpours. In contrast, the lower-elevation sites in close proximity to lowland agriculturalist villages appear to represent multiple, perhaps overlapping, occupations of



**Table 8.4. Comparison of the Probability of an Individual Lowland Hunter-Gatherer Camp Having a Large Lowland Agricultural Village as Its "Nearest Neighbor"**

Total number of settlements in the analysis <sup>1</sup> ( $N$ )	92
Lowland agriculturalist villages greater than one hectare ( $n_1$ )	24
Lowland hunter-gatherer camps ( $n_2$ )	68
Expected probability of nearest neighbor of hunter-gatherer camp being a large agricultural village ( $p_1$ ) <sup>2</sup>	0.2637
Expected number of hunter-gatherer camps with large agricultural villages as their nearest neighbors	17.93
Actual proportion of nearest neighbors that are large agricultural villages ( $p_2$ )	0.5735
Actual number of hunter-gatherer camps with large agricultural villages as their nearest neighbors	39
Z statistic <sup>3</sup>	1.68*

Source: Junker 1996.

\* Significant at the .05 level.

1. Sites within areas of noncontiguous survey are omitted from this analysis.

2. This is calculated as  $p_1 = n_1/(N-1)$ .  $N-1$  is used as the denominator because a site cannot be a nearest neighbor with itself. Possible nearest neighbors are defined as sites within the transect and cannot be external sites of the transect boundaries.

3. This is calculated as  $Z = (x_1 - M)/S$  where  $M = (p_1)(n_2)$ ,  $x_1 = (p_2)(n_2)$ , and  $S = (n_2)(p_1)(1-p_1)$ .

relatively brief duration concentrated on exploiting lowland foraging opportunities and interactions with lowland farmers. These sites were probably used in the dry season, since they contain freshwater shell that would have been exploitable at that time, and this portion of the river would have been impassable in the rainy season.

I have made the argument purely on the basis of location that the chipped-stone sites clustered on the Tanjay lowland margins were loci of interaction between interior foragers and lowland agriculturalists. I now turn to an analysis of artifact assemblage composition to begin to evaluate the content and intensity of this interaction and how it might have changed over time. Archaeological documentation of the diversity and volume of coastal-interior trade goods is biased considerably toward durable lowland manufactured goods because of their archaeological visibility and long-term preservation compared to upland perishable products. Two of the most significant lowland-manufactured goods traded to interior groups, including Ata exchange partners, were ceramics and metal implements. As shown in Table 8.5, in the Aguilar Phase, lowland-manufactured earthenware (a diverse ware with probable multiple production centers known as "Aguilar Spotted Buff Ware") is recovered at 63 percent of all sites above 100 meters eleva-

**Table 8.5. Percentage of Interior Agriculturalist Farmsteads and Hunter-Gatherer Camps Yielding Lowland Trade Goods in the Aguilar, Santiago, and Osmena Phases**

	Upland Farmsteads/ Hamlets (> 100 m) (%)	Upland Lithics- Yielding Foraging Camps (≥ 100 m) (%)	Lowland Lithics- Yielding Foraging Camps (< 100 m) (%)
<i>Aguilar Phase (A.D. 500–1000)</i>			
Plain lowland-manufactured earthenware	63.3	0.0	21.0
One or more “prestige” goods (decorated earthenware, metal)	9.0	0.0	0.0
<i>Santiago Phase (A.D. 1100–1400)</i>			
Plain lowland-manufactured earthenware	*	*	*
One or more “prestige” goods (decorated earthenware, metal, Sung/Yüan and early Ming porcelain)	14.8	0.0	0.0
<i>Osmena Phase (A.D. 1400–1600)</i>			
Plain lowland-manufactured earthenware	83.3	13.5	58.4
One or more “prestige” goods (decorated earthenware, metal, late Ming porcelain)	48.2	9.1	8.3

*Note:* \* indicates insufficient sample size for quantitative comparison.

tion with substantial pottery components (i.e., the presumed settlements of interior swidden farmers), at 21 percent of the chipped-stone clusters recorded along the lowland margins, and at none of the upland chipped-stone clusters (i.e., the presumed camps of hunter-gatherers). The intermediate Santiago Phase trade patterns are too poorly documented for quantitative analysis. However, by the Osmena Phase more than 80 percent of the upland farming settlements have pottery assemblages dominated by the highly standardized Tanjay-produced earthenware (“Tanjay Red Ware”), the incidence of this lowland-manufactured earthenware at lowland foraging camps increases to 58 percent, and it is found at two of the upland foraging camps. Because of the larger sample of lowland earthenware at fifteenth-to-sixteenth-century (Osmena Phase) hunter-gatherer camps, we can examine

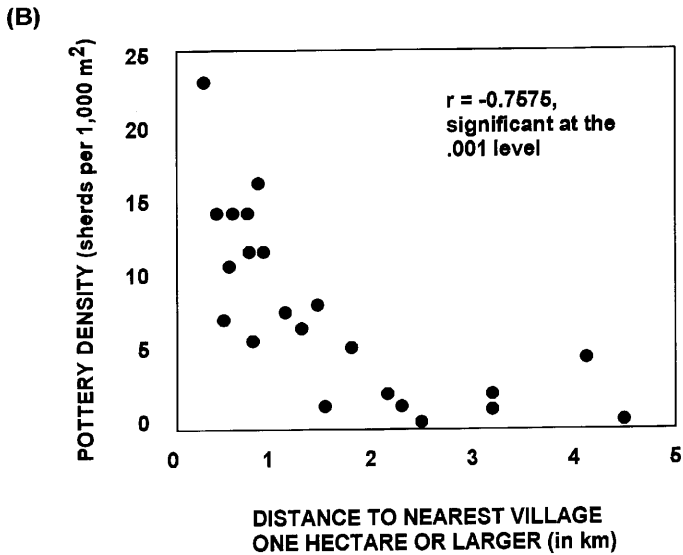
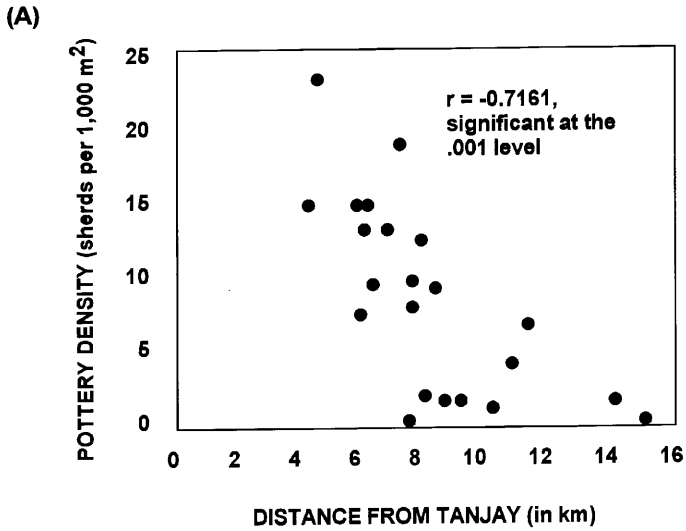


Figure 8.6. The relationship between densities of lowland-manufactured earthenwares recorded at sites with clustered chipped stone dated to the Osmena Phase and the distance of these clusters from: (A) the coastal center of Tanjay and (B) the nearest upriver secondary center greater than one hectare in size.

in more detail density-distance relationships for this period. As shown in Figure 8.6, there are significant correlations between the relative frequency of earthenware at these presumed hunter-gatherer camps and the distance of the camp from both the coastal center of Tanjay and upriver secondary centers. This distance-dependent distribution of lowland trade potteries suggests that the location of lowland hunter-gatherer camps adjacent to sedentary villages along the upper reaches of the Tanjay River was partially a function of regular, and perhaps seasonal, trade interactions between the two groups along the lowland-upland boundary.

Lowland-produced foods also flowed into the interior, including rice, tropical fruits, fish, shellfish, and other marine resources. While the interior movement of lowland rice and other perishable agricultural crops is difficult to document archaeologically, trade in marine products can be traced through an analysis of the content of shell middens at interior sites. Detailed quantitative data on shell species and environmental contexts have been collected for excavated shell assemblages from the coastal center of Tanjay and a secondary center about five kilometers upriver (the Mendieta Site), as well as for surface-collected shell from three lithic clusters several kilometers upriver from the Mendieta Site (see Fig. 8.7). Since all of the sites, with the exception of Tanjay, yielded sufficient quantitative information on shell frequencies only for the most recent Osmena Phase, the discussion will be limited to this period. Not surprisingly, most of the shell species from the coastal center of Tanjay are marine species, while the majority of the shell at inland Tanjay Region sites derives from riverine species. However, marine species represent a significant portion of shell assemblages at both the Mendieta Site and at interior chipped-stone clusters, despite their considerable distance from the coast. The presence of substantial quantities of marine shell at upriver trading centers and at supposed adjacent hunter-gatherer camps suggests that marine products were traded into the interior as part of the symbiotic exchange relations.

Although lowland-upland trade primarily involved basic foodstuffs and utilitarian manufactured goods, ethnohistorical sources indicate that ongoing trade partnerships were formalized through ceremonialism and gift exchange. This ritual exchange often involved the circulation of status goods manufactured by specialists at coastal chiefly centers (e.g., decorated earthenware, metal weaponry and jewelry) or obtained in foreign maritime trade (e.g., Chinese porcelain) (Junker 1993c:11–12). Quantitative data on the regional distribution of these lowland prestige goods suggest that Tanjay chiefs may have been intensifying their efforts to consolidate trade relations with interior tribal leaders in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries through more frequent and more voluminous ceremonial gift exchange. As shown in Table 8.5, less than 15 percent of the upland settlements of swidden agriculturalists and none of the interior hunter-gatherer camps yielded one or more of these prestige commodities in either the Aguilar Phase or the

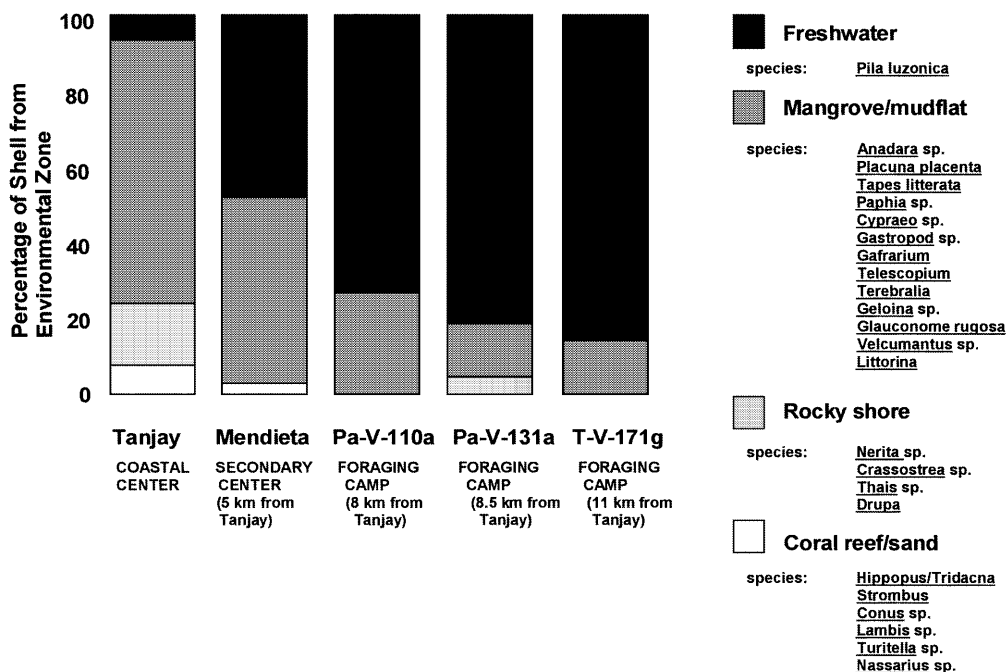


Figure 8.7. Comparison of Osmena Phase shell assemblages recovered from middens at Tanjay (coastal chiefly center), the Mendieta Site (an inland secondary center), and three surface-collected interior foraging camps.

Santiago Phase. By the Osmena Phase, 48 percent of the highland settlements of swidden agriculturalists have archaeological evidence for access to one or more of these lowland status goods, but the association of metals, porcelain, and decorated ceramics with hunter-gatherer camps is still rare.<sup>21</sup>

It is considerably more difficult to assess archaeologically the range and volume of products amassed by interior hunter-gatherers and tribal agriculturalists for export to lowland exchange partners, since many of these exports were perishable forest products (e.g., animal skins, hardwoods, resins, beeswax, medicinal plants, and possibly basketry or matting). With reference to interior hunted game as a potential hunter-gatherer export to agriculturalist exchange partners, it is relevant to note that most of the stone tool clusters concentrated along the upper Tanjay River yielded significant quantities of animal bone, the bulk of which are from wild species (wild pig, deer, monkey, and a variety of small to medium mammals). Studies of the eleventh-to-sixteenth-century faunal remains from midden deposits within the coastal chiefly center at Tanjay show that more than one-third of the faunal material in both the Santiago and Osmena phases

derive from taxonomically wild species indigenous to the uplands (Junker et al. 1994).<sup>22</sup> Recent analysis of charred and otherwise preserved plant macroremains from hearths and midden deposits at the coastal center of Tanjay (Gunn 1995, 1997) supports historical and ethnographic accounts of interior tropical forest plants and upland crops also being traded to coastal populations. Through a detailed ecological analysis of environmental zones in the Tanjay Region, Gunn (1997) suggested that the products of more agriculturally productive zones outside the lowland polity core may have been essential to support a burgeoning chiefdom with an increasing economic emphasis on long-distance maritime trade. Rice varieties found in the Osmena Phase occupation levels at Tanjay include dry rice that grows best on well-drained hillsides. In addition, many of the nonfood plants recovered from this most recent prehispanic occupation stratum are ornamental plants indigenous to higher-elevation tropical forests of the interior. Thus, the botanical evidence suggests a significant volume of both food and nonfood plants were being imported from the Tanjay Region uplands in the centuries marking the height of foreign trade at Tanjay and other central Philippine ports.

A more indirect line of evidence for hunter-gatherer activities that might be related to trade is the analysis of variability in stone tool assemblages at Tanjay Region sites. Philippine lithic artifacts of all periods consist primarily of relatively amorphous cores and flakes, with a low percentage of retouching and an even lower proportion of formalized "tools" such as knives and scrapers. This largely expedient industry appears to be geared primarily toward maintenance of perishable tools rather than toward primary extractive activities. However, in a study of lithic material excavated and surface-collected in the Tanjay Region in 1979, Parry (1982) has demonstrated that measurement of edge angles, overall tool or flake size and weight, and the incidence of edge damage (i.e., utilization) and retouch (i.e., purposeful modification) can provide insight into the types of activities taking place at sites with chipped stone.

A sample of seven lowland lithic clusters and five upland lithic clusters recorded in the 1982 Tanjay Region survey were selected for detailed analyses of their lithic assemblages (Table 8.6), using some of the quantitative measures suggested by Parry (1982). Consistent with Parry's study, lowland lithic clusters were more spatially extensive but yielded significantly lower stone artifact densities (and contrasting higher densities of animal bone and lowland products, such as pottery and marine shell). Differences in stone artifact densities appear to be at least partially a function of lithic assemblage differences. Upland sites primarily yielded cores and small, unretouched, unutilized flakes, while lowland sites contained a significant proportion of utilized flakes, as well as large flakes and pebbles that had been retouched into morphologically distinct "tools" such as scrapers, burins, notched tools, and knives (see Fig. 8.8). Heavy, steep-edged scrapers were unusually prom-

**Table 8.6. Comparison of Lithic Assemblages at Lowland and Upland Sites in the Tanjay Region Yielding Significant Lithic Components**

	Lowland Sites ( $< 100$ m)	Upland Sites ( $\geq 100$ m)
Number of sites analyzed	7	5
Total number of lithic fragments	529	352
Mean lithic densities	17.2 items/1,000 m <sup>2</sup>	78.9 items/1,000 m <sup>2</sup>
Mean pottery densities	20.2 sherds/1,000 m <sup>2</sup>	5.2 sherds/1,000 m <sup>2</sup>
Mean site sizes <sup>1</sup>	0.85 (0.43) ha	0.15 (0.32) ha
Percentage of artifacts with one or more utilized edges	53%	25%
Percentage of artifacts with retouch	14%	5%
Mean edge angle <sup>2</sup>	57 (18) degrees	48 (12) degrees
Mean tool weight <sup>3</sup>	48 (105) gm	20 (32) gm

Source: Junker 1996.

1. Standard deviations appear in parentheses.
2. Utilized edges only.
3. Retouched "tools" only.

inent in lithic clusters just west of the fifteenth-to-sixteenth-century river-bank center known as the Diaz Site.

Interpretation of these differences in lithic assemblages is hampered by the lack of ethnographic and historical data on stone tool use among recent Philippine hunter-gatherers. Amorphous industries recovered from Philippine sites of various periods (comprising primarily unretouched cores and flakes with little evidence for use wear) have been interpreted as expedient tools and non-functionally specific tools used for a variety of both maintenance and primary extractive activities (Bevacqua 1972; Cherry 1978; Coutts 1983, 1984; R. Fox 1970; Ronquillo 1981). These activities might include butchering animals, processing plant materials, and producing arrow shafts, knives, and other tools out of bamboo and wood.<sup>23</sup> The lithic assemblages at the Tanjay Region upland sites, consisting primarily of this "smash-and-grab" industry of unretouched flakes, blades, and cores, are likely to have been utilized expediently for a wide range of animal and plant processing and perishable tool manufacturing activities.

In contrast, the formalized tools and retouched components of the lowland lithic assemblages may represent more specialized emphasis on production activities associated with seasonal exchange relations with lowland agriculturalists. As noted in a previous study of Tanjay Region lithic material by Parry (1982), tools with steeply retouched edges are most likely intended as maintenance tools to work hard materials (i.e., to manufacture

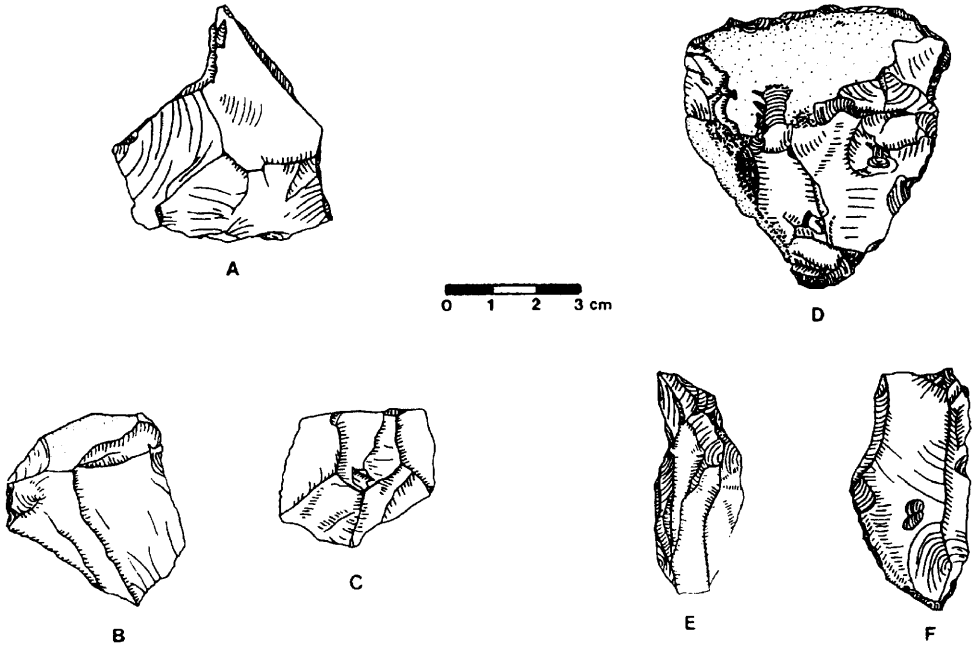


Figure 8.8. Stone artifacts collected from upland chipped-stone clusters (A, B, and C) and lowland chipped stone clusters (D, E, and F). A: core; B and C: unretouched flakes; D: bifacially flaked scraper; E: burin; F: retouched blade.

bone or wood tools) or as primary tools for scraping materials that cannot be processed effectively with softer wood or bamboo (i.e., for scraping large animal hides). Since hunted meat and animal hides were a significant exchange commodity for interior hunter-gatherers, one might speculate that the unusually large number of steep-edged scrapers reflects preparation of animal pelts intended for trade at the adjacent riverbank villages. In addition, intensive hunting and fishing activities along the lower river would have required the manufacture or repair of wooden bows, arrow shafts, and spears, which may have involved the use of the types of steep-edged scrapers, burins, and notched tools found in the lithic assemblages of the lowland camps.

In summary, the archaeological evidence from the Bais-Tanjay Region indicates that ecological specialization and exchange of foodstuffs and manufactured goods among adjacent hunter-gatherers, upland swidden farming populations, and lowland farmers integrated into coastal chiefdoms have significant antiquity in the Bais-Tanjay Region. However, the



intensified participation of lowland Philippine chiefs in long-distance luxury goods trade in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries appears to have had significant impact on the intensity, volume, and organization of exchange with interior groups. The competitive success of lowland chiefs in gaining access to Chinese porcelains and other foreign status goods was a direct function of their ability to amass interior forest products for export to their foreign trade partners. The emergence of a number of large secondary centers at strategic locales upriver from the coastal paramount center at Tanjay, the clustering of what appear to be seasonal hunter-gatherer camps around these interior trade nodes, and increasing densities of lowland manufactured goods at the interior settlements all attest to heightened trade relations in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

### **Conclusions: Changing Mobilization Strategies in Philippine Chiefdoms**

By the early to mid-second millennium A.D., when numerous paramount chieftaincies emerged in the Philippines, many Philippine chiefs would have required expanding agricultural surplus to support burgeoning elite and artisan ranks, and to meet the spiraling demands of foreign trade, ritual feasting, long-distance voyaging, and warfare. Historical evidence suggests that Philippine chiefs generally did not intensify surplus production through investment in hydraulic systems, large-scale terracing, or other technological improvements to agriculture, but instead seized additional labor through increased slave raiding, expanded tribute flow through increasing the labor burdens of subordinates, and encouraged agricultural colonization of adjacent forest lands. The absence of any archaeological evidence for unequivocally prehispanic irrigation and terracing systems supports ecological arguments and historical inferences favoring this land-intensive strategy over labor-intensive and capital-intensive approaches to expanding production. Unfortunately, the paleoenvironmental studies that would allow us to gauge the process of forest clearance and the site catchment analyses that would allow us to estimate the changing productive capacities of individual settlements have yet to be carried out in the Philippines. Thus, researchers presently know very little about the long-term development of tribute mobilization systems and agricultural strategies in the lowland core of these prehispanic Philippine chiefdoms and how they responded to growth in other aspects of chiefly political economies.

Considerably more is known, from historical sources, ethnographic observation, and archaeological evidence, about ecological specialization and trade into the more remote hinterland areas of these river-based chiefdoms. For many of the lowland coastal chiefdoms in the Philippines, regular trade interaction with adjacent upland tribal swidden agriculturalists and mobile

tropical forest hunter-gatherers controlling resources not available in the lowlands was a core element of their economies. Archaeological evidence suggests that this economic specialization and exchange between distinct ecological zones has significant antiquity, perhaps even beyond the period of complex society development in the Philippine lowlands. Initially, these upland-lowland exchange networks probably involved individually contracted trade partnerships that circulated critical subsistence goods and household commodities without any control by centralized political authorities. Once interior trade systems became linked to an external market and enmeshed in lowland chiefly strategies for wealth accumulation, there was likely a shift in trade commodities (more luxury goods flowing upriver and more exportable forest products flowing downriver), a massive increase in trade volumes, and more centralized control by lowland chiefs. Archaeological evidence from the Bais-Tanjay Region shows that, at the fifteenth-to-sixteenth-century height of foreign trade, a number of large and strategically located secondary centers emerged upriver from the maritime-trading center of Tanjay that yielded abundant quantities of lowland trade commodities and appear to have been magnets for seasonal encampments of hunter-gatherers. While lowland-manufactured household goods are present at distant upland settlements from at least A.D. 500, the diversity and volume of lowland products at interior sites increase dramatically in the few centuries before European contact, attesting to heightened upland-lowland trade. Both locally manufactured and exotic prestige goods controlled by the lowland chiefs begin to penetrate more widely into interior settlements in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, suggesting that lowland chiefs become increasingly important in controlling and administering this interior trade.

The expanding significance of both maritime and riverine trade to the political economies of Philippine chiefdoms like Tanjay is evidenced in the emergence of dendritic regional settlement systems with hyper-large primate coastal centers. By the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, at the height of Tanjay's prehispanic political development and participation in the Chinese porcelain trade, the strategically located coastal center of Tanjay had become the crucial gateway for interlinking maritime and riverine trade economies. While there are no available regional settlement data for contemporaneous, larger-scale maritime-trading chiefdoms such as Manila, Cebu, Sulu, and Magindanao, it is likely that these coastal centers were the pivots of similarly organized dendritic settlement systems. Strategically located upriver trade centers would have facilitated the flow of both tributary goods and interior trade products to coastal chiefs and regulated interior access to status-conferring wealth.

## Chapter 9

### The Evolution of Craft Specialization

Anthropological studies of the economy of chiefdoms have documented the presence of distinctive types of production modes and exchange relations not present in simpler societies. Greater sociopolitical complexity is typically accompanied by the appearance of socially restricted goods that function to reinforce social inequality and to symbolize asymmetrical political relationships. Because these goods circulate through ritualized exchanges as a form of “political currency,” chiefs and other hereditary elites generally control their specialized production and distribution (Brumfiel and Earle 1987; Clark and Parry 1990; Peregrine 1991). Economic efficiencies of scale may also come into play once societies become regionally integrated rather than locally autonomous, with centralization of production developing even in the realm of basic subsistence and household goods.

In this chapter, I examine the development of craft specialization in Philippine chiefdoms with historical and archaeological evidence. Early Spanish accounts and more recent ethnographic work on traditional craft production systems document the presence of luxury good specialists producing fancy cotton textiles, gold ornaments, metal weaponry, elaborate earthenware, and other goods under the sponsorship of chiefs and primarily for elite consumption in sixteenth-century and later chiefdoms. Only earthenware pottery and iron goods are found in sufficient quantities in the archaeological record to trace the long-term development of luxury good specialization. Archaeological evidence indicates that, by the late first millennium B.C. to the mid-first millennium A.D., elaborate earthenware and metal objects with highly standardized forms, raw materials, and decoration were being produced for mortuary rites and possibly household status display. Although no early pottery or metal workshops have been located, the archaeological contexts of pottery at least suggest manufacture in a limited number of locales by highly skilled potters, possibly involving some form of chiefly sponsored specialization. The intensifying focus on foreign luxury good imports in the early to mid-second millennium A.D. does not supplant indigenous status good production, but instead local production may have actually expanded to produce “second-tier” prestige goods for burgeoning upriver trade alliances and escalating wealth displays in ritual feasting.

While the historical record has little to say about how mundane domestic goods are produced in contact period Philippine chiefdoms, analysis of the

abundant plain earthenware pottery from archaeological sites provides some insights into changing production modes. The archaeological evidence suggests that manufacture of domestic pottery remained a part-time household craft until the mid-second millennium A.D., when highly standardized forms at some coastal chiefly centers indicate a possible shift to centralized production. One possible factor in the emergence of full-time specialist manufacture of domestic earthenware entails the expanded production demands of growing riverine trade networks moving ceramics and other lowland products into the interior (see Chapter 8).

### **Craft Specialization**

Brumfiel and Earle (1987) have made a useful distinction between two types of full-time specialist production modes commonly found in chiefdoms: “attached specialization,” involving the manufacture of socially restricted luxury goods, and “independent specialization,” involving the manufacture of unrestricted goods for a general population of consumers. Attached specialists are craftsmen and craftswomen who produce goods or services under the direct sponsorship or patronage of a chief or other social elite. Their products are geared primarily if not exclusively toward consumption by elite patrons, and their subsistence support is at least partially, if not wholly, furnished by these high-status sponsors. An example examined by Earle (1987b) is the manufacture of feathered cloaks, the most potent material symbol of chiefly power in Hawaiian society, in which chiefs exercised control at every step in the production and distribution process—from feather procurement as part of tribute mobilization, to fabrication by highly skilled featherworkers, to ceremonial presentation of cloaks to chiefly allies by high-ranking chiefs. This kind of specialization, as detailed by Brumfiel and Earle, arises in complex societies out of the desire of the ruling elite to control both the production and the distribution of politically charged commodities that play important roles in political legitimation, serve as the material medium for alliance-building strategies, and provide economic leverage for maintaining political authority.

Because of direct chiefly intervention in the production and distribution process and the primary dependence of attached specialists on elite patronage, the workshops of these specialists would be expected to be concentrated in close proximity to areas of elite habitation—at major regional centers, rather than dispersed throughout a region, and near elite residential zones within these centers. Access to this form of elite income must be restricted in order for these goods to retain their value as political currency. Thus, distribution patterns out of individual production centers are generally consistent with what Renfrew (1975) refers to as “central place redistribution”: prestige goods primarily cycle between elite-inhabited locales as

part of chiefly alliance-building exchanges. Attached specialization is thus characteristic of socially stratified societies with well-developed systems of chiefly resource mobilization capable of supporting not only the chief, but also his cadre of artisans (Barnes 1987; Earle 1987a:296; Kristiansen 1987).

In contrast, Brumfiel and Earle (1987) define “independent specialists” as craftspeople who manufacture goods or provide services for a nonspecific group of consumers (their products can include both subsistence goods and socially unrestricted “wealth” items). Brumfiel and Earle suggest that the latter type of specialization develops in the context of nonpolitical factors. These include population increases, urbanization, and other trends associated with complex society development. Independent specialization is also associated with an unequal distribution of raw material resources within a region or technical elements of the manufacturing process that introduce significant economies of scale in aggregate rather than household production. Patron-supplied subsistence support, provisioning of raw materials, and demand for prestige goods are frequently stable enough for the development of full-time specialization among attached artisans. However, part-time household production may persist in the realm of mundane goods within the same economic system if supply mechanisms (i.e., access to raw materials, movement of finished goods out of the production center) or product demand (dependent in this case on less explicitly identifiable groups of consumers) is not sufficiently predictable or reliable.

Concentration of these “independent” part-time or full-time specialists at large regional centers is therefore not directly related to elite strategies for control of wealth production. Instead, aggregate production would be expected to arise out of more general factors of demography (i.e., the concentration of potential consumers at these centers), production efficiencies associated with increased centralization, and the increased exchange capacity of “central place” distribution systems. Without social constraints on access, the products of independent specialists would be expected to move freely out of production centers according to consumer demand in a pattern of direct down-the-line trade to satellite settlements. Alternatively, these unrestricted goods may flow through a more complex pattern of central place exchange in which they are initially concentrated at strategically located secondary centers and then disbursed to surrounding villages through market or reciprocal exchange modes.

Historical and ethnographic sources present strong evidence for the presence of full-time specialist production of prestige goods and controlled access by a chiefly elite in contact period Philippine complex societies. Ethnohistorical analysis coupled with archaeological investigation of highly visible status goods such as fancy ceramics and metal objects provide some clues about how attached specialization may have developed over time. However, traditional production systems for the manufacture and distribution of mundane household goods are infrequently described in historical

accounts. Therefore, I turn to analogous cases of complex societies oriented toward long-distance trade to suggest how craft specialization in domestic goods may have evolved in the Philippines and how one might recognize these changes in archaeological remains.

Both ethnohistorical and archaeological evidence suggest that one of the primary products traditionally moving from Philippine lowland populations to interior tribal groups in exchange for desired forest resources was earthenware pottery manufactured by lowland potters. Before the establishment of a direct linkage between internal upland-lowland exchange systems and foreign prestige goods trade, lowland chiefs would have little incentive to involve themselves as central administrators in this mundane domestic good production and exchange. This lack of direct chiefly control is consistent with theoretical and empirical work on the economies of chiefdoms (e.g., Earle 1977, 1978, 1987a, 1987b; Peebles and Kus 1977), which has demonstrated that chiefs rarely function as centralized “managers” for coordinating the flow of basic raw materials, household goods, and foodstuffs within ecologically diverse environments unless it is critical to their political interests. Manufactured goods like ceramics may have been produced at the household level and exchanged into the interior through individually arranged trade partnerships.

Once control of at least a segment of this coastal-interior trade became critical to lowland Philippine chiefs’ participation in long-distance maritime luxury good trade, pottery production systems may have changed to include full-time specialists, a greater degree of regional centralization of production, and a key role for the chiefly elite in controlling the manufacture and distribution of this important trade commodity. Full-time potters may have become concentrated at the chiefly center in response to efficiency considerations in the manufacture of a product whose demand volume had reached a critical level. Rather than supporting these pottery specialists directly through his exclusive patronage (providing raw materials, facilities, and subsistence support in exchange for exclusive access), the chief’s key role was providing the demand and exchange contexts favoring large-scale centralized production.

Exchanges between lowland elites and upland tribal leaders involved two material components: prestige goods desired for status display by upland political leaders (manufactured by lowland attached specialists or obtained in foreign trade) and mundane household products that upland populations required for daily subsistence activities but could not manufacture themselves. Trade in utilitarian goods (such as domestic earthenware, simple textiles, and lowland agricultural products) was facilitated by the politically charged exchanges of valuables between lowland and upland political leaders. Parallels can be drawn with other geographically extensive and frequently interethnic status good exchange systems like the historic Melanesian “*kula* ring” (Brookfield and Hart 1971; J. Leach 1983; Weiner

1987) and precolonial West African chiefly trade networks (Eckholm 1977; Meillassoux 1971; Rowlands 1987). In the well-known Melanesian inter-island trade system, the establishment of vast networks of exchange partners for the circulation of *kula* valuables was not only significant in local status competition, but also created wider social ties for interisland trade in foodstuffs and domestic goods. In addition, the expanded scale of interaction beyond the local community may have introduced economies of scale favoring the development of regionally specialized production of utilitarian goods such as pottery, even in the absence of significant interisland resource differences. Similarly, in early West African kingdoms such as the Cameroon, regional specialization and interregional trade in palm oil, salt, pottery, and other utilitarian goods were structured and constrained by networks of prestige goods exchange and social alliance involving a large sector of the population, but participation varied according to sociopolitical rank.

While ethnographic attention in the Melanesian case has primarily focused on the manufacture and distribution of objects like shell valuables (the status component of “*kula* ring” exchange), recent archaeological work by Irwin (1983) has demonstrated that significant transformations of domestic good production accompanied the late prehistoric emergence of long-distance status good exchange. Through technological studies of pottery standardization on Mailu Island (along the western margin of the Melanesian exchange networks), Irwin documented a shift from dispersed, part-time household production of highly heterogeneous ceramics to full-time specialist production of homogeneously manufactured ware at a limited number of centers. Most significantly, this transformation of production modes is contemporaneous with the burgeoning of the *kula* maritime exchange system in the last five hundred years of western Melanesian history and may be linked to the economic efficiencies of centralized production within an expanded network of social interaction. Similarly, in the European Iron Age, archaeological evidence points to full-time specialist production of iron at a limited number of centers, even though iron ore was plentiful and iron appears to have functioned primarily in the production of utilitarian tools rather than status goods (Geselowitz 1988; Wells 1980). Centralization of iron production may be seen as partially associated with an expanding demand for central and western European iron by Mediterranean states, with control of iron production a key factor in Iron Age chiefs’ access to Mediterranean luxury goods in a burgeoning long-distance prestige goods trade. These cases suggest that long-distance formalized gift exchange may in some cases provide the expanding interaction system and critical demand levels necessary for greater regional economic specialization.

I don’t mean to imply that there is a one-way causal relationship between expanding networks of long-distance prestige goods trade and the emergence of more specialized internal production systems, but only that

the two systems of production and exchange are closely articulated and must be examined in tandem. Nor do I suggest that the transition to greater sociopolitical complexity and associated changes in systems of sumptuary good production, consumption, and exchange will in all cases have a demonstrable impact on domestic good production and distribution systems. Archaeological studies of the economies of a range of complex societies, including the Aztec empire (Brumfiel 1987), Maya polities (Rice 1987), and Hawaiian chiefdoms (Earle 1987b), have shown that, while full-time specialization in prestige goods production rapidly develops, part-time household production modes persist in the realm of utilitarian goods. What may be the key factor favoring the transition to specialist production of certain nonstatus goods in the Philippine case as well as in cases like the European Iron Age chiefdoms and precolonial West African kingdoms is the extraordinary reliance on long-distance, interethnic trade rather than local production to obtain the "wealth" necessary for political power building in these societies.

Since long-term historical records for traditional craft production systems in the Philippines are limited, archaeological studies are crucial to evaluating these hypothesized trajectories of specialist development. The archaeological discovery of large-scale workshops concentrated at polity centers are rare, and thus archaeological analysis has more frequently focused on the manufactured commodities themselves to determine modes of production. A number of ethnographic and archaeological studies have suggested that specialized ceramic production by a limited number of closely associated full-time craftsmen generally results in a more homogeneous product, owing to the high rate of potter interaction, an expanded scale and rate of production, and the frequent introduction of standardizing technologies such as turntables and molds (Blackman et al. 1993; Costin 1991; Feinman et al. 1981; Hagstrum 1985; Kvamme et al. 1996; Longacre et al. 1988; Peregrine 1991; Rice 1981; Van der Leeuw 1976; R. Wright 1983). Archaeologists have attempted to measure the degree of standardization involved in the pottery manufacturing process through analysis of a number of variables, including morphological elements (e.g., vessel rim diameters, thickness, and height) indicative of control over vessel forming (Longacre et al. 1988; Underhill 1991), elements of decoration or surface finishing indicative of standardized execution (Hagstrum 1985; R. Wright 1983), and evidence for uniform control over firing such as paste color and hardness (Irwin 1983; Rice 1981). Quantitative studies of the regional distribution of distinctive artifact styles at systematically sampled archaeological sites are necessary to distinguish regionally centralized versus dispersed production and whether specialist production is aimed at a socially restricted or more general market (Renfrew 1975, 1982). The archaeological analysis of prehispanic Philippine craft production presented in this chapter combines these approaches, examining features associated with craft



production (e.g., production facilities and production by-products such as metal slag), artifact standardization, and artifact distributions over larger regions.

### **‘Attached’ Luxury Good Specialization in Philippine Chiefdoms: The Ethnohistorical Evidence**

Specialist production of ceramics, textiles, and metalwork, primarily as elite-restricted prestige goods, was central to the economies of many late first millennium and early second millennium A.D. stratified societies of island Southeast Asia. The commercial port towns of such polities as Srivijaya and later Aceh, Pasai, and Melaka supported full-time craft specialists inhabiting special quarters in the center and producing goldwork, metal weapons, textiles, ceramics, and other goods for both local consumption and export (Reid 1988:101–102). Reid suggests that these full-time craft specialists primarily produced “high status” goods and did not constitute independently funded commercial enterprises but were largely sponsored by and received capital investment from the elite who were their major source of demand (1988:103). The intense focus on maritime commerce in some of these polities and the necessity for producing profitable exports for burgeoning long-distance trade may have promoted increasing centralization of production at these polity centers as they expanded their economic spheres of influence within Southeast Asia (Reid 1988:100–103).

In the Philippines, sixteenth- to nineteenth-century Spanish records and early ethnographic studies indicate that full-time craft specialization for the production of elite-restricted status-enhancing goods took place in many regional maritime-trading centers. There are numerous historical references to full-time goldsmiths, silversmiths, ironsmiths, pearl divers, carpenters, textile manufacturers, and other chiefly sponsored artisans present at sixteenth- to eighteenth-century coastal centers such as Sulu, Magindanao, Manila, and Cebu (Alcina 1688a:96–131; Boxer manuscript 1590b:197, 229; Dampier 1697:297; Morga 1609b:292–293; also see Fenner 1985:16–20; J. Warren 1985). Early twentieth-century ethnographic accounts of the Bagabo, Bukidnon, Manuvu, and other extant chiefdoms particularly emphasize metallurgists as highly skilled artisans working under direct chiefly patronage (Cole 1913:85–86; 1958; Manuel 1971). According to both historical and ethnographic accounts, chiefs provided these artisans with raw materials and subsistence support from chiefly stores, enabling them to engage full-time in the production of politically charged commodities used in chiefly wealth display and alliance building. While historical accounts provide few details about the precise organization of production, elite provisioning of these craftsmen is consistent with Brumfiel and Earle’s (1987) definition of “attached specialization.”

Early Spanish references to the location of craft workshops, the ways in which raw materials were procured, and the relative social standing of various craft artisans also provide clues to whether some form of attached specialization of prestige goods is being described. At the time of initial Spanish contact at Manila, the Spanish chroniclers reported a large-scale iron- and copper-working industry geared primarily toward weapons production. Significantly, the metal industry is described as spatially concentrated in the vicinity of the paramount ruler's residence. A large workshop attached to Rajah Suleyman's house-compound contained the raw materials for metalworking, clay and wax molds, and numerous finished metal weapons (including several massive iron cannons), presumably representing the production of metal weapons and other prestige goods for exclusive elite consumption (*Relation of the Voyage to Luzon 1570*:102–103). Without reference to a specific polity, one Spanish chronicler claims that chiefly house-compounds typically included the workshops of luxury good artisans (specifically mentioned are textile weavers) who were provided not only with subsistence, but also with the tools and raw materials to manufacture goods exclusively for their chiefly patrons (*Morga 1609b*:292–293).

Anthropological studies of craft production in complex societies have also shown that artisans manufacturing luxury goods for primarily elite consumption frequently enjoy greater wealth and social prestige than producers of mundane goods and are sometimes even characterized as having a high level of ritual potency and supernatural power (Brumfiel and Earle 1987b; Helms 1993). In many traditional complex societies in Southeast Asia outside the Philippines, metalsmiths are frequently regarded as supernaturally powerful individuals who often acquire the elevated social rank of their elite patrons (Reid 1988:100–103). Examples are the magically powerful metalworkers described as having been responsible for state formation in Javanese and Bugis historical traditions (Reid 1984:15). The seventeenth-century Spaniard Francisco Alcina writes that metalsmiths in many Philippine lowland societies enjoyed relatively high status, were privileged to wear elite status insignia, received deferential treatment from commoners, and were allowed to accrue independent wealth from their production efforts (1988a:104). Several early ethnographic accounts of Philippine chiefdoms also indicate that metalworkers were held in high esteem because of the belief that they had exceptionally potent mystical power and that there were frequently ritual taboos associated with them (Cole 1913:85–86; Mednick 1977b:194).

Fine textile production, goldsmithing, and ironworking are the local luxury good industries for which the most ethnographic and historical evidence is available, and they will be examined in more detail here. I will also consider the issue of specialized production of fine earthenware ceramics, since this is the category of luxury goods that is most archaeologically visible at prehispanic Philippine sites.

**Textile Production**

Ethnohistorical evidence suggests that Philippine lowland chiefs sponsored production of high-quality textiles not only as prestige items for local elite status display, but also as export commodities in long-distance trade. Pedro de Chirino (1604) makes reference to large-scale cotton production in a region of the Philippines inferred to be Cebu, and Antonio Morga (1609) further suggests that these cotton textiles were a significant export item in the Chinese maritime trade of the sixteenth century. Combining these references to specialized cotton production with botanical evidence for the presence of wild cotton on modern-day Cebu, Echevarria argues for the existence of a substantial prehispanic cotton growing and weaving industry centered at Cebu and oriented toward both local elite consumption and export to China (1974:1–6; also see Fenner 1985:18–19). Similarly, McCoy (1982) suggests that the Spanish-controlled eighteenth-century weaving industry at Iloilo on Panay in the western Visayas developed out of already well-established and presumably local-elite-administered specialization in textile manufacturing at the prehispanic center.

Thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Chinese accounts of the Philippine trade polity of Ma-i emphasize cotton textile manufacture as an important indigenous export good-producing industry in the northern Philippines. Elaborately patterned “Ma-i” cloth was the only major craft item explicitly mentioned by the Chinese in their list of imported local goods, a list that is dominated by raw materials and forest products (e.g., beeswax, tortoise shell, betelnuts, rattan, and pearls) rather than manufactured goods (Scott 1984:68–74). The importance of cotton textiles as an export item in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Chinese trade at various ports on Luzon is also noted in later European sources (Alcina 1668a:99; Morga 1609c:287–290). In attempting to meet Chinese demand for raw cotton and cotton textiles, however, the mid-second millennium A.D. lowland Philippine populations were competing with major cotton-growing areas both on the Southeast Asian mainland (Cambodian and Siam) and in island Southeast Asia (east Java, Bali, south Sulawesi, and later the Moluccas) (Reid 1988: 90–96). Many of the island Southeast Asian centers of textile manufacture were part of developed states that could support larger-scale, export-oriented, and technologically superior cotton textile production, making it unlikely that Philippine polities could be effective competitors in this particular export industry.

**Goldsmithing**

Goldsmithing appears to have been another major craft industry geared toward external export as well as local production for socially elite patrons

in the mid-second millennium A.D. Philippines. A substantial portion of the gold mining and bulk trading in gold was controlled by the Igorot populations of the Luzon cordillera (the Ifugao, Bontoc, Kalinga, and Benguet) (Scott 1982:181–184). These interior societies traded gold in partially refined form to adjacent lowland groups in exchange for livestock and manufactured goods (Morga 1609b:261). Other regions of the Philippines are reported by the Spaniards to have had active gold mines and a substantial goldworking industry at the time of European contact, including many areas of Mindanao and the Visayas (Pigafetta 1521a:72, 78; Alvarado 1548:72; Morga 1609b:285; Seuilla 1566:223–231; Mirandaola 1572:223–224). Gold procurement specifically for the Chinese market and other foreign trade is recorded for Cebu (Alvarado 1548:72; Mirandaola 1565:123), Butuan (Seuilla 1566:229), and Luzon in the vicinity of Manila (Sande 1577:99–100; Legaspi 1570:57). An anonymous sixteenth-century letter written by a colonial administrator to the Spanish monarch suggests that Philippine polities were exporting what the Spanish chroniclers considered to be substantial quantities of raw gold and gold ornaments at the time of European contact (Blair and Robertson 1903–1909, 3:226). However, it is significant that the pre-sixteenth-century Chinese chroniclers omit any mention of Philippine gold in their rosters of foreign imports (Scott 1984:72).

Philippine chiefs may have been concentrating their gold production and export efforts on a Southeast Asian rather than a Chinese market. The early sixteenth-century writings of Tomes Pires mention Borneo trade for Luzon gold at the prominent maritime center of Melaka (Tome Pires 1515; see also Scott 1984:84). However, both Scott (1984:84) and Reid (1988:96–100) suggest that manpower limitations on the labor-intensive mining of gold in the Philippines, the dispersion of gold sources, and the peripherality of the archipelago relative to large trading centers such as Melaka made it difficult for Philippine goldsmiths and traders to effectively compete with other gold-exporting polities in Southeast Asia. Despite these limitations on gold export, Philippine goldsmiths appear to have been highly skilled artisans. The Spanish noted a relatively sophisticated knowledge of chemical alloying processes (Sande 1577:99) and an impressive command of goldsmithing techniques (as inferred by the complex vocabulary of goldworking included in San Buenaventura's 1613 Tagalog dictionary). In addition, Dampier's description of goldsmithing in the Magindanao capital indicates that Philippine goldsmiths were capable of producing a large repertoire of elaborate ornaments and household status goods (1697:227).

Furthermore, gold appears to have served as a standardized medium of exchange in internal trade networks, if not foreign trade, in the prehispanic Philippines. Early Spanish chroniclers made frequent reference to the indigenous use of small scales for weighing gold, with its weight-determined value providing a means for assigning equivalent value to other types of trade goods (Chirino 1604b:310; Colin 1660b:164; Legaspi 1567:234; Miranda-

ola 1565:224; Morga 1609b:301). Gold appears to have functioned as a standardized value for prestige goods exchanged in the context of competitive feasting, marriage dowries, foreign trade, and other elite-focused exchange events. However, there is no evidence that raw gold or finished gold objects might have functioned as a general monetary system for a market economy at prehispanic Philippine coastal trading ports.

### **Iron Metallurgy**

With regard to iron metallurgy, Spanish sources point to a relative scarcity of indigenous iron sources for metalworking in the Philippines as well as significant technical difficulties in large-scale extraction of ore from the limited available deposits (Blair and Robertson 1903–1909, 2:139 [anonymous chronicle dated 1565]; Pigafetta 1521a:78; Seuilla 1566:223; Urdaneta 1561:86). The relative preciousness of iron may be inferred from its absence as a raw material in mundane construction and toolmaking. Neither iron nor bronze appears to have been used in Philippine house construction or boat building, and relatively few agricultural implements are specifically mentioned as being manufactured from metal. Most of the metal goods enumerated in early Spanish texts are explicitly described as weapons (including spear tips, arrow tips, blowpipe tips, swords, daggers, machetes, and cannons), although a number of basic agricultural tools are occasionally listed (plough tips, hoes, and knives) (Boxer manuscript 1590b:200, 226; Colin 1660b:179; Legaspi 1565:201; Pigafetta 1521a:69–70, 80; Sande 1576a:69; 1577:106).

Early Spanish records emphasize Chinese sources rather than indigenous mining for mid-second-millennium Philippine iron both in Luzon and the Visayas (Relation of the Voyage to Luzon 1570:104; Sande 1576a:74; Scott 1982:532) and Bornean sources for Luzon iron (Boxer manuscript 1590c:200). Similarly, early-second-millennium Chinese documents claim that much of the Philippine ironwork and bronzework were reworked pieces originating in China, with substantial shipments of iron (as well as lead and tin) entering Philippine trade ports as early as the thirteenth century A.D. (Scott 1984:68–70). Harrison and O'Connor's (1969) archaeological investigations at a series of large-scale ironworking sites of the tenth to fourteenth centuries in the Sarawak River delta of northwestern Borneo yielded such massive quantities of iron slag that the region can undoubtedly be inferred to have been a major center of iron export that may have supplied ironsmiths in areas of the Philippines as well as western Java, southern Sumatra, and the eastern Malay peninsula in the early second millennium A.D. In addition, Bronson (1984) cites both ethnohistorical and archaeological evidence for large-scale, export-oriented Siamese iron production, with possible export of iron, along with porcelain cargoes, to the Philippines in

the mid-second millennium. Some ethnohistorical analyses of iron production have suggested that the labor-intensiveness of local mining combined with the relative cheapness of Chinese and Bornean iron offered in trade would have led Philippine metallurgists to rely more heavily on foreign raw material than did other island Southeast Asian polities (Reid 1988:96–100).

Compositional studies of iron objects from Metal Age sites in the Philippines do tend to support claims of foreign sources, but many pieces have chemical signatures inconsistent with these known foreign sources, and even the foreign metals were often recast at Philippine workshops (Dizon 1983, 1987). Furthermore, analyses of archaeologically recovered slag remains in fifteenth-to-sixteenth-century deposits at Cebu and similarly dated sites elsewhere in the Philippines suggest that some local lateritic ores were being smelted at this time (Hutterer 1973a:37; Harrison and O'Connor 1969:315; Junker 1993b; Junker, Gunn, and Santos 1996; Nishimura 1992; Peralta and Salazar 1974:50). Smelting technologies used by Philippine metallurgists may have involved roasting the ores with charcoal in crude clay-lined stone furnaces, as described in Alcina's seventeenth-century account of Visayan ironworking and observed in the nineteenth century among ironworkers in the Luzon cordillera and Mindanao (1688a: 109–111; also see Jocano 1967:142; Meyer 1890:63; McCaskey 1903). The "Malay forge," a simple device using two pistonlike bellows made of wood, bamboo, or clay that was used at the time of contact, may also have been part of this prehispanic smelting technology (Fig. 9.1).

The relative scarcity and considerable value of iron ore and iron products raises the issue of whether iron was procured through centrally administered trade and whether local ironworkers were concentrated at regional centers under direct elite patronage in early to mid-second millennium A.D. Philippine chiefdoms. Iletto's discussion of the economy of the nineteenth-century upper valley Magindanao sultanate (1971:37–38) and sixteenth-century Spanish descriptions of the Manila polity (see *Relation of the Voyage to Luzon* 1970:94–104) indicate that chiefs may have restricted access to metal weaponry in particular (including both individual armaments and large-scale artillery such as cannons) through control of trade and local production. In both the Magindanao and Manila cases, the concentration of weapons manufacturing at the polity center was a function of the desire of chiefs to maintain a monopoly over military power in the region. Weapons were manufactured and stockpiled within the chief's house-compound to arm supporters quickly in the event of conflict and to serve as symbols of military might and political authority in periods of peace (see Chapter 12). However, the historical and ethnographic sources are unclear about who produced metal agricultural implements and more mundane weaponry, which may have involved more dispersed local manufacture by metallurgists who were not directly under chiefly control.



Figure 9.1. Traditional ironworking among the Tausug (Sulu) of Jolo, showing stone-lined smelting furnace and bamboo pistons, 1898. (Courtesy of Dean Worcester Photographic Collection, University of Michigan Museum of Anthropology)

### **Production of High-Quality Earthenware as Status Goods**

While fancy earthenware pottery was used in households and in mortuary rites as a status good, ethnohistorical references to indigenous ceramic prestige goods production are surprisingly limited. While Philippine earthenware ceramics are unlikely to have played any significant role in foreign trade (which clearly involved a one-way movement of the technologically superior Chinese, Siamese, and Annamese porcelains), there is evidence to suggest that some fancy earthenware production may have been oriented toward local elite consumption and perhaps interisland prestige goods trade within the Philippine archipelago. Early Spanish documents indicate that ordinary earthenware pottery was being produced for domestic use, but more elaborate forms were being specially produced for use in mortuary and other ritual contexts (Boxer manuscript 1590b:191, 204, 223; Loarca 1582b:87; Pigafetta 1521c:77; Chirino 1604a:143; Colin 1660b:167). The Sánchez dictionary (1617) suggests that fancy earthenware such as footed plates and decorated jars were included in what Visayans referred to as “*bahandi*” (heirloom wealth) and that their manufacture required more skilled potters than did *ginamikun*, or “ordinary household crockery.”

Many Spanish references to interisland trade cargoes traveling between chiefly centers include fancy earthenware containers, suggesting that particularly finely made earthenware was circulated like porcelain between islands as status goods. Unfortunately, missing from both Spanish historical records and early ethnographic accounts is any direct mention of sponsored artisans who exclusively manufactured high-status earthenware. Even in James F. Warren's (1982, 1985) detailed historical analysis of the Sulu economy, there are no references to specialized production of decorated earthenware among the specialist artisans at Jolo. Therefore, it is not possible to say whether the potters producing the "heirloom wealth" used in contact period burial rites were attached specialists separate from ordinary potters.

### **Archaeological Evidence for "Attached" Luxury Good Specialization**

While the historical sources are fairly convincing in establishing the presence of some type of attached specialization in elite prestige goods in the contact period Philippines, the archaeological evidence that would provide time depth to this form of luxury good production is considerably more ambiguous. The perishable nature of many historically reported status goods (e.g., textiles, wooden household furnishings) largely precludes their archaeological study. With regard to more durable goods (e.g., earthenware pottery, metals), technological, design, and distributional studies necessary to infer production modes are relatively limited. Thus, it is only possible to make some tentative inferences about when specialist production of status goods might have developed in the prehispanic Philippines and how indigenous status good production was affected by the availability of foreign prestige goods.

#### ***Specialist Production of Status Earthenware***

In the period before the Chinese porcelain trade, the late first millennium B.C. to late first millennium A.D. Metal Age, finely made earthenware with complex morphologies and elaborate decoration functioned as socially restricted prestige goods. As detailed in Chapter 6, such elaborate earthenware is found only in a few exceptionally rich graves at a number of burial sites of this period. However, it is not clear whether this decorated earthenware was produced by a limited number of artisans at larger coastal centers. Solheim (1964), in his large reference work on Iron Age potteries largely collected from cemeteries, was one of the first to point out that several highly standardized forms and decorative designs were found at widely scattered sites throughout the archipelago.<sup>1</sup> His geographically widespread



“Kalanay” pottery complex includes jars and bowls that are similar in morphology (e.g., bowls with ringstands, jars with carinated bases and shoulders), in their decorative elements (distinctive incised, impressed, stamped, appliqué, and cut-out designs), and in their paste and temper characteristics. Hutterer (1977a) has emphasized this homogeneity in morphology, material, and design elements in arguing for manufacture by a small number of luxury good craftsmen working in a limited number of production centers. He suggests that these elaborate ceramics were circulating through interisland prestige goods exchange.

However, recent seriation work on these wares by Gunn and Graves (1995) indicates considerably greater variation than previously recognized and questions assumptions of relative contemporaneity of wares that appear to have been produced over a substantial period of time. In addition, microstylistic analyses by Bacus (1995, 1996) on decorated earthenware from a number of Metal Age and later sites indicate that it is more likely the design elements, rather than the vessels themselves, that are moving between islands. That is, certain design elements that became emblematic of membership in elite social strata were diffused through interisland contacts and incorporated into local pottery traditions producing earthenware for household and mortuary status display. This explanation fits the evidence for decorated ceramics in the Aguilar Phase at Tanjay. While fancy earthenware from Tanjay and surrounding sites have morphological features (distinctive bulbous rim forms and elaborate appendages) and decorative elements (impressed geometric designs and punctates) that fit Solheim’s (1964) standardized “Kalanay” designs, the buff-colored paste and hematite-spotted temper is indistinguishable from that of locally made undecorated pots found in mundane household contexts (Junker 1990a, 1993c). The sample of excavated household middens with earthenware sherds is too small for the Aguilar Phase at Tanjay to determine whether there are any interhousehold differences in access to these decorated wares. Furthermore, no pottery production areas were identified in late first millennium A.D. occupation layers that would permit identification of Tanjay as the probable production center. However, quantitative studies of the regional distribution of such elaborate earthenware shows the heaviest concentration at Tanjay and differential distribution primarily to larger riverbank settlements. One plausible interpretation is that “Kalanay” style decorated earthenware was produced at Tanjay by concentrated specialists, then distributed selectively in the region through prestige goods exchanges. There is still insufficient archaeological evidence to determine whether these potters were distinct from the producers of mundane earthenware and whether they worked under the sponsorship of chiefs.

A number of archaeologists have asserted that the indigenous luxury earthenware industry declined with the introduction of mainland Asian porcelains (R. Fox 1964, 1967; also see Bacus 1995), replaced by the tech-

nologically superior foreign ceramics for household status display and funerary rites. However, analysis of earthenware from late first millennium and early to mid-second millennium A.D. Bais-Tanjay Region sites (Junker 1985) in fact indicates an increase in both the numbers and the varieties of decorated and slipped wares relative to course and plain earthenware after a substantial volume of Chinese porcelains begin to appear in the archaeological record. Both the Aguilar Phase and the Santiago Phase in the Bais-Tanjay Region yielded earthenware pottery assemblages comprising less than 3 percent decorated wares. In both phases, the fancy earthenware was technologically homogenous, with raw materials similar to indigenous undecorated wares, indicating probable local manufacture.<sup>2</sup> The Osmena Phase occupation yielded the greatest volume and diversity of decorated wares,<sup>3</sup> including many “exotic” forms that do not match clay and tempering material typically found in the region.<sup>4</sup> At Tanjay and many of the larger Bais-Tanjay Region centers, decorated wares make up more than 10 percent of the pottery assemblages, and this “fancy” earthenware comprises 5.8 percent (on average) of the pottery assemblages for the region as a whole (Fig. 9.2). While most of the decorated wares matched pastes and tempers commonly used in locally produced domestic wares, thirteen types of “exotic” decorated earthenware (including comb-impressed Siamese earthenware pottery) were identified in the fifteenth-to-sixteenth-century pottery assemblages (Junker 1990a). The archaeological evidence from Tanjay indicates that both the local production and interisland circulation of decorated earthenware increased at the height of the foreign porcelain trade. This phenomenon has also been noted by Dizon and Santiago (1994) for the Batanes Islands, where decorated earthenware recovered from twelfth-century and later fortified hilltop sites appears to be copying design elements from Chinese porcelains. The increased production of fancy earthenware may have been spurred by an expanding market of lesser nobility and even nonelites, who were participating in increasing numbers in ritual feasting and other status-conferring events requiring elaborate pottery assemblages.

Again, there is only indirect archaeological evidence in the early to mid-second millennium A.D. that elaborate earthenware was produced by elite-sponsored specialists like the goldsmiths and fine weavers mentioned by sixteenth-century Spaniards. Several lines of evidence from Tanjay and other Bais-Tanjay Region sites indicate the concentration of fine pottery production at the coastal port by at least the Osmena Phase and probably earlier. These include (1) high densities of wares with extremely standardized stamped, incised, and carved designs in burials and habitation contexts at Tanjay; (2) the differential distribution of this decorated earthenware, metal products, and foreign porcelains to elite residential zones at Tanjay in both the Santiago and Osmena Phases; (3) the presence of pottery and metal workshops in close spatial proximity to elite residences at Tanjay in

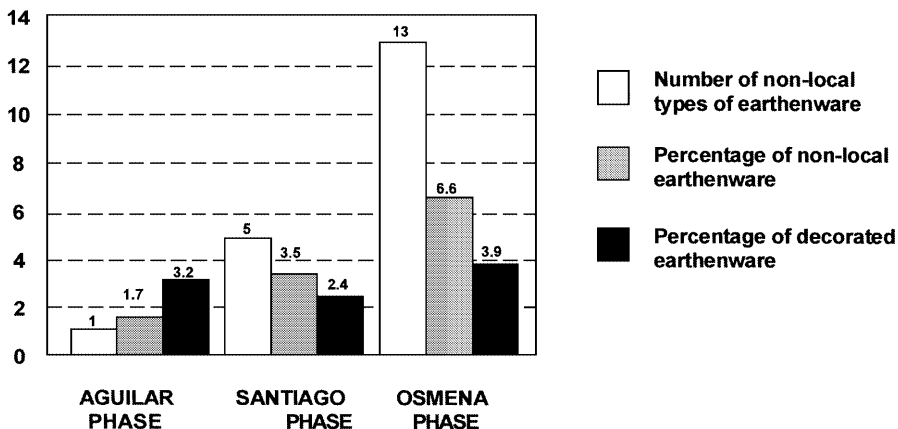


Figure 9.2. Percentage of decorated wares in total earthenware pottery assemblages and the number of types of “exotic” decorated earthenware at Bais-Tanjay Region sites for the Aguilar, Santiago, and Osmena phases.

the Osmena Phase and possibly the Santiago Phase; and (4) the differential distribution of decorated earthenware, metal products, and (in the case of later periods) trade porcelains to large regional centers upriver from Tanjay in all three periods of complex society development.

Only the Osmena Phase decorated earthenware has been studied in some detail. Decorated red earthenware globular pots, which appear to be manufactured out of local clays and tempering material, have highly standardized, repetitive design elements along the vessel shoulders, including stamped florets, stamped swirls, carved sawtooth patterns, and incised wavy lines (see Fig. 9.3). The other common “status” earthenware of this period consists of highly standardized buff-colored bowls or plates covered with a bright red burnished slip and incised with curvilinear lines along the outside rim. In Osmena Phase deposits, these wares and exotic decorated ceramics are differentially distributed to the large stockaded pilehouses of the elite residential zone. Decorated earthenware of the earlier Santiago Phase show a similarly restricted distribution in both households and burial contexts at Tanjay. Excavations at Tanjay yielded clay fragments of possible pottery molds and possible pottery “wasters” (unsuccessfully fired vessels), both in association with a large burnt area that may represent an open firing area for pottery production in close proximity to the elite residential zone of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. However, it is unknown whether decorated earthenware, plain household ceramics, or both were produced at this site. Analysis of the regional distribution of probable prestige goods shows that the fancy earthenware flow differentially from Tanjay to large upriver settlements, bypassing smaller-scale settle-

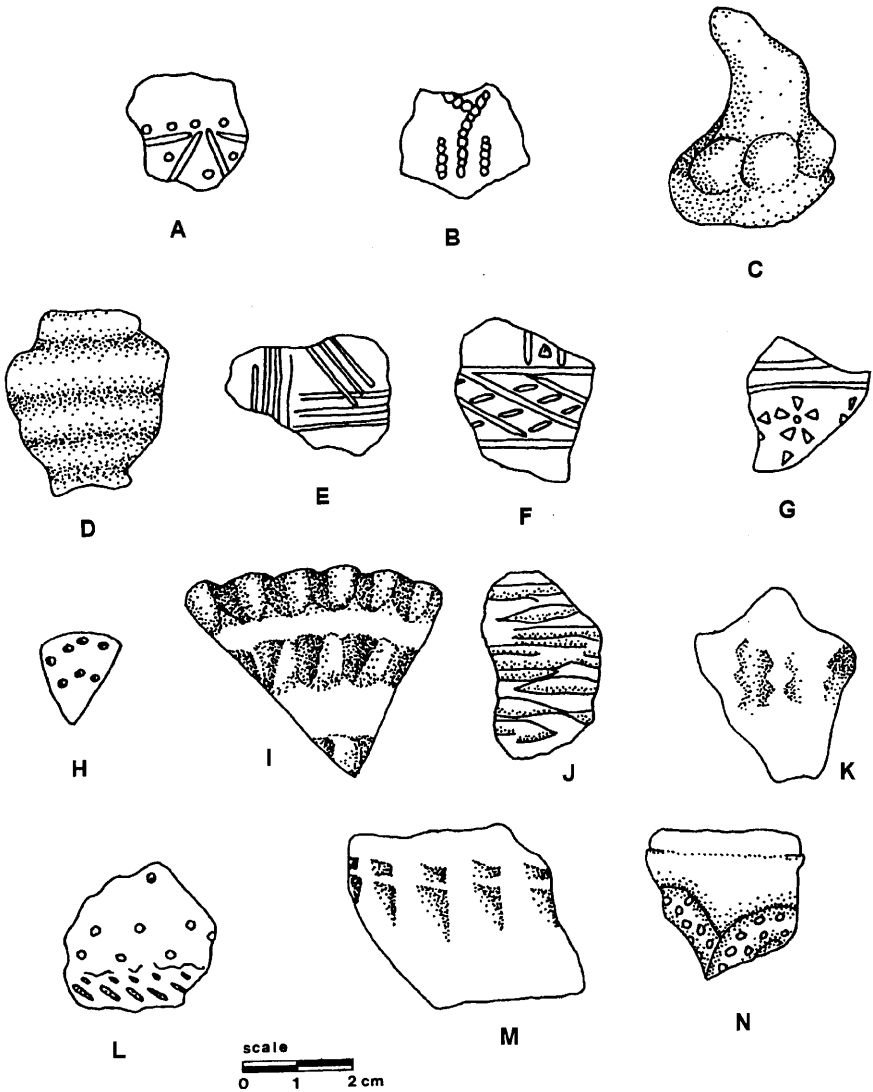


Figure 9.3. Decorative designs on locally produced decorated earthenware from fifteenth-to-sixteenth-century occupation layers at Tanjay.

ments even when they are close to the presumed manufacturing center (see Chapter 10).

The presence of highly standardized modes of ceramic decoration, archaeological evidence for significant pottery production activities at the chiefly center, preliminary petrographic data indicating local production of

at least some of the decorated wares, differential distribution of these goods in both household and mortuary contexts, and restricted regional distribution provide some support for the presence of concentrated specialists producing prestige goods for elite consumption at Tanjay by the Osmena Phase, if not earlier. However, the role of chiefs in supporting and controlling fine earthenware production remains unknown.

### ***The Development of Iron Metallurgy***

There have been few excavations of Metal Age habitation sites and no actual metallurgical facilities yielding iron samples for systematic materials analysis. Cemeteries dated between around 500 B.C. and 1000 A.D. have yielded iron implements (Beyer 1947; R. Fox 1970; Peralta 1977), and the traditional assumption is that iron technology came into the Philippines sometime in the early to mid-first millennium B.C. as a result of Malay migrations into the archipelago (Beyer 1947; Beyer and de Veyra 1947; Solheim 1964, 1982) or diffusion of the technology through maritime contact (R. Fox 1970; Hutterer 1977a; Jocano 1967). Lacking chemical analyses of metal goods from Philippine sites, most archaeologists assumed that iron products were wholly foreign imports before the tenth century or resmelted foreign metals, at best, and that no indigenous iron mining and processing took place. Dizon's (1983, 1987, 1990) recent metallurgical studies of iron implements from pre-tenth-century and historic period burials scattered throughout the archipelago have changed some of these assumptions about the history of iron production.

Dizon's technological analyses included iron blades from various archaeological contexts, ranging from the Iron Age burials at Manunggul Cave (R. Fox 1970), Iron Age sites included in the University of Michigan's Guthe collection (including many of the same sites used in Solheim's [1964] ceramic studies), and mid-second millennium burials at Cebu (Hutterer 1973a) and Bolinao (Legaspi 1974). Metallographic (microscopic and x-ray diffraction) examination suggests that Philippine metalsmiths were capable of smelting and casting iron, with end products ranging from wrought iron to high-carbon steel and cast iron, by the tenth century A.D. and probably earlier (Dizon 1983:25–37, 54–55; 1991:47). Supporting this view is archaeological evidence for probable iron slag and clay molds as status goods at Metal Age burial sites (Dizon 1983:54; Hutterer 1977a). Dizon demonstrates a technological progression over time, from an emphasis on simpler wrought iron products at late first millennium B.C. and first millennium A.D. sites to a significant production of high temperature carburized steel at early to mid-second millennium A.D. sites (Dizon 1990:60). Dizon suggests that the “Malay forge” and clay-lined smelting furnaces described at the time of contact were part of this early ironsmithing technology, although

no actual metal workshops have been recovered archaeologically. Regarding the issue of foreign versus local derivation of the smelted iron, Dizon notes that many of the chemical signatures are consistent with foreign sources for the iron (other sites in Southeast Asia or China), but a significant number of iron specimens could not be identified with known foreign sources and could possibly have involved local iron sources (Dizon 1983: 55). Slag inclusions in specimens from late first millennium B.C. Manunggul Cave and fourteenth to fifteenth century A.D. Bolinao suggest that at least some iron blades were manufactured from smelted ores rather than reworked from imported iron (Dizon 1990:49–50).

Dizon's pioneering investigations of prehispanic Philippine iron production were aimed at illuminating such important issues as the early role of foreign trade in bringing iron objects into the Philippines and how the capabilities of Philippine craftsmen in mining, smelting, and casting iron implements may have developed over time. However, the present evidence tells very little about how indigenous metalsmiths were organized and their role in the political economy of chiefs. Dizon suggests that dispersed, low-volume production of wrought iron using relatively simple techniques and probably involving mostly reworked imported iron was characteristic of the early phases of iron metallurgy in the Philippines, with more technologically sophisticated production by concentrated specialists developing later, as iron became more available through trade and indigenous mining (1990: 60). In the Bais-Tanjay Region, statistical analysis of the regional distribution of iron in the Aguilar Phase shows that iron is concentrated at the coastal settlement of Tanjay and is traded differentially to large upriver sites. Socially restricted access to iron indicates the possibility of elite-controlled metallurgy concentrated in the hands of attached specialists at coastal centers even in this early period. However, in the absence of archaeologically known workshops and more detailed iron sourcing, conclusions about early production modes remain speculative.

A significant issue in all studies of prehispanic Philippine metal goods is the extremely poor preservation of metal objects in habitation contexts and in most burials. Although most metal objects in burials appear to be weapons, it is not known whether all metal objects are status markers or whether the spread of metal to nonelite contexts might simply reflect the expansion of metallurgy to include production of mundane tools. Thus, different production modes may have been involved in the manufacture of different types of metal goods, with only intricate weaponry created by sponsored artisans.

For the mid-second millennium A.D. there is direct evidence for iron metallurgy (e.g., iron slag, clay crucible, or tuyere fragments) at Cebu (Hutterer 1973a; Nishimura 1992), Manila (Peralta and Salazar 1974), and Tanjay (Junker 1993a). In his excavations at the chiefly center of Cebu, Nishimura (1992) found that densities of both iron slag and iron fragments

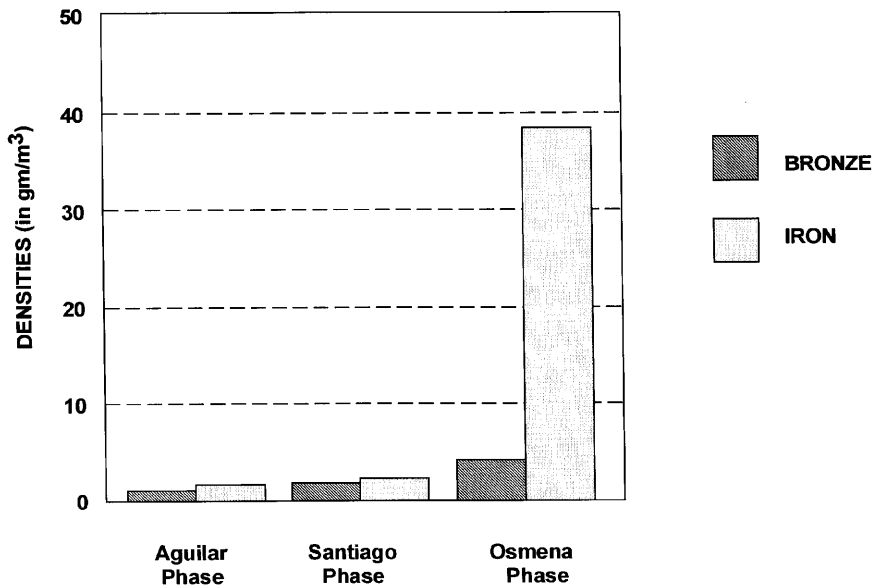


Figure 9.4. Densities of bronze and iron fragments at the site of Tanjay in the Aguilar Phase, Santiago Phase, and Osmena Phase. Densities are for habitation areas, excluding burials.

in habitation deposits increased rapidly from the fourteenth century to early sixteenth-century contact. Evidence for iron production is concentrated in elite sectors of both Cebu and Tanjay in the mid-second millennium A.D. However, in the early-sixteenth-century settlement phase at Cebu, iron use expanded over a larger proportion of the settlement, indicating that iron weaponry and implements were becoming more widely available to nonelite sectors of the population. Similarly, at the chiefly center of Tanjay, iron (locally manufactured and probably also obtained through foreign trade) and bronze (wholly foreign in origin) both increase dramatically in habitation deposits after A.D. 1400 (see Figure 9.4). Almost all of the iron slag and pottery fragments of crucibles or metal molds recovered from Tanjay come from this fifteenth-to-sixteenth-century occupation and primarily from the high-status Santiago Church locale. The relatively limited evidence for indigenous iron production in habitation layers predating the fifteenth century suggests that iron weapons and implements may have been obtained primarily through foreign trade in earlier periods. Similar to Cebu, social access to iron weaponry at Tanjay may have expanded with the burgeoning local metals industry, shown archaeologically in the increased presence of iron objects in nonelite habitation and burial sectors of the site.

Iron objects also become increasingly widespread within the larger Bais-Tanjay Region in the Osmena Phase, showing up with greater frequency and in significantly higher density at interior settlements up to 35 kilometers from the coast. In this period we have the first evidence for local iron production outside of Tanjay, at the upriver secondary center of Calumpang. The Calumpang Site yielded evidence for a whole range of iron production activities, including mining (lateritic iron fragments and heavy pounding and crushing tools), smelting (iron slag and possible clay crucible fragments), and creating finished tools (abundant iron fragments). Quantitative studies of the regional distribution of iron artifacts shows that iron artifacts become an increasingly important component of prestige goods exchanges between elites within the region and between coastal chiefs and the leaders of less complexly organized upland societies with which they traded. While fancy earthenware production may have continued to be concentrated at the coastal center of Tanjay in close proximity to clay and sand temper sources, iron metallurgy may have expanded into the interior in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries as these secondary centers arose near iron ore sources. All of the iron ore or reworked iron objects used as raw material in iron metallurgy at Tanjay were imported from the island interior or from foreign sources, since there are no iron outcrops in the Tanjay alluvial basin. Thus, the emergence of interior iron production centers near local ore sources might mark a shift from reliance on foreign metals in earlier periods to a greater focus on local production of weapons and other metal status goods by attached specialists.

### **Production of Nonluxury Goods in Philippine Chiefdoms: The Ethnohistorical and Archaeological Evidence**

Chinese and European historical records as well as Southeast Asian epigraphic material focus primarily on the production of luxury goods. There are considerably fewer historical references to the organization of craft production and distribution networks for what might be referred to as “domestic” or “nonluxury” goods (e.g., earthenware, textiles, basketry, agricultural tools). Because of the perishable nature of many of these household goods and the tools and facilities used to make them, the archaeological analysis below will focus primarily on the abundant earthenware recovered from domestic contexts at Tanjay and other sites.

#### ***Ethnohistorical Evidence for Domestic Good Production in the Prehispanic Philippines***

Wissemann, in an ethnohistorical study of early second millennium A.D. Java (1977), suggests that production of domestic goods even in developed



Southeast Asian states was dispersed rather than centralized within the coastal trading center and that it involved small-scale independent production by part-time craft specialists geared toward meeting the immediate community's needs. Distribution of mundane household goods, according to Wisseman, occurred by means of localized exchange networks and small-scale itinerant traders rather than centralized, state-controlled distribution systems. However, the local markets at which these socially unrestricted manufactured goods were exchanged were controlled by local headmen or chieftains who collected "service fees" from artisans and merchants involved in commerce at the site. Wisseman suggests that, while these local production and distribution centers were to some degree geographically bounded and internally self-sufficient, intermarket movement of some manufactured goods was effected by middleman vendors who transported goods between districts in the region.

For contact period Philippine chiefdoms, domestic good production strategies seem to have varied according to the scale and ecological setting of a polity as well as its emphasis on external trade. One of the few early Spanish sources to discuss domestic good production in any detail is Alcina's *relación* on Visayan societies (1688a:96–163). Alcina's descriptions of the production of household textiles (including mundane clothing, blankets, and bags), wooden furnishings and equipment, pottery cooking assemblages, basketry, and hunting and fishing equipment (manufactured out of stone, bone, wood, and shell) indicate that each household generally produced its own goods. Cole's (1913) detailed ethnographic descriptions of Bagabo crafts and their manufacture echoes Alcina's earlier account in emphasizing household production of basketry, cordage and netting, wooden traps and hunting spears, earthenware cooking vessels, and other mundane domestic equipment. In contrast, both Alcina and Cole refer to concentrated production of gold and silver ornaments, high-quality textiles, iron weapons, and other prestige goods in chiefly centers, often as a form of tribute for the chiefly elite.

In some of the more complex Philippine polities, such as Sulu and Magindanao, there are historical references to village specialization in the production of basic household commodities such as salt, metal agricultural tools, textiles, mats, and earthenware pottery (Kiefer 1972a; Mednick 1977a; Spoehr 1973; Warren 1985). The multiple ethnic groups who traditionally composed the Sulu sultanate (Tausug, Yakan, Samal, and Badjaw), occupying an ecologically diverse group of islands, were strongly specialized not only in subsistence orientation, but also in craft production activities—the Yakan were known for weaving and cord making; the Tausug for farming and metallurgy; the Samal for mat making, earthenware pottery production, and boat building; and the Badjaw for fishing, salt production, and fish-trap manufacture (Spoehr 1973:25–27; Stone 1974). A few early Spanish references suggest more centralized production of certain basic goods by full-time specialists concentrated in prominent coastal ports active in inter-

island trade. The Spanish official Antonio Morga claims that the pre-hispanic town of Oton on Panay was economically specialized in boat building and carpentry, with its highly skilled carpenters and their products in demand throughout the Philippines (1609b:292).

Too little is known ethnohistorically to determine whether regional specialization in domestic good manufacture and interdistrict trade for pottery, textiles, basketry, or other essential craft goods may have been a widespread pattern in the contact period Philippines. Regional specialization in basic craft goods developed in tandem with interisland circulation of prestige goods in Melanesia (the famous *kula*-like trading rings analyzed by Malinowski 1961; Lauer 1971; Brookfield and Hart 1971), Western Polynesia (Kirch 1984), and parts of eastern Indonesia (Ellen and Glover 1974). Pottery, stone axes, obsidian implements, woven mats, and other goods were regional monopolies, sometimes even in the absence of differences in raw material availability between islands. It is assumed by anthropologists studying these specialized production systems that the relative ease of interisland trade interactions meant that surplus production of essential commodities by highly skilled craftsmen at a few locales was more efficient than self-sufficient production in individual households. In the large islands of the Philippines, an additional factor is coastal-interior trade, in which surplus production of certain craft goods at lowland chiefly centers may have been aimed at export to interior trade partners who lacked indigenous pottery manufacturing and metalworking industries.

### ***The Development of "Independent Specialization" in Domestic Earthenware in the Tanjay Polity***

While we have no archaeological evidence from the Philippines relevant to production modes of nonceramic domestic goods, plain earthenware from mundane habitation contexts at sites like Tanjay offer an opportunity to examine production systems through technological studies. Longacre, Kvamme, and Kabayashi (1988) carried out ethnoarchaeological research in which they examined technological indicators of pottery manufacturing systems in two contemporary Philippine societies with differing production modes. One of the societies they focused on is the Kalinga, a tribally organized society of intensive rice agriculturalists inhabiting scattered small-scale villages in the mountainous interior of north-central Luzon (Barton 1949; Dozier 1966, 1967; Scott 1982). The Kalinga potters, who have been the subject of intensive ethnoarchaeological study for more than a decade (Graves 1981; Longacre 1981; Stark 1991a, 1991b), traditionally engage in household pottery manufacture by part-time producers. The Kalinga artisans were contrasted with a group of full-time specialists concentrated in the area of Paradijon in a small city on the Bicol Peninsula of southeastern

Luzon, potters who mass-produced handmade earthenware for an urban market. In their study, Longacre, Kvamme, and Kabayashi analyzed more than four hundred contemporary cooking vessels from these two distinct production contexts, measuring the coefficient of variation (standard deviation/mean) of rim diameters as a relative measure of pottery "standardization." Longacre and his colleagues found that cooking pots manufactured by full-time specialists were significantly more uniform (had low coefficients of variation) than those produced by part-time household potters (see Fig. 9.5).

According to Longacre's investigations and other ceramic standardization studies, dispersed household production of earthenware should be apparent in extreme local variation in raw materials and in a high level of diversity in morphological features such as rim diameters and sherd thicknesses. In contrast, centralized production by a small number of craftsmen working in close association at a limited number of manufacturing centers should be manifested in a technologically homogeneous and morphologically standardized product. Earthenware samples excavated from habitation contexts at the site of Tanjay and from surface collections at contemporaneously dated sites in the Bais-Tanjay Region, were compared for the Aguilar Phase and the Osmena Phase to determine whether domestic ceramics for each cultural phase were relatively homogeneous or relatively heterogeneous in terms of selected technological and vessel form attributes. The methodological and statistical details of this analysis have been published elsewhere (Junker 1993c, 1994a), and I will simply summarize some of the results here.

For the Aguilar Phase, samples of plain earthenware sherds from Tanjay and four upriver Bais-Tanjay Region sites were compared for a number of technological and morphological attributes (see Table 9.1). Only rims from globular cooking pots were included in the study to control for vessel variation related to gross functional differences (e.g., cooking pots versus serving bowls). Three of the selected sites were located within the lowland zone (below 100 meters elevation) of the Bais-Tanjay Region (3.7, 4.9, and 7.1 kilometers by river from Tanjay), while the fourth site was located in the Bais-Tanjay Region uplands (between 100 and 200 meters elevation) about 21.0 kilometers from Tanjay. Student's *t* tests were used to determine whether each sample could have been derived from the same underlying population as the sample from the hypothetical centralized production center at Tanjay. Coefficients of variation were used to measure the degree of dispersion of individual vessel values around the assemblage mean for individual sites to determine whether each site had relatively homogeneous ceramics and thus might represent the products of geographically distinct production locales. Finally, a coefficient of variation was calculated for the combined samples from the five sites to provide a single index of regional ceramic variability that might be compared for the two periods of study

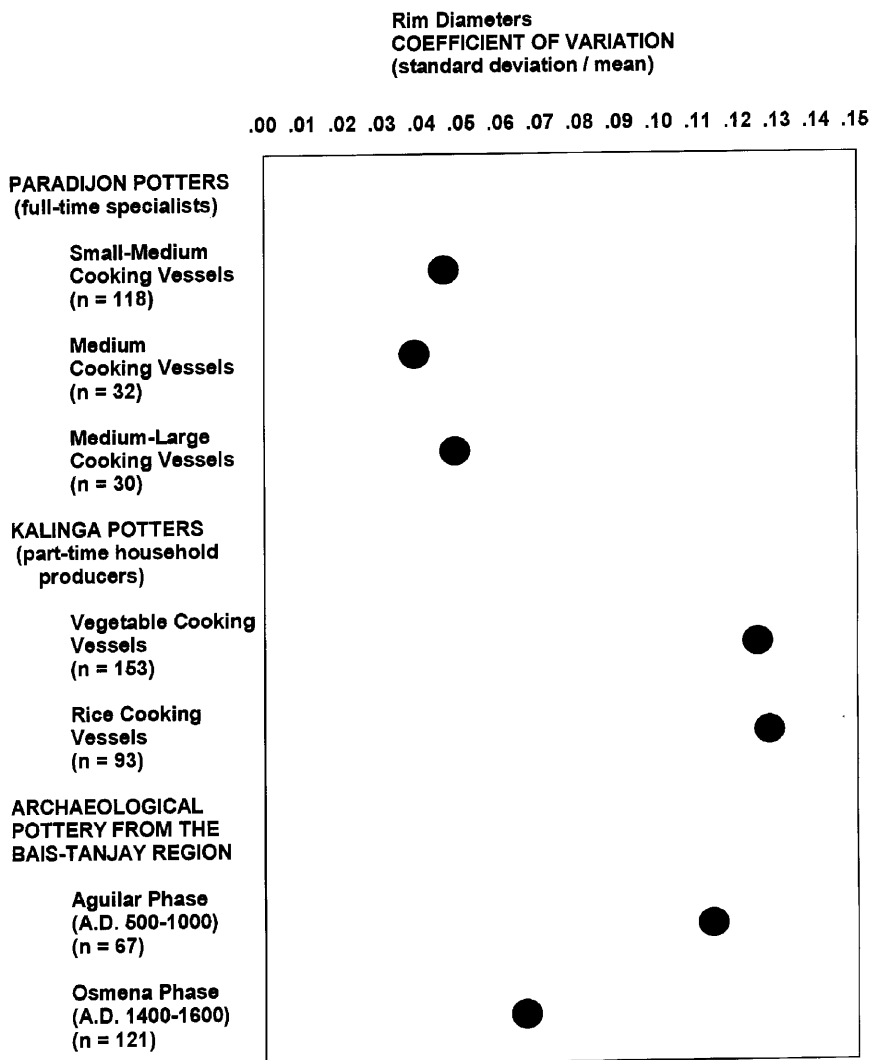


Figure 9.5. Comparison of coefficients of variation for rim diameters of samples of Aguilar Phase and Osmena Phase globular cooking pots with contemporary domestic cooking vessels produced by Kalinga and Paradijon potters, as analyzed by Longacre et al. (1988).

(the Aguilar and Osmena Phases in the Bais-Tanjay Region) and with the ethnoarchaeological results from the Kalinga study.

As shown in Table 9.1, the *t* tests suggest that only the Aguilar Phase pottery from the site nearest to Tanjay is statistically similar to the earthenware pottery at Tanjay. The domestic earthenware from the other Bais-Tanjay Region sites vary significantly with regard to pottery tempering practices, the diameter of the vessel rims, and the thickness of the vessel bodies. Measurement of the internal homogeneity of pottery samples from individual sites using the coefficient of variation indicates that the earthenware vessels from individual sites tend to be relatively similar (i.e., have a comparatively low coefficient of variation), with the exception of the upland site (T-VI-90a). The high index of variability in pottery vessels at the sole upland site may be indicative of the absence of pottery production activities among upland populations (whether tribal swidden farming groups or forest hunter-gatherers) and trade for necessary household ceramics involving a variety of lowland village producers. When a single coefficient of variation for rim diameters is calculated for all five sites combined and compared to Longacre's ethnoarchaeological indices (Fig. 9.5), the Aguilar Phase index is more consistent with that of the Kalinga dispersed, part-time household producers than with that of the Paradijon centralized, full-time pottery specialists.

Turning to the Osmena Phase, samples of locally produced domestic earthenware were selected from five Osmena Phase settlements upriver from Tanjay that were known from surface collections, including three lowland sites (4.9, 6.5, and 9.6 kilometers by river from Tanjay), one upland site between 100 and 200 meters elevation (21.1 kilometers from Tanjay), and a second upland site at about 400 meters elevation (24.2 kilometers from Tanjay). Technological and morphological variables were similar to those in the preceding analysis, and the sample was again restricted to the functional category of globular cooking pots. As shown in Table 9.2, raw material composition and aspects of vessel forming appear to be remarkably standardized for Osmena Phase ware regardless of its regional archaeological context. The *t* tests comparing the earthenware from each individual site to the "Tanjay Red Ware" excavated at the coastal center of Tanjay show no statistically significant differences in terms of either technological or morphological features, even with the samples derived from upland sites more than twenty kilometers from Tanjay (except for the coarser sand temper at site Pa-V-56a). Furthermore, the coefficient of variation in the combined sample of six sites was relatively low for all the variables, showing significantly less variation and more standardization of production techniques than in the earlier Aguilar Phase. The regionwide coefficient of variation for rim diameters corresponds most closely with Longacre's (1988) standardization index recorded for the full-time pottery specialists of Paradijon (Fig. 9.5).

**Table 9.1. Comparison of Selected Technological and Morphological Variables for Samples of Aguilar Spotted Buff Ware Recovered in Excavations at Tanjay and in Surface Collections at Aguilar Phase Sites in the Bais-Tanjay Region**

	Tanjay	Pa-V-96a	Pa-V-177a	T-V-175a	T-VI-90a
Distance to Tanjay (km)		3.7	4.9	7.1	21.0
Total no. of sherds in sample	123	54	60	94	32
Total no. of rims in sample	19	12	13	12	11
Ratio of Quartz to other temper components <sup>1</sup>	0.70 (0.12)	0.74 (0.14)	0.54 (0.12)	0.64 (0.15)	0.58 (0.16)
<i>t</i> value <sup>2</sup>		0.85	8.45**	2.25*	2.56*
Size of quartz grains (in cm) <sup>1</sup>	0.02 (0.003)	0.02 (0.004)	0.03 (0.005)	0.03 (0.004)	0.03 (0.002)
<i>t</i> value <sup>2</sup>		0.35	3.42**	3.73**	4.03**
Temper percentage <sup>1</sup>	25.4 (3.1)	24.6 (1.7)	14.2 (1.2)	19.8 (0.9)	20.1 (4.5)
<i>t</i> value <sup>2</sup>		1.89	9.67**	7.64**	2.31*
Rim diameter (in cm) <sup>1</sup>	12.4 (1.0)	11.6 (1.1)	14.9 (1.8)	11.1 (1.5)	14.8 (1.2)
<i>t</i> value <sup>2</sup>		1.96*	2.98**	1.98*	3.42**
Vessel thickness (in cm) <sup>1</sup>	0.61 (0.14)	0.56 (0.16)	0.64 (0.11)	0.72 (0.10)	0.76 (.04)
<i>t</i> value <sup>2</sup>		0.55	0.65	2.03*	3.42**

Source: Junker 1993c.

\**t* value shows a statistically significant difference at the .05 level.

\*\**t* value shows a statistically significant difference at the .01 level.

1. Mean value, with standard deviation in parentheses.

2. Measures the difference between Tanjay and each site.

**Table 9.2. Comparison of Selected Technological and Morphological Variables for Samples of Tanjay Red Ware Recovered in Excavations at Tanjay and in Surface Collections at Osmena Phase Sites in the Bais-Tanjay Region**

	Tanjay	Pa-V-177a	Pa-V56a	T-V-314a	T-VI-90b	T-VII-90a
Distance to Tanjay (km)		4.9	6.5	9.6	21.1	24.2
Total no. of sherds in sample	225	272	136	55	48	56
Total no. of rims in sample	34	26	18	14	12	17
Ratio of Quartz to other temper components <sup>1</sup>	0.21 (0.05)	0.19 (0.03)	0.3 (0.04)	0.20 (0.03)	0.22 (0.03)	0.21 (0.02)
<i>t</i> value <sup>2</sup>		0.72	2.85**	0.43	1.12	0.34
Size of quartz grains (in cm) <sup>1</sup>	0.28 (0.06)	0.25 (0.03)	0.44 (0.07)	0.26 (0.03)	0.26 (0.02)	0.25 (0.03)
<i>t</i> value <sup>2</sup>		1.34	4.85**	0.65	0.94	1.12
Temper percentage <sup>1</sup>	14.5 (2.4)	13.9 (0.9)	14.2 (1.3)	14.2 (1.0)	15.3 (2.2)	14.3 (2.2)
<i>t</i> value <sup>2</sup>		0.93	0.64	0.69	1.03	0.34
Rim diameter (in cm) <sup>1</sup>	13.9 (0.7)	14.2 (0.9)	13.9 (1.0)	13.8 (0.4)	14.0 (0.8)	14.0 (0.5)
<i>t</i> value <sup>2</sup>		0.49	0.24	0.64	0.34	0.43
Vessel thickness (in cm) <sup>1</sup>	0.69 (0.11)	0.70 (0.09)	0.67 (0.05)	0.65 (0.10)	0.65 (.06)	0.54 (0.08)
<i>t</i> value <sup>2</sup>		0.42	0.74	0.93	1.23	2.34*

Source: Junker 1993c.

\**t* value shows a statistically significant difference at the .05 level.

\*\**t* value shows a statistically significant difference at the .01 level.

1. Mean value, with standard deviation in parentheses.

2. Measures the difference between Tanjay and each site.

This pottery standardization study suggests that pottery production modes may have been changing in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, from primarily localized, part-time household production of domestic earthenware at a large number of geographically dispersed sites to a more centralized production system in which a smaller number of full-time pottery specialists were working out of a limited number of manufacturing centers. Some of the “Tanjay Red Ware” production appears to have been intended for trade into upland zones as well as local consumption, since it is found in significant quantities at fifteenth- and sixteenth-century upland sites up to thirty kilometers from Tanjay. Mass-produced ware may have been an important component of lowland export strategies at Tanjay in a period when stable upland-lowland exchange relations were particularly critical to continued participation in the maritime luxury good trade. However, pottery production systems may have varied considerably between Philippine chiefdoms, depending on their degree of regional economic integration and their emphasis on riverine and maritime trade.

### **Conclusions: Changing Patterns of Prehispanic Craft Production**

In this chapter, archaeological and ethnohistorical investigations traced changes in the organization of craft production in lowland Philippine chiefdoms between the late first millennium A.D. and the time of European contact. Sixteenth-century and later historical accounts indicate the presence of what Brumfiel and Earle (1987) refer to as “attached specialists” at some Philippine chiefly centers. These were full-time, centrally concentrated craftsmen who produced luxury goods such as gold, fine textiles, and metal weapons exclusively for elite clientele and who were supported by chiefly sponsors. Pointing to repetitive design elements on earthenware vessels from Metal Age burial sites scattered throughout the Philippines, some scholars have argued that specialist producers in a limited number of workshops were creating fancy ceramics as exchangeable status goods before the Chinese porcelain trade. However, problems with the archaeological contexts of this earthenware and debate over the degree of standardization in decoration and form have suggested caution in claiming specialist production at this early date. Whatever its production mode, fancy earthenware continue to be produced as prestige goods and even increased in volume as porcelains become available through maritime trade. In the Tanjay chiefdom, homogeneous design elements on decorated ceramics, differential access to these prestige goods in both habitation and burial contexts, the presence of pottery production features at Tanjay, and restricted regional distribution patterns make a somewhat stronger argument for specialist production of status earthenware in the mid-second millennium A.D. How-



ever, the contact period historical sources are strangely silent on status earthenware production, and one cannot assume that Philippine chiefdoms were uniform in their production systems.

While the traditional view among archaeologists is that early iron goods entered the Philippines through trade and that Philippine metallurgical skills were limited until the contact period, recent materials analysis of iron artifacts suggests that Philippine craftsmen were capable of iron smelting and casting by the late first millennium B.C. Archaeological evidence indicates that, over time, Philippine metalsmiths worked from local ores rather than resmelting foreign iron goods, and these metalsmiths tended to be concentrated at coastal ports such as Cebu and Tanjay. Increased local iron production may have transformed iron into a less scarce commodity, and access to iron implements may have become more widespread in nonelite residential areas and at settlements outside the coastal centers in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. This expanding indigenous iron industry may be a result of increased demand for weaponry and other status goods associated with the emergence of more complex status hierarchies and intensified riverine and maritime trade. If agricultural tools were a significant product of prehispanic iron metallurgists, the spread of iron may also be related to the more widespread adoption of metal agricultural technologies.

A second form of centralized production may have emerged quite late in the development of Philippine chiefdoms, in association with the massively expanded fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Chinese porcelain trade. This “independent specialization” is focused on large-scale, centralized, specialist production of mundane household goods (specifically ceramics) for a socially unrestricted market. Standardization studies of domestic earthenware from Bais-Tanjay Region sites suggest that, before the fifteenth century, these household ceramics were manufactured at the household level in dispersed production locales. The appearance of significantly more homogeneous domestic wares in the region that appears to radiate out of Tanjay may mark the beginnings of a centralized pottery industry with full-time specialists by the mid-second millennium A.D. This new production mode and the increased volume of trade goods it afforded are viewed as a function of both the expanded scale of the polity at Tanjay and an increased intensity of lowland-upland trade. Craft production systems in archaeologically well-known polities like Tanjay and Cebu may not be representative of how crafts are organized in other regions of complex society development in the Philippines. Regional differences in raw materials, the relative advantages of regional specialization, variation in polity scale, and the economic significance of production for export were all important factors in shaping production systems.

## Chapter 10

### Alliance and Prestige Goods Exchange

Exchanges of prestige goods between allied elites as a means of consolidating political power is characteristic of chiefdom-level societies (D'Altroy and Earle 1985; Earle 1987b, 1997; Friedman 1981; Frankenstein and Rowlands 1978; Johnson and Earle 1987: 208; Peebles and Kus 1977; Rowlands 1980). In Southeast Asian complex societies, where tenuously cohering personal alliance networks rather than more permanent unilineal descent groups are the core of political power, prestige goods exchanges with other elites are particularly critical to maintaining and expanding political coalitions.

Once these goods have been obtained through foreign trade or through local sponsorship of luxury good artisans, exchange generally takes place in specific kinds of social contexts in which their symbolic value is maximized and participation of the nonelite can be restricted. These exclusionary events might include elite gift giving at chiefly ceremonial feasts, exchanges associated with marriage (often in the form of “bridewealth” payments to affinals), and ritualized elite prestations accompanying long-distance trade expeditions or military alliance. As tangible symbols of elite social prestige and political authority, these goods become part of a shared elite symbolic system that includes both materially expressed iconographies and behavioral texts. This “elite culture” often encompasses distinct architectural styles, dress and behavioral modes, language and writing systems, ritual pageantry, and esoteric knowledge that set the nobility apart from ordinary people as a distinct class (Freidel 1986; Hantman and Plog 1982:243–244; Marcus 1974; Renfrew 1986; Wright 1984:54).

Prestige goods can also serve as bankable stores of value that can be converted into clientage relations and tribute flow to the elite by selectively funneling them down the political hierarchy to subordinates. As summarized by Johnson and Earle, “By channelling the distribution of valuables, ranking elites used them almost as political currency” (1987:208). Particularly in Southeast Asian complex societies, where political ties were highly volatile and predicated upon personal allegiance, strategic disbursements of prestige goods by chiefly patrons to local leaders were essential to attracting and retaining a large cadre of tribute-producing supporters. A generous outflow of prestige markers to subordinates translated directly into an

expanding inflow of subsistence surplus, raw materials, and exchangeable goods for foreign export.

The ethnohistorical evidence, in early European writings and ethnographic accounts of Philippine chiefdoms persisting into the early twentieth century, suggests that Philippine chiefs were polygamous and that they strategically arranged marriages with both potential elite allies and subordinate chiefs to broaden their sphere of political influence. Control of enormous wealth in prestige goods and slaves was necessary for chiefs to acquire high-status and politically influential wives as well as to make lower-ranking men indebted to them by “sponsoring” their bridewealth payments. In addition, the circulation of prestige goods was an integral part of trade partnerships, military pacts, and competitive status displays in elite-sponsored ceremonial feasting. A major issue in the evolution of Philippine chiefly political economies is the impact of foreign luxury good trade on the scale and intensity of prestige goods exchanges. Comparative material on African and European long-distance trading polities suggests that new sources of wealth might be manipulated by elites to expand the geographic reach of their alliance networks and even to transform what were previously symmetrical relations into relations of subordination (see Chapter 1). Archaeological evidence presented in the second half of this chapter addresses this issue of long-term changes in the internal prestige goods economy of Philippine chiefdoms related to the early second millennium A.D. growth of foreign trade.

### **Marriage Alliances and Bridewealth Exchange**

One of the most important social contexts in which prestige goods were strategically disbursed to increase the social status of the kin group and to expand political alliances in Southeast Asian complex societies is marriage negotiations and bridewealth payments. For chiefs and kings in particular, the creation of a widespread network of affinal ties that rami-fied horizontally and vertically through the sociopolitical hierarchy was of supreme importance in political coalition building. Subordinates presented their daughters and sisters to rulers as acts of fealty, while elites exchanged wives to consolidate their alliance, with elite polygamy “both an indication of status and a diplomatic weapon” (Reid 1988:151). Since bridewealth payments traditionally passed from prospective grooms to the families of selected brides throughout Southeast Asia (Reid 1988:146), it was incumbent on Southeast Asian maharajahs, sultans, and chiefs to accrue the enormous surpluses of prestige good wealth that would allow them to acquire numerous high-status and politically strategic wives for their sons and heirs.

### **Elite Marriage Alliances and Political Consolidation**

In Southeast Asian societies where overlord-vassal relationships involved continued reciprocity and were modeled after the kinship bonds of families, “it was the exchange of women which made these bonds tangible, for the children that resulted from subsequent unions became the living symbol of irrevocable kinship” (B. Andaya 1992:408). In the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Maluku polities of Ternate and Tidore, which expanded under the Portuguese spice trade, the king’s court contained hundreds of royal wives supplied by high-ranking chiefs of the outlying districts under his dominion: “it was not uncommon for a sultan to have a wife in every major settlement in the kingdom” (L. Andaya 1993a:37). Some elite women from smaller polities and outlying districts were designated as royal spouses before leaving their mothers’ wombs (B. Andaya 1992:408). The giving of women in polygamous marriages to the ruler and other high-ranking elites at the polity center was an act of fealty and subordination that was rewarded with a return flow of elevated status and bridewealth valuables. In contrast, the sultan’s daughters and sisters were married to elite men of similar rank from neighboring polities with whom he desired alliance, including Sulawesi and Sulu. Barbara Andaya notes that, ironically, the in-marrying women that had been the “initial fulcrum of an alliance between lord and vassal” frequently led to the eventual breakdown of these relations and fragmentation of the polity (1992:419). Foreign wives were often at the center of factional competition to seize the rulership for their progeny at the death of a monarch (p. 419), and poor treatment of a high-ranking foreign wife often led to interpolity warfare between affinally related rulers (p. 420).

Geertz (1980a) has also written extensively about the significance of marriage alliances in defining, and sometimes redefining, political clients and social asymmetries in nineteenth-century Balinese kingdoms. Polygynous, hypergamous marriages in the royal court and within the noble class were among the most important mechanisms for political integration, by establishing a wide network of ties that bound high-ranking Balinese *dadias* (agnatic descent groups) to similarly constructed but lower-ranking descent groups in clientage relationships. Geertz describes the political ramifications of the Balinese marriage system as follows:

Though marriage was preferentially *dadia*-endogamous, title-group hypergamy—that is to say, marriage of a woman of lower title to a man of higher—was permitted. As a result, the higher it was in the title-group ladder, at least among the ruling gentry, the more endogamous a marriage could be, from the point of view of the women of the *dadia*; while, from the point of view of the men, and especially the lord, the larger the man’s complement of endogamous and hyper-

gamous wives could be. The degree to which a *dadia* could keep its own women and still bring in others from outside was an almost quantitative measure of its status. The lower, or less powerful, *dadias* were obliged to send some of their women to the higher, or more powerful, in order to secure their place in the polity. The relationship thus established was called *wargi*. That is, the lower *dadia* was *wargi* to the higher, by virtue of having given a woman to it in marriage and acknowledging thereby both its own inferiority and its loyalty to the higher. Wives were given as a form of tribute, an act of homage, and an oath of fealty.

(1980a:35)

In addition to these asymmetrical marriage alliances aimed at cementing vertical ties and extending ties to subordinates, Geertz notes the importance of “crosswise” (i.e., horizontal or symmetrical) exchanges between locally dominant *dadias* of different regions (1980a:39). Ongoing prestations of heirlooms, trade goods, and theatrical or artistic performances were tied to these elite marriage alliances and were a formalized aspect of ceremonial occasions.

Ethnohistorical sources suggest that intermarriage between elites was a significant politically integrating mechanism in sixteenth-century Philippine lowland societies.<sup>1</sup> Both Spanish sources and early ethnographic accounts of extant chiefdoms such as Magindanao, Bagabo, and Kulaman indicate that *datus* were frequently polygamous, selecting wives from a large number of villages where strategic alliances were necessary to consolidate political power (Relation of the Conquest of Manila 1572:111; Cole 1913:103, 157; Iletto 1971:34; Legaspi 1569:42; Saleeby 1905:60; Vicencio 1534:359). The marriage arrangements made by chiefs were almost invariably predicated on political considerations and were a significant element of interpolity alliance-building strategies. This motivation is exemplified in a case described by Spanish chronicler Pedro Chirino in which a Visayan chief’s daughter was married to the son of a chief of a small neighboring island with attendant exchange of substantial bridewealth and gifts. However, subsequent hostilities resulted in “the marriage last[ing] no longer than did peace between them” (1604b:294–295). Similarly, in a summary of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century historical descriptions of lowland populations in the Ilocos Norte (northern Luzon) region, Keesing notes a case in which an influential chief was intent on establishing alliances with other chiefs in the vicinity to assist in resistance to the Spaniards (1962:151–152). He cemented one such alliance with a request to the political leader to provide a daughter for marriage to his son “in order to make sure” of the latter’s loyalty. Chirino further notes that such alliance-building marriage contracts frequently involved multigenerational wife exchanges between allied individuals, with betrothal negotiations

sometimes initiated well before the potential spouses were even born (1604b:294).

Philippine chiefs who were well connected in sixteenth-century foreign trade networks often exchanged women with elites from Borneo and other polities outside the archipelago. In his account of the Magellan expedition's travels to Brunei after their misfortunes at Cebu, Pigafetta learns of the existence of the Manila polity through an encounter with the "Luzon" paramount's son, who was married to the Brunei sultan's daughter (1521b:159). Fifty years later, the Legaspi expedition encountered what is probably the same man in their conquest of Manila. He was by then an elderly and ailing chief (Rajah Matanda) who ruled jointly with his nephew (Rajah Soliman or Suleyman), the latter also having at least one wife derived from Brunei nobility. In Pigafetta's earlier voyage to Brunei, he also learned of the Sulu polity from Brunei natives who recounted the marriage of the Brunei sultan to one of the Sulu sultan's daughters (Pigafetta 1521b:164).<sup>2</sup>

In the case of the dual Magindanao chiefdoms of the upper and lower Pulangi River basin in south-central Mindanao, elite marriage alliances between the two realms occurred as often as open conflict, both aimed at affecting power relations:<sup>3</sup> "Competition between royal claimants in the upper and lower valley—*sa raya* and *sa ilud*—were endemic and fluctuated between open hostility and marriage alliances, with supporting chiefs shifting allegiance as political expediency recommended" (Scott 1994:175). The Magindanao *tarsilas* (genealogical records of the sultans and pre-Islamic chiefs, known through oral tradition and encoded in writing during the historic period) indicate a long history of interelite marriage aimed at cementing political relationships (Ileto 1971; Saleeby 1905). A Buayan (upper valley) paramount *datu* known as Pulwa, the grandson of the claimed founding chief of the upper valley polity in the early to mid-sixteenth century (known as Mamu), was credited with bringing Islam to this interior chiefdom through marriage to the daughter of Sarip Kabungsuwan, the Islamic sultan of Cotabato (the lower valley Magindanao polity) (Saleeby 1905:24–27). For many subsequent centuries, until the fall of both polities to foreign rule in the late nineteenth century, the genealogies of the two polities are intertwined through multiple marriages in each generation between the sultans and rajahs of one polity and elite women of the other (Ileto 1971:2–4).

Ileto suggests that an analysis of the directional flow of women (i.e., which *datu*s were most often the "wife givers" and which *datu*s were most often "wife takers") can reveal which of the two polities enjoyed relative political dominance in particular periods (1971:2). As in the case of nineteenth-century Bali (Geertz 1980a), but not those of the Burmese Shan and Kachin studied by Leach (1965), the "wife receiver" position appears to have conferred greater prestige. The mid- to late-sixteenth-century genealogies indicate an almost unidirectional flow of women from the coastal

Magindanao polity centered at Cotabato into the interior Buayan-centered chiefdom, which is claimed in Antonio Morga's account (1609) to have been a significantly larger and more powerful political center than that of the coast. This directionality is supported by the Spanish Captain Rodríguez de Figueroa's 1596 failed military expedition against Buayan and the Buayan paramount's ability to draw the kingdoms of Ternate and Sulu into the fray through long-standing alliances and intermarriages with the rulers of these more distant polities (Ileto 1971:3). By the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Buayan polity was eclipsed by the Cotabato sultans, whose ties with Maluku polities like Ternate and Tidore and the rising Portuguese spice trade catapulted Cotabato to primacy as an international trading port with a powerful naval force (Majul 1966). At this time, the flow of elite women reversed, and most of the interpolity elite marriages involved the betrothal of Buayan *datus'* daughters and sisters to Cotabato rulers and the rulers of even more distant polities. The Cotabato Magindanao chiefs are reported to have taken wives not only from the Buayan Magindanao, but also from powerful *datus* elsewhere in Mindanao, and from the sultan and other elites of Sulu (Saleeby 1905:57), creating a wide web of affinal alliances through their polygamous marriages. By the end of the eighteenth century the Cotabato sultans' regional preeminence was eroding owing to the Spanish presence at Zamboanga, while the Buayan rulers, buffered by their interior location, expanded their power through intensive surplus agricultural production and control of interior resources (Ileto 1971:11). Despite Spanish efforts to penetrate up the Pulangi River between 1861 and 1887, the interior Magindanao polity remained independent and actually prospered through trade in slaves, rice, and interior forest products until conquest by American forces in 1899. Accordingly, the Buayan rajahs in the nineteenth century received wives from the Cotabato rulers and from numerous neighboring smaller polities (Ileto 1971:34).

Ileto traces in some detail the political history of Datu Uto, the Buayan paramount between 1872 and 1892, a famous Magindanao ruler who built a powerful political coalition in the upper Pulangi River basin through strategic marriages, control of interior trade, strong military leadership, and personal charisma (1971:34–40). While it is not precisely known how many wives Datu Uto acquired during his tenure as paramount, late-nineteenth-century European accounts cited by Ileto indicate that the Magindanao chief took wives from all the important *datus* in the region, thus cementing vertical ties with these local chiefs and ensuring their loyalty. In a letter to the Spanish governor of Cotabato in 1874, Datu Uto bragged about the large contingent of relatives and affinal kinsmen who were to accompany him downriver on a visit to the Spanish-controlled port, including at least eighteen *datus* who appear to have been his brothers-in-law through marriage. In addition, Datu Uto gained prestige and the support of many *datus* previously under the political sway of the then-deposed sultan of Cotabato

by marrying the only legitimate daughter of the last independent sultan of Cotabato, Kudrat II. The brother of the Datu Uto's new wife, a legitimate heir to the sultanship whose succession was blocked by Spanish conquest, became one of Datu Uto's closest allies in his delicately balanced strategy of alternating trade and armed resistance against Spanish-controlled Cotabato.

### **Bridewealth and Prestige Goods Exchange**

Elite intermarriages and the flow of women through hypergamous marriages to men, and especially *datus*, of higher rank are tied to the prestige goods economy through bridewealth payments, which redistributed foreign porcelains and other accumulated status goods between "wife takers" and "wife givers." Ethnohistorical analysis suggests that men who gave sisters and daughters in marriage to high-ranking *datus* elevated the status of their kin group through these affinal associations and received bridewealth payments that could be redistributed within their kin group to acquire wives of high rank for their male members. As analyzed by Scott from the Spanish texts, marriage payments were not "dowry" to be shared as conjugal property by the joined spouses, but instead constituted a "brideprice" (*bugay* in Visayan) that accrued to the girl's kin group, who redistributed the items of wealth to meet future needs for brideprice payments by their own male members (1994:140–141).

Francisco Alcina provides the most detailed description of marriage negotiations and brideprice among Visayan populations (1688b:180–198).<sup>4</sup> Alcina describes marriage negotiations as commencing when a man's relatives came to a woman's house with a respected *datu* or *timawa* (nobleman) to lead the party and several mediators (*kagon*) who were skilled at arbitrating brideprice disputes. A long series of negotiations would take place, as each item of offered brideprice was examined, its value assessed, and individually agreed upon or rejected, with higher-status women requiring both more valuable and more numerous goods. Significantly, Alcina notes that the most common brideprice valuables were slaves, exotic porcelains, metal gongs, and gold ornaments (p. 188); while the latter two could be manufactured by local metallurgists, slaves and foreign porcelains were necessarily obtained through maritime trading and raiding activities.

According to Alcina and other contact period Spanish writers, social mobility of the entire kin group was achieved not only through marrying its women to higher-ranking men, but also by accumulating the resources (e.g., slaves, porcelain, gold, and other prestige goods) to meet the high brideprices necessary to acquire high-status women for the group's male members (Bobadilla 1640:337; Dasmariñas 1590:410–411; Loarca 1582c: 283–284; Pérez 1680:112; Plasencia 1589a:173–185; Santa Ines 1676:89–



90; San Antonio 1738:336–339). Therefore, success in accumulating high brideprices for previous marriage matches, in obtaining prestige goods and slaves through maritime raiding and trading activities, in controlling the labor of luxury good artisans, and in accruing goods and status in the competitive feasting arena all contributed to a pool of wealth that could be used for making politically and socially enhancing marriages for the kin group. Heirlooms and other status goods flowed to the woman's kin group, while it was primarily "prestige" that flowed to the man's kin group.<sup>5</sup> This prestige derived both from the relative status of the woman and from public opinion about the relative extravagance of the bridewealth payment that the man's family was able to offer. Spanish accounts of marriage dissolution suggest the importance of status and political leverage gained by marriage transactions. If the marriage failed because of the husband's initiative, the wife's family reportedly kept its bridewealth. However, if poor behavior by the wife led to the breakdown of the marriage, the bridewealth would have to be repaid to compensate the man's possible loss of status and political connectedness (Dasmariñas 1590:410–411; Plasencia 1589a:173–185).

Ethnographic accounts of traditional marriage arrangements in Mindanao chiefdoms like the Bukidnon (Biernatzki 1985; Claver 1985; Cole 1956), Manuvu (Manuel 1971), and Bagabo (Cole 1913:101–102) emphasize the prestige accorded to those men who controlled the resources (e.g., carabao, pigs, porcelains, gongs and other metal objects, gold, cloth, and more recently money and horses) to pay bridewealth for a large number of wives of high status. An aging paramount Bukidnon *datu* (Datu Dinawat Ogil) whose father ruled during World War II provided Claver with a summary of the significance of bridewealth in chiefly status: "In the old days, it was the sign of a great *datu* to have many wives, and the more he had, the higher he was in the estimation of the people. The man of many wives had to be rich, and people would say of him: 'He must be a big man to be able to pay *ula* [brideprice] for so many, and more so, to be able to satisfy so many and keep them in line' " (1985:77). Datu Dinawat Ogil's father had four wives, whereas the son had only two whom he married serially rather than simultaneously. Interestingly, the *datu* resisted his family's entreaties to take another wife before his first wife's death not because of the changing norms regarding the practice of polygamy in contemporary Philippine society, but because he wanted to wait until he had accrued enough wealth to offer a second bride's family even greater bridewealth than the first, thus expanding his prestige.<sup>6</sup> While Cole provides considerably less detail about Bagabo marriage negotiations, he notes that "the price the girl should bring varies according to the wealth of the interested parties and the accomplishments of the bride," and *datu*s in particular are expected to offer a large number of animals (primarily horses or carabao), metal gongs, metal weapons, and other valuables for a prominent wife (1913:101–102).

Of significance in the construction of political alliance networks is the

reported practice among the Manuvu and Bukidnon of chiefs or other elites “sponsoring” young men in making bridewealth payments when the prospective groom and his kinsmen cannot meet the expense of a desired high-status match (Biernatzki 1985:33; Manuel 1971:230, 332). As summarized by Manuel for the Manuvu: “Sons of ordinary citizens, unless assisted by kinsmen, may not be able to meet the bridewealth requirements, and it is usually the *datu* who comes with a helping hand to tide over a tight situation. [In addition,] the concept of “extending our waters and expanding our lands” [i.e., “influence”] is used for practical purposes by *datu*s when their sons or daughters marry. . . . Thus, political influence may spread fan-wise in all directions” (1971:333). These surrogate bridewealth payments created subordinate relationships for chiefs that could be called on whenever labor, resources, or military support were required. Thus, chiefs had to acquire politically manipulable wealth not only to finance their own status-enhancing marriages and those of their sons, but also as a fund of power that could be used strategically to sponsor marriages for young men from lower-ranking families who recognize their debt through future loyalty and service to the *datu*.

### **Other Types of Alliance-Building Prestige Goods Exchanges**

In addition to prestige good exchanges associated with marriage negotiations, a number of other social contexts in which prestige goods exchanges occur are explicitly noted in early Spanish texts. These include ceremonial feasting events in which allies and clients of the sponsor engage in a series of ongoing prestations, occasions when “blood oaths” or ritualized military pacts are made between political allies to cement war alliances, and other occasions of ritual gift giving associated with long-distance trade partnerships.

#### ***Prestige Goods Exchanges and Ritual Feasting***

Some of the prestige goods exchange between geographically distant sociopolitical elite is likely to have taken place in the context of the chieftain-sponsored “feasts,” or supracommunity ritual events, described in the Spanish literature and in early-twentieth-century ethnographic accounts of chiefdoms like the Bagabo. These ritual celebrations were associated with life-crisis and calendrical events, including marriage, death, illness, warfare preparation, house construction, and significant points in the agricultural cycle. These ritual feasts were opportunities for competitive displays of status, in which attending elite made contributions of gold, cotton textiles,

and other status goods to the chiefly host. The sponsoring chief in turn feasted the assembled guests lavishly on pigs, water buffalo, and other food delicacies served on imported porcelains, and he became indebted to make return prestations of status goods at a future date. In most Philippine feasting systems, there was an ethos of competitive one-upmanship in these prestations. Status accrued to those who could maintain a wide range of exchange partners in the feasting system, could consistently increase the quantity and quality of prestige goods in their gift giving, and could sponsor the most elaborate feasts.

### ***Blood Oaths and Alliance***

Numerous references are made in the Spanish documents to the formal recognition of alliance and cessation of feuding between two groups through a ritual ceremony that involves what might be termed a “blood oath” (Boxer manuscript 1590b:233; Legaspi 1565:201; Loarca 1582a:160–163; Pigafetta 1521a:56, 77, 79; Seuilla 1566:225). As described by Loarca, “Reconciliation between those who have quarreled, whether these are individuals or the people of different villages, is brought about by drawing blood from the arms of both parties, and each tasting the blood of the other, placed in a shell, sometimes mixed with a little wine; and such friendship is not to be broken” (1582a:161). Such a ceremony appears to have served as an institutionalized means of symbolizing alliance, particularly at the intercommunity level, and as a potentially powerful ritual sanction against intercommunity hostilities. Sixteenth-century accounts of the initial Spanish voyagers to Manila and Cebu note that ritualized alliances made by the Spaniards with the paramount chiefs of these polities involved requests to participate in this type of blood oath (Relation of the Voyage to Luzon 1570:97; Pigafetta 1521a:56). The ethnographically studied coastal Tagbanua of eastern Palawan (R. Fox 1954) and the Sulod of upland Panay (Jocano 1968) have recently been observed to practice similar blood oath ceremonies in association with the formation of intervillage alliances or as a formal means of symbolizing the cessation of hostile relations between two groups.

The Sulu Tausug, according to Kiefer (1968), also engage in a traditional oath-taking ceremony that recognizes alliances and reconstitutes bonds broken by conflict. Violation of such a “friendship” oath is tantamount to a betrayal of God and, at the same time, leaves the violating individual or group vulnerable to a curse by spirits causing sickness, death, or other severe misfortune, a curse that can be inherited over many generations. Institutionalized peace pacts or blood oaths established a social and political relationship in which reciprocal gift exchanges involving valuable prestige goods, joint participation in feasts, and exchange of women for

marriage were expected and appropriate. Thus, these ritualized exchanges were significant in building and maintaining political coalitions, however ephemeral.

### ***Interisland Prestige Goods Exchanges and Economic Specialization***

One important type of link in the precontact Philippine exchange networks that has yet to be examined is the intermediate-distance trade moving commodities between island chiefdoms. The considerable intensity and economic importance of this interregional maritime trade is emphasized by its relatively frequent mention in the early Spanish records (e.g., Relation of the Voyage to Luzon 1570:91 (dated 1576); Dasmariñas 1591:84; Legapsi 1565:186–187, 209; Legapsi 1567:238; Loarca 1582a:47, 121; Villalobos 1541:42; also see Blair and Robertson 1903–1909, 16:102, 106; 27:80; 39:30–31; 40:87). Luxury goods either obtained in foreign trade at major ports or locally manufactured were exchanged between elites at distant regional centers to cement political alliances and to facilitate regular interisland trade in mundane household commodities.

The Spanish historical sources also attest to a substantial volume of interisland trade in food staples (e.g., rice, sugar, livestock, fish) and basic raw materials (e.g., cotton for textiles, iron and other metals for tools and weapons) (Relation of the Voyage to Luzon 1570:91; Morga 1609b:287). This interdistrict and interisland trade in essential subsistence goods and domestic commodities appears to be related to the considerable microenvironmental ecological diversity characterizing the Philippine archipelago. Cruikshank's (1982) detailed study of nineteenth-century agricultural production and trade on the eastern Visayan island of Samar suggests that microenvironmental differences in lowland soils and climatic conditions promoted regional crop specialization even on a single island (e.g., dry rice on Samar's northern plain, coconuts on the drier southern coast, and hemp in the low hills along the eastern coast). Demographic trends and regional settlement location preferences associated with developing sociopolitical complexity tended to amplify these differences in the productive potential of local ecosystems. In addition to lowland agricultural specialization, there are some indications in the historical documents for regionally specialized craft production in basic household goods and interdistrict or interisland distribution through trade. Ethnographic studies in the Sulu Sea area have indicated traditional regional specialization and interisland trade in earthenware pottery, metal objects, and textiles, with the Samal-speaking groups specializing in pottery manufacture, the Yakan-speaking groups in textile and rope production, and the Tausug in metalworking (Spoehr 1973).

Similar to the interisland and interdistrict exchange systems recorded for parts of Melanesia (Bulmer 1960; Malinowski 1961; M. Strathern 1971),

the ceremonial exchanges of valuable nonsubsistence goods between corporate group leaders (in the Melanesian case, “big men,” and in the Philippine case, primarily hereditary chiefs) served to establish and reinforce the political alliances necessary for carrying out this less politically charged, mutually advantageous trade in mundane domestic goods. Ellen and Glover (1974) describe similar interisland exchange partnerships for the Maluku archipelago to the south of the Philippines.

In summary, the ethnohistorical evidence suggests that exchanges of prestige goods, both locally produced and obtained in foreign trade, were key to cementing political relations in prehispanic Philippine complex societies. Exchanges of luxury goods between the chiefly elite of different polities occurred in the context of elite marriages and bridewealth exchanges, ritual associated with intergroup conflict resolution, and competitive feasting events. In addition, the primary means by which chiefs expanded and maintained their networks of patron-client relationships within the polity was through strategic disbursement of prestige goods to subordinates and local allies. These included not only second-tier *datus* at upriver settlements or other key individuals within their lowland power spheres, but also tribal leaders of adjacent uplands who provided the interior forest products critical to foreign trade.

### **Archaeological Evidence for the Regional Circulation of Prestige Goods**

The archaeological analysis of intraregional prestige goods trade requires systematically collected regional settlement pattern data along with detailed materials for stylistic analysis of luxury goods and their distributions over the regional landscape. Archaeological analysis of this type has been carried out in the Mississippian chiefdoms of the American Southeast, focusing on the distribution of prestige goods (e.g., fancy ceramics, shell gorgets, copper objects) within specific regions (Milner 1990; B. Smith 1978). The archaeological investigation of long-distance, interpolity exchanges of prestige goods requires the identification of probable origin points of specific types of luxury goods and their differential distribution to distant chiefly centers. For Bronze Age and Iron Age Europe, these types of long-distance interpolity elite exchanges have been documented through raw material and distribution studies of bronzes, amber, faience, coral, Mediterranean shell, and gold as they moved between elites at hilltop centers throughout Western and Central Europe (S. Champion 1982; Shennan 1982, 1986).

Once goods are identified as probable socially restricted prestige goods owing to considerable manufacturing costs, rare or valuable raw materials, or foreign origin, archaeologists generally associate these goods with distinct patterns of regional or interregional distribution. Colin Renfrew

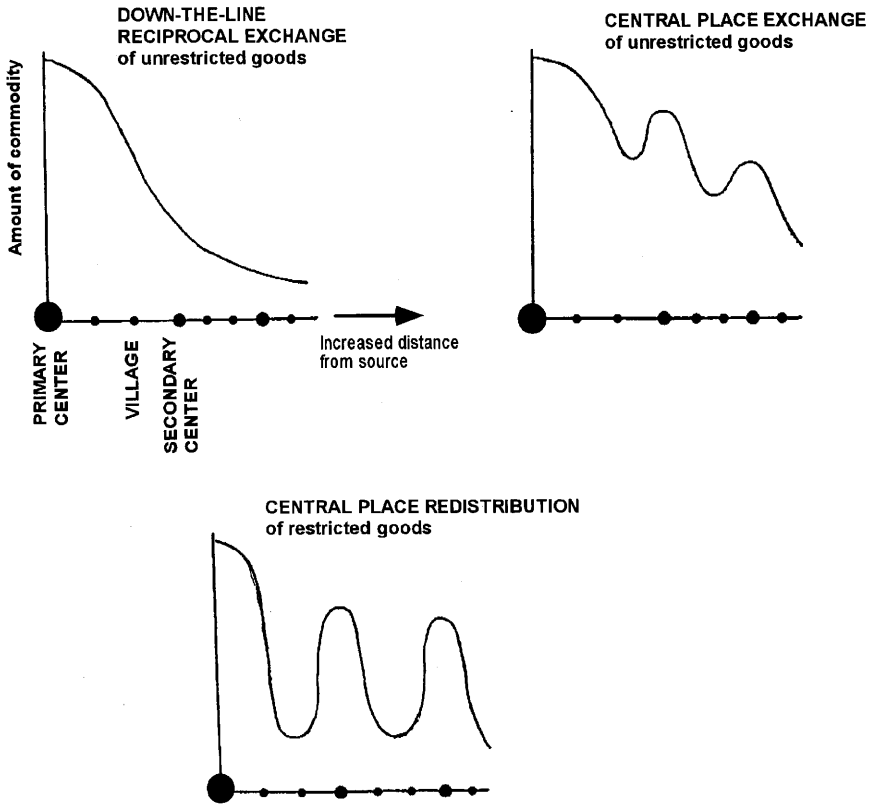


Figure 10.1. Colin Renfrew's artifact density falloff curves for different forms of craft production and exchange. (Adapted from Renfrew 1975)

(1975, 1977) was one of the first to note explicitly that distinct and quantifiable distribution patterns could be identified with organizationally distinct forms of production and exchange. Socially unrestricted domestic goods, produced in a part-time household context at a large number of manufacturing centers and exchanged reciprocally between individuals in neighboring settlements, would be expected to conform to a pattern of simple linear falloff with increased distance from the source. Referred to by Renfrew as a "down-the-line" pattern of exchange, this regional distribution model states that the amount of a certain product found at any given site in the region would be a function primarily of distance from the originating workshop and not necessarily related to a settlement's size or socio-political significance in the regional settlement system (see Fig. 10.1). If a form of independent specialization in mundane household goods has developed because of efficiencies of scale in a complex society, Renfrew suggests

that a more complex distributional pattern is characteristic. These mass-produced goods frequently flow differentially to secondary and tertiary centers in the region where markets are located or where settlements are sufficiently central for efficient distribution of the goods to outlying villages and hamlets. That is, commodity abundance is only partly a function of distance from the manufacturing or trade source, with some tendency to cluster at larger settlements. One might refer to this distribution pattern as “central place exchange of unrestricted goods” (see Fig. 10.1). In contrast, socially restricted prestige goods produced by attached specialists for elite consumption or obtained through differential control of foreign trade would be expected to be confined largely to the regional chiefly center and large secondary centers where elites are concentrated. Commodity abundance at a site is therefore almost exclusively a function of settlement size and political significance, with small villages lacking these status goods regardless of their geographic proximity to the prestige good source. This form of socially restricted exchange can be termed “central place redistribution of restricted goods” (see Fig. 10.1).

### ***Intraregional Circulation of Prestige Goods in Philippine Polities***

A number of recent regional-scale archaeological studies of areas associated with early to mid-second millennium A.D. insular Southeast Asian polities (like Srivijaya, Kedah, and post-Srivijaya Palembang) have produced evidence for considerable movement of foreign trade porcelains and other exotic luxury goods far into the interior of these polities (J. Allen 1991; McKinnon 1979, 1985, 1993; Manguin 1992; Miksic 1984). The differential distribution of these prestige commodities to large upriver settlements with other archaeological indications (e.g., megalithic architecture) or historical support for the presence of elite leaders suggests the operation of a prestige goods economy in which the flow of status goods is the material cement for political integration. Thus, the meager regional-scale archaeological evidence is consistent with historical descriptions of these polities as held together through core cosmological notions, ceremonialism at the polity center, and exchanges of prestige goods that define a shared elite culture. Unfortunately, this type of systematic regional study of trade patterns in Southeast Asian polities is rare (see McNeill and Welch 1991 for an example of Khmer trade systems). Particularly in island Southeast Asia, poorly developed methodologies for locating and collecting the multitude of less visible village sites have precluded quantitative studies of prestige goods flow.

Systematic regional-scale studies are even more rare in the Philippines than in other areas of Southeast Asia.<sup>7</sup> Thus, my analysis of prestige goods exchanges necessarily focuses on a single region of chiefdom development:

the sixth- to sixteenth-centuries polities of the Bais-Tanjay Region. Regional survey methodologies in the Tanjay Region involved mapping of recovered sites (and hence site size estimates), systematic collection of surface artifactual material, and in some cases test excavations or auger coring to compare surface and subsurface finds. Excavations at the coastal center of Tanjay, as described in Chapter 6, indicated differential access to foreign porcelains, bronze and iron implements, and elaborately decorated, slipped and/or burnished earthenware in both households and burials in the Santiago Phase and the Osmena Phase. These distributional patterns suggested restricted access by only certain segments of the population, presumably those of the elite stratum. Before the period of Chinese trade, the Aguilar Phase deposits yielded bronze, iron, and elaborately decorated earthenware that might have functioned as elite status goods at Tanjay and within the region as a whole in this early period of complex society development, but there are no clear household features or burial contexts with which to associate these materials. At the regional level, one would expect these presumed prestige goods to appear primarily at the regional center of Tanjay and at secondary centers located at strategic points upriver and along the coast, as the Tanjay elite apportioned status-conferring goods to allied political leaders and subordinates.

One of the most widely used quantitative techniques for analyzing archaeological spatial distributions of goods has been regression analysis (e.g., Hodder and Orton 1976:98–197; Renfrew 1977). I compared the regional distribution of probable prestige goods (decorated earthenware, metal implements, and, in the later two phases, Asian mainland porcelains) with that of plain earthenware (as the control nonprestige good) for the Aguilar, Santiago, and Osmena phases using both quantitative stepwise regression and nonquantitative stepwise logistic or probit regression. The latter statistical procedure operates similarly to ordinary regression, in which a series of variables (in this case, variables related to site location and size) are examined to determine which is the best predictor of another variable (in this case, the incidence of porcelain or other prestige goods). The difference is that, in the logistical regression, the predicted variable is a dichotomous (present/absent) variable, allowing statistical comparisons for even exceptionally rare status goods.<sup>8</sup> The logistic regression procedure selected the best predictor of the presence of a particular prestige good from the following variables: *site size*, *distance by river from the regional center* at Tanjay, *distance to the nearest river*, and *straight-line distance to the coast*. The procedure then removed each variable from the regression equation, calculating its chi-square value as a measure of statistical significance. Thirty-nine Aguilar Phase sites, twenty-seven Santiago Phase sites, and 101 Osmena Phase sites from the 1982 contiguous block survey of the Bais-Tanjay Region were included in this statistical analysis, and the results are summarized in Table 10.1.



**Table 10.1. Summary of Site Location and Size Variables Selected as the Best Predictors for the Presence of Various Prestige Goods and Domestic Earthenware Pottery at Bais-Tanjay Region Sites**

Period and Goods	Selected Best Predictor	Chi-Square Statistic
<i>Osmena Phase</i>		
Prestige goods		
Late Ming porcelain	site size	7.187*
Red-slipped earthenware	site size	6.906*
Decorated earthenware	site size	9.228*
Metal	site size	2.870
Nonprestige goods		
Plain earthenware	distance to Tanjay	8.664*
<i>Santiago Phase</i>		
Prestige goods		
Late Ming porcelain	site size	8.236*
Decorated earthenware	site size	0.779
Metal	site size	7.059*
Nonprestige goods		
Plain earthenware	distance to Tanjay	0.535
<i>Aguilar Phase</i>		
Prestige goods		
Decorated earthenware	site size	5.607*
Metal	site size	7.841*
Nonprestige goods		
Plain earthenware	distance to Tanjay	9.128*

Source: Junker 1990b.

\*Significant at the .01 level.

As shown in Table 10.1, for the Aguilar Phase, the best predictor of the presence of decorated earthenware and bronze or iron objects was *site size*. This predictor indicates that these presumed prestige goods were generally not distributed to small villages, even if these sites were close to the presumed source at Tanjay, instead moving to more distant but larger settlements upriver. In contrast, the presence of the type of plain earthenware dominating the Tanjay ceramic assemblage in this period (known as “Aguilar Spotted Buff Ware”) is dependent on a settlement’s *distance from the manufacturing source*, consistent with Renfrew’s (1982) socially unconstrained “down-the-line reciprocal exchange” pattern for mundane household goods. Quantitative stepwise regression on the plain earthenware of

**Table 10.2. Stepwise Regression Indicating the Best Single Predictor for the Percentage Contribution of Tanjay Red Ware to the Total Ceramic Assemblage for Osmena Phase Sites in the Bais-Tanjay Region**

Source	Degrees of Freedom	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F Statistic	Significance
Regression	1	11,035.0	11,035.0	13.947	.0005
Residual	53	419,350	791.23		

Multiple R = .45643    R-Square = .20833    Standard error = 28.129    N = 55 out of 57

Variable	Partial Coefficient	Standard Error	T statistic	Significance
Constant distance to Tanjay	51.2740 -.45643	6.9661 0.0004	7.3605 -3.7346	.0000 .0005

Remaining Variables	Partial	Significance
Site size	-0.07156	.6071
Distance to coast	0.40903	.0021
Distance to river	-0.21972	.1104

Source: Junker 1990b.

this period, however, failed to produce any statistically significant regression equation. This finding is not surprising, since standardization studies of this earthenware suggested a spatially dispersed household manufacturing mode rather than a single production locale. What is most significant about the results of regression analysis in Table 10.1 is that fancy earthenware and metal goods appear to have been distributed strategically to large upriver centers, presumably occupied by interior chiefs and tribal leaders, as early as the late first millennium A.D.

In the subsequent Santiago Phase a similar pattern was obtained from logistical regression on prestige goods (porcelain, decorated earthenware, and metal goods) and mundane household ceramics, with the former a function of site size and the latter a function of distance from the production center. However, the predictors of decorated earthenware and plain earthenware were not statistically significant at the .01 level. For the latest Osmena Phase, the presence of all of the prestige goods at interior sites, with the exception of metals, was best predicted by site size, while plain

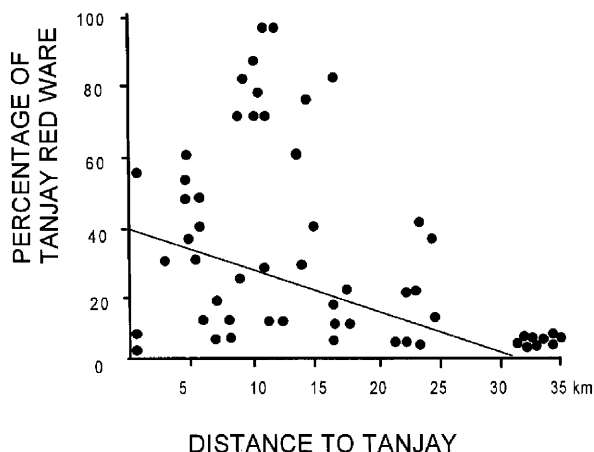


Figure 10.2. Regression line for the relationship between the percentage contribution of Tanjay Red Ware to the total ceramic assemblage and distance of Bais-Tanjay Region settlements from the regional center at Tanjay in the Osmena Phase.

earthenware showed a distance-dependent distribution. Again, these findings support the ethnohistorical evidence that chiefs at coastal centers were strategically distributing both foreign and local status goods to subordinates and allies in elite exchange contexts such as bridewealth payments or ceremonial feasting events. Quantitative stepwise regression on densities of Tanjay Red Ware, the most common household ceramic type in this period, shows a strong correlation with distance from the manufacturing center at Tanjay (see Table 10.2 and Fig. 10.2). This correlation is consistent with the suggestion that mundane household pottery assemblages are now being centrally manufactured at Tanjay by independent specialists attracted to the center by economies of scale (see Chapter 9).

Regional patterns of artifact distribution in the Bais-Tanjay Region strongly suggest that elite exchanges of socially restricted prestige goods were taking place in the Bais-Tanjay Region well before the advent of foreign trade. However, a pertinent issue is whether the new demands of foreign trade and the influx of these new items of wealth and status increased the intensity and volume of these prestige goods exchanges. In the discussion of interethnic trade with upland groups in the Bais-Tanjay Region in Chapter 8, I showed that the flow of trade into upland sites above 100 meters elevation, including lowland-originating metals, decorated earthenware and porcelain, as well as mundane goods such as domestic earthenware, increased dramatically in the Osmena Phase. I interpreted this increas-

**Table 10.3. Average Densities of Foreign Porcelains, Decorated Earthenwares, and Metals at Interior Sites Greater than One Hectare in Size during the Santiago Phase and the Osmena Phase in the Bais-Tanjay Region**

	Santiago Phase Sites (gm/10m <sup>2</sup> )	Osmena Phase Sites (gm/10m <sup>2</sup> )
Foreign porcelains	34.2	96.4
Decorated earthenwares	18.4	105.4
Iron and bronze fragments	18.3	45.9

ing prestige goods gift giving into the uplands as representing the expanded alliances needed to procure a steady supply of interior forest products to meet the export demands of foreign traders.

Not only does the number of settlements receiving lowland products increase in the immediately precontact Osmena Phase, but the quantities of Tanjay-derived prestige goods reaching upriver settlements also appear to increase substantially in this period. As shown in Table 10.3, the average surface densities of foreign porcelains and iron and bronze fragments at interior sites increase between two- and threefold in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, while decorated earthenware densities increase more than fivefold. The archaeological evidence from the Bais-Tanjay Region suggests that not only are more foreign status goods coming into the Tanjay port in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, but more foreign and locally produced prestige goods are circulating outside the chiefly center, presumably through intensified alliance-building exchanges. Thus, there appears to be a strong association between demand for foreign trade and internal patterns of prestige goods circulation.

### ***Interisland Prestige Goods Exchange***

Contact period Spanish sources and early ethnographic accounts suggest that the circulation of valuables was often part of interisland maritime trading expeditions that moved mundane subsistence and household goods between ecologically distinct islands. Archaeological evidence for interisland prestige goods exchange systems is problematic owing to the lack of detailed raw material studies on decorated earthenwares, metal goods, and other indigenous status goods to determine their points of origin. Most of the decorated earthenwares from Metal Age and later sites are lacking in provenience data and poorly dated, and their relative homogeneity is judged on the basis of ad hoc comparisons rather than systematic analysis. Bacus'

study of stylistic conventions and technological variables of decorated wares from selected Metal Age and later sites showed a high level of design redundancy between geographically dispersed sites but heterogeneous raw materials (1995:351–359). She suggests that it was primarily the design elements and not the vessels themselves that were being shared between regions. That is, the vessels were mostly locally manufactured but were decorated according to diffused stylistic norms or “elite iconographies.” However, all intersite comparisons of prehispanic earthenwares (e.g., Bacus 1995; Hutterer 1977; Solheim 1964; Junker 1985, 1990a, 1993c) have been flawed by the use of limited samples of ceramics that lack provenience data on location, chronology, and sociocultural context of deposition (Gunn and Graves 1995) and by reliance on low-power microscopic examination rather than more precise techniques such as petrographic analysis (Vincent 1991). For now, the best one can safely conclude is that, even if stylistic similarities in decorated earthenware are primarily due to the diffusion of elite iconographies, this diffusion implies regular and intense interaction between elites of distinct polities, perhaps in the context of trade, attendance at ritual feasts, or elite intermarriage.

Another relevant issue is whether interisland exchanges of local prestige goods diminished significantly with the advent of foreign prestige goods trade. Bacus suggests that, for her sample of pottery from Cebu, Bacong (Negros Oriental), Bais-Tanjay Region sites, Calatagan, several Sulu Sea region sites, and a number of sites studied by Solheim (1964), nonlocal decorated vessels decreased substantially in the post-tenth-century period of Chinese porcelain trade (1995:361). She attributes this trend to the replacement of local expressions of elite iconography on earthenware with foreign styles such as porcelain, silk clothing, and gold jewelry. However, an examination of the complete assemblages from Tanjay and its hinterland sites indicates that the opposite is true for the Bais-Tanjay Region: there is a tremendous increase in both the diversity and the volume of nonlocal earthenware coming into the chiefly center after the advent of Chinese trade. These contradictory patterns suggest that there may be significant regional variability in the way in which local ceramic production systems and interisland exchange networks adapted to the availability of foreign porcelains.

### **Summary: Changing Patterns of Elite Prestige Goods Exchange**

Ethnohistorical analyses indicate that, for contact period Philippine chiefs, gifts of prestige goods were the primary material means of cementing strategic alliances with other elites and rewarding the loyalty of subordinates. In a society in which political coalitions were not automatically defined by territory or unilineal descent groups, personalized alliance networks were,

by necessity, built through intermarriage and the circulation of prestige goods. Archaeological evidence from the Bais-Tanjay Region and elsewhere in the Philippines suggests that, before the early-second-millennium beginnings of the Chinese porcelain trade, chiefs and other elites circulated locally manufactured “fancy” earthenware and either locally made or trade-obtained metal implements and glass beads both within a polity and between island chiefdoms. The growth of the chiefly political systems in the first millennium A.D. created the conditions for an ever-increasing demand for valuable and exotic prestige goods. The expansion of trading networks to encompass extra-archipelago trade for Chinese porcelains and other status goods may be a reflection of this intensifying desire for sumptuary goods to validate positions of status and authority. At the same time, competition for access to foreign prestige goods may have transformed these internal alliance and prestige goods exchange systems. The desire of foreign traders for interior forest products and other local exports would have enhanced the need for extensive internal alliance and exchange systems cemented by prestige goods redistribution. While considerably more archaeological work needs to be done on intraregional and interregional prestige goods exchange, the available archaeological evidence suggests an increasing scale and volume of luxury good exchanges at both the regional and interregional level at the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century height of foreign trade.

## Chapter 11

### Competitive Feasting

Many components of Philippine status rivalry and political competition for followers converge within a single category of social action: the ethno-historically reported institution of competitive feasting associated with calendrical ritual and life-crisis events. Similar to “feasts of merit” in other regions of Southeast Asia, competitive feasts in Polynesia, and the potlatch among populations of the northwest coast of North America, these elite-sponsored feasts served to reproduce social relations. Both community cohesion and social rank differentiation were expressed through elite gift exchange, chiefs’ oral narratives, animal sacrifice, food prestations, and ancestor-invoking ritual. In Philippine chiefdoms of the early sixteenth to twentieth centuries these feasting systems functioned to reaffirm and renegotiate social relations through ritualized exchanges of meat and valuables between the hosts and participants. In particular, social prestige or “merit” as well as expanded political patronage were accrued by feast sponsors through the creation of social debt among feast participants.

The distribution of faunal and floral remains that might be associated with ritual feasting, the presence of specialized food preparation and serving assemblages at prehispanic settlements, and the archaeological study of specific spatial contexts associated with feasting in periods before European contact suggest some ways in which these feasting systems may have transformed over time. Increased production of high-value foods such as pig, water buffalo, and rice, and their differential distribution across elite and nonelite residential zones at fifteenth-to-sixteenth-century Tanjay supports arguments for a widening social participation in feasts of merit and an inflationary scale of material goods exchanged compared to earlier periods. Archaeological evidence from a number of chiefly centers suggests that foreign porcelain serving assemblages become an increasingly important component of elite feasting paraphernalia in the few centuries before European contact. At the same time, expanded production of local status wares may be tied to the emulation of elite feasting rites by lower-ranked individuals who did not have access to elaborate foreign porcelain assemblages. While the archaeological data document these material trends, one must turn once again to the ethno-historical evidence from the Philippines and elsewhere in Southeast Asia to develop ideas about how an expanding system of competitive feasting might relate to broader transformations in chiefly political economies.

## **Competitive Feasting in Philippine Complex Societies: The Ethnohistorical Evidence**

What the sixteenth-century Spaniards described as “feasts of ostentation and vanity” (Colin 1660b:75) were a central feature of the political economy of virtually all Philippine complex societies. Ritual feasts are described by Spanish observers and early ethnographic accounts as the cornerstone of social, political, economic, and religious life in these societies. These events were essential signifiers and mediators of (1) “life-crisis” events (e.g., birth, pregnancy, death, illness and curing, and marriage); (2) occasional events (such as the construction of a chief’s house, chiefly succession, maritime raids, alliances with former enemies or peace pacts, and the initiation of a lengthy trading expedition); and (3) critical points in the annual agricultural cycle (Relation of the Conquest of the Island of Luzon 1572:164; Boxer manuscript 1590b:190, 201, 213–214; Chirino 1604b:262–271, Colin 1660a:65, 75, 89–90; Loarca 1582a:149–151; Navarrete 1648:415; Pérez 1680:102–103, 110; Pigafetta 1521a:65–66; Plasencia 1589d:190–195; Santa Ines 1676:78–79) (Fig. 11.1). Ethnohistorical evidence suggests that feasting in the Philippines simultaneously transacted values of socio-political integration and asymmetries, wealth accumulation and generalized redistribution, socially restricted ritual potency, and supernaturally reinforced community well-being.

Although I recognize the danger of generalizing about a series of ritual actions that may have very different symbolic content in different sixteenth-century Philippine complex societies, these events do share a number of features that suggest strong functional and structural similarities. These features include (1) sponsorship (though not always exclusively) by elite individuals (most frequently, chiefs); (2) the performance of sacrificial rites using animals (usually pigs, chickens, or water buffalo), other subsistence goods, or manufactured goods contributed by individuals in a tributary or subservient role to the sponsor; (3) elite exchanges of valuables (e.g., porcelain, gold jewelry) as part of ongoing reciprocal exchange partnerships; (4) reallocation of meat and other feasting foods for consumption according to kinship ties and social rank relations with the sponsoring elite; and (5) the conferring of social prestige on the feast’s sponsor in accordance with the feast’s lavishness and the social debt created through the sponsor’s prestations.

The Philippine case parallels the feasting complexes and ubiquitous status rivalry reported for other Southeast Asian island complex societies (Beatty 1991; Kirsch 1973; Volkman 1985) and for chiefdoms in Polynesia (Goldman 1970:24–28, 44–45, 232–233, 482, 498–508; Hogbin 1932; Thomas 1990:85–108), in which overt competition between chiefs for prestige and wealth frequently took place in the context of public and formally structured, elite-sponsored feasts. As in the Philippine case, these feasts





**Figure 11.1.** Tinguianes (southern Mindanao) dancing at a feast to commemorate the erection of a chief's residence in 1895. (From the Dean Worcester Photographic Collections, Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan)

were generally associated with elite life-crisis events and events critical to the political economy (e.g., chiefly succession, trading, warfare, the agricultural cycle), for which the ability to draw on the resources of a chief's constituency to finance them demonstrates a status-enhancing power to mobilize productivity. Furthermore, chiefly generosity in lavish presentations of valuables as gifts to elite guests, another common component of such events, serves to both maintain politically significant reciprocal exchange relationships (the material glue of alliance building) and to symbolize overtly a particular chief's rank in a social hierarchy vis-à-vis other elites (as measured through his control of wealth).

### ***Feasting and the Ritualized Negotiation of Social Relations***

In an ethnohistorical analysis of the use of food in ritual contexts among the native American Oglala, Powers and Powers distinguish "feasts" from mundane consumption, describing the feast as "a food event which is somehow commemorative or celebratory of perhaps a historical or religious occa-

sion” and “having some intrinsic social value which transcends the nutritive function of eating” (1984:83). Feasts are thus generally associated with ceremonial or ritual events held either periodically (or on an ad hoc basis), they generally involve commensal units larger than the usual domestic units, and they are often highly structured in terms of what is served and how it is served. The most significant aspect of a feast is its ritual context, within which are generally embedded specific social goals; ritual feasts are occasions when social relations are negotiated and reaffirmed (Rossman and Rubel 1978).

Sixteenth-century Spanish sources and early ethnographic accounts of Philippine chiefdoms persisting into the modern era suggest that ceremonial feasts were held frequently throughout the year in a variety of social contexts that included both calendrical and life-crisis ritual.<sup>1</sup> Life-crisis events requiring the sponsorship of a ritual feast by the kin group involved included the birth of a child, achievement of puberty, marriage, illness, or death of a household member (e.g. Relation of the Conquest of Manila 1572:110; Relation of the Conquest of the Island of Luzon 1572:164; Boxer manuscript 1590b:190–191, 193, 206, 214; Chirino 1604b:262–271; Loarca 1582a: 149–151; Pigafetta 1521a:65–66; Plasencia 1589d:190–195; San Antonio 1738:313, 316, 336–338; Sánchez 1617:387). Other noncalendrical ritual feasts are concerned with more ad hoc elite endeavors, such as the construction of a chiefly residence or war canoe and the initiation of maritime raiding or trading expeditions. As discussed in more detail below, calendrical rituals associated with planting and harvesting agricultural crops also involved ceremonial feasting and were intimately tied to chiefly tribute mobilization systems.

Specialist priests, known as “babaylan” in Visayan and “katulunan” in Tagalog, who were often elite females, performed the religious rites associated with curing and various rites of passage as well as the ritual killing of the sacrificial animals (preferably pigs or water buffalo) to be consumed later by the guests at the ritual feast. An extended discussion of the cosmological underpinnings of these sacrificial rites is beyond the scope of the present work (see Gibson 1986; Scott 1994:77–93, 233–241; and De Raedt 1989 for more detailed analysis of this aspect of feasting). However, historical sources and ethnographic accounts suggest that animal sacrifice and consumption by the feast’s participants was aimed at warding off afflicting spirits who were seen as attempting to prevent the passage of individuals through critical life stages, who were sickening an ill individual, or who were likely to prevent the successful completion of community endeavors such as warfare, large-scale maritime-trading expeditions, agricultural production, or even the construction of a chiefly residence. There is some indication that these potentially malevolent spirits were actually ancestors, who could sicken or bring misfortune on their descendants if the proper ancestral sacrifices were not made at critical points in the life cycles of the living,

particularly if individuals had violated social proscriptions, for example, by engaging in “incestuous” marriages (e.g. Cole 1913:111–120; Gibson 1986: 173–176; Scott 1994:237–238).

The sacrifices had to be performed for the kin group to regain the benevolence of these ancestors or to ensure that malevolent spirits would not cross the threshold of a house to cause misfortune for the inhabitants in their various endeavors. Animals such as pigs were viewed as intermediaries between the human and spirit worlds who exchanged their lives to bring “vitality” to the individuals sponsoring the sacrifice. Anyone who participated in consuming the ritual animals’ flesh was also imbued with “vitality” and to some degree shared the supernatural protection afforded by carrying out the sacrificial rites.<sup>2</sup>

### **Reciprocity and Exchange Relations in Feasting**

All of the feast participants, including chiefs and nobles as well as commoners and slaves attached to the sponsor, were obliged to make contributions to the feast (e.g., carabao, pigs, fowl, rice, or wine) or offerings to be used in the accompanying sacrificial ritual and in payment to the religious specialists performing it (e.g., gold, cotton, metal weapons, other prestige goods, rice, pigs, chickens, and other “high-quality” subsistence items) (Bobadilla 1640:334; Chirino 1604b:262–271; Cole 1913:111–120; 1956: 94–117; Boxer manuscript 1590b:201; San Antonio 1738:314). It is clear from both the contact period Spanish sources and early ethnographic accounts that contributions from subordinates were exacted as a form of tribute or enforced labor, while the prestations from members of the nobility took place in the context of alliance-building reciprocal gift exchanges.

Those feasts marking critical points on the agricultural calendar, in particular, were sufficiently regular to have been the key context in which tribute collection, communal agricultural labor, and amassing of chiefly surplus took place (see Cole 1913:111–120). It is probably not a coincidence that the largest and most protracted of the Bagabo feasts (the Gin Em feast) occurred just after the annual fall rice harvest, when the granaries of subordinate chiefs and village commoners were full of available rice for large tribute exactions. There are parallels with the Makahiki festival and other chiefly agricultural rites of contact period Hawai’i (Earle 1977:225–226; Peebles and Kus 1977:425).

Ethnographic descriptions of these ritual events among the Tausug (the core cultural group of the Sulu sultanate), Bukidnon, and Bagabo of Mindanao indicate that a significant component of these events was the reinforcement of elite alliances (Claver 1985:74–75; Cole 1913:111–112; Kiefer 1972a:26, 97). Alternately sponsored in their own districts by local chiefs and periodically sponsored by regional chieftains, these feasts appear to

have been the primary opportunity for reciprocal gift exchanges between elites (involving exchange of imported porcelains, valuable metal gongs, gold jewelry and other prestige goods). Elite prestations occurring at any single feast represented links in intertwined chains of ongoing reciprocal exchange partnerships between kin-related and allied nobility, reflecting the unique state of social relationships at any one point in time. Analogies can be made with the alliance-based systems of prestige goods exchange recorded for other areas of island Southeast Asia (Beatty 1991; Volkman 1985) and Oceania (Gregory 1982; Rossman and Rubel 1978; M. Strathern 1971).<sup>3</sup> While a portion of the individual prestations are generally returned and new debt created through the host's prestige-enhancing feasting of all the attending celebrants, the host also acquires the obligation to make ceremonial contributions at future feasts sponsored by his exchange partners, ensuring the continuity of the exchange system. The social values transacted by these prestations include political cohesion through the circulation of resources and marriage partners as well as the social prestige and political influence emanating from a wide network of exchange partners and sponsorship of lavish feasts (Beatty 1991:230).

Despite obligatory contributions from subordinates and allied political leaders, the Spanish chroniclers suggest that the feast sponsor bore the expensive burden of financing the feast (Boxer manuscript 1590b:215; Chirino 1604b:262–271; also see Claver 1985:27; De Raedt 1989:239; Prill-Brett 1989:3, 8). Thus, feast financing may have also depended on stored resources accumulated over the long term by socially and politically prominent kin groups through their extensive marriage ties and exchange networks.

### **Social Prestige or ‘Merit’ as a Transacted Value**

The prestige-enhancing aspects of these feasts in the Philippines are emphasized by Biernatzki's (1985) and Claver's (1985) ethnohistorical analyses of this type of ritual event among the Bukidnon, a traditional ranked society of northern Mindanao (also see Cole 1956:94–117). Regarding ceremonial feasts marking the succession of a new chief or other rites of passage, Biernatzki reports that the sponsoring chief typically invited as many chiefs from neighboring districts and regions as possible to participate in the lavish feast and massive gift giveaways accompanying the ritual activities (1985:36–37). As noted by Claver in his detailed analysis of contact period Bukidnon political structure, the sponsoring of feasts played a pivotal role in chiefly political strategies, since “the ease with which animals are procured, excellence in oratory, and the ability to feast guests and people sumptuously [were] qualities par excellence of a ‘first-class’ *datu*” (1985: 86).<sup>4</sup> In his study of the feasting system among the Sagada Igorot and other

groups of interior northern Luzon, Voss suggests that the prestige gained from sponsorship of such feasts came from the creation of social debt among the people attending the feast (1987:131). By expending huge amounts of his wealth in feeding the attendees at the feast, many of whom did not have the resources to reciprocate in kind, a feast's host expanded the number of people in an asymmetrical relationship to him, as well as reinforced the debt of existing ties of patronage. As noted by Voss, the prestige of an individual and his immediate kin group was gauged in terms of these accumulating debts or obligations that required the debtees subsequently to provide agricultural labor or other services as well as return prestations when called on by the feast's sponsor. Spanish sources suggest that sixteenth-century *datu*s often invested their surplus wealth in helping other men to sponsor feasts associated with marriage rites or death rites, thus tightening their grip on these individuals as core supporters in the *datu*'s alliance network (Alcina 1688b:76–77, 180–198).

Not only did the sponsoring chief or kin group increase its prestige in the region by providing the enormous supplies of food and status goods disbursed at such a ritual event, but the occasion provided an opportunity for all the attending *datu*s and male kin group leaders to attempt to improve their positions within a ranked political hierarchy of chiefly authority. Biernatzki describes this overt negotiation of power relations in the traditional “boasting contest” accompanying ceremonial feasts among the ethnographically known Bukidnon chiefdoms of northern Mindanao (1985:36–37). In these feasts, each *datu* in turn climbed a ladder to a high ceremonial platform laid out with a lavish meal, at each rung of the ladder reciting the genealogical history that supported his inherited claim to chieftainship and elite status. However, he would also present an even more protracted recital of his personal exploits in trading, raiding, and other wealth-producing activities, attempting to outboast other attending chiefs and to win a place at the highest ranking ceremonial table. These public recitations and symbolic movement of chiefs up the status ladder allowed the community to compare chiefly prowess and to rank the multiple district chiefs in terms of appropriate levels of deference. At least one contact period Spanish text refers to similar public recitations of status-validating genealogies and heroic accounts of trading and raiding exploits as part of feasting ritual in the sixteenth century (Bobadilla 1640:332). Oral presentations of status-enhancing genealogies and personal achievements, allowing public assessment of the relative status, wealth, and power of attending chiefs, were associated with ceremonial feasting in other areas of Southeast Asia and in Polynesia (Goldman 1970:522–536; Schnitzer 1964; Volkman 1985).

Animals (most commonly carabao, pigs, chickens, and dogs), rice and other plant foods, and alcohol beverages were offered for sacrifice in the ritual component of Philippine ceremonies. Both the quality and quantities of sacrificial offerings reflected the social rank, wealth, and political power

base of the sponsoring chief (Relation of the Conquest of the Island of Luzon 1572:164; Biernatzki 1985:36–37; Chirino 1604b:269–270; Claver 1985:74; San Antonio 1738:335–336).<sup>5</sup> As in other complex societies of Southeast Asia, the maintenance of the social status quo as well as social mobility depended on successful performance over a lifetime in ritual feasting events (as well as abilities in warfare, trading, and wealth acquisition) (Beatty 1991; Kirsch 1973:26–27; Leach 1954:163). The carabao, as a draft animal with a slow reproductive rate, and the pig appear to have been the most valued animals for both sacrifice and exchange in Philippine societies (Barton 1949:74–75; Biernatzki 1985:43; Claver 1985:74–75, 86; Dasmariñas 1590:429; Dozier 1966:84, 149, 194; Hart 1969:80, 88; Mendoza 1586:150; Prill-Brett 1989:1; Reid 1988:32–33; W. Scott 1984:196; Voss 1987:128). Food delicacies were served to high-ranking guests on the sponsoring chief's collection of valuable imported mainland Asian porcelains and decorated earthenware (Pigafetta 1521a:59; also see Biernatzki 1985:33, Cole 1913:88, 92). The feast was one of a number of occasions when chiefly household heirlooms were publicly displayed, and the lavishness of meal presentation on finely made plates and in delicate bowls (preferably imported porcelains) appears to have been a significant factor in determining the amount of social prestige accruing to a feast's sponsor (Alcina 1668b:133–136; Pigafetta 1521a:59).<sup>6</sup>

The importance of gaining prestige or “merit” through lavish feast sponsorship is noted explicitly in ethnographic accounts of complex societies other than the Bukidnon and Bagabo in the southern Philippines, such as the Manuvu, Tagbanua, and Magindanao (see Blumentritt 1893; Claver 1985:74; Cole 1913:111–120; Manuel 1971:196–197, 229–230, 266–267; C. Warren 1977:255–257). Competition for prestige appears to have also been a prime function of ritual feasting in the less complexly organized but probably ranked societies of interior and western coastal Luzon, such as the Kalinga, Ifugao, and Bontoc (Barton 1949:81, 83–84; De Raedt 1989; Dozier 1966:84, 92, 141; Keesing 1962:56–57, 59, 62, 121, 136, 152, 187–188, 317; Prill-Brett 1989; Scott 1984:192–196; Worcester 1912:833–930).

### ***Food Apportionment and Social Ranking***

While the amount and quality of food conferred prestige on the feast's sponsor, apportionment of the food reflected the social position of the feast's participants and their relationship to the sponsor. As noted by Voss, “It is the system and the protocol of meat circulation which maintains and reproduces the structure of the relationship between community members” (1987:128). Foodstuffs were divided for consumption among participants in accordance with their kinship ties with the feast sponsor, their relative rank in the local and regional sociopolitical hierarchy, their history of ex-

change relations with the sponsoring social unit, and their perceived role in a chief's immediate alliance-building strategies (Biernatzki 1985:36; Pigafetta 1521a:65–66, Plasencia 1589a:174; San Antonio 1738:313). As described by Voss for the Sagada Igorot:

Meat is distributed according to strict protocol. The most senior old men, who conduct the ceremony, get the head and internal organs; other elderly relatives and *dap-ay* mates (men's council or group of political authorities) get the belly and side fat; close relatives are given parts of the hams; the ribs go to the middle distant relatives; while the neck and back go to distant relatives. One close relative of a man who was giving such a ritual told us that "it is better to get a small piece of the appropriate status meat than a kilo from somewhere else." One could say that the symbolic representation of the social order is embodied in the pig and in these rituals.

(1987:129)

The portions allocated to specific individuals and kin groups were carefully scrutinized, and any perceived improprieties in meat distribution were openly criticized by the feast attendees. Voss continues, "One man I interviewed talked sarcastically about 'those capitalistic old men who capitalize on their age and prestige by showing up at all kinds of feast to demand more than their share of meat.' In such instances, bitter arguments can result between these old men—who feel they are getting their proper share—and those who feel they are hogging too much of the pig" (p. 130).

The chief's immediate relatives and other elites with whom he was strongly allied were commonly served the choicest meat dishes, that is, those consisting of carabao or domestic pig rather than smaller game animals and, preferentially, the meatiest animal parts (the forelimbs and, secondarily, the vertebrae and ribs) (Pigafetta 1521a:65–66; San Antonio 1738:313; Santa Ines 1648:78; also see Biernatzki 1985:36–37; Barton 1949:74–75; Prill-Brett 1989). Spanish sources suggest that pig and carabao skulls were also likely to have been preferred body parts (Plasencia 1589d:191). Gibson's analysis of the symbolic aspects of animal partitioning among the Buid, a contemporary upland group of Mindoro, suggests why the pig head might be preferred over even meatier animal parts. The head of the pig is viewed by the Buid as the locus of the animal soul or vital spirit. Thus, by possessing this portion of the animal, the consumers are able to transfer the "vitality" or spiritual power of the animal to themselves to ward off the weakening attacks of predatory spirits (Gibson 1986:157–158).

Food apportionment as the primary public measure of social status differentiation has been described in significant detail for complex societies engaging in ritual feasting on the Indonesian islands of Nias (Beatty 1991)

and Sulawesi (Volkman 1985). On Nias, slaughtered pigs were traditionally divided into carefully weighed meat portions, which were distributed according to recognized rank in the social hierarchy, the history of prior exchange relations between the host and the guest, and kinship and coresidential ties between the host and the guest (Beatty 1991:224–225). Failure to receive the expected meat portion, in recognition of rank and prior prestige payments, was considered a public affront that was frequently resolved through violent confrontation (Beatty 1991:225). In the Toralja highlands of Sulawesi, public meat divisions at feasts required specialists who could memorize the complicated “cutting histories” of hundreds of individuals—using criteria of age, genealogy, wealth, achievement, and temperament, in conjunction with the individual’s past history and anticipated future of sponsoring and participating in feasts—to determine appropriate meat quantities and cuts (Volkman 1985:96–103). Perceived slights in meat apportionment could quickly escalate into a “meat fight” (Volkman 1985:100–101) in which wounded parties made inflammatory speeches around piles of carabao meat, frequently flinging meat and carabao excrement at the offending parties. Similarly, presentation of food delicacies at Polynesian feasts followed strict rules of allotment by social rank (Goldman 1970:501–502, 504, 508; Thomas 1990:97).<sup>7</sup>

### **Competitive Feasts or “Challenge Feasts”**

A significant issue is whether the Philippine feasts reported in contact period Spanish records and early ethnographic accounts represented what Beatty refers to as “challenge feasts” in Nias society, in which a primary goal was to achieve political domination through an ever-escalating cycle of feasting “one-upmanship” and public displays of generosity mixed with hostility toward rival chiefs (1991:232–233). The classic example of overtly competitive feasting is the so-called rivalry potlatch of native Americans such as the Kwakiutl of the Northwest Coast. In ethnographic descriptions, the primary objective of a chief and his followers in sponsoring a feast was to attempt to surpass the abilities of social peers and political rivals to amass, display, distribute, and, in some cases, destroy property. The sponsor’s performance resulted in immediate social antagonisms, social validation or humiliation, and political realignment for the participants (see Barnett 1938; Codere 1950; Drucker 1967). However, recent anthropological analyses have questioned the emphasis on the socially combative nature of Northwest Coast feasting events and the overriding image of “warring with property” (Kan 1986; J. Miller 1984; Walens 1981). Instead, status differences are viewed as emerging subtly and gradually over the long-term process of prestige goods exchange relationships. This interpretive debate has recently entered into analyses of the significance of feasting events for



chiefly status rivalry in sociopolitically complex Southeast Asian societies. Numerous authors cite the massive pig slaughters and ostentatious gifts of gold ornamentation as evidence of the strongly competitive ethos of Nias feasts (Marschall 1976; Suzuki 1959; Schnitger 1964). However, other ethnographers claim that overtly antagonistic “challenge” feasts were historically rare in Nias society, that most feasts had a highly reciprocal ethos in which enhanced status was transitory, and that social “merit” and political legitimacy were gained only slowly over the course of an individual’s lifetime of ceremonial exchanges (Beatty 1991).

Some of this contention about the competitive nature of feasting events in Southeast Asia and elsewhere derives from a lack of clarity in distinguishing feasting phenomena in which the social “merit” transacted is of a transitory and reciprocal nature, and feasting phenomena that involve attempts to accumulate permanent wealth and to transform temporary status differentials into long-term and even inheritable political power. Feasts that confer values of social merit but are not overtly competitive are characterized by cycles of balanced reciprocity, in which surplus accumulation and status enhancement for any single individual or kin group are transitory and eventually negated through the necessity of returning prestations to partners in a feasting cycle. In competitive feasts, there is an escalation of labor mobilization and surplus needed to finance future feasts and the aim of translating feasting success into long-term political power and economic profit (Friedman 1979).

Hayden has suggested that competitive feasts aimed at the establishment of permanent economic inequalities and political power are primarily a structural feature of what he refers to as “transegalitarian” or “big man” societies, like those in New Guinea and other areas of Melanesia characterized by instable (i.e., wholly achievement-based) criteria of social ranking and political succession (1994:25, 64). Hayden and others argue that competitive feasting is one of a number of evolving strategies among big men or “aggrandizers” for transforming transitory, achievement-based political authority and differential wealth into the inheritable political power and wealth that are key to the emergence of chiefdom-level societies (Clark and Blake 1994; Friedman and Rowlands 1977; Rossman and Rubel 1978). Hayden suggests that the need for competitive feasts is largely obviated in chiefdom-level societies, since the competition for political succession and economic surplus has been resolved in the emergence of inheritable chieftainship and enforceable tribute systems maintaining permanent labor pools and stored wealth (1994:64). In other words, political authority and the right to economic surplus is no longer a matter to be negotiated in contexts of social interaction like competitive feasting, but rather a largely inalienable, ideologically reinforced fact of ascribed chieftainship. According to this view, feasts in chiefdom-level societies like those of Polynesia should consist primarily of ritual events exclusively controlled by

chiefly leaders, and they should be characterized by (1) a more uniform scale and regular periodicity than for competitive feasts, (2) a strong schism between elite and commoner modes of participation, and (3) a primary emphasis on ideological reinforcement of existing political power hierarchies, ritual potency of the chief, and a sense of community solidarity and economic well-being within the polity. Hayden concludes: "Some forms of competitive feasts probably continued to be used among the lower-level elites in chiefdoms as criteria for promotion to positions of power and to increase the value of elite children, but they do not appear to be broadly based feasts with obligatory interest payments geared to attract supporters such as found in transegalitarian communities" (p. 64).

Hayden's argument that competitive feasting largely disappears in chiefdom-level societies may be true of chiefdom societies with a highly centralized structure and strongly proscribed inheritance rules, like some of the more complex societies of Polynesia. However, in Philippine chiefdoms, where cognatic descent rules, the widespread practice of polygamy, and demographic factors created an emphasis on coalition building rather than on territorially based political power, inheritance was problematic and the achievement-based dimension of political authority continued to be important. Thus, the political authority and status of elites and pretenders to elitehood appear to have been renegotiated continually in Philippine polities through the institution of competitive feasting.

There is ethnohistorical evidence to support the idea that feasting in some Philippine societies was overtly competitive, with chiefs attempting to up the ante of displayed wealth and lavish food giveaways with each successive round of ceremonial sponsorship (Relation of the Conquest 1572: 110–111; Boxer manuscript 1590b:215; Chirino 1604b:262–271; Colin 1660a:75; also see Keesing 1962:165, 190; Scott 1982:192, 196). This competitive element is exemplified by the ethnographic accounts of feasting in the Bukidnon chiefdoms of central Mindanao. Public recitations extolling the hereditary superiority and grand achievements of the feast's chiefly host were accompanied by attempts to sicken the guests by providing prodigious amounts of food (particularly meat) that had to be consumed on the spot (Biernatzki 1985; Claver 1985; Cole 1956). As Claver notes, Bukidnon chiefs were continually striving to become the region's most socially esteemed and politically influential *datu* by "providing food for the most people and for the longest time" (1985:74, 86). One Bukidnon *datu* achieved the almost insurmountable feat of slaughtering more than seventy buffalo and 180 chickens for a multiweek feast. That rival chiefs were overtly challenged by chiefly sponsorship of a particularly elaborate feast, and that this social rivalry could evolve quickly into social hostilities among elite participants is evidenced by a number of Spanish accounts of "treacherous feasts," in which intense emotions of rivalry between the feast's sponsors and invited guests erupted into armed battle (e.g., Relation of the Voyage to Manila 1570:79; Correa 1563:258–259; Pigafetta 1521b:147).

A similarly escalating competition between celebrants is described for “feasts of merit” among the Chin, a socially stratified society just across the Indian border from Burma (Lehman 1963). As emphasized by Lehman, status enhancement comes from a sponsor’s ability to feed the most feast attendees for the longest period of time and with the most prodigious amounts of foods (p. 178). Invited chiefs and other elites endure a marathon binging session, forced by attendants armed with sticks to consume massive amounts of food and alcoholic drinks until they vomit or faint from the effort (p. 179). A feast resulting in the wretched sickness of most of the high-status attendees is widely praised by the community and envied by the attending chiefs, who must outdo their host in future ceremonial feasts. This practice of overfeeding to the point of illness and even death to create an impression of boundless generosity along with encouraging “eating contests” among the guests to prove their stamina and the possibility of outlasting this generosity is a common feature of the Northwest Coast potlatch in its most competitive state (Kan 1989:232–234).

### **Archaeological Evidence for Competitive Feasting in the Prehispanic Philippines**

The presence of some type of ceremonial feasting system has been inferred for a number of complex societies on the basis of archaeological evidence in the absence of any ethnographic or historical sources. Locating evidence for differential access to certain ritual foods or high-quality subsistence commodities and particularly their concentration in elite habitation contexts or in association with ceremonial structures is one approach in identifying ritual feasting activities in the archaeological record (Crabtree 1990; J. Fox 1996; Marcus and Flannery 1996:115–116; Welch and Scarry 1995). In addition, archaeologists have inferred ritual feasting from the nature of ceramic assemblages found at settlements. Some archaeologists have noted larger than normal cooking and serving vessels at prominent regional centers, suggesting large-scale food or drink preparation (Blitz 1993; Dietler 1989, 1990).<sup>8</sup> Archaeologists have also suggested that ceremonial feasting can be recognized by the presence of ceramic assemblages that consist of elaborate and aesthetically superior serving bowls, cups, and plates, assemblages that vary significantly from mundane household food preparation and serving assemblages (Clark and Blake 1994; Welch and Scarry 1995).

While the subtleties of status rivalry in a feasting context are not always clear in the ethnohistorical evidence for contact period Philippine chiefdoms, what is significant in terms of material patterning in the archaeological record is that social rank generally correlated with a household’s role in the feasting system, that is, the most elaborate feasts were almost invariably sponsored by high-ranking chiefs. Furthermore, these sacrificial ritual feasts are reported to have taken place within or directly adjacent to

the sponsoring chief's residence (Bobadilla 1640:334; Colin 1660a:75; Morga 1609a:303–304; Pigafetta 1521a:65; Plasencia 1589d:186; Santa Ines 1648:78; also see Barton 1949:73–75; Cole 1913:65–67, 111–120; Manuel 1971:246–255). Guests were served on the sponsoring elite household's collection of finely made earthenware and imported porcelain plates and bowls (Alcina 1668b:129–130; Pigafetta 1521b:139), a ritually and socially significant ceramic assemblage that was distinct from everyday domestic ware.

Ethnographic and ethnoarchaeological studies of domestic activities and trash disposal patterns in traditional lowland Philippine households (De la Torre and Mudar 1982; Hart 1958; Nurge 1965:20–21) indicate that faunal debris, other subsistence remains, and broken serving dishes were routinely swept to the edges of the house-yard or under the pile-houses. Over time, archaeologically recognizable midden deposits and trash concentration areas were formed that are spatially contiguous with associated domestic structures. Households of the chiefly elite should yield evidence for significantly greater consumption of socially valued meat sources and other feasting foods such as rice. Elite households that regularly sponsored large-scale feasting events would also be expected to contain significantly larger numbers of porcelain and high-quality earthenware serving dishes in contrast to households that rarely sponsored feasts or sponsored these events on a smaller scale. Tanjay and Cebu are the only prehispanic chiefly centers where archaeological research has been carried out at the household level and where evidence relevant to evolution of ritual feasting has been recorded.

### ***Animal Sacrifice and Meat Distribution in Philippine Feasting***

The chiefly center of Tanjay provides archaeological evidence for distinct elite and nonelite residential zones dating from at least the Santiago Phase. However, household wealth differentials became even more pronounced and complexly graded at the site in the Osmena Phase, as foreign porcelains and other exotics flowed into the settlement in increasingly higher volumes and local production of prestige goods expanded. Excavations at Tanjay have yielded a large sample of animal bone from middens and trash pits within the two distinct residential sectors and from those two phases, the latest prehispanic phases. Zooarchaeological study of the faunal assemblages at Tanjay with regard to issues of social status differentiation are reported in some detail in a series of publications and reports (Junker, Mudar, and Schwaller 1994; Mudar 1997; Schwaller 1990). I will only summarize the relevant evidence here.<sup>9</sup> Archaeological faunal assemblages have also been analyzed from several excavation locales at Cebu, spanning the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries (Mudar 1997; Nishimura 1992), although the complexities of the site make it much more difficult to separate out

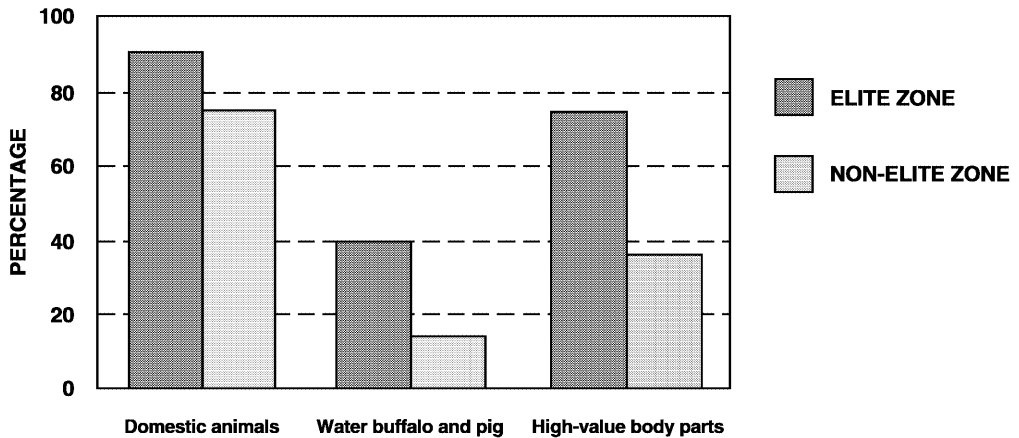


Figure 11.2. Comparison of faunal assemblages from the large stockaded elite residences and small, unstockaded nonelite residences dated to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries at Tanjay.

factors of socioeconomic status, ecological change, and Spanish impact on faunal use than at Tanjay (Mudar 1997:96).

At Tanjay, we compared faunal assemblages from fifteenth- and sixteenth-century midden deposits associated with two residential zones: one containing the large stockaded pile-houses with high densities of luxury goods (the Santiago Church locale) and the other yielding smaller pile-houses with fewer porcelains and other status goods (the Osmena Park locale). More than seven thousand bone fragments were analyzed and classified according to species or genus and by body parts in separate studies by Schwaller (Junker, Mudar, and Schwaller 1994) and Mudar (1997). As shown in Table 11.1, the more recent and larger-scale study by Mudar found that the faunal assemblages recovered from eleventh-to-fourteenth-century and fifteenth-to-sixteenth-century habitation deposits at Tanjay contained a number of demonstrably domesticated species, including *Bubalus bubalus* (carabao, or water buffalo), *Gallus gallus* (chicken), *Sus scrofa* (pig), and *Canis familiaris* (dog). Wild tropical forest fauna included Philippine spotted deer (*Cervus alfredi*), monkey (*Macaca fascicularis*), civet cat (*Viverra* sp.), fruit bat, and various reptiles. Marine fauna (fish, turtles, and rays) complete the household subsistence assemblages. A similar range of species characterized the Cebu faunal assemblages.

Quantitative comparison of the faunal assemblages from the two residential zones at Tanjay indicates that the inhabitants of the large, stockaded house-compounds at the Santiago Church locale derived a significantly greater proportion of their subsistence from domestic species (see Fig. 11.2). The inhabitants of the small, unstockaded house-compounds included only two species of small-to-medium-sized domestic animals in their diet (pig and chicken) but yielded a wider range of wild species such as monkey,

**Table 11.1. Taxonomic Composition of the Faunal Assemblage Derived from Elite and Nonelite House Middens at Tanjay, Negros Oriental**

	Number of Individual Specimens	Minimum Number of Individuals	Weight (gm)	Percentage of Total <sup>1</sup>
Elite House Middens (Santiago Church Locale)				
<i>Taxonomically Identifiable Species</i>				
Domesticated				
<i>Bubalus bubalus</i>	9	2	255.1	3.6
<i>Sus scrofa</i>	114	4	278.2	45.2
<i>Gallus gallus</i>	36	—	7.4	14.3
<i>Canis familiaris</i>	1	1	0.7	0.4
Wild				
<i>Cervus alfredi</i>	14	1	39.2	5.5
Turtle	4	1	3.0	1.6
Fish	62	—	10.0	24.6
Bird	12	1	3.0	4.8
<i>Not taxonomically identifiable</i>				
Small mammal	43	—	10.5	3.2
Medium mammal	1215	—	473.5	89.8
Large mammal	95	—	261.7	7.0
Nonelite House Middens (Osmena Park Locale)				
<i>Taxonomically Identifiable Species</i>				
Domesticated				
<i>Sus scrofa</i>	84	5	253.1	71.8
<i>Gallus gallus</i>	2	1	1.3	1.7
Wild				
Large artiodactyl (hoofed mammal)	5	2	80.3	4.3
<i>Cervus alfredi</i>	6	1	28.4	5.1
<i>Macaca fascicularis</i>	3	1	1.6	2.6
<i>Viverra zangalunga</i>	2	1	0.5	1.7
Lizard	2	1	3.0	1.7
Trionyx (turtle)	4	1	5.8	3.4
Fish	9	—	—	7.7
<i>Not taxonomically identifiable</i>				
Small mammal	31	—	7.1	1.9
Medium mammal	1587	—	520.2	95.1
Large mammal	50	—	77.4	3.0

1. Percentage of identifiable and nonidentifiables, using number of individual specimens.

civet cat, and turtle. The residents of the elite houses had access to a wider range of small-to-large domesticated animals (including chicken, pig, dog, and water buffalo) and used fewer wild species, with the exception of deer. The elite households at Santiago Church in both the Santiago Phase and the Osmena Phase had a significantly higher percentage of water buffalo in their diets, as measured by the minimum number of individuals, raw bone weights, and percentage by weight of the total faunal assemblage (Fig. 11.2). For example, in the elite Santiago Church residential zone, water buffalo made up 40 percent of the faunal sample by weight in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, while accounting for only 15 percent of the bone weight at the low-status Osmena Park locale (Mudar 1997:90). Similarly, large mammals, including water buffalo and pig, were found in significantly higher densities at what Nishimura (1992) has identified as the highest-status residential locale in sixteenth-century Cebu (the Plaza Independencia locale, which also yielded evidence for intensive iron metallurgy and particularly high-quality foreign porcelains). As I noted earlier in this chapter, water buffalo, pig, and other large mammals were preferred feasting foods that were not consumed on a regular daily basis in the contact period Philippines.

There is also some evidence to suggest that inhabitants of the elite residential zone had greater access to high meat-yielding and culturally preferred animal parts. This pattern may reflect both daily status-related dietary differences and ritual-associated redistribution practices that accorded the best meat cuts to chiefs and their kinsmen at ceremonial feasts. Ethnohistorical sources detailed earlier suggest that relatively meaty limb bones were highly prized in meat distributions in the Philippines, as were the skulls of water buffalo and pig for their symbolic value during associated ritual activities. While both residential areas at fifteenth-to-sixteenth-century Tanjay showed a preference for long bones and skulls compared to “low-value” body parts, the presumed elite households had a significantly higher percentage by weight of the prized longbone meat cuts (74 percent of the bones by weight compared to 37 percent by weight in the nonelite zone; see Fig. 11.2). Inhabitants of the larger stockaded domestic structures, presumably chiefs and related elites, not only controlled and consumed a larger number and a more diverse range of domesticated animals, but appear to have had greater access to the best meat cuts in ceremonial meat divisions associated with competitive feasting. Mudar (1997) found a strikingly similar percentage of meaty longbones in elite habitation zones at fifteenth-to-sixteenth-century Cebu, comprising 64 percent by weight of the medium and large mammal bones. Unexpectedly, the percentage by weight of water buffalo and pig skull fragments in the fifteenth-to-sixteenth-century habitation levels at Tanjay was higher for the presumed lower-status Osmena Park locale. Thus, at Tanjay, while the meaty longbone cuts were preferentially distributed in elite households, ceremonial display of animal heads was more frequently taking place in the nonelite sector during this period.

At Tanjay, there were changes over time in household access to high-quality protein and particularly ceremonial feasting foods such as water buffalo and pig. Comparison of faunal assemblages from Santiago Phase and Osmena Phase occupation levels suggests an overall increase in the consumption of water buffalo and domestic pig within the settlement as a whole in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Mudar (1997) and Nishimura (1992) note a similar increase in the use of pig and water buffalo in the diet in the late fifteenth to early sixteenth centuries occupation phase at Cebu. A possible interpretation is that domestic pig herds and water buffalo stocks were increasing as stored forms of wealth in Philippine lowland societies such as Tanjay and Cebu. They were then being consumed in the context of inflationary competitive feasts sponsored by chiefs and other wealthy individuals, in a feasting system that required escalating inputs of sacrificial meat. At Tanjay, it is in the nonelite Osmena Park residential zone that there is a particularly striking increase in the consumption of water buffalo, and it is also in this nonelite sector that are found increasing numbers of water buffalo and pig skulls. One possible interpretation of this patterning is that participation in the feasting system became more widespread among non-elite as well as elite sponsors in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Tanjay, with escalating competition among individuals outside the hereditary elite for wealth, status, and political power.

### ***The Distribution of Rice as a Status Food***

Early Spanish sources indicate that root crops such as yams and taro were the staple foods of the bulk of the population, except in Philippine regions like the Luzon cordillera, the upper Cotabato river plain, the Tagalog area around Manila, and the Bicol Peninsula, where artificial terracing and the construction of substantial-sized irrigation systems made wet-rice production possible on a large scale (Scott 1994:181). The Spanish writer Francisco Alcina emphasizes that rice was considered a high-status food in comparison to tubers in many areas of the central Philippines lacking broad floodplains, and it was an important prestige food to be served at ceremonial feasts (1668a:88–93, 133–136; 1688b:121). This observation is echoed in a number of ethnographic accounts of extant chiefdoms, which note that the high labor intensity in growing rice increased its value relative to root crops, and it often functioned as an important tribute good (Cole 1913; Manuel 1971).

While very limited paleobotanical work has been carried out on preserved plant specimens from Philippine archaeological sites (Gunn 1995), some recent work by Mary Gunn on plant material from various habitation contexts at Tanjay is intriguing in light of these ethnohistorical accounts. In comparisons of charred plant macrofossils from firepits and ash concentra-



tions in primarily fifteenth-to-sixteenth-century habitation deposits at Tanjay, Gunn (1997) found that rice was significantly more prevalent in the presumed elite habitation zone in comparison to the nonelite residential zone. Interestingly, she also recovered a substantially greater variety of tropical forest ornamental and medicinal plants surrounding the larger house-compounds of this presumed elite zone. There are no historical or ethnographic references to the use of these plants in ritual feasting. However, they must have been obtained from the tropical forest interior, and they may have been tributary or trade commodities that were differentially obtained by elites.

### ***The Serving Assemblage in Philippine Feasting***

Early Spanish accounts indicate that Philippine elites presented high-status meats and other food delicacies on their impressive array of Chinese, Siamese, and Annamese trade porcelains as well as on finely made local earthenware plates and bowls with elaborately decorated surfaces and pedestaled bases. Possession of this ritual feasting ware, whether obtained through sponsorship of indigenous luxury good specialists or through control of foreign trade, was essential to a kin group's ability to participate in the feasting cycle. In addition, competitive aspects of the ceremonial feasting system would encourage chiefs and other potential sponsors of feasts to seek new avenues of production and trade for obtaining an increasingly impressive array of food-serving vessels. In the cases of Iron Age Europe and Formative Period Mesoamerica, archaeologists have suggested that competition for access to foreign trade vessels (and possibly exotic food and drinks as well as foreign drinking paraphernalia in Iron Age Europe) was intimately tied to expanding demands for elaborate feasting paraphernalia (Clark and Blake 1994; Dietler 1989, 1990).

In what is probably the most detailed materials and typological analysis of imported porcelains from a Philippine habitation site, Masao Nishimura (1992) has shown that the bulk of the imported porcelains coming into the Cebu chiefdom's maritime trade port in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were forms that we might label as "plates" and "bowls," that is, food serving dishes (Fig. 11.3). Nishimura suggests that the Philippine elite of this period focused their trade demands somewhat narrowly on porcelain ware that might function in a ritual feasting context. In contrast, burial assemblages of the same period more often contain porcelain jars and jarlets as grave goods along with plates and bowls that may have contained ritual food offerings (R. Fox 1959, 1964, 1967; Hutterer 1973a; Legaspi 1974; Nishimura 1988; Peralta and Salazar 1974).

At the chiefly center of Tanjay, there is some archaeological evidence from porcelain assemblages to support the idea that demand for porcelain

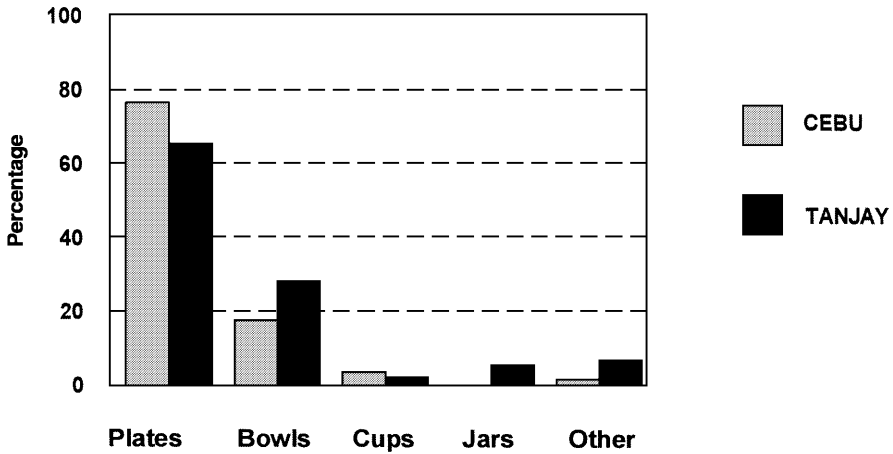


Figure 11.3. Percentage by weight of various functional types of porcelain in the porcelain assemblages from fifteenth- to sixteenth-century habitation deposits at Cebu and Tanjay.

as feasting paraphernalia was expanding in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. In Chapter 6, I presented a statistical study of the areal distribution of porcelains of all types for the two prehispanic phases of Chinese trade (the Santiago and Osmena phases). The statistical analysis showed that, while porcelain was heavily concentrated in the elite habitation zone with large houses in the Santiago Phase, it was more diffusely scattered in both elite and nonelite habitation zones by the Osmena Phase. By the later phase, foreign porcelains may have been available to a significantly larger portion of the Tanjay population, including those outside the *datu* class who could attempt to improve their social rank by acquiring the porcelains necessary for critical alliance exchanges and for sponsoring feasting events. In Figure 11.3 I directly address the issue of feasting serving assemblages by comparing the morphological or functional classes within representative samples of imported porcelains from elite and nonelite habitation zones. Consistent with Nishimura's quantitative study of the Cebu porcelain forms, fifteenth- to sixteenth-century porcelains recovered from Tanjay show a strong bias toward bowl and plate forms, suggesting that household porcelains may have been used primarily in serving ritual foods at ceremonial events. Interestingly, the nonelite and elite porcelain assemblages have almost identical proportions of bowl and plate forms, unlike nonserving vessels, indicating that nonelite members who could amass the porcelain wealth to sponsor this type of feasting event emulated the choices of elites in acquiring a prestigious porcelain assemblage.

In Chapter 7, I noted the marked transformation in the diversity and

quality of imported porcelain assemblages recovered from Philippine sites between the early, relatively low-volume phases of foreign trade in the T'ang and Sung periods and the later and higher-volume Ming period phases of foreign trade. Robert Fox (1964, 1967) interpreted the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century trend toward a more narrow range of forms wholly as a function of changing Chinese production and trade practices. He suggested that the advent of direct Chinese bulk shipping (rather than reliance on intermediary Malay traders) coupled with the establishment of several export-focused kiln sites in southern China led to the loss of many delicately made jarlet forms and the proliferation of mass-produced types, particularly plate and bowls. An alternative interpretation would view this shift in foreign trade volume and assemblage content as tied to the expansion of a competitive feasting system in Philippine chiefdoms. The wider distribution of these late Ming mass-produced bowls and plates within the households of populations of varying social rank at Cebu and Tanjay may indicate an expanded scale and broadening participation in the competitive feasting system, hence creating a massive demand for foreign serving vessels.

### **The Evolution of Feasting Systems**

The archaeological evidence from the Philippines suggests that overtly competitive feasting may have become increasingly key to status competition and political alliance building in some fifteenth- and sixteenth-century chiefdoms. The fifteenth and sixteenth centuries see both an increase in the use of feasting foods within the chiefly centers as a whole and increased availability of these prestige-enhancing foods to inhabitants of nonelite residential zones. Serving assemblages also show an increasing lavishness of material display and wider distribution of feasting paraphernalia in the two centuries before Spanish contact. These trends may be interpreted in terms of escalating status competition and expanding scale of social participation in the feasting system.

Using the Kachin of Burma as an ethnographic example, Friedman (1979) noted that foreign contacts with an adjacent more complex society (the Shan kingdoms) provided certain Kachin lineages an advantage over initially equal-ranked lineages in sponsoring ritual feasts. This was because of the inflow of high-status Shan wives and lowland prestige goods to Kachin lineages strategically located for interaction and trade. Through their greater control of foreign wealth, Kachin chiefs could hold more elaborately financed feasts as well as attract further lucrative marriage ties, thus creating asymmetrical alliances with other lineages through their greater control of wealth. In Friedman's model, economic advantage and social prestige could then be translated into supernaturally reinforced superiority for the wealthy lineage, since success in sponsoring ritual feasts is conferred through

successfully placating powerful ancestral spirits. Eventually the enhanced ritual potency of this elite lineage might engender a quasi-historical linkage to these ancestral deities, creating an ideological justification for a hereditary elite class.

Similarly, in an analysis of ceremonial feasting among the Kachin of Burma and the Chin, a Tibeto-Burman people of the Indian-Burmese border, Lehman (1989) examines specifically how the availability of external sources of wealth can set off an inflationary cycle in the feasting system. Once foreign serving vessels and exchangeable goods enter the feasting system as prestige symbols of exceptionally high value, other feast givers must obtain similar exotic goods or inflate their distributions of now-devalued locally manufactured goods to maintain their relative ranking in the feasting system. In addition, the feasting system often expands in terms of the diversity of social groups participating in status display, as the availability of exotic prestige goods creates a two-tiered system of value in which local luxury goods are more widely available for lower-ranking groups to engage in elite-emulating ceremonial feasts. Thus, growth in the scale and socially competitive emphasis of feasting systems in the Philippines may be tied to the expanding wealth available through foreign prestige goods trade.

The development of competitive feasting systems is likely tied to changes in other aspects of chiefly political economies as Philippine chiefdoms became more complex in the centuries before European contact. An escalating scale, widening social participation, and expanding competitive focus in feasting should be evident in changing subsistence production choices (e.g., a greater emphasis on raising large pig herds) and in changing strategies for surplus mobilization (e.g., agricultural intensification, wider tribute networks). In this chapter, I presented evidence from archaeological faunal assemblages that residents of chiefly centers like Tanjay and Cebu increasingly concentrated their economic efforts on raising large pig herds and water buffalo, which were the primary status foods in ritual feasting. In Chapter 8, I cited geomorphological evidence for accelerating alluviation around coastal centers and decreasing numbers of tropical forest species in faunal assemblages at these centers as indirect evidence for expanded land clearance for agriculture. I noted that intensified rice production may be particularly associated with expanding surplus in elite households, since rice is an important ritual food distributed in competitive feasting events. The increased production of local prestige goods such as decorated earthenware in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries may also be related to the wider participation in and sponsorship of status feasts by lower-ranking individuals who have limited access to the more valued foreign porcelains as serving pieces.

Thomas has suggested that in the Marquesas a spiraling system of competitive feasting is associated with increased interpolity raiding and warfare, as chiefs vied for exotic resources and especially foreign captives to

use in status-enhancing sacrificial rites (1990:87–108). In the Philippines, feasting is similarly linked with slave raiding and head taking, since human sacrifice was a common component of feasts associated with chiefly mortuary rites, chiefly succession, annual agricultural ceremonies (like the *Gin Em* among the Bagabo), and perhaps other ceremonial occasions (Chirino 1604b:303–305; Cole 1913; Colin 1660b:163–165; Keesing 1962:189; Junker 1993b; Scott 1991:51; see also Chapter 12). While escalating competition for status in feasting may have precipitated increased raiding to obtain sacrificial victims and other expendable resources, chiefly feasts also served to mediate social conflict between competing groups and to create at least temporary social solidarity. This solidarity is most overtly manifested in peace pact or blood oath ceremonies carried out at some ritual feasts, marking the cessation of hostilities and newly formed alliances between formerly warring social units or polities (Keesing 1962:274; Kiefer 1972a; Loarca 1582a:160–163; Pigafetta 1521a:56, 77, 79; Scott 1982:190). In archaeologically known cases such as Iron Age Europe, the Mississippian chiefdoms, and Formative Period Mesoamerica, there often appears to be a strong correspondence between archaeological indicators for intensive elite feasting activities and material evidence for escalating interpolity conflict (Blitz 1993; Dietler 1989, 1990; Marcus and Flannery 1996:120). Ironically, competitive aspects of ceremonial feasting can often precipitate raiding as a strategy for obtaining status-enhancing resources, while socially integrative aspects of ceremonial feasting often serve to diffuse social tension and mediate disputes between factions.

Since the ritual feasting system appears to be the key social context in which political alliance and status relationships were negotiated and the productive potential of individuals and kin groups were publicly displayed, it is an evolutionary barometer of wider changes in prehispanic Philippine sociopolitical organization and chiefly political economies. Unfortunately, both ethnohistorical evidence and archaeological manifestations of ritualized feasting in the Philippines are presently very limited. Scholars have only begun to materially document the long-term dynamics of ritualized feasting systems in association with changes in other aspects of chiefly political economies.

## Chapter 12

### Raiding and Militarism as a Competitive Strategy

Scholars often cite warfare as a significant factor in both the initial emergence of chiefdoms and their consolidation into more complex forms (Carneiro 1981, 1990; Redmond 1994:123–124; Sanders and Price 1968: 132; Webster 1975:467). However, large-scale interpolity conflict is often at least implicitly viewed as arising out of factors external to the local political economy; that is, the equilibrium of the local system is upset when ecological variables and population growth create conditions in which groups are no longer buffered from conquest-oriented conflict along their territorial boundaries. I would like to suggest that the role of warfare in socio-political evolution is better understood if we view conflict as one of many dynamic elements of chiefly political economies.

Maritime raiding was one of a number of strategies used by Southeast Asian chiefs and kings to expand their social prestige, economic base, and political power. Because of the relative abundance of productive land relative to labor in the prehispanic Philippines and in other parts of Southeast Asia, seizure of slaves (but also agricultural stores, metal weaponry, and elite paraphernalia), rather than territories, was a primary motivating factor in interpolity raiding. Raids against rival groups enhanced chiefly status and political sway by providing women for polygamous marriages, increasing agricultural and craft productivity through enslaved labor, and providing sacrificial victims for status-enhancing ritual feasts held by the chiefly elite. Strategic raids on rival coastal ports also gained the chiefly aggressor advantage in the foreign prestige goods trade. Coastal raids effected considerable economic hardship on trade competitors and made them less desirable trade partners, as the attacked population fled inland and port resources were destroyed. Epic stories emphasizing warrior prowess, warfare-related ritual, and warrior status insignia reinforced the social value of raiding activities, allowing chiefs to raise large fighting forces through their alliance networks. Warfare was not without cost, however, to the militaristic chief. The use of male labor in warfare and deflection of resources toward production of war technology limited other wealth-generating pursuits.

## **Warfare in Complex Societies**

A number of cross-culturally comparative studies have suggested that warfare in chiefdom-level societies differs from that in tribal societies by its expansionist focus on acquisition of territory, resources, and captives and by its concentration of military power in the hands of a chiefly leaders (Carneiro 1990; Redmond 1994:51; Vayda 1961). As summarized by Redmond, warfare in tribal societies is an individual or personal pursuit, motivated by ideologies of blood revenge, and the gain to the aggressor is measured in terms of personal power and prestige among his fellows (1994:51). Participation in fighting can ramify from two single individuals to whole tribes, depending on the status and relationship of the two individuals involved, but any male usually has the “right” to initiate aggression against an individual or groups who have wronged him. The recruiting of war parties is generally ad hoc and without centralized or advanced planning; tribal warriors have to be induced to fight through invocations of kinship, they generally provision themselves with weapons and food supplies, and “war leader” positions are episodic rather than permanent (Redmond 1994: 52). Capture of booty in the form of human trophies, valuable goods, and women is generally secondary to gaining personal status through properly executed revenge, and warfare rarely results in permanent territorial loss or group displacement (Johnson and Earle 1987:120).

In contrast, warfare in chiefdoms and states is generally characterized as conquest-oriented and related to the political ambitions of powerful leaders (Carneiro 1981, 1990; Johnson and Earle 1987:215, 219). While blood revenge and status enhancement for individual warriors are still significant proximal justifications for warfare, Redmond suggests that these individual motivations are overshadowed by the “acquisitive pursuits of chiefs” who maintain a monopoly on the use of large-scale violence. As summarized by Redmond, “The purpose of chiefly warfare is expansionist: the seizing of land, resources, and captives takes precedence over avenging dead kinsmen” (1994:51). Centralized organization of warfare by polity rulers and their elite bureaucracies is evident in the production and stockpiling of weapons and siege resources at the polity center, in the presence of a permanent military command hierarchy, and in the enforced conscription of warriors (Carneiro 1990; Redmond 1994:52). While tribal warfare often consists of hit-and-run raids in which casualties are few, the larger-scale attacks against whole villages typical of chiefly war parties can involve massive slaughter of victims of all ages and both sexes. Destruction and looting activities are also systematic and routine, since they “form part of a larger, logistical plan of military expansion” (Redmond 1994:54). Carneiro has suggested that the growth of chiefdoms occurs through this type of highly systematic and large-scale assault on settlements along polity boundaries (1981:66). Con-

quered enemies are incorporated into the expanding chiefdom, resulting in the elaboration of political hierarchies and the coalescence of a polity of greater complexity as well as scale.

While many of these general features of warfare in complex societies are consistent with ethnohistorically and archaeologically recorded patterns of conflict in premodern Southeast Asian chiefdoms and states, Carneiro's (1981, 1990) emphasis on territorial conquest and high casualty rates does not fit the historical and archaeological evidence for the region. Although warfare historically played a role in the expansion and contraction of Philippine chiefdoms and other Southeast Asian polities (see Chapter 4), in general warfare was not territorially motivated and did not emphasize large-scale decimation of the combatants (Reid 1988:121–129; 1992:461; Scott 1994:153). The relatively low population densities in most parts of Southeast Asia relative to colonizable land and the personalized nature of political alliance relations meant that people were usually more valued than land. As summarized by Reid: "The perception of forest land as infinitely available and manpower as scarce ensured that competition was fundamentally over control of people. It was often status questions which gave rise to conflict, but the physical objective of the combatants was to seize people rather than territory. Both the constant small-scale raiding of the Philippines, eastern Indonesia, and upland regions everywhere, and the cumbersome encounters of great armies in the mainland states and Java were essentially aimed at increasing the human resources at the disposal of a chief or king" (1988:122). The emphasis on labor capture in warfare resulted in battle strategies aimed at taking captives and seizing other portable resources rather than large-scale slaughter of enemies (Reid 1983a; 1983b; 1988:123). As summarized by Reid, the dominant military leader in Southeast Asia was one who could mobilize large warrior forces, cause his enemy to retreat through intimidation and supernatural intervention rather than engage in a pitched battle, and leave the battleground with more warriors (including both uninjured warriors and captives) than he started with (1988:121–129). In the Philippines, the Spaniards were often puzzled by the fierce initial display by chiefly military forces that was followed by a reluctance to press their advantage over less well-equipped and well-manned forces. Instead of inflicting greater casualties and seizing control of the attacked coastal town, they generally retreated as soon as they pushed their enemies back sufficiently to take desired captives and booty (Alcina 1688b:161; Artieda 1569:197).

The warfare aimed at territorial expansion that Carneiro (1981) and Vayda (1961) see as typical of complex societies is simply not common in traditional Southeast Asian polities. More often warfare between polities resulted in the transfer of labor and other portable valuables to the victor and the temporary disruption of the conquered chief's economic base. Expansion of polities through warfare appears to have involved not direct seizure of geographic territories, but simply a realignment of political loyalties



as lower-ranking chiefs previously allied with the defeated ruler expediently forged ties with the more powerful patron. These new ties with clients generally resulted in expanded tribute and labor flow to the dominant center but not foreign colonization or even direct usurpation of local political power. Thus, perhaps a better definition of warfare at the chiefdom and state level is that it is profoundly political and materially, if not territorially, acquisitive: it is one of several mechanisms whereby rulers expand their political clout (Earle 1991, 1997; Marcus and Flannery 1996; Redmond 1994).

### **The Role of Warfare in Philippine Chiefly Political Economies**

Seizure of resources (particularly slaves, but also agricultural stores, metal weaponry, and elite paraphernalia) was a primary motivating factor in interpolity warfare in Philippine chiefdoms. Therefore, continuous raiding provided an alternative source of chiefly wealth procurement to tribute mobilization and interisland trade. However, interpolity warfare and raiding had a more indirect impact on the local political economies of Philippine chiefdoms. Seizure of foreign slaves augmented a chief's productive labor force, increasing agricultural surplus and freeing up local labor for manufacturing and trading activities. Raids against rival maritime trading ports were also an effective form of foreign trade competition, as export stores were seized, the attacked population fled inland, and prospective Chinese traders were diverted to less chaotic ports. Finally, foreign slaves captured in raids were also a valuable commodity as "destroyable wealth" that could enhance the status of their possessor: slaves were the most common victims of human sacrifice associated with chiefly ritual feasting events.

#### ***Slave Taking: Augmenting the Labor Force of Chiefs***

Expanding chiefdoms required additional surplus to support a growing number of specialist producers and foreign traders, and they would be particularly attracted to slave raiding as a strategy for increasing the labor under their control. Alcina's lengthy account of Visayan warfare suggests that the taking of foreign captives to be integrated into local social networks and the local economy was an explicit goal of interpolity raiding at the time of European contact (1688b:161–179). In one of the traditional Visayan "hero epics" recorded by Alcina and recounted in song, a warrior chief is praised for his feat of capturing 220 men and women in a series of maritime and land-based raiding expeditions (1688b:175). It is the taking

of numerous captives that earns him the greatest renown and only secondarily his seizure of a large booty in gold jewelry, Chinese porcelain, and bronze gongs and his valor in slaying enemies. Alcina makes it clear that the majority of the captives were integrated rapidly into the aggressors' community as laborers or as spouses (in the case of women) of high-ranking men among their captors (pp. 174–179).

Henry Schwalbenberg (1993), an economist, has analyzed the slave raiding as an economic strategy to redistribute labor in the prehispanic Philippines. Schwalbenberg focuses his argument on the economic principle of declining labor output: that is, labor productivity per capita is highest when the number of laborers is low. In the prehispanic Philippines, where labor was scarce, labor mobility was also severely restricted through clientage and debt-bondage relations. According to Schwalbenberg's model, environmental diversity, highly variable potential productivity of local resource bases, and unevenly distributed populations would result in strong differences between regions in overall labor productivity. Those chiefdoms in particularly "rich" environments (such as those with wide and well-watered alluvial plains and extensive coral reefs) would enjoy a relatively high labor productivity relative to chiefdoms in more limited environments with the same size labor force, because the former society could easily absorb additional laborers without reaching the point where added labor costs outweighed output, while the latter society might have already reached the point of labor saturation. From an economic perspective, the ecologically favored chiefdom would have a strong incentive to obtain more workers, since this would increase both *necessary output* (to feed workers) and *chiefly surplus* (see Fig. 12.1). If labor was shifted from the less environmentally favored chiefdom, this shift would in turn decrease both the necessary output and the chiefly tribute for the weaker polity, but there would be a net gain in productivity as a whole for the two chiefdoms combined. That is, the labor lost by the smaller-scale polity would have less negative economic impact than the positive impact of reallocation to a larger-scale polity in a more productive environment.

Given the relative lack of mobility of laborers attached by debt-bondage and clientage to regional chiefs, this model suggests that interpolity raiding would be a viable solution to the need to allocate labor more efficiently and prevent overall decline in the prehispanic Philippine chiefly economy. As summarized by Schwalbenberg: "Slave raiding played an analogous role to a competitive labor market. Instead of offering higher wages, a resource rich village would be able to support a larger warrior class and in turn forcibly transfer workers from areas with a lower resource base" (1993:382). Schwalbenberg suggests that if the productivity differences between the two polities became too great as more and more labor was captured, *datus*, warriors, and other elites would have significant economic incentive to become politically integrated with the more powerful polity. While this would

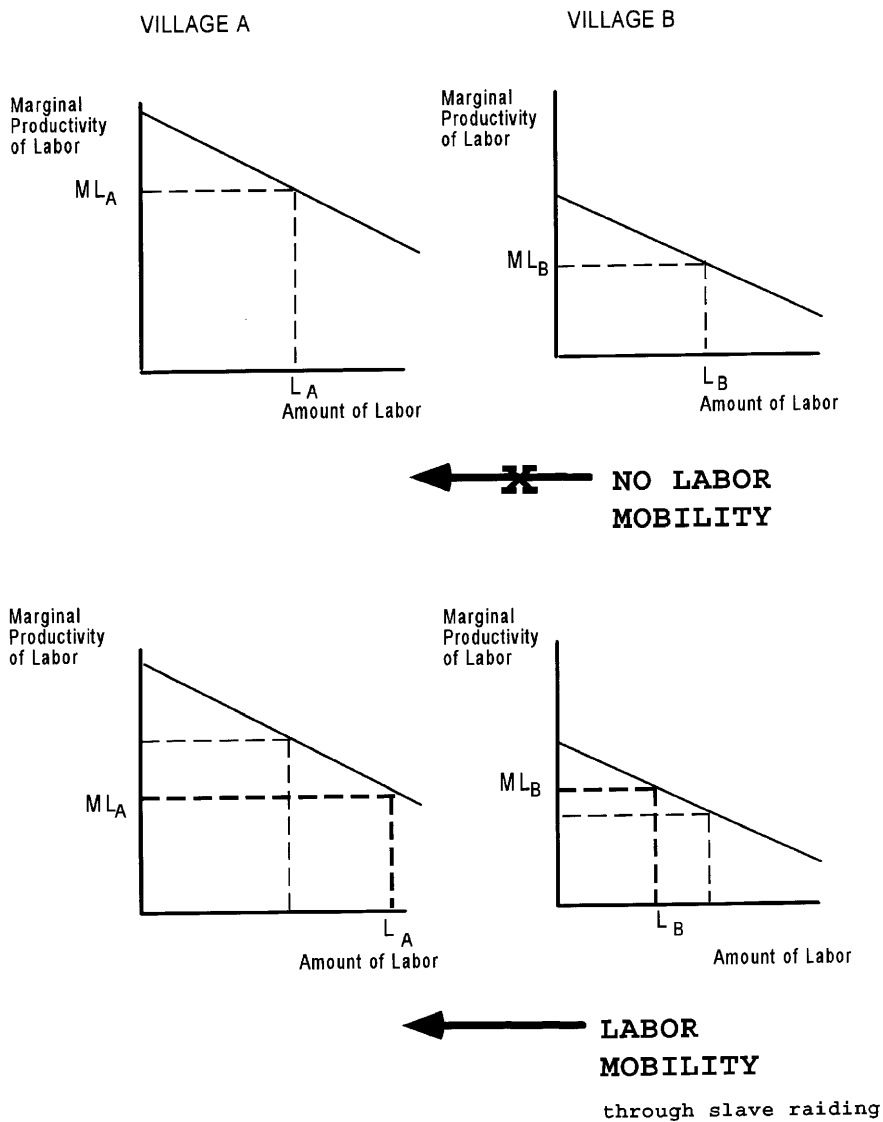


Figure 12.1. The relationship between agricultural output and labor in *Village A*, a highly productive environment, and *Village B*, a less productive environment. (Adapted from Schwalbenberg 1993:380)

transform them into tribute-paying vassals, they would reap the benefits of the overall greater surplus productivity of the integrated polity and the cessation of their labor loss through raiding.<sup>1</sup> I should also note that not only did more powerful Philippine polities prey on smaller and weaker chiefdoms through maritime raiding, but both groups often preyed on interior tribal populations and hunter-gatherer groups through land-based raids (Gibson 1990), often seizing slaves from the same ethnic groups with which they traded (Eder 1987). Schwalbenberg's conclusion is that maritime slave raiding in population-poor Southeast Asia was an economically viable solution to regional productivity differentials by reallocating labor to those locales where it could be more efficiently employed. An ideology of prestige associated with valor in warfare and prowess in slave raiding (see below) reinforces labor capture as an attractive choice for augmenting the labor force under a chief's control, increasing overall agricultural productivity, and expanding the politically manipulable surplus under a chief's control.

Expanding Sulu slave raiding in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, as analyzed by James Warren (1975, 1982, 1985), exemplifies the spiraling economic effects of intensifying slave raiding. The Sulu Sea, Magindanao, and Maranao populations were notorious in the sixteenth through nineteenth centuries for their large-scale raiding activities focused on slave acquisition not only in the Philippines, but over much of island Southeast Asia. A number of ethnohistorians claim that, by the eighteenth century, the Sulu economy was economically dependent on this form of "negative" trade (Warren 1982; Majul 1973; Kiefer 1972a, 1972b). Warren estimates that, on average, two to three thousand slaves were imported annually and more than 50 percent of the productive labor within the polity was derived from captured slaves. Historical sources of this period make frequent reference to the incorporation of captured slaves into the local work force as agricultural laborers, fishermen, craftsmen, and even traders and warriors (Reid 1983b:22; J. Warren 1985:222–228). Warren suggests that the use of slave labor in agricultural production and other basic economic tasks expanded chiefly surplus, and it freed up a larger portion of the nonslave population to serve the chief in the types of trading and raiding activities that contributed to a chief's wealth and political power (1985:221–222).

The increased agricultural production and heightened participation in foreign trade that came from assimilation of slaves into the local economy were undoubtedly a major factor in the expanding scale and complexity of Philippine polities like Sulu. There was also a feedback relationship between success in slave raiding and the ability to launch effective forces in future military campaigns. Captured slaves could be invested in bridewealth to build the large alliance networks necessary to raise a fighting force, they could be sacrificed in rituals that strengthened a chief's supernatural power in warfare, and they could take the place of warriors extracted from the

agricultural labor force. Both slave raiding and debt-bondage appear to be most prevalent in those regions of Southeast Asia with multiple rather than single power centers and in periods of greater political fragmentation and interpolity economic competition (Reid 1983a:18). Thus, one would expect an increase in the intensity and scale of slave raiding in the Philippines in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, when historical and archaeological evidence point to the rise of multiple rival power centers attempting to expand their political influence and economic base simultaneously.

### **Maritime Piracy, Warfare, and Disrupting the Trade Networks of Rivals**

There is a long-term link between the development of long-distance maritime trading systems in Southeast Asia and the rise of maritime raiding and militarism. For example, the mid-first millennium and early second millennium A.D. Cham polities of southern Vietnam aggressively sought to maintain a monopoly on maritime trade through almost continual raiding of the coastal ports of rival trade polities as well as seaborne piracy against trading vessels headed for these foreign ports (K. Hall 1985:178–181; 1992:252–260; K. Taylor 1992:153–157). Hall notes that maritime raiding against coastal trading ports increased during times of greater political fragmentation, when individual polities may have suffered a loss in direct trade revenues (1992:259). Ironically, the great intensity and frequency of Cham raiding weakened the attraction of Cham ports for international traders, who were wary of traveling too near the Cham coast when making the voyage from the Malacca Straits to ports in China (p. 259). Thus, the Champa rulers were pushed further and further toward a plunder-based political economy (p. 252), rather than one focused more strongly on peaceful foreign trade.<sup>2</sup>

Many historically known Southeast Asian maritime-trading polities protected their sea lanes by establishing special relationships with ethnically distinct seafaring populations who could either escort a foreign ship or plunder it on the ruler's command (see Chapter 7). For example, the Srivijaya polity used the *orang laut*, a traditional seafaring group living on the islands and coasts of eastern Sumatra (Andaya and Andaya 1982:25, 28; Wolters 1967:187). As long as these naval mercenaries received a portion of the trade profits, they would continue to enforce Srivijaya's trade monopoly through military intimidation. The danger in this strategy was that, if trade revenues fell owing to the rise of rival trade ports, these naval mercenaries often resorted to indiscriminate plundering and further weakened a polity's foreign trade position by alienating wary trade partners. Srivijaya's delicate balance between trade-protecting militarism and a reputation for chaotic piracy appears to have shifted toward the latter by the twelfth century, one of a number of factors leading to the polity's decline (Andaya and Andaya 1982:28–31; K. Hall 1985:101).

In the Philippines, specialist seafarers belonging to an ethnic group known as the Iranun or Ilanun (connected historically and linguistically to interior Maranao chiefdoms around Lake Lanao) developed similar client relations with the expanding Sulu and Magindanao maritime-trading polities by at least the eighteenth century (D. Hall 1968:339; Mednick 1977a: 209–228; J. Warren 1985:149–171). Much of the Iranun activity involved slave raiding throughout the Philippine archipelago, Borneo, Maluku, and Sulawesi that was promoted and supported by the Sulu and the Magindanao, who received the benefits of a constant inflow of slave labor (Tarling 1963). The constant raids in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries wreaked havoc on the local economies of their target populations: in the area around the then Spanish town of Manila, fishermen were in fear of pursuing their livelihood, agricultural shortages were common, and foreign traders had to take circuitous routes to the port as a result of these pirate expeditions by the Iranun (J. Warren 1985:168).

Earlier Chinese accounts indicate that maritime piracy and coastal raiding were long-established strategies for wealth acquisition in the Philippine archipelago. A thirteenth-century Chinese text provides a vivid description of the “Pi-ye-sha” (“painted or tattooed ones”) maritime raiders, probably Visayans from the central Philippines, who created fear along the western littoral of the Philippines in the early first millennium A.D., seizing slaves and booty from coastal settlements (Chen 1966:271; Craig 1914:4; Laufer 1907:253–255; Scott 1984:74–75). The Pi-ye-sha are even named as possible culprits in a series of thirteenth-century attacks on Cham settlements and other coastal centers of the Southeast Asian mainland.

Early Spanish records suggest that many coastal populations in the contact period Philippines found that maritime piracy and the seizure of the luxury commodities from ships passing through the archipelago were a more attractive alternative than formal trade to gain access to wealth objects (Artieda 1569:197–198; Boxer manuscript 1590b:225–226; Chirino 1604a: 305–308; Colin 1660b:176, 179; Lavezaris 1569:287; Legaspi 1567:55; Loarca 1582a:117; Morga 1609b:292; Pigafetta 1521a:68–70; also see Baumgartner 1977 and Mallari 1986). Like the *orang laut* pirates of the Malacca Straits, groups located along strategic sea passageways found it particularly lucrative to engage in piracy or extortion (through threat of piracy) against passing vessels.<sup>3</sup> The Spanish and Chinese records indicate that maritime raids were seasonal and thus somewhat predictable, related to the labor demands of the agricultural cycle and to seasonal sailing conditions.<sup>4</sup> The most frequent times for large-scale raiding expeditions were immediately after the completion of harvest activities, when a large contingent of personnel was available to participate and maximum damage to an adjacent community’s food supply and other resources could be inflicted (de Rada 1577; Morga 1609a:87).

Ethnohistorical accounts show that the economic disruption suffered by

the defeated included not only the loss or destruction of resources and labor forces critical to effective participation in foreign trade, but frequently also physical displacement of the coastal elites to interior refuges and at least temporary cessation of foreign trading activities by wary Chinese merchants. Fleeing inland up rivers that were difficult for non-locals to navigate is a defensive strategy cited in both contact period Spanish accounts and in ethnographic work on warfare in traditional Philippine complex societies (e.g., Alcina 1688b:161; Cole 1913:183; Quirante 1624:155). Anthony Reid suggests that the limited investment in elaborate architecture and the high portability of wealth (e.g., slaves, metal, porcelains, silks) in Southeast Asian coastal centers made flight a more attractive alternative than construction of large-scale fortifications and a stubborn defense (1988:122). Mallari (1986), in an analysis of attacks against settlements in the Bicol region of southeastern Luzon by sixteenth- to seventeenth-century Magindanao, Sulu, and Bornean marauders, suggests that the primary incentive for such raids was rapid seizure of slaves and valued resources (metal weapons, gold, and other luxury goods). However, the marauders often burned or seized agricultural resources and caused the inhabitants to flee inland, disrupting the subsistence economy of trade competitors. It would often be weeks or even months before an attacked coastal settlement's population could return to their homes and resume agricultural production, maritime trading, and other activities vital to chiefly political economies. Reid notes that Southeast Asian maritime raiding "was not particularly costly of lives on the battlefield, but it was enormously disruptive of the domestic and agricultural pattern" (1992:461). It is likely that foreign trade ships would studiously avoid ports known to be attacked frequently and trading partners who could not ensure export goods or subsistence support for traders in transit.

### **Warfare and Ritual Potency**

If the relatively high value of labor in island Southeast Asia tends to discourage large-scale human slaughter in warfare, then the widespread practice of using human captives in sacrificial rites (Reid 1983a; Andaya and Ishii 1992:509) seems like a contradiction. However, the ethnohistorical analyses of ritual feasting in Southeast Asian societies suggest that it is precisely the great "value" of sacrificial offerings (e.g., water buffalo, domestic pig, and rare marine delicacies as well as people) that confers status on the sacrificial feast's sponsor. Contact period Spanish sources suggest that head taking, human sacrifice, and the use of enemy body parts as war trophies were tied to status displays in postwar feasts and elite mortuary ritual among the Tagalog-speaking lowland societies of Luzon (Boxer manuscript 1590c:383; Legaspi 1572:124; Plasencia 1589c:484; Morga 1609a:175). Plasencia

wrote that, among the Tagalogs, “when some chief dies, to avenge his death they had to cut off many heads, with which they would make many feasts and dances” (1589c:484).<sup>5</sup>

Head taking, in association with what may be termed “revenge raids” in a cycle of interdistrict conflict, is ethnographically best known among the interior northern Luzon cordillera groups such as the Ilongot, Kalinga, and Apayao (Barton 1949:154–155, 231–243; Dozier 1966:55–56, 116–117, 198–235; Rosaldo 1980). Dozier notes that among the Kalinga the severed heads are used in numerous ways as ritual objects in postraid ceremonies and as permanent status-conferring trophies for the raid participants (1966:200). Keesing’s detailed ethnohistorical research for lowland areas of northern Luzon suggests that not only was head taking a historically prevalent feature of warfare in societies of the region (1962:42, 164–165, 180, 183, 189–190, 297), but captured heads were also essential to postwar ritual aimed at augmenting the supernatural power of warriors. Enemy skulls commonly functioned as ritual drinking cups, as prestige items to be displayed at status-conferring feasts, and in some cases as heirlooms (similar to imported porcelains) to be passed on to the next generation (Keesing 1962:64, 74, 136, 153). Several seventeenth- and eighteenth-century documents on the Apayao of northwestern Cagayan make explicit reference to the subsequent burial of captured heads along with prestige goods and ritual food offerings as grave accompaniments for a prominent individual. Head taking and skull burial were viewed as essential ritual means of ending the proscribed period of mourning, even in the case of a nonviolent death (Keesing 1962:189, 199; see also Scott 1984:192).

Relating revenge raids and head taking directly to social status and mortuary feasts, Cole notes that the period of mourning for a Bagabo *datu* in Mindanao, whether a victim of violence or not, could only be terminated by a ritual human sacrifice involving captured enemies or slaves (1913:105). A lower-ranking Bagabo could also gain some measure of status, while fulfilling his obligation to a deceased relative, by “purchasing a piece” of the victim or victims sacrificed yearly at the Gin Em ceremony. Particularly important deceased individuals, such as a paramount *datu* or a powerful *magani* (warrior), rated a special revenge raid specifically aimed at procuring a sacrificial victim for the mortuary feast. Most significantly for archaeological recognition of this practice, Cole writes that, before disposing of the sacrificial victim, “any person who wishes may cut off a portion of the flesh or hair and carry it to the grave of some relative whom he may have reason to believe is being troubled by evil spirits” (1913:115).<sup>6</sup>

James Warren (1985) notes that, while the Islamic faith of the Tausug and Ilanun slave raiders curtailed their own practice of human sacrifice, their brokering of captured slaves into other parts of the Philippine archipelago and Southeast Asia may have contributed to the expansion of status-enhancing sacrificial rites with human offerings. He documents this process particularly with reference to interior Borneo populations:



The development of the slave trade on the Bornean rivers appears to have altered ceremonial practice surrounding ritual sacrifices. In earlier periods preference had been given to killing young warriors or slaves captured from rival tribes in warfare, but the coming of the Tausug traders enabled the widespread purchase of aliens, particularly the elderly or infirm, for ritual purposes. The availability of cheaply priced aliens in large numbers, who could be purchased for forest produce, made popular participation in the ceremonies easier. Now mourning commoners, in remembrance of the deceased, were able to subscribe.

(1985:199)

Ironically, while the demand for sacrificial victims as well as agricultural laborers may have fueled the predatory tendencies of some of the most successful Philippine slave raiders, the status of captured slaves as marketable commodities may have actually reduced the need for slave-raiding forays by their trading partners. The latter could trade for sacrificial slaves rather than engaging themselves in the more dangerous and probably more costly raids against their neighbors.

### **The Ideology of Warrior Prestige**

Warriors who had undertaken a great number of raids and returned with substantial booty and captives were rewarded with social rank and status insignia that were just below that of the *datu* class (Alcina 1688b:14; Boxer manuscript 1590c:383; Legaspi 1572:124; Plasencia 1589c:484; Morga 1609a:175). The vast majority of Visayan myths or epic tales collected by Alcina had warrior-heroes as their central figures (e.g., Alcina 1688a:20–23, 77–78; 1688b:165–169, 277–278). Similarly, Mindanao epic tales recorded by ethnographers and historians are peopled by warrior-chiefs ornamented in the status insignia of their rank who conquer neighboring populations, foreigners, or later Europeans, through a combination of daring and magical power (e.g., Manuel 1958; Scott 1994:166–169).<sup>7</sup> Alcina notes that these epics, sometimes related in song, are often repeated before raiding expeditions to inflame the passions of the warriors and inspire them to fight valiantly (1688b:177–179). These epic tales and songs recount the exploits of warriors who could perform supernatural feats, such as catching and killing wild boars or crocodiles with their bare hands, lifting large stones or trees to crush enemies, or running so swiftly that no footprints were left for avenging enemies to follow. Alcina (1688a:20–37), Chirino (1604), and the Boxer manuscript (1590) all suggest that epic stories were not written in Philippine scripts, but were orally presented in prewar rituals and on other ceremonial occasions.

Early Spanish accounts indicate that prominent warriors were allowed

to wear a turban-style cloth headdress (*cedal* in Visayan, *potong* in Tagalog) formed by wrapping a narrow cloth around the temples and forehead (Alcina 1688b:148–160; Colin 1660b:161). The color of the cloth (blood red for the most valiant warriors) and the elaborateness of the embroidered borders that fell on the shoulders indicated the relative status of the warrior in terms of the number of people he had slain and captured (Colin 1660b:161). Males in most lowland complex societies of the Philippines, but especially in the Visayas, acquired tattoos throughout their adult lifetime according to their performance in raiding activities (Colin 1660b:163; Rodríguez 1565:126; Artieda 1569:200; Sande 1576:225). As summarized by Colin: “The whole body was not tattooed at one time, but it was done gradually. In olden times no tattooing was begun until some brave deed had been performed; and after that, for each one of the parts of the body which was tattooed some new deed had to be performed” (1660b:163). Loarca reports that Visayan warriors often wore pendants or “charms” manufactured out of crocodile teeth or wild boar’s teeth that were part of prewar ritual activities: “These natives have a method of casting lots with the teeth of a crocodile or of a wild boar. During the ceremony they invoke their gods and their ancestors, and inquire of them as to the result of their wars and their journeys. By knots or loops which they make with cords, they foretell what will happen to them” (1582c:281). While not as elaborately adorned as *datus*, renowned warriors especially (even those of inherited commoner or slave rank) marked their status through filed and gold-pegged teeth, gold ornamentation, and elaborately decorated metal weaponry (with carved antler handles sometimes incised and inlaid with gold or semiprecious stones) that were prominently displayed in their waistbands (Pigafetta 1521a:46, 50–51, 58, 64; Boxer manuscript 1590b:196–197, 217; Rodríguez 1565:126).

Among the ethnographically known Bagabo, Magindanao, Maranao, and Manobo of Mindanao, blood-red trousers, tunics, and head scarves were reserved for high-ranking warriors of either the elite or the commoner class who had distinguished themselves in warfare and raiding (Casiño 1982:137; Cole 1913:96, 155; Mednick 1977a).<sup>8</sup> As described by Cole for the Bagabo: “The chief aim in life of the man is to have the right to wear the blood-red clothing and to be known as *magani*. As stated earlier, this term is applied to a man who has killed two or more persons. He is then entitled to wear the peculiar chocolate-colored head covering. When his score has reached four he can don blood-red trousers, and when he has six lives to his credit he is permitted to wear the complete blood-red suit and to carry a bag of the same color” (1913:96). The blood-red clothing, along with the padded armor and bamboo breastplates and talismans like boar’s teeth, were not only a sign of warrior status, but were viewed as possessing magical properties that could shield the wearer from harm when worn into battle.<sup>9</sup>

Warrior-hero epics and warrior insignia such as tattooing and gold-pegged teeth undoubtedly reinforced the association between performance in warfare and social prestige among male participants. Shared war ritual

and warrior emblems also served to bind warriors to their chiefly patrons, who sponsored the ritual and controlled the flow of status markers. The Spanish writer Francisco Alcina suggests that chiefs launching large military expeditions against other polities called on extensive alliance and clientage networks to raise a fighting force.<sup>10</sup> These networks were retained through continual gifts of plundered wealth and warrior emblems:

There might be many ships, for as we have said *Dumaraug* [a chief of Albay province in southwestern Luzon] took a hundred when he went to plunder *Bingi*,<sup>11</sup> or there might be only a few. All went under command although they might be from other towns for their friends were accustomed to offer their services, when they went on great campaigns and to far away lands, to the *datu* or chief who was master of the operation and had been the promoter of it. . . . For great [raiding] expeditions they used to come and gather together a great number of vessels. They joined in kinship relationships whose connections endure even now, recognizing themselves as such and acknowledging them with gifts and presents according to their custom.

(1688b:173–174)

Ethnohistorical work on the Tausug and Bagabo similarly suggest that large fighting forces were raised very quickly by regionally powerful paramount chiefs through vertically and horizontally ramifying ties of clientage and alliance (Cole 1913:94–95; Kiefer 1972a:83–85). Shared prewar and postwar ceremonialism, the distribution of valuable arms by the sponsoring chiefs, and emblematic warrior paraphernalia solidified these fighting units.

## **The Weapons and Technology of Warfare**

In the 1994 posthumously published ethnohistorical work *Barangay*, William Henry Scott masterfully summarizes much of what is known about Philippine weaponry, defensive works, armor, and foreign-derived military technologies at the time of Spanish contact (1994:18–22, 103–107, 147–157, 231–232). Since Scott's work is so detailed, I will summarize some of his ethnohistorical findings that are relevant to the archaeological visibility of warfare technologies and how they may have evolved with escalating interpolity conflict.

### **The Weapons of Warfare**

The range of military equipment used by warriors in contact period Philippine complex societies is most exhaustively described in Alcina's lengthy



**Figure 12.2.** Bagabo warrior with padded cotton armor, wooden shield, and bronzed-tipped sword in 1898. (From the Dean Worcester Collection, University of Michigan Museum of Anthropology)

manuscript on Visayan societies and culture (1688b:148–160), although there are substantial references to weaponry in early Spanish accounts concerned with the period of initial conquest of the islands (e.g., Relation of the Conquest 1572:95, 98–100, 107; Lavezaris 1573:138; Legaspi 1565b:5; Sande 1576b:225). The most important weaponry, from the viewpoint of both military effectiveness and warrior status display, were bronze or iron swords and daggers. Daggers (*baladaw* in Visayan) typically had cross-shaped metal hilts held in the palm, with the blade protruding between the index and middle fingers (Scott 1994:147). Swords (*kalis* and *kampilan* in Visayan) were either straight or wavy double-edged, thin blades of bronze or iron, with hilts made of hardwoods, bone, antler, shell, or, for high-ranking *datus*, gold encrusted with precious stones (Scott 1994:148). We have limited archaeological evidence on prehispanic metallurgy on the basis of which to determine how much of this metal weaponry was locally manufactured or imported from outside the archipelago. However, Scott suggests that, while Visayan and Luzon populations did their own ironsmithing to manufacture knives and swords, superior iron weapons and virtually all of the bronze weapons were imported in the sixteenth century from Mindanao, Sulu, Makassar, Borneo, China, or Japan (1994:148; see also Alcina 1688b:153). The great value of metal swords is indicated by their use as heirlooms and for warriors' individual identification through unique styles: "Fine ones were handed down from father to son, bore personal names known to the enemy, and could be recognized by the sound of little bells which formed part of their tasseled decoration" (Scott 1994:148).<sup>12</sup>

In some parts of the Philippines, warriors wore body armor and helmets made of such diverse materials as thick cordage, bamboo, bark, sharkskin, and water buffalo hide to deflect piercing blows by cutlasses or spear points (see Fig. 12.2). Scott, working mainly from Alcina's account of Visayan defensive gear (1688b:168–170) and Sánchez' (1617) Visayan dictionary, reconstructed the traditional warrior dress in the central Philippines as follows:

The Visayan equivalent of a cuirass, or chain mail, was *barote*, quilted or corded body armor, which the Spaniards called *escaupiles* after the cotton padded ones they found in the New World. The *barote* was woven of thick-braided abaca or bark cords, tight enough to be waterproof in the good ones, and so intricately knotted that cuts did not spread. A piece similar to burlap (*habay-habay*) was worn next to the body under the *barote* itself. It extended to the elbow and knee, with an ankle-length variety with sleeves for manning defenseworks, though for greater agility in hand-to-hand combat, confident warriors preferred to fit without them. *Pakil* and *batung-batung* were breastplates or back-plates made of bamboo, bark, hardwood like ebony, or, in Mindanao, carabao horn or ele-

phant hide from Jolo. Sharkskin was used effectively for helmets or *moriones*.

(1994:150)

The sixteenth-century Tagalog speakers near Manila and populations along the Bicol Peninsula are also reported as possessing padded armor with water buffalo hide breastplates and occasionally Chinese bronze helmets of the period (Lavezaris 1573:138; also see Scott 1994:186, 232). While this armor could deflect some sword parries and knife thrusts, Scott suggests that it was generally ineffective against projectiles and was more important as warrior insignia than as defensive technology.

Shields were significant defensive weapons in all lowland societies of the Philippines (Fig. 12.3). The Visayan shields, *kalasag*, were made of light, fibrous wood designed to enmesh any spear or dagger that penetrated its surface and to prevent their retrieval by the enemy (Scott 1994:151). Shields were strengthened and decorated with an elaborate rattan binding on the front, which was also coated with a resin that turned rock-hard upon drying. These shields were generally 0.5 meters by 1.5 meters in size and, along with missile deflecting helmets, they provided full body protection that was difficult to penetrate. Thus, it is not surprising that most of the raids that were successful, in terms of taking captives and heads, were surprise ambushes (*habon* or *sagbid* in Visayan), that literally caught the enemy with its shields down.

### **The Adoption of Foreign Military Technology**

In situations of intense and escalating interpolity conflict, archaeologists frequently find evidence for the invention or adoption of new technologies for warfare, including more effective weaponry and military transport (e.g., horses, wheeled vehicles such as chariots, war canoes). For example, the development of iron metallurgy in emerging West African chiefdoms and states in the first millennium A.D. as well as the import of horses and chariot technologies from north of the Sahara may be related to expanding interpolity conflict over control of valuable raw materials and long-distance trade (Connah 1987:116–119; Phillipson 1993:173–184). Similarly, the importation of horses from the eastern European steppes and the growth of a large-scale bronze industry in second millennium B.C. European Bronze Age chiefdoms is related to the rising militarism and expansionist tendencies of competing central and eastern European polities (Champion and Champion 1986; Shennan 1986).

Early Spanish descriptions of Philippine weaponry suggest that trade contacts outside the archipelago were significant in introducing new weapons technology to Philippine warriors. Some of the warriors faced by the

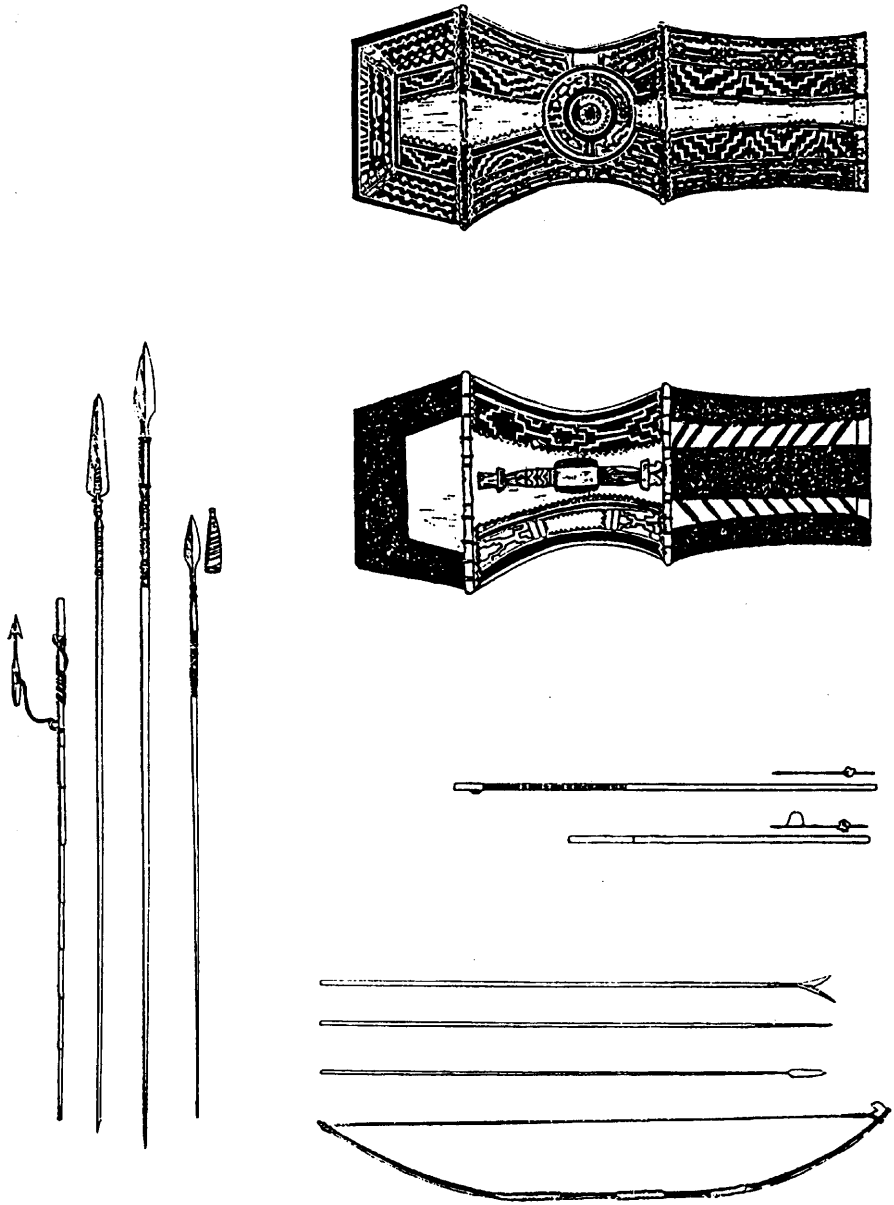


Figure 12.3. Weapons and shields used by the Bagabo at the beginning of the twentieth century, as illustrated by Cole (1913).

Legaspi expedition in 1571 were carrying Japanese bronze swords (known as *katana*) and wearing the distinctive sixteenth-century Chinese peaked helmets made of bronze (Scott 1994:232). Fortresses at Manila, Pampanga, and Tondo (Luzon) described by Legaspi expedition writers were outfitted in Chinese-style bronze and iron cannons and swivel guns (Relation of the Conquest 1572:95, 98, 100, 105, 106; Maldonado 1575:178–179). Large Filipino seagoing trading and raiding vessels also carried large artillery, particularly swivel guns (*lantaka* in Tagalog), to repel maritime attack and to head off raiding forces in sea battles before reaching the fortified centers (Relation of the Conquest of Manila 1572:104; Legaspi 1572:122). While the technology to manufacture these large artillery was Chinese in origin, the Spanish reports of an iron foundry at Manila with cannon molds and half-finished cannon pieces suggests that they were produced locally by metalsmiths working for the paramount chief (Relation of the Voyage 1570: 84). In 1579, the newly appointed Spanish governor, Francisco Sande, reports confiscating 18,000 kilos of large metal artillery from Manila and surrounding towns (1579:147).<sup>13</sup> Sande was so impressed by the quality of Filipino workmanship that he commissioned indigenous metalsmiths to manufacture bronze and iron cannonry to defend the newly formed colonial town of Manila.

From the early part of the sixteenth century, when the Magindanao and Sulu polities began to come into at least indirect contact with Europeans, they recognized the advantages of European muskets and other firearms, accumulating them rapidly through raiding and trading expeditions. As reconstructed through historical records by Saleeby, a Spanish assault on the coastal Magindanao capital of Cotabato in 1636 resulted in the Spaniards' seizure of eight locally forged bronze cannons, twenty-seven locally made iron *lantaka* or swivel guns, and one hundred European muskets (1905:57). While the cannons and swivel guns and the gunpowder to fire them were part of an earlier-adopted Chinese technology, European firearms quickly were adopted as the route to military superiority among rival trade polities in the seventeenth century and later. Warren (1985) and Iletto (1971) in fact credit the economic and military dominance of Sulu and Magindanao in the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries to their monopolizing the European gun trade of this period and their use of European weaponry as political currency to widen their power base.

### ***Defensive Strategies: Fortifications and Upriver Refuges***

Ethnohistorical documentation for the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Philippines suggests that some large-scale Philippine chiefdoms that were particularly subject to coastal raids constructed several types of archaeolog-



ically recognizable defensive structures. These included wooden stockades surrounding entire coastal centers or chiefly residences, earthen fortifications constructed around chiefly house-compounds (primarily in the southern Philippines), and coral block walls (in the Batanes Islands). In their initial voyages to the Philippine archipelago, the Magellan expedition (1521) and the Legaspi expedition (1565) report the presence of well-constructed wooden fortifications around the chiefly centers of Manila, Tondo, Cebu, Mindoro (polity name unknown), and numerous other coastal towns (Alcina 1688b:21; Relation of the Voyage to Luzon 1570:78–79, 83–84, 94–97; Relation of the Conquest of Manila 1572:105–106; Lavezaris 1573:138; Legaspi 1572:123; Maldonado 1575:178; Pigafetta 1521).

Spanish descriptions indicate that the typical fortifications consisted of raised earthworks with a wooden palisade along the top (called a “*kuta*” in Tagalog) surrounded by a ditch or water-filled moat (*bangbang* in Tagalog). However, local variations on construction techniques were specific to the local environment, geography, and intensity of conflict. In Bicol (southeastern Luzon), bamboo towers called “*bantara*” were built behind the fortifications as stands for archers armed with long bows (de Rada 1574:181). Fortified villages on the Zamboanga peninsula (within the Sulu polity) constructed a high bamboo watchtower outside the fortifications so that warriors could scan the sea for approaching marauders (Warren 1985). During a visit to the Sulu capital of Jolo in 1848, Keppel described the fortifications as follows: “Passing within the outer stockade, we arrived . . . at the royal residence. It was walled and fortified; a large space was enclosed by double rows of heavy piles driven into the earth, about five feet apart, and the space between was filled with large stones and earth, making a very solid wall of about fifteen feet in height, having embrasures . . . in convenient places for cannon. . . . A great part of the town (Jolo) was stockaded in a similar way; and the country houses of the *datus* and mountain chiefs were also walled in, and had guns mounted” (1853:64–65, cited in Spoehr 1973:87–88). It is clear from this passage that, in addition to the larger town fortifications, the individual residences of sultans and chiefs also had defensive works. Outside the capital, local *datus* constructed earthen-walled defensive structures known as “*cotta*” or “*kota*,” which surrounded the chiefly residential compounds, but not the entire community (Mednick 1977a:218; Spoehr 1973:88–102). These fortified compounds were often larger than four thousand square meters and had earthen or coral block walls several meters thick and up to three meters tall surrounding the entire house-yard of the chiefly residence (see Chapter 6).

For many Philippine polities (particularly small-scale ones), the labor investment necessary to construct and defend fortifications may have been simply too costly. Rather than lose labor to this type of massive construction or to warfare deaths, it is likely that many groups adopted the strategy

of temporarily abandoning a town with portable valuables in tow to return when the marauders left with their scavenged booty.<sup>14</sup> Early Spanish accounts suggest that these refuges could be naturally defensible positions near the coastal settlement, as evidenced by the Visayan terms “*moog*,” “*ili*,” and “*ilihan*,” which are translated as a rocky outcropping or natural pinnacle that could be fortified and used as a refuge to which villagers could be evacuated (Sánchez 1617; see also Scott 1994:155). Scott (1994:155–156) notes that Spanish writings and lithographs from the sixteenth century depict wooden “tree houses” constructed around a stout tree or freestanding on thick pilings and sometimes reaching more than fifteen meters off the ground (Fig. 12.4). These were claimed to have functioned only in situations of warfare as refuges, and they were reached by a vine that could be pulled up. The paths approaching these tree houses as well as other refuges were frequently planted with traps and poisoned stakes to catch the unwary enemy. Historical accounts of flight into the interior suggest that interior settlements occupied by kinsmen or other close allies of the coastal elite also served as refuges. These refuge locales may have been the riverine “secondary centers” that were also strategically located tribute mobilization and trade nodes in the regional economic system.

## **The Long-Term Dynamics of Interpolity Raiding**

Not surprisingly, historical records and archaeological evidence suggest that the scale and intensity of interpolity raiding expanded in the two centuries just before European contact, a time of growth in many aspects of chiefly political economies. Maritime raiding is one of a number of types of competitive interactions that resulted in the emergence of large-scale, maritime-trade-oriented paramount chieftaincies at Manila, Cebu, Jolo (the Sulu polity), Cotabato (the Magindanao polity), and other areas of the Philippine archipelago in the mid-second millennium A.D.

### ***Historical Evidence for Expanding Interpolity Raiding***

Early Chinese accounts of Philippine coastal maritime-trading polities indicate that interpolity raiding was prevalent enough in the archipelago in the early second millennium A.D. to warrant caution by foreign trading vessels. However, several ethnohistorically based observations suggest that interpolity conflict may have intensified in the Philippines in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. While there are scattered Chinese references to maritime raiding activities in the early part of the second millennium, many Chinese accounts from this period make no mention whatsoever of piracy and



Figure 12.4. Visayan “tree houses” for defense. (From Alcina’s 1688 *Historia de las islas e indios de las Bisayas*)

seaborne raiding (even though piracy would have been a major economic concern to Chinese traders). In contrast, early-sixteenth-century Spanish accounts emphasize the pervasiveness and constancy of interpolity conflict at the time of initial contact, often providing vivid descriptions of large-scale warfare and almost ceaseless maritime raiding between chiefly centers (Alcina 1688b:161–179; Artieda 1569:197–198; Chirino 1604b:305–308; Colin 1660b:176, 179; Lavezaris 1569:287; Legaspi 1567:55; Legaspi 1569:38; Loarca 1582a:151; Morga 1609a:82; Pigafetta 1521a:68–70).

In addition, descriptions of fortifications and other large-scale defensive works are noticeably absent from fourteenth-century and earlier Chinese accounts of Philippine coastal trading centers, and in several instances it is implied that the chiefly residences and storehouses were readily visible from sea approaches (e.g., Scott 1984:74–75). Filipino chiefs who were wary of foreign ships are described as disappearing inland, rather than taking refuge inside fortified coastal towns (Chen 1966:271; Craig 1914:4; Laufer 1907:253–255). As noted earlier in this chapter, the initial Spanish explorers noted the near universality of wooden stockade and ditch fortification (or occasionally earthen embankments or stone walls) surrounding the major coastal trading ports such as Cebu, Manila, Tondo, Cotabato (Lower Valley Magindanao polity), and Jolo (Sulu polity). In addition, many of these native fortresses were defended by relatively sophisticated large-scale artillery, including Chinese-inspired but locally manufactured iron and bronze cannons and swivel guns that were recently adopted technologies not reported in pre-fifteenth-century Chinese accounts (e.g., Relation of the Voyage to Luzon 1570:102–103; Relation of the Conquest of the Island of Luzon 1572:144, 148, 160; Artieda 1569:200–201; Sande 1577:106). Finally, linguistic analysis by Scott has suggested that a class of militarily specialized warrior-elite encoded in the vocabulary in some Philippine complex societies (particularly the Tagalogs around Manila) (see, for example, Plasencia 1589a:174–175; San Buenaventura 1613) are a relatively recent development in response to escalating warfare in the archipelago, as evidenced in their designation by sixteenth-century Malay terms (1980:152–153).

However, Chinese and Spanish conceptions of the scale and frequency of militarism in Philippine chiefdoms were colored by the specific historical context of their contacts. Chinese traders interacted primarily with the larger Philippine polities, whose rulers usually had a vested interest in safeguarding the maritime passage of their Chinese trade partners and insulating them from internal conflict. In contrast, Spaniards intent on military conquest and suppression of local rebellion were intensely interested in accurately assessing military strengths and defensive technologies. Fortunately, archaeological investigations can be brought to bear on this issue of intensifying interpolity conflict.

### **Archaeological Evidence for Fortifications and Defensive Settlement Strategies**

A number of archaeologists have specifically addressed the methodological issue of how to recognize behavioral and ideological aspects of warfare in the archaeological record (Carneiro 1990; Redmond 1994; Milner 1995; Vencl 1984; Webster 1975). Archaeological studies of the growth of defensive works or fortifications provide important evidence for the relative intensity and scale of chiefly warfare in different cultural phases, as investigated in chiefdoms of the Mississippian period in the southwestern United States and in Bronze Age and Iron Age Europe (Fish and Fish 1989:119–122; Larson 1972; Shennan 1986; Wells 1980; Wilcox 1989:164–165). However, Anderson notes, in his discussion of Mississippian defensive strategies, that fortification may not have been the most cost-efficient strategy for protecting chiefly centers if there were sufficient buffer zones between polities, if warfare was not heavily conquest-oriented, or if less costly defensive measures such as fleeing to a refuge zone were possible (1994:98–102). In the Philippines, fleeing upriver to prearranged natural refuges or man-made tree houses would be the expected preferred response to maritime raids when chiefdoms were small-scale and the occasional loss of resources to raiding was less costly than constructing large fortifications (see Alcina 1688b:161; Quirante 1624:155; also see Scott 1994:155–156).

All of the Philippine settlement sites with archaeological remains of fortifications are dated to the twelfth century and later, including portions of a fifteenth- to sixteenth-century ditch-and-stockade at Tanjay in the central Philippines (Junker 1993b, 1994b) and earthen, coral block, and wooden fortifications around the residences of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Sulu chiefs in the southern Philippines (Spoehr 1973:88–102). At Tanjay, where occupation is archaeologically documented back into the first millennium A.D., defensive works do not appear until around the fifteenth century, in the form of large, closely spaced postholes and a two- to three-meter-wide ditch running along the coastal approach to the settlement.<sup>15</sup> Fortification is associated with Tanjay's emergence as a coastal maritime trading center with superior access to foreign porcelain trade and as a primate settlement at the gateway of a well-organized dendritic riverine trade system. Unfortunately, archaeological investigations at chiefly centers such as Cebu (Hutterer 1973b; Nishimura 1992) and Manila (Fox and Legaspi 1977; Peralta and Salazar 1974), with similarly lengthy occupation phases, have been constrained by modern land use. There is no evidence available that would allow one to determine when the large-scale defensive works observed by the Spanish were initially constructed at these sites.

The Batanes hilltop fortifications, only recently investigated by Philippine National Museum archaeologists (Dizon and Santiago 1994), consist

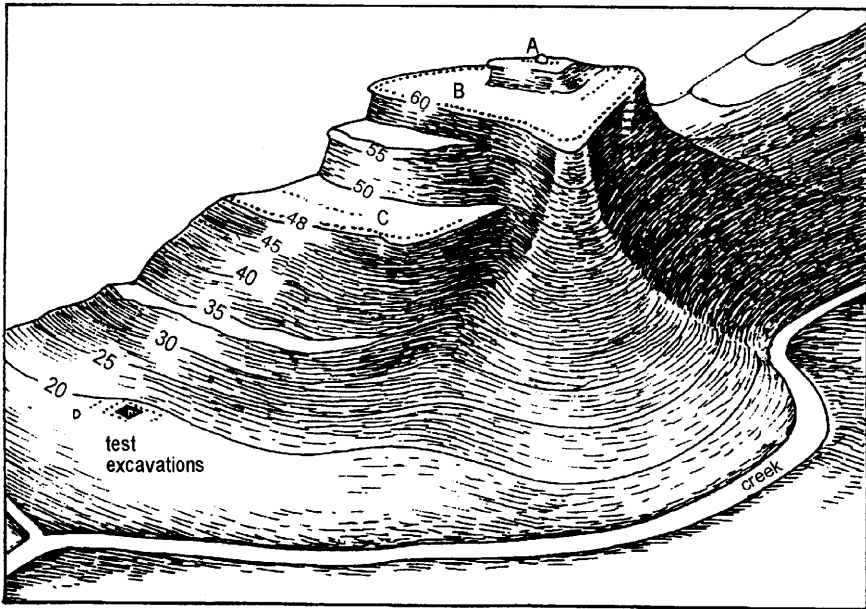


Figure 12.5. Terraced and fortified Ivuhos Ijang refuge settlement in the Batanes Islands of the northern Philippines. (Redrawn from Dizon and Santiago 1994)

of limestone and columnar andesite stone walls along exposed edges of naturally defensible hilltops above the coastal plains on several islands. At some of the sites, the stones forming the walls appear to have been trimmed and carefully fit together. At two of the locales (Savidug Ijang and Ivuhos Ijang) artificial terraces were cut into the hillsides, and stone was compacted against the vertical walls to create a multitiered site (Fig. 12.5). Earthenware pottery, Chinese porcelain, shell, beads, bone, and other habitation debris at the four sites studied thus far suggest some form of settlement at the sites. The excavations are not yet extensive enough to determine whether these sites represented permanent village settlements or temporary refuge locales occupied during times of siege. The Batanes Islands are located on the far northern tip of the Philippine archipelago and stretch toward southeastern China and Japan, a location that would almost certainly have been along South China–Philippine and Japan–Philippine trade routes. The defensive emphasis in settlement could have been aimed at protecting against raids by maritime pirates who attacked wealth-laden foreign vessels coming through the northern passage and raided the coastal villages with which they traded. Dizon and Santiago (1994) note that oral traditions in the region explicitly identify these sites as ancient siege locales

that were accessed by ladder and from which the besieged population threw down missiles onto the approaching enemies.

The eyewitness account of the terraced and fortified Ivuhos Ijang site by English explorer William Dampier in 1687 indicates that these hilltop citadels were present at Spanish contact (Dizon and Santiago 1994:11).<sup>16</sup> However, Sung period porcelains and twelfth-century Chinese beads at the Savidug Ijang site suggest early second millennium A.D. construction for some of the sites. Dizon and Santiago (1994) note the similarity in construction techniques with twelfth- to thirteenth-century stone hilltop fortifications recorded in Okinawa by Richard Pearson (1991), and they emphasize the probable trade-related connections between Batanes and southern Japan. Another interesting aspect of the Batanes sites is the presence at several sites of carved upright stones more than two meters in height with drilled holes that the excavators speculate may have been used in some type of megalithic ritual activity. The Batanes hilltop refuges therefore predate the archaeological and historic evidence for more extensive and labor-intensive wooden and earthen fortifications at coastal trading centers like Manila, Cebu, and Tanjay lacking natural defensive advantages. A shifting emphasis toward more costly fortification of coastal villages may have been a defensive strategy precipitated by the growth of larger-scale centers, the increased difficulty of moving population and goods rapidly to internal refuges, and an increased scale and intensity of maritime raiding.

On a regional scale, expansionistic interpolity warfare in complex societies may be manifested more subtly in shifting boundaries between polities as one expands and another contracts, evidenced in abrupt stylistic changes in pottery styles, architectural forms, and other material indicators of ethnic or group identity (Peebles and Kus 1977:431–432; Renfrew 1982:3–4). Intense interpolity warfare may also be evidenced in a noticeable falloff in the archaeological evidence for settlement along polity boundaries (Anderson 1994:39–41; Cordy 1981:172–200) or in the appearance of the types of interior refuge locales noted above. Redmond suggests that the realignment of regional and interregional alliances accompanying large-scale warfare may be evident in changes in the intensity and geographic sphere of prestige goods exchanges: there might actually be an upsurge in prestige goods exchange with greater interpolity conflict (1994:83).

Limited regional settlement evidence and few systematic studies of local ceramic styles leaves a poor archaeological database for documenting the long-term expansion and contraction of specific Philippine polities. However, in Chapters 4 and 8, I presented regional scale settlement data for the Tanjay polity that suggests an expanding geographic reach of interior exchange networks, attempts to consolidate political control of interior river routes, and the establishment of upriver centers that may have played a critical role in coastal defense in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Metal goods and fancy earthenware produced at the polity center as well as exotic

porcelains entering the coast trade port penetrate much farther into the Tanjay Region interior and are found in significantly higher densities in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries compared to earlier periods. These geographically expanding artifact distributions suggest that the political alliance networks of Tanjay chiefs were growing through exchange or militarism. The strategic location of the interior riverbank centers in defensible terrace-side positions suggest dual functions as economic interfaces with interior populations and asylum locales for besieged coastal chiefs, who may have been in conflict with rival maritime-trading polities at this time.

### ***Mortuary Evidence for Increasing Violence***

The most direct archaeological evidence for the scale and intensity of violent conflict in a society comes from osteological studies of human skeletal material recovered in burials. Forensic analysis of skeletons can determine the incidence of violent death or injury (as shown in healed fractures) in a population, as well as the presence of debilitating physical conditions or malnutrition that might have contributed to an individual's or a population's vulnerability to attack and inability to fight or flee (Di Peso et al. 1974; Milner 1995). Osteological evidence for decapitation or other types of skeletal mutilation is significant in reconstructing ritualized aspects of warfare and postwar ceremonies, including head taking, cannibalism, and ritualized display of human war trophies (Redmond 1994:102–109; Turner and Turner 1992).

There is a relatively large sample of excavated jar-burial cemeteries in the Philippines dated to what is likely the initial period of complex society development, known as the Metal Age (ca. 500 B.C.–A.D. 1000) (Dizon 1979, 1996; R. Fox 1970; Fox and Evangelista 1957; Kurjack and Sheldon 1970; Maceda 1967; Solheim 1964; Tenazas 1974). While some of the burials are cremations (and therefore provide little forensic evidence), there is a substantial-sized sample of primary burials or secondary bundle burials at many of these sites. Yet, not a single burial from this period yielded osteological evidence for violent death, and there are no recorded instances of mass burials (see Fig. 12.6). The number of professionally excavated early second millennium A.D. cemeteries is considerably smaller (Fox and Legaspi 1977; Junker 1993a; Locsin and Locsin 1967), although the burial sample sizes at individual cemeteries are relatively large (more than two hundred at the eleventh- to fourteenth-century Santa Ana cemetery). However, there are no reported instances of skeletal traumas or other signs of violent death, although a few of the Santa Ana burials with fourteenth-century early Ming porcelains had isolated detached skulls as burial accompaniments.

In contrast, a significant number of the burials recovered from fifteenth-



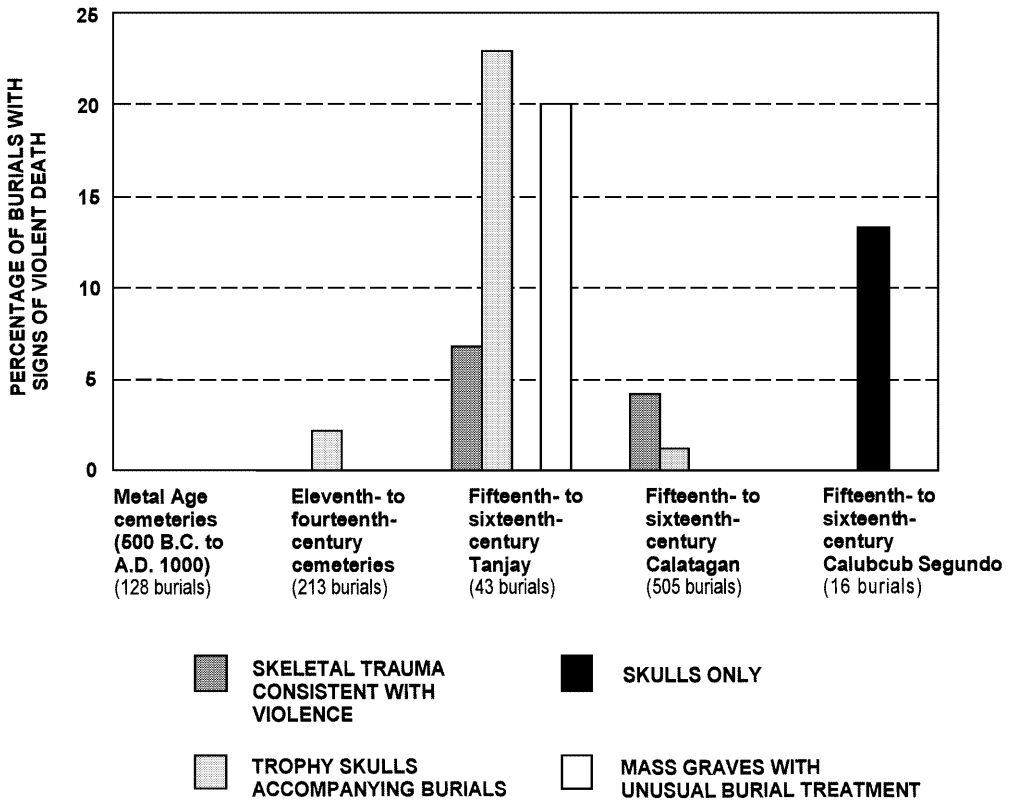


Figure 12.6. Percentage of burials at cemeteries dated to the Metal Age, Early Porcelain Period, and Late Porcelain Period exhibiting forensic evidence for violent death, containing detached skulls as burial accompaniments, consisting solely of detached skulls, and/or buried in mass graves.

to sixteenth-century cemeteries such as Calatagan (R. Fox 1959), Calubcub Segundo (Salcedo 1979), Bolinao (Legaspi 1974), and Tanjay (Junker 1993a; Junker, Gunn, and Santos 1996) have unequivocal signs of violence, including decapitation, skeletal traumas, or impaling by metal weapons. Of the total of 505 burials recovered from the fifteenth-century Pulung Bakaw and Kay Tomas cemeteries at Calatagan, Fox reports that nineteen (or 3.7 percent) are skeletal remains with missing crania. Of these nineteen, which include both sexes and juveniles as well as adults, four exhibit clear signs of decapitation. In one case the missing cranium is laid at the feet of the skeleton, while in another case a large brain coral was substituted for the missing head. There is no unusual grave furniture or difference in burial treatment to mark violent deaths in the cemetery: some headless burials contained porcelains, decorated earthenware, or spindle whorls, while others



**Figure 12.7.** Female burial with cranial trauma from the fifteenth-century mass burial at Tanjay. (1986 Tanjay Archaeological Project)

had no associated grave furnishings (R. Fox 1959:348).<sup>17</sup> At the roughly contemporaneous cemetery of Calubcub Segundo in Batangas, Salcedo (1979) reports that several of the sixteen primary burials consist of isolated crania that lack the earthenware vessels, foreign porcelains, glass beads, and gold fragments accompanying other burials at the site. Salcedo suggests that these individuals may represent the victims of head taking in revenge raids who, being outsiders to the community, might have been treated differently in burial rites.

At the chiefly center of Tanjay on Negros, excavations adjacent to one fifteenth- to sixteenth-century domestic structure yielded a large mass grave containing at least nine individuals, including several male-female pairs and a male-female-child triad (see Junker 1993a). The mass grave, unlike most early to mid-second millennium A.D. burials at Tanjay and at similar coastal trading centers, yielded no manufactured burial goods but contained eight detached skulls as grave accompaniments and exhibited a number of skeletal abnormalities among the intact individuals. One adult female had a severe cranial trauma consistent with a piercing blow to the forehead (see Fig. 12.7), and one of the adult males had a misaligned vertebral column consistent with a severe spinal injury. At least two of the isolated crania have attached atlases, commonly cited by forensic anthropologists as evidence for decapitation.

In more recent excavations at Tanjay in 1995 (Junker, Gunn, and Santos 1996), my colleagues and I discovered another unusual burial with evi-

dence for violent death. The burial, recovered beneath habitation debris associated with a fifteenth- to sixteenth-century pile-house, was an adult male with the filed, gold-pegged, and betel-stained teeth mentioned in early Spanish texts as insignia of Visayan “warriors.” The male was buried with a late Ming blue-on-white plate over his pelvis, a fifteenth-century Annamese jarlet next to his right femur, at least five other porcelain vessels that were fragmented and scattered in the grave, several heavily corroded iron blades, and two pig’s tusk pendants. Most remarkable, however, was the discovery of an iron blade still embedded in the rib cage of the individual (see Fig. 12.8). Similar to the mass burial of the same period, the grave contained a detached skull as a grave accompaniment. The recognition of status accrued through prowess in warfare represented in a significant number of male burials at early to mid-second millennium A.D. Philippines cemeteries with gold-pegged teeth and other warrior symbols such as animal tooth necklaces, bronze and iron weaponry, and trophy heads (R. Fox 1959; Legaspi 1974; Locsin and Locsin 1967).

Approximately 25 percent of the burials thus far recovered from fifteenth- and sixteenth-century deposits at the site of Tanjay have osteological evidence for or are inferred from archaeological context to have suffered a violent death. Interestingly, all the burials with evidence for violent death and what are likely trophy heads are found in the nonelite sector of the settlement. This discovery is consistent with what is known ethnographically about warfare in chiefdom-level societies: while elites generally organize and lead local warriors into battle, they are often protected from violence or capture by superior weaponry and armor, by the presence of personal bodyguards, and by the construction of additional defensive works around their residences (for example, the earthen fortifications around the Tausug *datus*’ house-compounds).

While excavations of contemporaneous cemeteries like the Calatagan and Calubcub Segundo burial sites in Batangas yielded a much smaller percentage of violent deaths than did Tanjay, it may be significant that mortuary evidence for conflict and head taking appears exclusively in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The appearance of a highly standardized set of “warrior” emblems in these mid-second millennium A.D. cemeteries may also mark the emergence of a specialized warrior class in the centuries before European contact, as suggested by linguistic analysis and historical accounts. However, these hypotheses are based on relatively small and unsystematically collected samples of burials from each of the compared cultural phases. With the present archaeological burial evidence, it is not possible to determine whether observed burial patterns in different cultural phases are representative of mortality factors either for Philippine lowland populations in general or for the particular region where the cemetery or cemeteries are located.

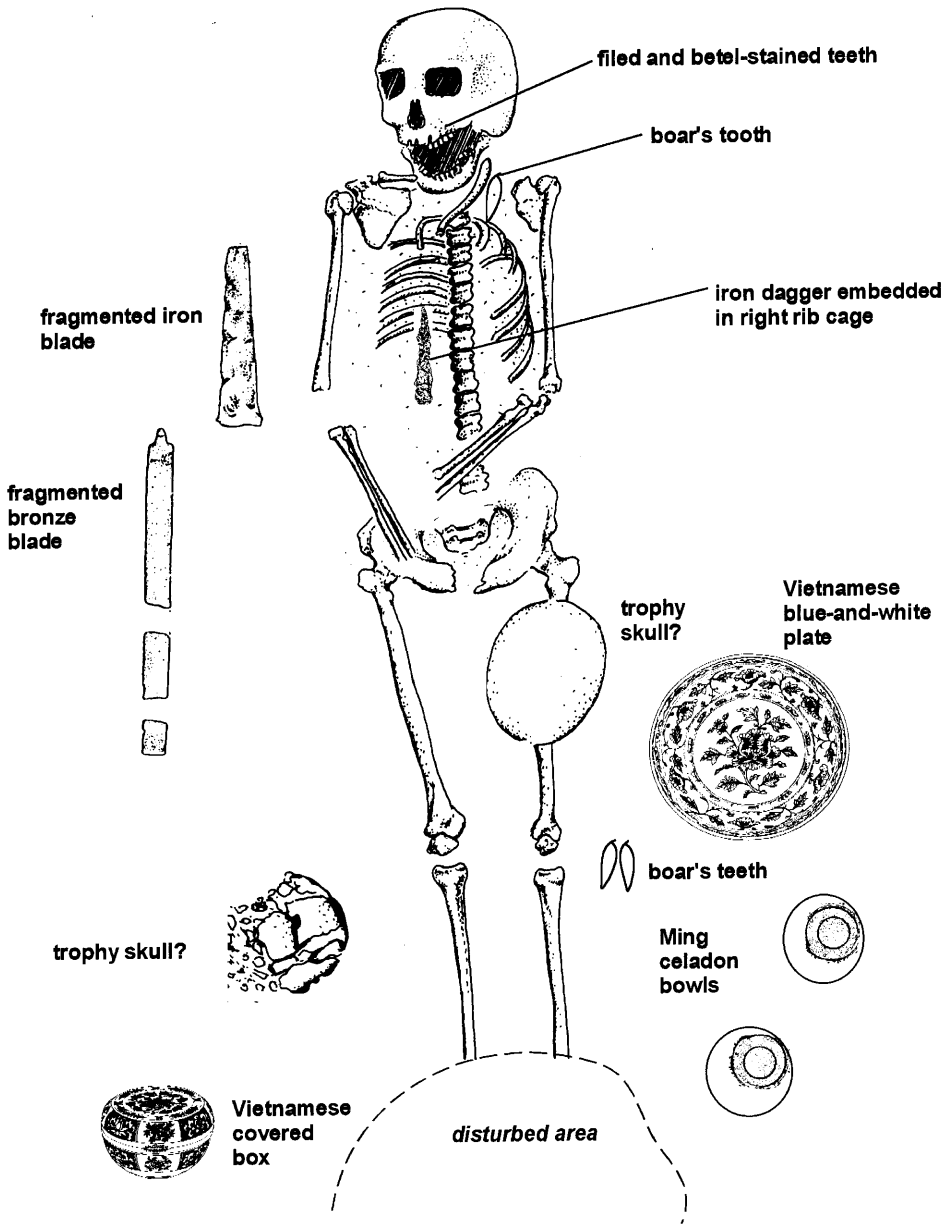


Figure 12.8. Sixteenth-century male warrior burial from Tanjay, with iron knife blade in ribs. (1995 Tanjay Archaeological Project)

### **Archaeological Evidence for Expanded Metal Weapons Production**

In Southeast Asia, the development of bronze and particularly iron metallurgy have been linked to military expansion of political power (Higham 1989; Reid 1988:106–114). In the Philippines, both the raw material extraction and specialist production of iron appear to have been tightly controlled by chiefs as an important source of weaponry and valuable export materials. While some of the metalwork in the Philippines was ornamental, ritually related, or geared toward the production of agricultural implements (e.g., iron reaping tools and plows), most of the historically reported metal goods were weapons (Alcina 1688b:148–160; Relation of the Conquest of Manila 1572:95, 98–100, 107; Lavezaris 1573:138; Legaspi 1565:5; Sande 1576:225; also see Dizon 1983, 1987; Scott 1994:147–148). Therefore, increases in metal goods and features associated with metal production at Philippine settlements are likely to reflect expanding emphasis on warfare technologies.

I have discussed archaeological evidence for the development of Philippine iron metallurgy in some depth in Chapter 9, so I will simply summarize some of the relevant points here. At Cebu, archaeological evidence for iron production comes from late in the occupation sequence (after the fourteenth century) and includes iron slag, iron fragments, and carved antler fragments (probably used as dagger hafts) (Hutterer 1973a; Nishimura 1992). Nishimura (1992) reports that iron and bronze densities increase dramatically in late-fifteenth-century to early-sixteenth-century deposits at Cebu and that production and use of metal expands over a much larger area of the site. At Tanjay, there is a similarly dramatic increase in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in the densities of iron and bronze fragments in the settlement (see Fig. 9.4 above) as well as evidence for indigenous metallurgy. Also in this period, iron metallurgy expands outside the polity center to interior riverbank settlements like the Calumpang Site. If it is assumed that much of the iron metallurgy is devoted to weapons manufacture, increased iron production may be related to intensified conflict between the Cebu and Tanjay polities and rival chiefdoms in the vicinity of these centers.

Ethnohistorical sources suggest that Philippine chiefs also used their advantageous positions in foreign trade to gain access to military technologies from outside the archipelago. At Tanjay, all of the bronze blade fragments in habitation deposits and burials were almost certainly imported. The bulk of the bronze at Tanjay is dated to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, indicating that Tanjay chiefs began to import bronze weaponry from China or elsewhere in Southeast Asia as part of their expanding foreign trade. Not surprisingly, Spoehr's excavations of Sulu chiefs' eighteenth- and nineteenth-century fortified house-compounds recovered prodigious amounts of European firearm parts and ordinance in the household middens (1973:

88–102). The Sulu chiefs competed to obtain European weapons technology through trade well before the sultanate finally succumbed to colonial rule (Warren 1985).

### **Conclusions: Warfare and Sociopolitical Evolution**

Both historical and archaeological evidence suggest an association between intensified maritime raiding and the political and economic expansion of Philippine chiefdoms. The emergence of larger-scale maritime trading chiefdoms in some areas of the Philippines in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries coincides with increasing use of coastal defensive fortifications along with interior centers that might have functioned as refuges, an increasing number of violent deaths recorded in burials, expanding metal weapons production, the adoption of foreign military technologies, and the emergence of specialized warrior classes. Warfare-focused models emphasize territorial conquest, the assimilation of militarily weaker peoples, and the consequent creation of new administrative levels as the primary mechanisms whereby interpolity conflict contributes to political evolution in chiefdoms (Carneiro 1981, 1990; Sanders and Price 1968:132; Vayda 1961). However, warfare for territorial conquest and the establishment of direct political hegemony over foreign elites was rare in the prehispanic Philippines owing to ecological, demographic, and cultural factors. A highly fragmented geography, a high degree of ecological and cultural heterogeneity, and low population densities relative to productive agricultural land discouraged military seizure and long-term colonization of distant lands. Instead, maritime raiding was one of a number of chiefly strategies, also including long-distance trading and asymmetrical marriage arrangements, for siphoning labor and resources from weaker neighbors.

The significance of warfare in the formation of paramount chieftaincies in the Philippines lies in how slaves and other resources seized in warfare, and ideologies of warrior prestige were manipulated by chiefs to expand the number of allies and followers under their political sway. Raiding activities against political rivals usually resulted in the transfer of labor and other portable valuables to the militarily more powerful chief and the usually temporary (but rarely permanent) disruption of the weaker chief's economic and political base. Slaves and other resources seized in maritime raiding were invested by Philippine chiefs in alliance-building exchanges, competitive feasting, and status-enhancing human sacrifice and in augmenting agricultural productivity, attracting foreign luxury good trade, and performing other activities critical to expanding their political power base. Thus, the evolutionary significance of maritime raiding can only be understood in terms of larger processes of growth in chiefly political economies.

Chiefs who could accrue labor and wealth through successful raiding

activities and use it strategically to generate additional wealth and prestige became powerful magnets for lower-ranking chiefs defeated in warfare or previously allied with militarily weaker rulers. The emergence of paramount chieftaincies, encompassing larger patronage networks, multitiered political hierarchies, and increased administrative specialization was not a simple matter of territorial conquest or direct political incorporation of a foreign elite. Instead, larger-scale and more organizationally complex polities formed out of the ability of militarily powerful chiefs to transform captured wealth and warrior prestige into asymmetrical political relations with distant chiefs.





## **Part IV**

### **Conclusion**



## Chapter 13

# Trade Competition and Political Transformations in Philippine Chiefdoms

Traditionally, the Philippines has been viewed as largely peripheral within Southeast Asia not only geographically but in terms of technological, economic, and sociopolitical developments. Intensive systems of agricultural production, metalsmithing and other sophisticated craft production techniques, well-developed social stratification, and regional-scale polities coalesced around hereditary chiefs were viewed as very late developments that occurred primarily in the context of trade contacts with more advanced civilizations of Asia after A.D. 1000. Both a cause and an effect of this focus on external causes has been the relatively limited ethnohistorical work and archaeological investigation on the critical period of Philippine complex society emergence. Even more rare are integrative approaches that combine the rich historical documentation on Philippine complex societies at the time of Chinese and European contact with nineteenth-century and later ethnographic descriptions of extant chiefdoms, and archaeological research in specific regions to analyze long-term patterns of sociopolitical evolution and cultural change. One of the aims of this book has been to demonstrate the value of this approach in examining how and why complex societies emerged and evolved in the Philippine archipelago. The interweaving of historical, ethnographic, and archaeological analyses reveals a complex process of sociocultural change over the last three millennia that is obscured when more narrowly focused approaches and facile trade catalyst explanations are employed.

A key element in examining why foreign prestige goods trade had an evolutionary impact on complex societies in the Philippines is an understanding of the way in which political relations of alliance and clientage were constructed in prehispanic Philippine chiefdoms. Ethnohistorical analysis has suggested that, in the Philippines as elsewhere in Southeast Asia, low population densities relative to productive land, a high level of ecological heterogeneity, and geographically fragmented landscapes contributed to the development of political structures in which power coalesced around the leaders of shifting alliance networks rather than more permanent, territorially defined political units. The personalized nature of political ties and the need for their constant material and ideological reinforcement meant that status good prestations and elaborate ceremonialism at the polity center were particularly significant in maintaining a political power base. Since lower-tier chiefs and local political leaders could easily transfer allegiance

to paramounts offering greater material advantages, and since they generally maintained an independent political power base, the ideology of political cohesion embedded in court ceremonialism often masked the reality of a weakly integrated polity. This characteristic form of Southeast Asian political structure is evinced in Geertz's (1980a) Balinese "theater state," Tambiah's (1976) Siamese "galactic polity," and Kiefer's (1972b) "segmentary" Sulu polity.

The volatility of these political bonds and the almost certain conflict surrounding kingly and chiefly succession engendered by cognatic descent and elite polygamy contributed to political instability, relatively rapid shifts in regional power centers, and observed long-term patterns of political cycling in many regions of Southeast Asia. Historical records (particularly Chinese tributary trade records) and archaeological evidence make it possible to trace these relatively rapidly changing political configurations in the Philippine archipelago from the late first millennium A.D. to European contact. Unfortunately, a lack of regional-scale settlement archaeology and even systematic excavations of polity centers in most regions of the Philippines presently precludes documentation of the long-term evolutionary trajectories of many historically known chiefdoms and Islamic sultanates. Only the small-scale polity of Tanjay and to a lesser extent Cebu are known well enough archaeologically to develop a chronological framework and regional context for their emergence and development. However, even the synchronic vignettes of political relations afforded through sporadic Chinese and European writings and scattered archaeological finds give a strong impression of almost continually shifting power centers as alliance networks were realigned through various chiefly competitive strategies aimed at attracting and holding followers.

In the Philippines in particular and in Southeast Asia in general, the adoption of exotic religions, the elaboration of court ceremonialism, and the development of various other ideological means for increasing the sacred authority and political legitimacy of rulers were particularly important in strengthening tenuous political bonds. Other strategies of peer polity competition appear to have included intensified local luxury good production and increasing involvement in foreign prestige goods trade, allowing rulers to expand the prestige goods distributions that were key to consolidating political power. Expansion of the labor force under a ruler's control through enticement (e.g., gifts of prestige goods, feasting, and ceremonialism), obligation (e.g., intermarriage, debt sponsorship), coercion (e.g., military or supernatural threat), and cooptation (e.g., seizure of captives in raiding) increased surplus production and tribute flow to the polity center, allowing further expansion of the ruler's cadre of specialist producers (e.g., luxury good artisans, members of the warrior-elite, tribute administrators). Since human labor was a limiting commodity in relatively underpopulated Southeast Asia, the loss of even a small amount of productive labor to a more

charismatic and powerful leader had a ramifying impact on the political economy of the preyed-upon chief. The growth of one polity almost certainly meant the contraction of another, measured not in terms of geographic territories but in terms of the scale of alliance networks and politically manipulable wealth at a chief's disposal.

Anthropologists have pointed to a number of ecological, demographic, and cultural factors that favor short-term, repetitive cycles of political growth and fragmentation among numerous similarly organized complex societies in a region over a long period of time, with no unilinear trajectory toward greater complexity. Some of these factors inhibiting long-term political stability and growth are particularly consequential in island Southeast Asia. For example, the factional competition between elite coalitions that can eventually rend apart the internal political fabric of a polity is particularly acute in Southeast Asia, where cognatic descent rules, a strong emphasis on achievement-based leadership, ever-expanding "elite" ranks created through elite polygamy and upward social mobility, and poor vertical integration of political hierarchies result in spiraling political rivalries. The historical and archaeological evidence from the Philippines shows that complex chiefdoms of significant scale headed by powerful paramounts emerged at various times and in various geographic locales during the millennium before Spanish contact, with peaks of interpolity competition and political coalescence occurring in the tenth and eleventh centuries A.D. (P'u-tuan, Ma-i) and the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries A.D. (Manila, Magindanao, Sulu, Cebu). Although archaeological evidence suggests that chiefdoms emerged in the Philippines several millennia before the historic period, a lack of regional settlement studies and a generally limited archaeological database for the Late Neolithic and Iron Age periods make it difficult to discern pre-tenth-century political cycles. The fifteenth and sixteenth centuries appear to have been a time of particularly intense interpolity competition and growth of paramount chieftaincies on many of the archipelago's islands through expanding alliance and (probably more rarely) territorial conquest.

Historical and archaeological evidence do not support the traditional notion of Chinese trade as a primary catalyst for the *initial* emergence of sociopolitical complexity in the Philippines. Analyses of burial patterns in first millennium A.D. cemeteries as well as regional-scale studies of the distribution of earthenware and metal goods before the eleventh century indicate the presence of already well-developed status differentiation in the Philippine Metal Age (ca. 500 B.C.-A.D. 1000) involving locally made prestige goods. However, interpolity competition for control of foreign prestige goods trade appears to be one of the factors in the growth of large-scale maritime-trading polities in a number of regions of the Philippines around the tenth century and peaking in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries A.D. The growth of political hierarchies and expanding polity scales at Manila, Sulu, Magindanao, Cebu, and Tanjay appear to be contemporaneous with dramatic in-

creases in foreign trade volumes, and thus interpolity competition for exotic sources of wealth is one of a number of factors that need to be examined as relevant to these transformations.

Changing Chinese trade policies, external economic relations, and more global shifts in Southeast Asian maritime trade routes were certainly significant in dictating the “supply” side of the foreign luxury goods trade into Philippine ports. Before the late fourteenth to early fifteenth centuries, when there was an explosion in foreign interest in Moluccan spices, the Philippine islands remained relatively peripheral to Chinese trade interests and to trade routes controlled by more powerful Southeast Asian states. The participation of Philippine chiefs in the foreign porcelain trade was, in general, constrained by Chinese production and trade priorities that limited the flow of porcelain and other luxury commodities into the Philippines in the late first millennium and early second millennium A.D. The access of specific Philippine polities to mainland Asian luxury goods also depended on changing power relations between Southeast Asian maritime-trading polities that functioned as go-betweens in the South China Sea trade: early trade dominance by the kingdoms of Srivijaya and Champa favored maritime trade with Philippine polities along the northwest littoral of the Philippines (Luzon and Mindoro), while the later ascendancy of Javanese kingdoms emphasized southern trade routes through Sulu and Mindanao. Archaeologists and historians studying Iron Age West Africa and Iron Age Europe have noted the tenuous nature of political economies that are heavily maintained through foreign trade wealth, since shifts in the political fortunes and trade priorities of foreign powers can have a devastating effect on a local leader’s material power base and lead to a once-strategic trade polity’s collapse.

However, indigenous strategies of interpolity competition for foreign trade and internal changes in the political economy of Philippine chiefdoms are equally important in shaping the “demand” side of this exotic prestige goods trade and making certain centers within the archipelago more attractive destinations for foreign traders. Once a few Philippine chiefs began to incorporate Chinese porcelains and other exotic goods into ritualized status display and politically charged prestige goods exchanges, the demand for these foreign status paraphernalia is likely to have expanded. Despite the risks, foreign trade for politically manipulable luxury commodities would have been a particularly attractive strategy for local rulers to expand the material base of their political power in the Philippines, as elsewhere in island Southeast Asia. Geographic and ecological factors constraining routes of interaction in island Southeast Asia meant that the organizational costs of controlling foreign goods coming into a gateway coastal port were likely to be considerably lower than supporting a large internal infrastructure of sponsored luxury good specialists and restricting local access to their products.

Overt interpolity competition for foreign trade is documented in Chinese

“tributary trade” records, which show an increased frequency of trade missions by individual polities, a larger range of participating Philippine polities, and increasing elaborateness of expeditions to the Chinese court at times when archaeological evidence suggests a peak of political expansion and conflict. A particularly explosive period of tributary trade missions from the Philippines occurs in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, when numerous polities competed for Chinese attention by attempting to launch more frequent and lavishly equipped tributary missions than their competitors. The archaeological record and historical accounts indicate that many of the polities engaging in tributary trade in this period, such as Sulu and Luzon (Manila), were successful in parlaying favored trade status into expanding regional political power at the expense of adjacent polities whose leaders did not have the resources to support the expensive tributary missions.

Philippine chiefs who began to depend on foreign trade as a significant source of political currency developed a number of mechanisms at their home ports to attract foreign traders and to ensure exclusivity of access to foreign luxury goods. These included investment in housing and other port facilities for foreigners, the adoption of elite iconography or religious concepts (most commonly Buddhist, Hindu, and Islamic) familiar to their targeted trade partners, ritualized exchange relationships with foreigners that personalized trade alliances, and military protection of foreign vessels passing through the archipelago. The rulers of Iron Age West African towns lying at the edge of the vast Saharan desert “sea” developed similar strategies for funneling trans-Saharan luxury good trade into these strategically located trade centers where the profits could be monopolized by Ghana, Songhay, and Mali kings. While much of the foreign prestige goods trade involved Chinese, Siamese, and Malay ships coming into Philippine coastal centers, historical evidence for foreign colonies of Philippine traders at distant ports and archaeological evidence for a sophisticated indigenous ship-building technology indicate that Filipino sailors were also direct instruments of this maritime trade. Thus, historical sources make it clear that foreign luxury good trade was significant enough to the political economy of Philippine chiefs that they engaged in fierce competition to gain monopolistic control of this trade and to exclude trade rivals.

One of the objections to models of complex society development that focus on the concentration of wealth and the expansion of political power through foreign prestige goods trade is that many of the case studies (e.g., Iron Age Europe, Polynesia, Iron Age West Africa) lack archaeological or historical evidence that these exotic goods became key elements of local political economies. If foreign trade goods significantly affected the local economy as a new form of political currency, this impact should be empirically evident in the ramifying movement of exotics beyond a handful of elites at polity centers into geographically extensive political alliance net-

works. In the West African trading kingdoms, historians and anthropologists have noted, it is precisely because kings began to circulate foreign prestige goods widely among their elite constituency that local demand for exotic status goods massively expanded. Lower-ranking chiefs began to imitate the royal court in displaying foreign luxury goods and investing them in bridewealth, ritual feasting, and other power-enhancing exchanges, progressively diffusing control of trade away from the polity center. In Iron Age European chiefdoms engaged in prestige goods trade with Mediterranean states, this process of penetration of foreign wealth into local political economies is less clear, compelling some scholars to deemphasize its significance in political growth. In the case of late first millennium to mid-second millennium A.D. Philippine chiefdoms, foreign trade wealth was an increasingly important component of local political economies over time, with strategic disbursements of foreign prestige goods by trade-controlling chiefs contributing to the expanding scale and hierarchical complexity of their alliance systems. Ethnohistorical evidence shows that exotic luxury goods became increasingly key elements of material exchanges between members of the elite and between rulers and subordinates in Philippine chiefdoms. They cemented the alliance and clientage relations that were the basic building blocks of Philippine segmentary political structures.

Historical and ethnographic sources from the contact period suggest that access to foreign trade wealth had a significant impact on the ability of individual chiefs or other members of the elite to attract status-enhancing marriage ties and to participate successfully in ritual feasting events. Philippine chiefs who controlled significant quantities of porcelain, silk, and other foreign trade goods through enforced trade monopolies often used this wealth in brideprice payments for strategic marriages that linked them horizontally and vertically to allies and subordinates. In addition, chiefs frequently “sponsored” other men in meeting the brideprice demands for status-enhancing marriages, therefore creating debt that was transformed into political allegiance. In contact period ritualized feasting systems, foreign porcelains were in high demand as serving assemblages, enhancing the sponsor’s prestige through elaborate food and drink presentation in celebratory meals. Exchanges of prestige goods in marriage alliances and display of fancy serving assemblages in ceremonial feasting were thus key to consolidating political bonds and building a large cadre of supporters and vassals.

Archaeological patterning at the intrasite, regional, and interregional levels suggests that foreign prestige goods wealth was circulated within and between Philippine polities by the tenth century, but these exchanges expanded in terms of the volume of foreign goods circulated and the scale of social participation in the fifteenth century. Archaeological investigations of mortuary and household wealth differentiation at a number of Philippine sites indicate that social access to foreign porcelains and other exotics ex-



panded over time, and these exotics became increasingly important in both hierarchical and peer alliances. While Chinese porcelains were limited to a relatively small number of elite burials and households at polity centers in the tenth to fourteenth centuries, by the fifteenth century porcelains were more widely distributed to lower-ranked households both within and outside the coastal chiefly centers. On a regional scale, archaeological studies in the Bais-Tanjay Region show that, before the late fourteenth century, foreign prestige goods were not moving much beyond the coastal trading port and a few large upriver trading centers. After the late fourteenth century, the finest quality foreign porcelains were still restricted to elite households at the coastal polity center, but a significant volume of porcelains and other exotic goods were being exchanged upriver to secondary centers and even into upland settlements occupied by interior tribal peoples and hunter-gatherers. By the fifteenth century, foreign prestige goods became key to chiefly political economies in Philippine chiefdoms as the primary currency for integrating political alliance networks. Foreign porcelain began to eclipse locally manufactured “fancy” earthenware as a symbol of individual and collective household status and political connectedness. It was increasingly displayed as household furnishing, integrated into mortuary rites, and invested in political alliance exchanges by an expanding proportion of the population.

Growing local demand for foreign porcelains in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries appears to correspond with an expanded scale and frequency of competitive ceremonial feasting events. Ethnographic and historical accounts of ceremonial feasting in Philippine societies emphasize that food presentation on an elaborate serving assemblage was as important as the amount and distribution of ritual foods in signifying the social status and political sway of the sponsoring chief. Archaeological evidence from fifteenth- and sixteenth-century household deposits at Cebu and Tanjay shows that the inhabitants of larger pile-houses with more elaborate household furnishings controlled and consumed larger quantities of pig, water buffalo, and rice, the primary status foods used in ritual feasting. These probable elite households also had greater access to preferred meat cuts, such as the meaty limb bones, consistent with status-marking ceremonial meat divisions reported in ethnographic and historical accounts. Of relevance to the long-term development of ceremonial feasting systems is evidence that domestic pig herds and water buffalo stocks were increasing dramatically as stored forms of wealth in Philippine lowland societies such as Tanjay and Cebu after the fourteenth century. These sacrificial animals seem to have been consumed in inflationary competitive feasts involving an expanding number of participants of varying social rank. At Tanjay, it is in the nonelite residential zone that there is evidence of a particularly striking increase in the consumption of water buffalo and increasing access to water buffalo and pig skulls for ceremonial status display. I have suggested that

participation in the feasting system became more widespread among individuals outside the hereditary elite in the politically tumultuous fifteenth and sixteenth centuries as a route to greater wealth, status, and political power.

Ceremonial “feasts of merit” tie into the foreign porcelain trade, because the possession of ritual feasting ware was essential to a kin group’s sponsorship of these status-enhancing events. Competitive aspects of the ceremonial feasting system would encourage chiefs and other potential sponsors of feasts to seek new avenues for obtaining an increasingly impressive array of food-serving vessels. In Iron Age Europe, archaeologists have suggested that competition for access to foreign trade vessels (and possibly exotic food and drinks) reflected expanding demands for elaborate feasting paraphernalia. Archaeological analysis of changing imported porcelain assemblages at Cebu and Tanjay shows that, in general, porcelain consumption increased massively in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. However, while the overall volume of foreign porcelain use increased, local demands focused on an increasingly narrow array of forms, primarily food serving and beverage drinking vessels that might function in this type of ritual feasting context. In addition, access to foreign porcelain serving assemblages became more widespread in nonelite as well as elite sectors of these coastal centers. Lower-ranking households may have begun to amass porcelain assemblages as part of their growing participation in ritual feasting events, emulating the status-enhancing activities and prestige goods markers of elites.

Discussion of the social contexts in which prestige goods functioned as status markers and political currency recalls the issue of foreign trade as a causal factor in sociopolitical evolution. Rather than viewing foreign trade as a catalyst to sociopolitical evolution, one can just as easily posit that internal processes of change in Philippine chiefdoms—the emergence of more complex status hierarchies and intensified elite competition in political alliance building—created a demand for foreign sumptuary goods as new forms of political currency. The investment of foreign prestige goods by chiefs and other possessors in bridewealth and marriage alliances, in household status display, and in ceremonial feasting exchanges created the wider wealth, status, and political power differentials necessary for further growth in the scale and complexity of chiefly political systems. Once elites in one region were able to parlay foreign wealth and status insignia into expanded political power and prestige, elites in adjacent polities and even ambitious lower-ranking subordinates would have emulated this political success by adopting its material symbols (Champion and Champion 1986; Renfrew 1986).

In Iron Age West African and European trade systems, competition between polities to control long-distance luxury good trade put increasing demands on the resource mobilization strategies of local rulers to support burgeoning trade centers and supply exports. An expanding emphasis on foreign trade wealth to finance elite political activities often resulted in pro-

found changes in local subsistence production, craft organization, and surplus extraction through tribute. A number of scholars have suggested that Iron Age Western European chiefs competing for primacy in the first millennium B.C. Mediterranean prestige goods trade may have intensified their tributary demands on subordinates and developed more specialized systems of export good (e.g., metals, salt, cattle) production. Ironically, while the increased inflow of resources for foreign export allowed chiefs to attract foreign traders and to attain regional trade domination, an ever-expanding outflow of foreign prestige markers to subordinates was required to maintain this large cadre of overburdened tribute-paying supporters. In the West African towns growing up along riverine and desert trade routes in the late first millennium and early second millennium A.D., the export demands of foreign trade were linked to the rise of increasingly centralized and specialized manufacture of exportable local products such as metal weaponry, gold ornamentation, textiles, pottery, and basketry. In addition, more productive agricultural technologies and tribute mobilization systems developed to provision the burgeoning numbers of specialists, foreign traders, and trade administrators concentrated at gateway trade centers. Again, the increasing burden on internal resource amassment systems stimulated even greater demand for foreign wealth, since the compliance of lower-ranking elites in stimulating surplus production depended on gifts of exotic status emblems moving down the administrative hierarchy.

Similarly, in Philippine chiefdoms, an expanding emphasis on trade-obtained wealth appears to be tied to changes in local production, mobilization, and exchange strategies. Also parallel with the European and African cases is the feedback relationship between regional exchange and long-distance trade systems: the growth of local economic systems to meet the demands of foreign trade itself stimulates greater chiefly investment in foreign trade, since increasing circulation of exotics through the sociopolitical hierarchy is necessary to maintain expanded levels of local production. Regional economic strategies that may have been used in varying combinations by Philippine polities to expand their participation in foreign trade included agricultural intensification, expanded tribute mobilization, larger-scale local production of exportable craft goods or raw materials such as metal ore, and more centralized control of internal trade networks. In the Philippines, agricultural intensification appears rarely to have involved technological investment in irrigation works, terracing, or more effective agricultural tools. Relatively low population densities and abundant arable land made additional land clearance and expansion of existing nonintensive swidden farming strategies a more attractive alternative for increasing agricultural surplus. Although geomorphological and paleobotanical studies of human-wrought land modifications are limited, the fifteenth-to-sixteenth-century height of foreign trade corresponds with intensified agricultural land clearance in some regions of the Philippines.

Island Southeast Asian complex societies have a long history of seizing “slave” labor in interpolity maritime raids to augment local agricultural work forces and increase chiefly surplus simply by expanding labor inputs. Escalating interpolity raiding in the Philippines in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries can be linked to a variety of changes in the complexity of Philippine sociopolitical systems, economic organization, and even ideologies of status and sacrifice. However, captured slave labor was a relatively low cost strategy of increasing agricultural surplus, since captured slaves did not require the chiefly generosity associated with tributary or clientage status. Many West African kingdoms also became increasingly dependent on slave raiding and slave labor in agricultural and craft production to increase the surplus necessary to support long-distance trade systems. Slaves became a major form of wealth, the acquisition of which conferred status on the possessor and added to the political currency available for bridewealth and other alliance-creating exchanges.

The growth of long-distance prestige goods trade was also tied to changes in internal riverine trade systems that traditionally moved basic household products between diverse ecological zones. Many of the Philippine exports desired by foreign traders entering the archipelago in the early to mid-second millennium were interior forest products that the coastal chiefs did not control directly but had to amass through these riverine trade networks. These products included interior tropical forest hardwoods, spices, exotic animal pelts, gums, wax, and resins used in the production of luxury goods and culinary specialties by mainland Asian artisans. Successful trade competition not only depended on a Philippine polity’s ability to mobilize efficiently the resources necessary to support a trade infrastructure (involving trade specialists and port administrators and including the housing and feeding foreigners), but also hinged on a polity’s ability to ensure a stable supply of desired exports. Ethnographic, historical, and archaeological investigations indicate that riverine trade between ethnically distinct lowland and upland groups of differing sociopolitical complexity and economic specializations was probably a long-term practice in the Philippines, related to the extreme ecological diversity within individual island environments. However, archaeological evidence suggests that these riverine trade systems were expanded and transformed as coastal chiefs became more heavily involved in maritime luxury good trade as the core of their political economy.

In the Bais-Tanjay Region, there is archaeological evidence from durable goods like earthenware pottery and iron that these lowland-manufactured commodities were being traded into the mountainous interior, inhabited by tribal swidden farming groups and hunter-gatherers, by at least the first millennium B.C. However, relatively few lowland status goods were moving into the interior, riverbank trade villages were small and undifferentiated, and there was generally little evidence for elite intervention in what must have been mundane interhousehold exchanges. However, strategically

located and relatively evenly spaced upriver secondary centers emerge in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in the Bais-Tanjay Region, interior trade nodes that appear to have been distributing status goods as well as mundane household commodities to upriver tribal peoples who controlled access to export products. Archaeological excavations at these riverbank trade centers have yielded evidence for elite presence and specialized production activities such as ironworking, suggesting that lowland chiefs took a more active administrative role in this riverine trade once it became vital to their foreign trade interests.

Archaeological data also support the historical evidence for increasingly specialized production and centralized distribution of local luxury goods and even household commodities at the height of foreign trade during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. A number of archaeologists have suggested that the advent of foreign luxury good trade had a negative impact on local production of status goods like fine ceramics, textiles, and goldwork, since such local products could not compete with the quality of Chinese porcelains, silks, and metal trinkets. However, archaeological and historical evidence counters this assumption about local luxury good industries. Instead of being displaced by the availability of foreign prestige goods, locally manufactured “fancy” earthenware and metal implements continued to be produced as second-tier status goods particularly for distribution to the non-elite and to interior leaders as material symbols of political relations. At early- to mid-second-millennium chiefly centers like Tanjay and Cebu as well as at many of the cemeteries of this period, the volume and variety of decorated and slipped earthenware actually increase in this period, particularly in association with households or burials with less access to foreign status goods. There is also archaeological evidence for expanding indigenous metals production at these centers and in their hinterland regions in the period of intensifying foreign trade, perhaps to meet the demands of increasingly complex social status hierarchies and larger-scale political alliance systems. Ethnohistorical evidence from contact period polities such as Sulu, Cebu, and Magindanao also shows that chiefly centers supported a large number of cotton textile weavers and goldsmiths working as attached specialists under the sponsorship of sultans and chiefs despite the popularity of Chinese silks and foreign goldwork among the chiefly elite.

As coastal maritime trading centers grew in scale and complexity, independent specialization in earthenware ceramic production and in other mundane household commodities may have developed as a function of economies of scale and as a consequence of expanding trade into the interior. Concentrated and larger-scale production of more standardized cooking pots at Tanjay during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries contrasts with evidence for more regionally dispersed household production of domestic ware before this period. Thus, changes in the spatial organization of regional settlement, a shift toward mass production of goods critical to low-

land-upland trade, and expanded regional circulation of prestige goods to encourage greater surplus production suggest that some Philippine chiefs were restructuring internal production systems to meet the demands of foreign traders by the mid-second millennium A.D.

A complementary strategy to internal economic restructuring in the competition for foreign trade was the development of increasingly effective maritime raiding as a means of disrupting the economic functioning of rival trade polities. Institutionalized maritime raiding not only provided a legitimate alternative source of wealth procurement to more peaceful trade relations, but also served as a means of effecting considerable economic disruption of trade competitors as the attacked population fled inland and port resources were destroyed. Ethnohistorical research suggests that the seizure of captives and resources (particularly agricultural stores, metal weaponry and artillery, and elite paraphernalia) was a primary motivating factor in interpolity raiding in the Philippines, rather than land acquisition. Captives added to the labor pool as slaves freed up members of the chiefly retinue to engage in specialized luxury good production, large-scale construction of chiefly residences or fortifications, and trading and raiding activities, while ritually sacrificed slaves (like the large-scale slaughter of pigs and water buffalo) greatly enhanced a chief's prestige and political sway. Ethnohistorical analysis suggests that the economic disruption suffered by those defeated in warfare or attacked in maritime raids not only included the loss of resources and labor forces critical to effective participation in foreign trade; coastal elites were also frequently physically displaced to interior refuges, and wary foreign merchants at least temporarily ceased to trade in their coastal ports.

Comparison of early-second-millennium Chinese accounts with contact period Spanish descriptions of war-related technologies and the frequency of raiding activities in the Philippines suggests that the intensity and scale of maritime raiding increased in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Archaeological evidence shows a significantly higher incidence of violent death in burial populations, increased local production or importing of metal weaponry, the adoption of foreign military technologies such as cannons, the appearance of possible interior refuges, and the construction of relatively sophisticated fortifications around a substantial number of coastal centers in the few centuries before European contact. The upsurge in interpolity warfare and the development of military technologies accompanied greater interpolity competition for control of foreign trade, as chiefs sought to protect their own trade routes and to disrupt those of their trade competitors. However, expanding foreign trade was only one of many changing aspects of chiefly political economies that might have stimulated larger-scale militarism among competing Philippine chiefs. Other significant factors included the expanding labor demands of growing political hierarchies that made slave raiding an increasingly attractive option and an escalating competitive

feasting system that required ever-increasing numbers of sacrificial victims. Similarly, the developing “canoe militarism” of the Niger River West African trade kingdoms like Mali and Songhay and the expansion of horse-riding Iron Age European armies had to do with more than foreign trade competition, relating to many aspects of the expanding political economies of these growing chiefdoms and states.

I have tried to emphasize in this work that the growth of foreign prestige goods trade was only one element of complex and evolving chiefly political economies in the late-first-millennium to mid-second-millennium Philippines. Wealth for generating, maintaining, and expanding political power came from a number of production and exchange contexts that are intimately intertwined, including foreign luxury good trade, local production of status goods by attached craft specialists, bridewealth and other status good exchanges between local elites, goods circulated through the ritual feasting system, tribute mobilization, and seizure of valuables during raids. As in the European Iron Age and the African Iron Age, internal processes of sociopolitical evolution and interpolity competitive interactions that had little to do initially with foreign trade may have provided the complex economic infrastructure necessary for some Philippine polities greatly to expand their foreign trade interactions. The complexities of the Philippine case highlight the recent call by anthropological theorists to decouple various elements of social, political, economic, and ideological structure as we study patterns and processes of cultural change (Feinman and Neitzel 1984; Flannery 1995; Upham 1990; Spencer 1987). By examining various aspects of chiefly sociopolitical structure and political economy independently, we can begin to see how they are interrelated as they are transformed over time.

Let me return to the issue of using cultural evolutionary models, specifically the concept of “chiefdoms,” to analyze complex sociopolitical entities present in the Philippines in the millennium before European contact. Comparative models and details of structure specific to cases like Polynesian chiefdoms, European Bronze Age and Iron Age chiefdoms, Mississippian chiefdoms of North America, and pre-state Mesoamerican complex societies reveal very broad parallels in organization and evolutionary trajectories. But, more important, this comparative perspective illuminates what is different and unique about how Philippine complex societies were structured and evolved over time. The vertically and horizontally segmented, alliance-structured political units in Philippine chiefdoms contrast strongly with the territorially defined political realms in many chiefdom-level societies. The ephemeral nature of political coalitions may make these societies appear less sociopolitically complex than more strongly centralized chiefdoms. Because these chiefdoms were labor-driven rather than land-driven, elaborate ceremonialism and the circulation of status goods in marriage alliances, ritual feasting, and many other social contexts were even more important

than in other chiefdoms in maintaining the coherence of political units. The Philippine case also shows that an expanding scale and intensity of interpolity warfare in chiefdoms is not always related to population pressure on resources, but may actually arise out of increased labor needs and the great value placed on human captives under conditions of low population densities.

The comparative work on foreign trade's impact on developing complex societies elsewhere in the world also emphasizes the dangers of generalizing evolutionary processes and trajectories from one Philippine polity to another. Ethnohistorical and archaeological analyses presented here suggest that the effects of foreign trade on indigenous political, social, ideological, and economic systems varied significantly among Philippine coastal chiefdoms, according to such factors as polity scale and complexity, location along trade routes, ecological setting, economic resources, and political history. Unfortunately, detailed ethnohistorical studies and regional-scale archaeological investigations exist for only a few of the many polities that arose and evolved in the archipelago between the first millennium B.C. and European contact. Researchers are very far from achieving the kind of synthetic study of Philippine chiefdoms that can analyze regional variants and attempt to explain their divergent evolutionary trajectories, a level of analysis that has long been possible for Polynesia (Kirch 1984; Sahlins 1958) and the Mississippian chiefdoms (Anderson 1994; B. Smith 1984; Steponaitis 1991). This more sophisticated analysis awaits long-term diachronic studies, combining ethnohistorical analysis and archaeological investigation, of a larger number of individual polities that arose at various times and under various circumstances within the archipelago.



## Notes

### CHAPTER 2: Sources for the Study of Prehispanic Philippine Chiefdoms

1. There are no standardized phase terms used consistently by archaeologists in talking about periods of Philippine prehistoric and prehispanic history. Eusebio Dizon, in his monograph on Philippine iron metallurgy (1983), provides the most cogent discussion of varying chronological schemes. The reader is referred to Dizon's excellent treatment of chronological issues for more details about cultural evolutionary models. Early archaeologists adapted European terms (Paleolithic, Mesolithic, Neolithic, Metal Age, and Recent or Porcelain Period) to refer to major stages in Philippine prehistory (Beyer 1948; Beyer and de Veyra 1947; Evangelista 1962; R. Fox 1959, 1970; Solheim 1964). The "Paleolithic" was approximately dated from 40,000 to 10,000 B.C. (with early pre-*Homo sapien sapien* sites not yet confirmed), the "Mesolithic" from 10,000 to 3000 or 4000 B.C., and the "Neolithic" from approximately 3000 or 4000 B.C. to 500 B.C. (frequently divided into "Early," pre-1500 B.C., and "Late" phases). The "Metal Age" was dated from around 500 B.C. to A.D. 1000 (initially divided into "Bronze Age" and "Iron Age," but later it was determined that the appearance of bronze and iron in the Philippines is approximately contemporaneous), followed by the "Protohistoric Period" (sometimes divided into "Early Porcelain Period," referring to Sung to early Ming period sites, and "Late Porcelain Period," referring to late Ming period sites).

F. Landa Jocano (1967) and Wilhelm Solheim (1982) rightly pointed out the problems of using European-based archaeological phases to describe Philippine cultural sequences, particularly the dangers of equating technological features (e.g., pottery, groundstone tools, iron) with pan-archipelago stages of "cultural" evolution (e.g., the idea that all chipped stone tools are associated with "Paleolithic" hunter-gatherers and that a site lacking iron must necessarily date before the "invention" of iron metallurgy). Hutterer (1974, 1976) added that this traditional approach failed to recognize the heterogeneous social and cultural contexts in which human activities occur and archaeological sites are created. Jocano and Solheim suggested a phase terminology to replace this traditional model that is focused more on social developments than on technological change. Jocano's (1967) cultural evolutionary phases for the Philippine archipelago include (1) the Germinal Period (to 10,000 B.C.), (2) the Formative Period (10,000–500 B.C.), (3) the Incipient Period (500 B.C.–A.D. 1000), and (4) the Emergent Period (A.D. 1000–European contact). Solheim (1982) uses slightly different terminology and phase boundaries: (1) the Archaic Period (?–5000 B.C.), (2) the Incipient Period (5000–1000 B.C.), (3) the Formative Period (1000 B.C.–A.D. 500), and (4) the Established Filipino Period (A.D. 500–1521). While avoiding European terms and deemphasizing specific material correlates, these new cul-

tural phase models retain the idea of uniform cultural development for the archipelago (Dizon 1983). All generalized cultural evolutionary phase models mask significant differences in the evolutionary trajectories of local societies. This problem is particularly acute in the Philippines, and in Southeast Asia in general, where societies of widely varying sociopolitical complexity and economic orientations existed contemporaneously (Hutterer 1974, 1976), and short-term changes (i.e., “political cycling” in complex societies; short-term adaptations to ecological, historical, and cultural factors by hunter-gatherers) are often difficult to sort out from long-term evolutionary trends (see discussion in Chapter 4).

For this reason, I favor the development of local archaeological sequences reflecting the unique and complex patterns of cultural change in a particular region, which then can be compared to archaeologically recorded patterns of change elsewhere. I cannot avoid general phase terms altogether, since few regional cultural sequences have been established for the Philippines and I need some general frame of reference for dialogue with other archaeologists working on roughly contemporaneous sites. I have chosen here to retain the traditional general phase terms “Metal Age,” “Early Porcelain Period,” and “Late Porcelain Period” rather than Jocano’s and Solheim’s newer terminology for several reasons. One is that my focus on the development of maritime trading complex societies means that most of the prehistoric phases are not discussed in the present work. Since this is not a general book on Philippine prehistory, I leave it to others to debate the merits of various cultural phase schemes. A second reason is that the traditional terms such as “Metal Age” are more widely recognized by contemporary Philippine archaeologists and archaeologists working elsewhere in Southeast Asia.

2. The Italian chronicler Pigafetta provided the earliest European eyewitness account of sixteenth-century Philippine chiefdoms as a member of Magellan’s ill-fated expedition to the Philippines in 1521. Pigafetta gives vivid descriptions of paramount rulers on the island of Cebu and nearby islands of the central Philippines, recounting the political intrigues and interpolity conflict that led to Magellan’s death, ritualized exchanges and feasting at the polity center, and the role of Philippine chiefs in foreign trade.

3. The writings of Miguel de Legaspi (1565–1570), written nearly a half century after the failed Magellan expedition, focused primarily on the events involved in the Spanish conquest of Cebu and Manila but provide significant information on the organization of coastal trade centers and aspects of chiefly political economies.

4. Loarca, an *encomendero* and operator of a shipyard in Arevalo, Panay (central Philippines), not surprisingly offers considerable detail on demography and indigenous economies among the Visayan populations under his colonial authority. Plasencia, one of the earliest Franciscan monks assigned to the Tagalog-speaking populations surrounding Manila, wrote extensively about traditional Philippine religions, ritual, and cosmologies (1589a, 1589d). He also made a comprehensive study of indigenous Tagalog systems of adjudication, which, according to Scott (1980), remained the authoritative source on Philippine customary law until the publication of Robert Barton’s *Ifugao Law* in 1919.

5. Pedro Chirino, who served as a Jesuit missionary in both the central Philippines and Luzon in the 1590s, provides meticulously detailed observations on indigenous ritual practices (particularly burial rites), “class” relations, marriage systems, and Philippine languages as an elaborate justification for Spanish evangelizing policy.

6. Antonio de Morga, a lawyer who served as a high-ranking colonial administrator in Manila in the last decade of the sixteenth century, wrote a lengthy manuscript that was centered on secular concerns. While his aim was to produce a coherent history of the Spanish conquest and colonization of the archipelago, he devotes a significant portion of his *relación* to describing the contact period sociopolitical structure of Philippine coastal peoples (particularly the Tagalogs).

7. Although written many decades later than the early colonial period works, Francisco Alcina's "Historia de las islas e indios de las Bisayas" (1688a, 1688b) is by far the most lengthy, detailed, and comprehensive of the early Spanish books on prehispanic Philippine cultures. A Jesuit missionary with thirty years experience on the islands of Leyte and Samar in the central Philippines, Alcina compiled a massive four-volume treatise divided into more than thirty chapters that has been made available through a translation by Paul Lietz. Alcina's work covers an astonishing diversity of topics, ranging from scientific descriptions of tropical forest flora and fauna used by the Visayans, traditional agricultural and fishing techniques, marriage customs and kinship systems, the political authority of hereditary chiefs, the organization of trading and marketing systems, the pantheon of native deities and rituals associated with them, and military strategies used by chiefs in maritime raiding.

8. The so-called Boxer manuscript or Boxer Codex is an extremely detailed manuscript from the mid- to late seventeenth century that covers both Tagalog-speaking and Visayan-speaking coastal complex societies. Its author is unknown. It was initially located and translated by Friedrich Hirth in 1913. While this manuscript has been the object of some debate, especially concerning its authenticity (see Jocano 1975b), the well-known Philippine historian William Henry Scott (1980, 1994) has pointed out that elements of prehispanic culture described in the text are fully consistent with well-authenticated documents and could have been copied from the latter texts. The assessment by Scott has promoted general acceptance of this manuscript by Philippine historians as a genuine ethnohistorical source on contact period Philippine sociopolitical structures.

9. There has been an implicit notion among many anthropologists and historians studying aspects of prehispanic Philippine political organization that sociopolitical developments in "Islamicized" polities are distinctive from those in "non-Islamicized" regions. This bias is evidenced clearly in the partially geographic, ethnic, and linguistic, but primarily religion-based cleavage between "Christianized" or "hispanicized" societies and "Islamic" societies reinforced in synthesizing works on traditional Philippine political structures (e.g., Beyer and de Veyra 1947; Jocano 1975b; Lebar 1977; Scott 1979, 1980; Majul 1973; Rixhon 1972). I would suggest that Islamic polities like Sulu and Magindanao are structurally analogous to non-Islamic polities in other regions of the Philippines. Chinese trade documents and tributary records indicate the existence of an already substantially developed Sulu polity by the beginning of the Chinese Ming dynasty, with an evidently hierarchical social structure, regional political integration, and autocratic kinglike rulers (Chen 1966; Scott 1984; Wu 1959). However, it is not entirely clear whether an Islamic ideology was already present during the preceding Sung period, when Arab trade was going on in the region, or alternatively if Islam was only beginning to be introduced by Chinese or non-Chinese Muslims among the Chinese traders and voyagers of the fourteenth century (Kiefer 1972b:21; Majul 1965:144–145; Majul 1966). Sulu royal genealogies date the formal establishment of the nominally Islamic sultanate centered at Jolo to

the mid-fifteenth century (Scott 1984:84–86). This chronology fits well with the foundation of Islamic Melaka around A.D. 1400 and the spread of Islam to Borneo some time in the early fifteenth century A.D., and tends to support a later date for substantial integration of Islamic elements. From whatever origin, the adoption of Islamic ideology could not have involved massive transplantation of a foreign “elite” consisting of religious specialists and political leaders, since the most recent research in Tausug linguistics (Tausug was the language spoken by both Sulu aristocrats and the ethnic majority of “commoners” at contact) indicates no close correspondences with non-Filipino languages, but rather a marked similarity with Visayan languages (Chretien 1963). While less is known about the chronological framework for the establishment of Islam in Magindanao and Manila, historical evidence suggests that the conversion occurred some time between the appearance of the first Islamic sultans at Brunei between 1514 and 1521, and Spanish contact in 1565 (Andaya and Ishii 1992:519, 521). The adoption of Islamic ideologies is likely to have introduced new forms of legitimation within what are already developed hierarchical political structures (see K. Hall 1977 for a discussion of the role of Islam in Samudra-Pasai and other fourteenth-century maritime states of the Malay peninsula; Castles 1975 for eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Batak chiefdoms; Brakel 1975 for the seventeenth-century Acehnese state; and B. Andaya 1975 for eighteenth-century Perak).

10. While providing no specific names of local rulers or detailed description of the coastal chiefly center, Spanish writers who accompanied Miguel de Legaspi on his 1565 voyage north along Negros Island’s eastern coast note that Tanay (the colonial period and modern town of Tanjay) was the coastal center of what appeared to be the eastern island’s largest and most densely populated chiefly polity.

### CHAPTER 3: *Chiefly Authority and Political Structure*

1. A good example of changing views on the political structure of Southeast Asian complex societies is the second to fifteenth century A.D. kingdoms of southern Vietnam known as “Champa” or the “Cham” kingdoms. Traditional historical interpretations of Cham political structure viewed Champa as a remarkably enduring, politically centralized kingdom with a relatively continuous succession of royal dynasties, ruling a large region of Vietnam through a series of centralized but temporally shifting capitals (e.g., Coedes 1966:63–70; 1968:46–50, 56–57, 91–95, 122–125; D. Hall 1968:173–189). This image of a highly centralized kingdom ruled by powerful dynasties of kings was reinforced by the accounts of early European explorers like Marco Polo, who wrote of kings living in vast palaces with thousands of trained elephants and hundreds of progeny from multiple wives (D. Hall 1968:205–208) and by archaeological and epigraphic evidence showing widespread elite architectural and iconographic styles (e.g., Boisselier 1963; Maspero 1928). Recent reinterpretations of the meaning of Champa as a political entity (Taylor 1992:153–157; K. Hall 1992:252–260) suggest that in fact “Champa” was a series of segmented polities only loosely integrated through aspects of shared culture, iconography, and religion. Regional political hegemony was not invested in an enduring dynastic line who ruled from a single center, but instead involved almost continuous competition among numerous small-scale political centers that expanded and contracted their hegemonic authority over time, resulting in rapidly shifting political configurations.

2. As emphasized by Barbara Andaya, the royal mothers of potential heirs often played an important role in obtaining political sovereignty for their progeny: “The very personalized nature of royal authority meant that the death of a king or a period of weak rule was often a time of crisis as princely factions and their supporters jockeyed for power. In this process royal women are commonly depicted as playing a crucial role. The *Sejarah Melayu* describes how a dowager queen attempted to poison the Melaka ruler in order to obtain the throne for her grandson, the ruler of Pahang; Thai chronicles attribute the death of Phra Yot Chau (r. 1546?–48?) to the sorcery of his father’s concubine who seized the throne for her son” (1992:419). Andaya notes the irony that women who had been brought into the royal court as wives to cement alliances between rulers and distant vassals, by producing conflictive heirs, often led to the ultimate disintegration of a monarch’s reign (p. 420).

#### CHAPTER 4: Political Cycling in Philippine Chiefdoms

1. Chinese texts describe large contingents, variously referred to as “tributary missions” or “trade missions,” led by Southeast Asian “chiefs” or “kings” arriving at the Chinese court after a long and arduous journey by sea and land. Their bearers were laden with a wide range of Southeast Asian products (e.g., gold, pearls, spices) to be offered as “tribute” or “gifts” in seeking official “tributary” status with the Chinese empire. The visiting dignitaries were treated to elaborate court ceremonies, bestowed with honorific titles and return “gifts” (e.g., porcelains, lacquerware, silks), and entered in Chinese records as official “vassals” and legitimate trading partners of the Chinese state.

2. That Butuan may have been a primary destination for foreign traders even in the Tang period is indicated by the presence of Tang period porcelains in the vicinity and by Scott’s (1984) report of a looted shipwreck off the coast of Dapitan (a peninsula about 150 kilometers west of Butuan along the northern Mindanao shore) that yielded substantial quantities of Tang white wares.

3. Wang Ta-yüan particularly emphasized the high level of economic productivity and extensive political power wielded by the leaders of the two southern Mindanao polities (Mintolang and Sulu) owing to their advantageous locations with respect to both intra-archipelago and foreign trade. Mintolang, according to Wang’s geographic reference, is located at the lower end of a large agriculturally productive river valley with extensive access to valuable interior forest products, and both polities were strategically placed along the maritime route to the spice-producing Moluccas (Maluku) Islands. If the inferred geographic location of these polities is correct, Mintolang is likely a precursor to the powerful Lower Magindanao polity occupying the mouth of the Pulangi River at Cotabato at the time of European contact. Magindanao in the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries became known for its role as a significant intermediary in the Moluccan spice trade, its large military capacity and maritime raiding activities, and its pivotal position in trade networks into the Mindanao interior.

4. The Sulu contingent was particularly well endowed with court regalia and valuable gifts by their Chinese hosts, in comparison to other Philippine missions. The Chinese also constructed a still-standing elaborate memorial gateway and tomb for the one of the Sulu rulers when he unexpectedly died on the return trip from China (Majul 1966:148; Scott 1984:76–77).

5. Historian William Henry Scott (1994:191–193) and others have cited these close connections between Brunei and Manila royal lines, the almost certain conversion of Manila to Islam through its Bornean associations, and Bornean epic traditions claiming conquest over Manila as evidence for Brunei sovereignty in the early to mid-sixteenth century. Scott even takes the extreme view that the Manila chiefdom was “founded as a Bornean trading colony about 1500” and ruled by a Brunei chief (1994:191), with similar foreign hegemony suggested for the fourteenth- to sixteenth-century polities of Ma-i (Mindoro), Magindanao, and Sulu (Scott 1994:177–178, 191). In his literal interpretation of Brunei oral histories Scott does not take into consideration the function of these traditions as a form of culturally biased political propaganda that must be viewed in the context of Bornean world views. Nor does he consider the often-recorded tendency of local rulers of autonomous polities in Southeast Asia to emphasize their ideological and even political connectedness to what are perceived as particularly powerful foreign dynasties (even those outside Southeast Asia) as one of several strategies of political legitimation (see discussion in Chapter 3). The archaeological record, though sparse, suggests long-term growth of a complex society in the Manila area (Peralta and Salazar 1974), with the type of material culture continuities that are inconsistent with abrupt conquest by a foreign power. The relationship between Bornean and Philippine polities is more reasonably interpreted, in my view, as one that includes many shared aspects of “elite” culture (Islamic religious ideologies, political titles and court ceremonialism, status regalia, writing systems) disseminated through frequent peer polity interactions (i.e., trade, elite intermarriage, and warfare).

6. Wife exchanges went in both directions between Sulu and Brunei elites: European accounts indicate that a Sulu ruler married one of the Brunei sultan’s daughters in 1535, and shortly thereafter another Sulu sultan married the granddaughter of Sultan Bulkeiah (Scott 1994:178). The Brunei rulers of this period, as well as later recorded Bornean epics, claim that both Sulu and Manila were political dependencies of Brunei. As summarized by Scott: “Brunei tradition identifies Bulkeiah as folk hero Nakhoda Ragam, believed to have conquered the Philippines in an expedition during which he gave the name of one island to each of a *ganta* [prehispanic standardized measure] of pepper seeds. In the popular Bornean epic, *Sha’er Awang Semaun*, these conquests are all made by head-taking hero Semaun, and produce tribute from Sulu and Manila in the form of Chinese porcelain” (1994:178). While some scholars readily accept this interpretation of Brunei sovereignty (e.g., Scott 1994), a more skeptical view sees this as propaganda of the Bornean elites. Frequent interactions between the two polities, including elite intermarriage, trade, and military skirmishes, would promote the flow of Islamic ideologies and aspects of elite culture, but cultural emulation does not imply political domination. Chinese tributary records view Sulu as a distinct polity in the fifteenth century, and there is no Sulu oral history that supports the Brunei claim to sovereignty.

7. The region over which the lower valley Magindanao paramount held political sway at the time of European contact probably stretched from at least Illana Bay in the north to the southwestern tip of Mindanao (excluding the politically independent Sarangani Islands) according to early maps (see Forrest 1779).

8. As noted in Chapter 3, the core population of the Sulu polity (the Tausug) are likely to have migrated out of the Butuan region sometime in the fourteenth century or before to establish themselves as a maritime trade power in the Sulu Sea region, a

more strategic location with respect to foreign trade routes. Historical accounts claim that the rulers of Butuan were connected in the sixteenth century through elite marriages to chiefly lineages not only in Sulu, but in Bohol and Cebu (Scott 1994: 164), indicating that considerable prestige remained from Butuan's illustrious past.

9. A settlement on Bohol established by Limasawa, a Butuan chief's brother to control the maritime passage between the Pacific and western Visayas was viciously attacked by a joint Moluccan and Portuguese raid in 1562, an event that may have caused further retrenchment of Butuan as a maritime power.

10. Unlike the earlier Chinese documents in which polity names frequently cannot be matched with specific geographic locales or even with specific islands in the Philippine archipelago, the Spanish documents use geographic designations that are generally identifiable in terms of modern place names or at least general regional locations. Historical references to coastal centers associated with smaller-scale lowland complex societies are generally limited to population estimates, comments on the nature of defensive structures of significance to Chinese traders or Spanish conquerors, and observations about the role of a settlement in maritime trade systems, with little attention given to the internal organization of the settlement and its place in a regional settlement system.

11. Surface-collected settlements were dated relatively through earthenware- and porcelain-based regional cultural sequences constructed from excavated ceramics at ten sites in the region (Junker 1985, 1990a, 1990b). Site size estimates were based on the spatial extent of surface indications along with subsurface coring and test excavations at selected sites. The problems of surface visibility, correspondence of surface and subsurface patterning, and defining site boundaries are discussed extensively in other publications (e.g., Junker 1990a, 1990b) and will not be treated here. However, it should be noted that while these problems were recognized as significant in attempts to construct regional settlement patterns for various periods, multiple survey projects in the region over more than fifteen years have at least identified where these biases lie and demonstrated relative comparability of at least the most recent three prehispanic cultural phases.

12. A few methodological points should be emphasized with regard to the settlement analyses. Settlement maps, density statistics, and rank-size analyses for various cultural phases in the Bais-Tanjay Region include sites with substantial pottery concentrations and evidence for more than ephemeral occupation but exclude find-spots, "special activity" sites, and sites containing primarily lithic material (the latter probably representing the specialized seasonal camps of hunter-gatherers), since the major aim is reconstructing lowland political hierarchies. Site size and density statistics are based on the 1982 probability sample for the region (see Chapter 2), since the objective is a statistical summary based on a "representative sample" of sites. Rank-size and locational analyses, in contrast, are based on the contiguous block areas of the survey, since these require 100 percent coverage (see the illustrations of these survey areas in Chapter 2). As noted in the earlier discussion of archaeological techniques for analyzing political complexity, the Bais-Tanjay Region survey data share many of the problems of biased sampling (related to such factors as differential surface visibility), poor site definition, and too broadly defined chronological phases that plague other regional-scale archaeological projects. The assumption of chronological contemporaneity when the Bais-Tanjay Region cultural phases cover from several centuries to half a millennium reflects perhaps the most problematic aspect

of regional settlement pattern studies. Like the authors of a recent settlement pattern analysis of the growth of West African trading kingdoms (McIntosh and McIntosh 1990), I recognize the necessity of making explicit these biases and focusing on more generalized statistical patterns, without rejecting the fundamental utility of this form of analysis.

## CHAPTER 5: Social Stratification in Contact Period Societies

1. Charles Warren's ethnohistorical reconstruction of the Tagbanua, a complex society of coastal Palawan that was politically dominated by the Sulu sultanate in the Spanish period, indicates that *babalyan* (ritual specialists) and their kinsmen were generally included within the *gimu'u* ("high blood") class of hereditary leaders (1977: 252-258). They were at least related by close kinship ties to the *datu*, and in some cases they were *datu*s performing ceremonies associated with agricultural fertility (p. 256).

2. Reid would include debt-bondsmen in this general category of slaves in Southeast Asia, since individuals enslaved through debt are inheritable and their labor can be used as a form of currency in bridewealth payments, luxury good trade, and other types of transactions (1983a:160-163). The ethnohistorical literature from the Philippines presented below supports this interpretation, since historical descriptions and early ethnographic accounts indicate that slave status was inheritable by whatever means an individual entered this state, although debt-slaves could theoretically eventually redeem themselves by paying off their creditors. Where my conceptualization of slavery differs somewhat from Anthony Reid's (1988:120-121) and William Henry Scott's (1983) is in their blurring of clientage obligations or "dependency" with "debt-bondage" in a way that includes most nonelites within this category of slave. While Scott rightly points out the tremendous variation in economic independence and status within the nonelite ranks (1983:141), I believe that the true chattel status of Scott's lower rung of *oripun*, or "commoners," sets them apart as a distinct social rank and one that was linguistically marked by such terms as the Tagalog "*ayuey*."

3. The "weak" judicial system in many Southeast Asian societies noted by Europeans, with fines or debt-bondage preferred to execution or physical punishment for even the most heinous crimes, makes sense if viewed in terms of a desire to conserve manpower (Reid 1980:242; Reid, ed., 1993:157): by accepting the perpetrator as a debt-bonded "slave," the victim of wrongdoing gained a productive asset.

4. As noted by Warren for the Sulu Tausug: "The power and wealth of a *datu* was commensurate with the number of slaves he owned. The more slaves a *datu* acquired, the greater was his reputation as personal provider and protector" (1985: 218). Tausug chiefs boasted not only of the large numbers of slaves under their control, but also of the lavishness with which they cared for them as "personal property," bedecking household slaves in the finest clothes and jewelry and allowing them to carry intricately decorated swords, as they accompanied their masters in public as part of his elaborate entourage (ibid.).

5. Spanish descriptions of specific inheritance rules assigning the progeny of slave-commoner or slave-elite marriages or concubinage vary considerably, and some accounts sound implausibly complex, such as Plasencia's insistence in 1589 that



among the Tagalogs the first, third, and fifth child belonged to the father's rank, while the second, fourth, and sixth child belonged to the mother's rank (Plasencia 1589c:149). More plausible is Loarca's report that half the progeny of a commoner-slave marriage were considered free from their parent's debt, while the remaining continued service to the owner (1582a:185), and Bobadilla's statement that all "half-slave" progeny of mixed marriages could be manumitted legally by the nonslave parent through a payment of gold to the owner (1640:332). Whatever the specifics of manumission, upward social mobility could be obtained by slaves through class-exogamous marriages (see Lasker 1950:290-291; Reid 1983b:25-27; and Warren 1985:227 for a discussion of the significant social mobility of bondswomen and concubines).

6. Unfortunately, the Spanish chroniclers were not always explicit about the exact kinship relationship between uncle-nephew dyads. Therefore, it is not clear from the Spanish sources whether eligibility for the *datu* position could in all cases be reckoned through either the maternal or the paternal line (i.e., if uncle-nephew inheritance could involve both mother's brother-sister's son as well as father's brother-brother's son).

## **CHAPTER 6: The Dynamics of Social Ranking: Changing Patterns of Household Wealth and Mortuary Differentiation**

1. Mourning rituals accompanying the burial of a chief included protracted public recitations of chiefly accomplishments. Significance was attached to the numbers of mourners and the relative intensity of overt displays of loss and grief (expressed through shorn hair, unadorned clothing, and somber behavior) as well as the competitively elaborate feasts sponsored by a chief's kin group to mark the end of a long mourning period (see Colin 1660b:173-174; Boxer manuscript 1590b:209-210).

2. The material contributions and participation of commoners and slaves attached to the local *datu* were frequently elicited under threat of punitive action, and several Spanish chroniclers claim that "mourners" were in some cases bribed or paid to augment numbers participating in funerary rites for an important personage (Boxer manuscript 1590b:210; Colin 1660b:173; Chirino 1604a:133).

3. Relative contemporaneity of occupation in the two residential zones was firmly established through analysis of the distribution of chronologically sensitive trade porcelain and earthenware pottery styles, coupled with stratigraphic correlations and radiocarbon dates.

4. The ANOVA (analysis of variance) statistic determines whether the observed variation in the density of a particular prestige good is significantly greater *between* these two areas of the site (i.e., Santiago Church locale versus Osmena Park locale) than *within* either area (i.e., between structures in the same area). As shown in Table 6.2, the *F* statistic for the density of porcelain, red-slipped earthenware, decorated earthenware, and metal is significant at the .05 level, indicating that these presumed prestige goods are found in significantly higher densities in the vicinity of the three stockaded Santiago Church locale structures.

5. It might be argued, however, that these differences in overall earthenware densities reflect variability in the time span or intensity of occupation of particular structures and that observed differences in the densities of prestige goods associated

with different structures could represent variation in the length of house use, the number of inhabitants, or other variables related to household composition and activities. While it would be difficult to sort out all these factors, plain domestic earthenware densities should, on a general level, reflect the overall intensity of domestic activities (assuming relatively uniform pottery breakage and discard rates as well as interhousehold similarities in pottery usage). To take account of these differences in the overall density of habitation debris, the prestige good densities were converted into ratios by dividing by plain earthenware densities, yielding their proportional contribution to the total ceramic assemblage (or, in the case of metal, the metal/earthenware ratio). A series of ANOVA tests showed that the between-area variability in the proportions of red-slipped earthenware and metal were statistically significant at the .05 level, while the differences in the proportion of porcelain between hypothesized elite and nonelite residential areas could not be distinguished from a purely random pattern with an acceptable level of probability (see Junker et al. 1994 for statistical analyses).

6. Of interest with regard to the stone figurines are contact period Spanish descriptions of small, carved stone “idols” characteristically arrayed on bamboo “altars” in the ritual areas of Philippine chiefly dwellings as an important material element of chiefly sponsored community ritual (Blair and Robertson 1903, 3:163–165; Colin 1660b:72–75; Morga 1609b:303–304).

7. The prestige good densities were transformed into ratios, reflecting their proportional contribution to the total ceramic assemblages of these two habitation zones (again, in the case of metal, the ratio measurement is the ratio of metal to pottery). The results were consistent with the density comparisons—the presumed status goods are found not only in higher absolute densities, but also in significantly higher relative proportions at the Santiago Church locale.

8. Archaeological features suggest that fortification techniques varied chronologically (earthen walls were found in the earlier *cottas*, while coral-block walls were more common toward the end of this period) and according to defensive requirements (one *cotta* was naturally defended on two sides by swampland and only artificially stockaded on the two opposite sides).

9. Large postholes were recorded in the interior of some of the compounds by Spoehr (1973), indicating that chiefly residences were wooden pile-houses similar to the typical Tausug house, but no complete structures could be reconstructed.

10. Relevant to the discussion of status-related variation in mortuary practices in the next section is Spoehr’s discovery of a probable elite cemetery immediately adjacent to one of the fortified *cottas*. One grave has been explicitly identified through oral histories as belonging to a certain chief’s daughter, and it is one of the more elaborate burials, with carved coral grave frames and headstones.

11. It should be noted that not all Metal Age cemeteries consist of jar burials (other burial forms have included hollowed log coffins at open-air sites; see De la Torre 1996), and jar burial practices appear to persist well into the protohistoric and colonial periods in some parts of the Philippines (Legaspi 1974; see also Dizon 1979:4–5).

12. Dizon notes that the glass beads and iron implements are mutually exclusive in the burials (1979:46), although no skeletal material was preserved at the site that might distinguish between gender-related and status-related differences in mortuary treatment.

13. Another series of sites that might have yielded very significant evidence on the structure of Metal Age social systems if not for massive disturbance by looters and postdepositional geological processes are the southern Cotabato (Mindanao) urn burial caves of Kan-nitong, Seminoho, Bulbook, Inatao, and Kiriag (Maceda 1964, 1965; Kurjack and Sheldon 1970). The sites are located on the Kulaman Plateau, in historic times occupied by the Manobo or Kulaman, a swidden-farming group along the upper Padada River that was organized into a series of petty chiefdoms (Cole 1913:149-157). All the Metal Age cave and rockshelter cemeteries in this region yielded large carved limestone urns, generally with anthropomorphic figurine covers or domed covers and fluted incised designs on the burial containers, and some of the sites also yielded large earthenware burial urns, both types of urns containing the bones of both adult and subadult secondary burials. One of the sites yielded a single radiocarbon date placing it within the mid-first millennium A.D., at the end of the Metal Age. More than one hundred of these urn burials were recorded at some of these cave sites, representing one of the largest samples to date of this type of burial. The urn burials at Kan-nitong Cave (where up to 378 burials may have been present) yielded associated decorated pots and pedestaled serving vessels, stone hammers, blades and flakes, iron bracelets, shell bracelets, bone earrings, charred animal bones, and charcoal (possibly representing organic burial offerings). Iron bracelets, earrings, and shell jewelry were found in a few of the burial urns at other south Cotabato sites. Numerous elaborately decorated (cord-wrapped paddle-impressed and incised) cylindrical pots and carinated and hemispherical bowls scattered in the vicinity of the burial urns were presumably part of the burial furniture. Unfortunately, poor preservation of the skeletal material, heavy disturbance of the earthenware burial accompaniments, and researchers' emphasis on tracing culture historical relations rather than Metal Age social structure resulted in published reports in which demographic details of the skeletal population and specific artifact associations are missing.

14. Porcelain types or styles at the Santa Ana Site can be ranked in terms of quality based on Locsin and Locsin's (1967) classification of the foreign glazed wares into ten general classes or "styles" all dated to the Sung-Yüan time range (with the exception of some very early Ming blue-and-white wares), but probably produced at different Chinese kiln sites and in different frequencies for foreign trade. Glazed wares that require comparatively lower levels of technology (lower firing temperatures, poorer-quality coarse clays, mottled glazes), exhibit a smaller range of simply executed morphologies (plain jars, bowls, and plates, with little morphological elaboration), and lack painted or molded decoration are more common than finely executed porcelains at Santa Ana and most Philippine sites of this period (R. Brown 1989; Locsin and Locsin 1967). This finding suggests that many Chinese kiln sources in the eleventh to fourteenth centuries concentrated on exporting glazed wares that were relatively poor quality in comparison to locally consumed wares, although some finer-quality porcelains were also exported, presumably to Philippine chiefs who controlled the largest maritime trading ports and the most extensive networks of trade relations (see discussion in Chapter 7). Statistical analyses show that the plain brown-glazed and gray-glazed stoneware vessels (primarily jars and ewers) and notably poor quality celadons (primarily poorly executed plates and bowls) are widely distributed among the Santa Ana burials and are the most likely types to be found in burials with few porcelains. In contrast, the most finely executed, elabo-

rately formed, and lavishly decorated porcelains (including early blue-and-white bottles, plates, covered jars, and bowls with floral decoration; and white-glazed Ch'ing-pai or spotted-glazed porcelain ewers, bowls, jars, plates, and figurines) are relatively rare and are almost exclusively found in those burials with the largest overall quantities of grave goods. Thus, the distribution of porcelains in the Santa Ana burials suggests that social status was marked not only in terms of the quantity and overall diversity of porcelains, but also in their relative quality—finely made white porcelain (Ch'ing-pai) water droppers with molded animals, delicate blue-and-white covered porcelain jars, and unique spotted white porcelain double-gourd ewers were reserved for the most elaborate and presumably high-status burials.

15. Fox (1959) notes that a coincidence of factors would have made the Calatagan Peninsula a favorable place for extensive settlement and perhaps the core area for a fourteenth- to fifteenth-century maritime-trading polity. The Calatagan Peninsula would have been a strategic locale in intersecting maritime trade routes along the archipelago's western littoral and eastward toward Bicol (southeastern Luzon) and other interior islands of the archipelago. An estimated several thousand graves at the known burial sites (Fox 1959:341) and the reported dense occupation layers at recorded settlements suggest relatively high population densities in the region in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. In terms of subsistence productivity, the gently rolling alluvial terrain is ideal for intensive agriculture, and the entire peninsula is surrounded by an unusually broad and productive reef system. Two large habitation-burial sites (Punta Buwaya and Balong Bato), not excavated by Janse and Fox, are located at the only two extensive channel openings in the reef allowing easy access to the coast and navigable rivers. Thus, it is likely that the burial population at the Catalagan sites represents the core population of a relatively large-scale fourteenth- to fifteenth-century farming and maritime-trading polity.

## CHAPTER 7: *The Long-Distance Porcelain Trade*

1. Historical sources indicate that these long-distance maritime trading networks started to develop sometime in the late first millennium B.C. "Malay" sailors were mentioned as visitors to the Chinese coast by the third century B.C. By the time of the Roman empire, there are references by Roman historians to probable Malay cinnamon traders riding the winds between Africa and Asia, and there were permanent communities of Malayo-Polynesian speakers along the Malagasy coast (K. Hall 1992:185–187; Taylor 1976). While the historical evidence is not clear, contacts with India are also likely to have been established at this time, since the Southeast Asian sailors were capable of sailing through the Straits of Malacca and out into the Indian Ocean (Hall 1992:186; Manguin 1980). Post-Mauryan period (first and second centuries B.C.) sites in India have yielded textual and archaeological evidence suggesting that Indian merchants may have sought new gold sources in Southeast Asia at this time (Allchin 1995:305; Wheatley 1983).

2. Srivijaya's ascendancy and long-term economic hegemony over trade rivals between the seventh and thirteenth centuries have been attributed to a number of factors, including its strategic location between the major Indian Ocean–South China Sea passages (the Straits of Malacca and the Sunda Strait), Palembang's excel-

lent harbor and river (the Musi River), which is navigable far into the interior, and the tremendous agricultural productivity of its hinterlands along the silt-rich Musi River (K. Hall 1992:199). Equally important were organizational features and economic strategies establishing the Srivijaya capital as a magnet for foreign traders, such as its well-developed internal riverine networks of exchange for ensuring the downriver flow of military manpower, agricultural resources to provision the port, and forest products for foreign trade (Hall 1992:201); its control of piracy in the surrounding seas through alliances with sea-raiding groups (Andaya and Andaya 1982:25); and its adept manipulation of the Chinese tributary trade system to gain favored trade status among Southeast Asian polities (Wolters 1971). The Srivijayan rulers also shrewdly adopted the religions of the primary foreign trade powers, China and India, building temples and monasteries, and promoting the growth of a large colony of Buddhist monks in Srivijaya's early phases of development (de Casparis and Mabbett 1992:320; Hall 1992:202), and incorporating aspects of Hinduism throughout its history (Andaya and Andaya 1982:25-26).

3. There is some disagreement among Chinese porcelain specialists regarding whether Beyer's (1947) chronological attribution of these porcelains to the T'ang period is accurate (see discussion in Hutterer 1973b:109-111). The lack of subsequent detailed stylistic studies of these presumed T'ang period porcelains by ceramic specialists and art historians coupled with the absence of stratigraphic excavations of settlement or burial sites of this period in the Philippines leave this issue unresolved.

4. To support his position, Fox (1964) cites Chinese records of Arabian, Persian, and Indian ships appearing with increasing regularity in Chinese ports in the eighth to tenth centuries A.D. as they transported goods along the Malay Isthmus route between India and China (Wu 1959:67-68; Wang 1959:75). Fox (1962) has even suggested that this interaction did not represent organized trade at all, but rather accidental encounters by wayward sailors, probably Arabs, who lost their way in navigating the South China Sea. But the preceding discussion suggests that this view was based on an unduly negative assessment of the long-distance seaworthiness and cargo capacity of Southeast Asian ships. As noted above, historians now believe that experienced Southeast Asian maritime voyagers, originating at coastal ports such as Palembang (the Srivijaya capital), functioned as middleman facilitators of the international trade between the Indian Ocean and the South China Sea, as well as the primary carriers of valuable spices and other products along the southern route from the Moluccas and Java. If the numbers of these Southeast Asian middleman traders had been as substantial as suggested by recently analyzed historical sources, their participation in the South China Sea trade would have effectively eliminated the need for Indian and Arab vessels to venture beyond the Indian Ocean.

5. As noted by Hall and Whitmore, Arab traders are likely to have gained prominence in the China-Southeast Asia-India trade primarily in the tenth to twelfth centuries A.D. owing to an increased emphasis on high-volume bulk good trade rather than limited luxury items (K. Hall 1975:196; Hall and Whitmore 1976). It is only at this time that these foreign traders external to the region would have competed favorably with the Malay seamen, through the use of larger and technologically superior maritime vessels and the more efficient organization necessary for large-scale commercial ventures.

6. Scott notes that in the Chinese historian Chou Ch'u-fei's A.D. 1178 *Ling wai*

*tai ta* (Answers to Questions about Places beyond Kwangtung), all the Southeast Asian trade commodities are described as derived from Srivijaya and the Straits of Malacca via the Vietnamese coast (1984:67). There is no mention of the eastern islands (Sulawesi, the Moluccas, Sulu, and the Philippines), where many of the imported goods (particularly spices, aromatics, resins, and forest products) must have originated.

7. This collapse of the Srivijaya trade dominance was likely due to eleventh-century military conflicts between Srivijaya and Javanese polities, and simultaneously Khmer (Cambodian) and Burmese expansion toward the critical Malay peninsula and the Straits of Malacca (Hall and Whitmore 1976:305–320).

8. A complication to analyzing Wang Ta-yüan's account of Philippine import preferences is the possibility that Chinese-transported goods were not wholly Chinese in origin, but that Chinese merchants accompanied by Wang Ta-yüan acquired Javanese, Bornean, or other non-Chinese goods in previous stops at Southeast Asian ports and later traded these commodities at Philippine ports (the strong likelihood of this possibility is attested by the presence of "Java" cloth in the Min-to-lang inventory).

9. As noted by Reid, numerous expanding Southeast Asian states of the sixteenth century based their military strength on the recruitment of foreign traders to serve as mercenaries in their professional armies. The recruits included Gujaratis, Japanese, Chams, Malays, and Filipinos (particularly Luzones) (1993a:13).

10. Historical accounts of the trade entrepôt indicate that Philippine traders were grouped with other eastern polities (Java, Molucca, Banda, Palembang, and Borneo) under a single port authority, while the traders in the thousands from Gujarat (northern India) and southern India polities such as Bengal had their own trade administrators (Andaya and Andaya 1982:42).

11. Chinese maps before the sixteenth century give little of the accurate detail about the "eastern" islands (i.e., Maluku) that we would expect from eyewitness geographic accounts. In addition, writing in the sixteenth century, Miguel Lopez de Legaspi notes claims by Muslim Brunei and Luzon traders that they were mistaken as "Chinese" and their ships labeled as "Chinese junks" by the Malukus reporting to the Portuguese, since they carried primarily Chinese goods in their trade cargo (Scott 1982:47).

12. Scott suggests that, even in the absence of many specific records of foreign trade voyages, frequent two-way voyaging between trade partners from Philippine polities and those outside the archipelago can be inferred from early Spanish references to interethnic marriages and bilingualism among some of the Filipinos (particularly the elite) they encountered at major island trade ports (1994:75). For example, the Manila paramount's (Rajah Suleyman's) son at the time of the Legaspi expedition was married to the Sultan of Brunei's daughter and apparently regularly voyaged between the polities, and Limasawa, the brother of the early-sixteenth-century chief of Butuan, was fluent in the language spoken in Champa (along the Vietnamese coast) and had an eyewitness familiarity with Champa customs (p. 75). Although not directly substantiated by historical sources, the fluency of Magellan's Sumatran slave Enrique de Malacca in the Visayan language of the northern Butuan led at least one Magellan biographer to suggest that the "Sumatran" was actually a Filipino seized earlier at a Malaysian port who was returned to his native Philippine homeland after almost circumnavigating the globe with his Arab and European captors (Zweig 1938:234).

13. Porcelain densities are calculated as the mean weight (in grams) of porcelain per cubic meter over all excavated areas of the site that yielded deposits of that cultural phase. Deposits from habitation features and levels only are included, with burial features excluded.

14. Ratios are calculated from sherd counts. Again, burials are excluded.

15. However, several Chinese and Spanish sources describing Philippine coastal populations far from these presumed “centers” of foreign trade provide ethnohistorical evidence that at least some Chinese traders continued the Sung pattern of small-scale island-hopping into this later period. Wang Ta-yüan’s fourteenth-century description of maritime raiding and trading activities among western Visayan populations is a first-person eyewitness account involving direct trade encounters (Scott 1984:73–78), rather than a secondhand report filtered through Filipino traders at Cebu, Manila, or one of the other larger coastal polity centers. Early Spanish sources also make reference to claims by coastal populations outside these larger trading centers for direct contact with Chinese merchants. Keesing notes a number of sixteenth-century Spanish sources that describe Chinese trading vessels making port calls at comparatively small-scale coastal settlements along the western Luzon coast (1962: 18–21, 24–25, 97). Keesing suggests that the Chinese interest in direct trade contacts with what must have been very small-scale polities with poor port facilities in northwestern Luzon was fueled by the possibility of gaining direct access to Philippine gold mines in adjacent upland areas.

16. According to Reid, Chinese bans against trading with Japanese “pirates” in the sixteenth century meant that Southeast Asian ports in relatively close proximity to the Japanese archipelago—primarily Manila and the southern Vietnamese port of Hoi An controlled by the Nguyen rulers—became essential destinations for Japanese traders who desired to exchange their silver for Chinese silks and Southeast Asian spices, gold, metal ores, and forest products (1993a:18–19).

17. According to Thomaz, trade tariffs were quite substantial, with a 6 percent import duty on all ships from India and the Middle East (with an additional 2 percent tax on certain commodities) (1993:74). Southeast Asian ships were instead required to sell 25 percent of their merchandise to the state at a cost below market price, which Thomaz calculates as approximately equivalent to a 5 percent tax. Thomaz concludes that taxes on foreign commerce must have been the primary source of the Melaka state’s income.

18. Similar but smaller-scale systems of control over foreign trade by the polity rulers are described for other thirteenth- to nineteenth-century maritime-trading kingdoms of island Southeast Asia. These include the Samudra-Pasai (northwest Sumatra) polities of the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries (K. Hall 1985:214–222), the thirteenth-to-fifteenth-century Javanese polity of Majapahit (Hall 1992:218–219), Aceh (Reid 1975), and other immediately precontact Indonesian and Malay states (Van Leur 1967:66), as well as seventeenth-to-nineteenth-century Johor (L. Andaya 1975) and Sulu (Warren 1977a, 1982). In the smaller coastal trade ports along the Malacca Straits, the regional chieftains or their representatives were commonly the primary (if not the only) merchants allowed interaction with foreign traders (Lewis 1973:241). The early historian Marsden observed that at Palembang and other Sumatran trade ports, commerce was “usually monopolized by the sovereign power” through such militarily enforced practices as trade tariffs, royal charters for merchants, and restrictions on the movements of foreigners within trading ports (1811:360, 399–401).

As noted by Van Leur in his general discussion of foreign trade in pre-sixteenth-century Indonesian island polities, private commercial enterprise in long-distance trade that would undermine the monopoly of wealth desired by the elite ruling class was effectively constrained by these and other mechanisms: “The coastal principalities . . . dominated trade, interfering not only by levying tolls and requiring compulsory stapling, but also by carrying on trade and shipping of their own, regulating prices, claiming the right of pre-emption, acting as the financiers of trade” (1967:66).

Gullick suggests that a similar system of local control of interdistrict and long-distance trade operated in the myriad smaller-scale Malay chiefdoms dotting the coastal areas of insular Southeast Asia, some of which were politically and economically independent and others loosely integrated into the structure of larger maritime-trading states (1958:125–131). Malay chiefs typically imposed heavy import levies on Chinese porcelains or other exotic luxury goods coming into their small coastal ports to ensure that the bulk of any trade wealth went directly into chiefly coffers. While other relatively high status individuals were free to establish individual trade partnerships with foreign merchants, the nonelite segment of the local population was effectively cut off from direct access to foreign trade goods through the tight control of foreign traders at the coastal port and strong cultural prescriptions defining the proper social contexts of luxury good exchange (see discussions of elite gift exchange and feasting in Chapters 10 and 11).

19. The fact that “the other half” (of the payment to the Chinese traders) was delayed until “the next year” suggests that the Tondo chief did not always have the export resources immediately available to fulfill his export obligations to the Chinese and that he therefore kept the foreigners in port or made arrangements for delayed exchange while he amassed the necessary resources through internal exchange and tribute mobilization systems.

20. The tenth-to-eleventh-century flurry of tributary missions, as suggested by Wolters (1971), occurred in the context of political fragmentation and diffusion of economic power in Southeast Asia. This fragmentation is documented historically in military encounters and trade rivalries between Srivijaya and Javanese polities, Khmer and Burmese expansion toward the Malay peninsula, conflicts between Champa and both Vietnamese polities to the north and southern neighbors such as Brunei, and China’s direct participation in foreign maritime trade, which brought the Chinese into direct contact with numerous smaller Southeast Asian ports.

21. The Chinese knew of Ma-i through Bornean traders, who informed Chinese officials that they had active and long-term trade relations with both Ma-i (thirty days’ sail to the east) and Champa (thirty days’ sail to the north).

22. Some historians have argued that Ma-i in fact was included with the Bornean trade missions because it was not an independent polity (Saunders 1994:26). As noted in Chapter 4, Nicholl assumes that it was under Brunei hegemony because of later reported intermarriages between Tagalog-speaking nobility and the Brunei royal family (1990, 1:73), but Nicholl confuses the later Manila sultanate with the earlier polity centered on northern Mindoro.

23. The actions of the P’u-tuan chiefs in fact prompted a formal Chinese edict in 1004 explicitly prohibiting such improprieties (Scott 1984:66–67).

24. Not surprisingly, the P’u-tuan ruler’s request for tributary status commensurate with Champa was summarily denied by Chinese officials. The Chinese records



report how a P'u-tuan ruler with the impressive Hindu title of Sri Bata Shaja further stunned the Chinese court during a 1011 tributary mission by insisting on presenting his delegation at a time when the emperor was in ritual seclusion performing the imperial sacrifice to the earth deity Fen-i at the vernal equinox. In commenting on these repeated improprieties by P'u-tuan and other “barbarians,” a Chinese minister complained that “people from distant lands don’t understand rules and regulations” (Scott 1989:3).

25. According to the Chinese records, the 1417 Sulu delegation consisted of three “royal” personages: Paduka Batara (titled by the Chinese as the “Eastern King” and identified by Scott as the probable paramount ruler of Sulu [1989:7]), Maharajah Kolamating (titled by the Chinese as the “Western King” and identified by Scott as likely to have been a lower-ranking Sulu *datu*), and Paduka Prabhu (titled by the Chinese as the “Cave King,” or “Warrior King,” and identified by Scott as an ethnically distinct Bornean chief who may have been the brother-in-law of the Sulu paramount). As noted in Chapter 3, the use of Malay-Sanskrit titles of eminence in referring to Filipino chiefs and the intermarriage between Sulu and Bornean elites evidenced in these Chinese passages imply that Malay Islamic ideologies had already entered into the Sulu polity at this time.

26. Sulu paramount Paduka Batara’s death was marked by Confucian sacrificial rites carried out over the prescribed three-year mourning period, during which his primary wife, several sons, and numerous retainers were supported as royal guests until their return to Sulu in 1423. Two sons never returned to Sulu and settled with other Malay-speaking Muslims in Shantung.

27. The “Western” Sulu ruler (Maharajah Kolamating) sent another tributary mission in 1420, followed by a mission headed by the deceased ruler Paduka Batara’s younger brother Paduka Suli, who may have inherited the Sulu chieftainship. Paduka Suli became immortalized not only in official Chinese histories, but also in Chinese poetry and lore as the lord of the mysterious land of pearls and spices known as Sulu, who astounded his Chinese hosts by presenting a seven-ounce pearl as part of his tributary offering (Scott 1989:11–12).

28. Interestingly, the Chinese of the early fifteenth century appeared to have overtly fostered trade competition between Philippine polities and the expansion of the tributary system into the “western” ocean, consistent with the general early Ming policy of promoting Chinese state economic interests through formalized, state-controlled trade relations rather than informal trade. A trade commissioner (Chang Ch’ien) dispatched by the Chinese emperor to the southern Philippines in 1417, ostensibly as a military escort to the Sulu paramount’s oldest son and heir, left Sulu for the competing polity of Kumalalang, where he presented brocade court costumes, skeins of silk thread, and other impressive gifts to the Kumalalang ruler Ganlai Yibendun. Not surprisingly, the Kumalalang ruler responded by appearing in the Chinese court in 1420 with a personal petition that he receive tributary status commensurate with that of his Sulu neighbors:

“Your Majesty’s simple-minded servant has been unable to understand why, although he is the one selected by his countrymen, he still has not received the imperial command; pray have the mercy to grant his investiture and his country’s recognition” (*Ming shih*, the official Ming history, chapter 323, quoted in Scott 1989:10–11).

Ganlai Yibendun's petition was granted, and he received the same Chinese title of "premier monarch" (*wang*), court protocol, and royal gifts bestowed on the Sulu ruler. However, while Sulu continued to mount impressively elaborate tributary missions, the smaller-scale Kumalalang apparently could not keep up the expensive voyages and disappeared from the tributary trade rosters.

29. The abrupt end to Philippine participation in these formal tributary missions (around 1411 in the south and 1430 in the north) could be viewed as a response to Ming Chinese policy changes after about 1430, which actively discouraged frequent tribute missions and favored only passive enforcement of still-existing official bans on private trade (Reid 1993a:15). However, numerous Southeast Asian maritime-trading polities such as Champa, Melaka, Java, and Pasai continued to mount relatively frequent tributary missions to the Ming court at Peking until the late fifteenth century (see chart in Reid 1993a:16). The tributary system was not effectively curtailed for island Southeast Asian polities until the 1511 Dutch conquest of Melaka, when sea contacts with the Chinese became dangerous (Reid 1993a:15). Therefore, the cessation of trade missions from Philippine polities are more likely related to internal political processes. These costly missions were no longer necessary owing to changing power relations between polities that the competitive missions were intended to resolve.

## **CHAPTER 8: Mobilizing Resources: Regional Production, Tribute, and Lowland-Upland Exchange Systems**

1. Another deviation from the rank-size rule is the convex distribution, characterized by the lack of an identifiable primary regional center but instead the presence of a significant number of similarly sized centers that are markedly undersized in comparison to the numerous smaller settlements in a region. Gregory Johnson (1977) suggests that convex patterns characteristically occur when a number of politically autonomous settlement systems are combined in the same rank-size analysis. Kowalewski found this pattern associated with a period of political fragmentation into numerous "petty kingdoms" in the Valley of Oaxaca in southern Mexico in which political and economic control became decentralized (1990a:48). The appearance of a convex pattern within a lowland river valley in Southeast Asia may indicate that numerous smaller-scale, politically unintegrated societies are present in the region or that a previous maritime-trading polity has collapsed.

2. McKinnon concludes that the lack of site maps and systematic artifact collection makes it impossible to ascertain whether these sites represent intermittently used ceremonial sites and/or trade locales or alternatively represent large permanently occupied settlements (1993:238). However, I would argue that the significant investment in construction of stone ritual structures or tombs coupled with the significant quantities of foreign prestige goods at these riverine sites suggest the long-term presence of high-status individuals who may have controlled the flow of riverine trade. Unfortunately, archaeological studies of these riverine trade centers have not been of sufficient detail for documenting quantitative differences in access to trade goods either between or within sites.

3. These upriver secondary centers, particularly those inhabited by second-tier chiefs and located nearer to the polity center, were significantly larger than the typical

interior village and were often fortified for protection (Gullick 1965:28). In addition, the presence of second-tier chiefs or local leaders whose close ties to the coastal rulers are cemented through the presentation of prestige goods (frequently of foreign derivation) would be manifested in similar status and wealth differences to the polity center, but on a smaller scale;—that is, spatially discrete commoner and elite occupation areas, with trade wealth concentrated in the households of the latter.

4. Archaeologists have noted a number of significant problems associated with applying rank-size analysis to archaeological data sets. Full-coverage survey of a region is essential to the analysis, since the absence of even a few sites in the settlement hierarchy can radically change the shape of a rank-size curve (Kowalewski 1990b). Problems of uneven surface visibility and differential preservation come into play even in full-coverage survey, particularly in heavily vegetated environments. Another problem involves the difficulties in assuming equivalence between archaeological phenomena (i.e., site size or site artifact density) and the population of a settlement, with the latter being the “size” parameter being compared in a rank-size distribution (Adams and Jones 1981:304–307; G. Johnson 1977:495). This is a particularly critical problem in tropical Southeast Asia, where swidden agriculture often favors dispersed settlements and many aspects of material culture preserve poorly, making it difficult to estimate accurately site sizes, occupation densities, and even what constitutes a bounded site. Another serious issue is whether regional cultural chronologies are of sufficiently fine scale to establish the relative contemporaneity necessary to carry out rank-size analysis and other settlement pattern investigations (McIntosh and McIntosh 1990:637). The problem is magnified when there are a large number of multicomponent sites in a region, and site boundaries for individual phases of occupation are difficult to segregate. Finally, rank-size analysis as well as spatial analyses of settlement are strongly affected by the scale of the area included in the study—settlement hierarchies may look quite different when we focus on the core area of a polity immediately surrounding the paramount center than if we include a larger hinterland area or even a larger region occupied by a number of competing and politically autonomous units (Hodder and Orton 1976). These issues of contemporaneity, archaeological visibility, site definition, and scale affect the Bais-Tanjay Region settlement study to some degree. While we included settlement data only from our full-coverage survey area, surface visibility of sites varied according to vegetation (although visibility problems were more acute in upland areas and for small sites). Our chronological phases are also fairly broad, and many of our sites are multicomponent (the latter making it difficult to determine accurate site boundaries in different phases). While I do not believe that these problems invalidate the use of rank-size analysis, they call attention to the need for more detailed settlement work in the Bais-Tanjay Region and other regions of complex society development in the Philippines.

5. The smaller-scale village sites to which these secondary centers are compared have not been excavated extensively, but were surface-collected systematically and (in some cases) auger-cored at regular intervals. Three sites were sampled by several one-by-meter test pits. To ensure comparability of artifact ratios, I used surface assemblages for all sites, whether they had been extensively excavated, test-pitted, auger-cored, or only systematically surface-collected. I assumed that any biases of surface visibility and recovery would equally affect all artifact classes (hence the

ratios). Because of the increased likelihood of recovery bias in earlier cultural phases, we have not attempted this type of analysis with pre-fifteenth-century sites. While the Diaz, Calumpang, and Mendieta sites contained significantly higher quantities of status goods than the surrounding sites in comparisons of surface assemblages, excavated fifteenth- and sixteenth-century deposits yielded lower densities of foreign porcelains and “fancy” earthenware than at the polity center of Tanjay. These interior riverbank settlements also lacked the variety of exotic goods recovered from the excavations at Tanjay (including fewer types of imported glass beads, fewer bronze objects, and no carved stone figurines or carved ivory objects).

6. An exception to chiefly ownership were the hillside swidden lands, which could be claimed and worked by any individual or kin group, even those with no alliance to the local political leader, without prior permission from this local chieftain (Plasencia 1589a:175–176).

7. This land tenure system, in which the local chief is the nominal owner of all alliance-group territory and can manipulate usufruct grants to his economic advantage, has been observed ethnographically among some of the more complexly organized societies of southern Mindanao, including the Sulu Tausug and Ilanon (Mednick 1977a; Kiefer 1972a). Other less sociopolitically complex groups, such as the Ifugao of the Central Luzon cordillera and the Manuvu of Mindanao, have been recorded as having kin group ownership and inheritance of land with only a limited degree of interference in land use decisions by community political leaders (Mednick 1965; Barton 1949; Manuel 1971). Both systems contrast with a land tenure system with individually established usufruct rights over what is held to be general community property, a system characteristic of nonstratified swidden cultivating societies in the Philippines (Schlegel 1979; Wallace 1970; Conklin 1957; Jocano 1968).

8. Only a hereditary chief could alienate territory or purchase the rights to additional lands. This privilege is exemplified in a case described by Plasencia in which the ruler of Pila-Laguna paid a former chiefly owner a sum in gold for certain land rights and then recouped his investment by charging “rental” fees to his own *maha-rika*, or “noblemen,” for its agricultural use (1589a:175–176).

9. The early Visayan dictionaries (Mentrida 1637; Sánchez 1617) include dozens of terms referring to various stages in dry rice cultivation in hillside swiddens but only a single reference to wet-rice production: the term “*gani*,” meaning a seedbed for rice, to be subsequently transplanted to coastal swampland areas or river floodplains. The relatively low level of rice production therefore appears to have been a function of reliance on dry rice cultivated on naturally irrigated hillsides rather than intensive irrigated rice in the river valleys.

10. The colossal scale and technological complexity of this extensive networks of canals and moats in the Mekong Delta and along its tributaries suggests to a number of scholars that early Khmer kings and their descendants played a central role in administering these systems. However, one archaeologist notes that Buddhist cosmological concepts and religious rites associated with water may have been more important than pragmatic concerns about irrigation in the construction of these water control systems (Van Liere 1980).

11. With regard to the availability of agricultural land in the Philippines, Alcina writes: “Insofar as the lands are concerned, there is no difference here of ‘mine’ and ‘yours’ as in other places. . . . So great and so extended and good are almost all [the lands] in these islands that for the inhabitants not only is there a surplus but [lands]

could be given to thousands of laborers from other regions [i.e. countries] where they are begging for them and, perhaps through lack of land, do not work. Here, the contrary is the case; many and very extensive lands remain lacking someone to cultivate them” (1688a:80–81).

12. The primary advantage of large-scale, labor-intensive irrigated rice systems is that enormous populations can be supported by the year-round cropping afforded through intensive field preparation, transplanting, and water control (Geertz 1963; Meer 1979). Thus, while the archaeological and epigraphic evidence is not entirely clear (Bellwood 1985:241–245), large-scale irrigated rice systems appear to have developed over the last two millennia in Southeast Asia, primarily in association with early-developing complex societies with rising political competition to control surpluses, rapidly expanding populations, and ecological conditions conducive to irrigation (e.g., Bali, Java, central Thailand) (Higham and Kijngam 1979; Meer 1979; Van Liere 1980). Archaeologists and ethnographers working in Polynesia have made similar observations that forms of agricultural intensification are closely linked to ecological factors (soils, topography, hydrography), demography, and sociopolitical variables (i.e., the complexity of political hierarchies and the demands of the political economy) (Earle 1978; Kirch 1982, 1984; Kirch and Green 1987).

13. Every year the Bicol River spreads up to fifteen kilometers inland from its banks and is crisscrossed by many feeder streams that can easily be diverted into irrigation canals (Scott 1994:181). The Philippine islands have few river systems with such extensive flatlands and delta area, and in most cases the construction of hydraulic systems would be an extremely labor-intensive endeavor.

14. Biernatzki cites as an example of typical Bukidnon chiefly generosity the offering of a carabao to a subordinate to resolve an altercation with a member of another alliance group (1985:43). Similarly, Manuel indicates that Manuvu chiefs commonly provided donations toward bridewealth payments of allied subordinates, rice seedlings to local households who suffered a poor harvest, and compensation to victims of raids to promote a peace pact between members of their alliance groups and inhabitants of other districts (1971:230–231, 267). In his discussion of Bukidnon transactions between *datus* and followers, however, Biernatzki suggests that while no immediate return of the chieftain’s contribution is expected, there is a general expectation of future reciprocation, with the recipient of the gift inviting his elite benefactor to “visit” him (i.e., request a return favor) in the future (1985:43). This reciprocation might consist of special service to the chief in warfare and trading activities rather than material contributions.

15. This debate echoes recent scholarly disagreements on the “pristineness” of hunter-gatherer groups in other supposed “marginal” environments, which have not been conclusively resolved through ecological reconstructions or archaeological data (e.g., Denbow 1984; Schrire 1980; and Wilmsen 1989 on the Kalahari !Kung).

16. Ethnographers working among the various Luzon Agta groups and the Palawan Batak report between seventeen and twenty-six residential moves annually (Rai 1982:105–107; Eder 1987:32), with both groups transferring their camps relatively short distances with each move (Rai reports an average distance of 5.3 kilometers per move).

17. More geographically distant interior agriculturalists controlling access to valuable metal ores and forest products, some with relatively complex sociopolitical organization, were beyond the reach of lowland maritime-trading chiefdoms and

sultanates for military subjugation or even direct alliance. They were only in indirect contact with the latter through middlemen traders over whom the lowland polity had more direct control. This was the case for the interior intensive rice agriculturalists of the central Luzon cordillera (i.e., the Ifugao, Bontoc, Kalinga, Benguet, and so forth) who monopolized gold mining for export to frontier trading centers, which were in turn allied with coastal chieftains. These distant groups received in exchange lowland livestock, salt, dried fish, rice wine, and manufactured goods (e.g., blankets, metal weapons and agricultural implements, iron pots, precious stones and beads for necklaces, and Chinese porcelain plates and jars), with the latter commodities serving as local prestige goods (Scott 1982:181–185; Morga 1609b:284–285). Similar to the Tiruray-Magindanao case, upland chieftains or “men of consequence” were the primary actors in these exchanges (Scott 1982:186), and formal alliances or “peace pacts” between individual upland and lowland political leaders were the institutionalized means for regulating these economic interactions (Scott 1982:118, 190, 209; see also Dozier 1967:82–97; Barton 1949:174–208).

18. The 1995 surface survey sites have not been extensively analyzed at the time of this writing, and therefore they are not included in the statistical comparisons presented here.

19. In a recently published paper, I showed that these “hunter-gatherer camps” differ in size and assemblage composition between the upland and lowland zones, a pattern of variation that may be interpreted in terms of seasonal patterns of mobility and settlement (Junker 1996). The stone technology from the Bais-Tanjay Region, like that of other sites with chipped stone in the Philippines and elsewhere in Southeast Asia (Coutts 1984; R. Fox 1970; Gorman 1970; Hutterer 1977b; Solheim 1970), has little “stylistic elaboration” that would allow definition of chronologically diagnostic forms. Therefore, a majority of the “hunting camps” with stone tools cannot be dated relatively. The stone tool assemblages themselves provide no information on the relative dates of occupation; we must rely on associated features and materials. Where chronologically diagnostic earthenware or foreign porcelains have been found in association with Tanjay Region chipped-stone clusters, they have been assigned a tentative date. Associated earthenware pottery suggests that the bulk of the lowland chipped-stone sites discussed below have been dated tentatively to the Osmena Phase, a smaller number of sites have been assigned to the Aguilar Phase, and a significant portion of the sites are presently undatable because of the absence of associated ceramics (see more detailed discussion of dating problems with these sites in Junker 1996).

20. The disparities of site sample sizes are related to differing sampling techniques and differential visibility in the two environmental zones. Most of the lowland sites were recovered within a 48-square-kilometer transect across the lowlands with 100 percent coverage, while all the upland sites were recorded in a probability-based survey covering approximately 3 percent of the upland zone (with the necessity of extrapolating site densities from this “representative” sample of sites). Contrasts in surface visibility may also affect the comparability of the upland and lowland samples, since the rugged terrain and thick vegetation in areas above 100 meters substantially decreased our chances of finding surface traces of these sites.

21. Exchange partnerships of lowlanders with tribal swiddening groups of interior Negros, such as the Bukidnon and the Magahat, are likely to have involved quite different exchange contexts and trade commodities from exchange relations

with mobile Ata hunter-gatherers. Tribal agriculturalists on the upland margins of lowland complex societies in the Philippines are frequently characterized by incipient social ranking and indigenous concepts of social prestige on which lowland status symbols could be grafted directly. In contrast, the more egalitarian, small-scale, interior hunter-gatherer groups are unlikely to have placed the same social value on such goods, and exchanges may have focused almost exclusively on foodstuffs, forest products, and mundane manufactured commodities.

22. Statistical comparisons of middens from elite and nonelite residential zones within the chiefly center indicate that elite house-compounds at Tanjay focused their meat consumption largely on large domesticated animals (primarily pig and water buffalo), which are known ethnohistorically to have been the major staple of elite-sponsored competitive feasts (Junker et al. 1994:346; see discussion in Chapter 11). Despite this emphasis on domesticated animals, both elite and nonelite households in this coastal settlement incorporated a significant volume of hunted resources into their diets. However, Griffin (1984) and others have noted that both “hunter-gatherers” and “agriculturalists” in the Philippines shift situationally between economic modes, engaging at various times in agriculture, hunting, collecting, and fishing. Thus, it cannot be assumed that all of the wild animals consumed by the agriculturalist residents of Tanjay were procured through trade interactions with interior hunter-gatherers.

23. Although ethnographic research on the Tasaday “foragers” of Mindanao has been controversial, Robert Fox’s (1973) observation of stone flakes being used to manufacture a bamboo knife are consistent with J. Peter White’s ethnoarchaeological work in New Guinea, which showed that both retouched and unretouched flakes are effective tools for manufacturing wooden technologies (White and Thomas 1972). With regard to plant processing, several core and flake assemblages from sites in the Philippines and Indonesia have yielded blades or flakes with silica gloss or sheen indicative of processing wild grasses, bamboo, domesticated grains, or other plants (Bellwood 1978:263; W. Peterson 1974:207; Thiel 1980:44).

## CHAPTER 9: *The Evolution of Craft Specialization*

1. Ethnoarchaeological studies of contemporary earthenware pottery production (e.g., Chiong 1975; Graves 1981; Longacre and Skibo 1994; Solheim 1954) coupled with technological analyses of archaeological ceramic collections (e.g., Junker 1990a; Mascuñana 1987; Solheim 1964) indicate that Philippine potters have traditionally used simple hand-forming, coiling, and paddle-and-anvil shaping techniques rather than pottery wheels. Pottery kilns are a very recent innovation; the traditional open firing technique gives poor control of oxygen flow in the firing process and is done at relatively low temperatures. Most archaeologically known earthenware is composed of relatively low quality clay with a large quantity of natural impurities and poorly sorted sand tempers. Not surprisingly, even the most elaborate earthenware intended as household status goods is relatively coarse and friable.

2. The Santiago Phase decorated sherds were primarily derived from gray vessels of unknown morphology with punctate decoration and incised lines on the shoulder and appliqué handles.

3. One common Osmena Phase ware is a red, medium-textured ware, consisting

primarily of jars and shallow bowls decorated along the shoulder and rim with carved geometric designs, incised lines, linear punctations, stamped florets and open circles, fingernail impressions, and appliqué ridges, used alone or in varying combinations. Another elaborately manufactured ware dated to the Osmena Phase comprises extremely thin-walled, well-fired, buff-colored bowls coated with a highly burnished red slip.

4. Stylistic observations support the identification of some decorated wares as external imports: for example, carved paddle-marked pottery from the Osmena Phase deposits strongly resemble Thai-manufactured wares of this period; the distinctive red-slipped ware is similar to ceramics excavated at the major prehispanic center of Cebu (Hutterer 1973a; Nishimura 1992); and some of the stamped floret and incised patterns on the Osmena Phase earthenware are virtually identical to those found on pieces recovered by Alexander Spoehr (1973) at protohistoric sites in southwestern Mindanao. However, the results from petrographic analysis of the most common Osmena Phase decorated wares (red wares with stamped florets, incised lines, and carved geometric indentations) suggest that the raw materials used in their manufacture were obtained locally and similar to the clays and tempers found in plain earthenware of the same period at Tanjay. The undecorated “Tanjay Red Ware,” which makes up more than 60 percent of the total earthenware assemblage at Tanjay and comprises the bulk of the ceramic assemblage at most of the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Bais-Tanjay Region lowland settlements, is extremely homogeneous in terms of both morphology and temper/clay composition. As outlined in the discussion of utilitarian good production below, this relatively high degree of standardization supports the conclusion that this ubiquitous red earthenware is being produced centrally and in large volume at the coastal polity center of Tanjay. Of interest here, however, is the compositional if not technical similarity between the more finely made decorated red ware and undecorated household ceramics at fifteenth-to-sixteenth-century Tanjay. This similarity would suggest that at least some local production of decorated earthenware was taking place in the Osmena Phase and possibly earlier at Tanjay.

## CHAPTER 10: *Alliance and Prestige Goods Exchange*

1. In fact, there is earlier historical evidence for elite alliances through marriage in the mid-fourteenth-century writings of Chinese historian Wang Ta-yüan. Wang refers to culturally proscribed marriages of elite women to chiefs or others of high rank in the Philippine chiefdom known as Ma-li-lu presumably to cement political alliances (Zaide, ed., 1990, 1:11; see Chapter 4 for the political history of Ma-li-lu polity).

2. Intermarriage between Sulu and Brunei nobility in the early sixteenth century did not ensure peaceful relations between the two polities, however. The Brunei sultan attacked Jolo (the Sulu capital) with a reported five hundred ships during the course of his marriage to the Sulu sultan's daughter. The Sulu sultan, overrun by the Brunei naval forces, was kidnaped along with two of his sons and eventually ransomed for a large quantity of Sulu pearls (see Pigafetta 1521b:164).

3. Similarly, strategic multiple marriages consolidated alliances between the Sulu sultan and subordinate chiefs. Saleeby's (1905) detailed genealogies for the seven-



teenth- to early-twentieth-century Sulu sultanate can be used to trace these changing alliance networks.

4. Miguel de Loarca provides an earlier and more concise account of marriage negotiations and bridewealth payments that is consistent with that of Alcina:

When any man wishes to marry, he, since the man always asks the woman, calls in certain *timaguas* [noblemen or freemen] who are respected in the village. The chiefs, then, I say, send as go-between some of their *timaguas*, to negotiate the marriage. One of these men takes the young man's lance from his father, and when he reaches the house of the girl's father he thrusts the spear into the staircase of the house; and while he holds the lance thus, they invoke their gods and ancestors, requesting them to be propitious to this marriage. If the marriage takes place, the lance belongs to the go-between, or it is redeemed.

After the marriage is agreed upon—that is to say, after fixing the amount of the dowry which the husband pays to the wife (which among the chiefs of these islands is generally the sum of one hundred *taels*, in gold, slaves, and jewels, and is equivalent to one hundred pesos)—they go to bring the bride from the house of her parents.

(1582c:283–284)

5. While some Spanish texts suggest that a formalized return prestation of valuables from the bride's family was expected to cement the marriage negotiations, this return gift was described as a token exchange that was considerably smaller than the bridewealth payments.

6. Bukidnon *datu* Dinawat Ogil's first wife, a *datu's* daughter, cost his father the sum of two horses, a carabao, six bronze gongs, and a large quantity of expensive cloth; for his second wife (also from a high-status family), he was able to increase the number of carabao and bronze gongs and to add a number of other valuable manufactured goods (Claver 1985:77).

7. As noted in Chapter 2, one of the primary reasons for a lack of regional settlement archaeology in studies of contact period Philippine chiefdoms is that many of the chiefly centers (e.g., Cebu, Manila, Cotabato, Jolo) and their surrounding hinterlands are large urban centers today and systematic survey is not possible. Archaeologists perhaps need to focus on smaller-scale prehispanic polities like Tanjay in rural or only semiurbanized contemporary settings.

8. For a more detailed description of logistical regression analysis and other statistical methods carried out on the regional artifact distribution data from the Bais-Tanjay Region, see Junker 1990a and 1990b.

## CHAPTER 11: *Competitive Feasting*

1. The events involving ritual feasting were so frequent that the Spaniard Governor Guido de Lavezaris complained to King Philip II in 1574 that the Visayans “are so lazy that they would not go four leagues out of their villages to buy rice, but spend their time in drunkenness, idolatries and feastings” (in Zaide, ed., 1990, 2:174).

2. This emphasis on supernatural vitality imbued by sacrificial rites is illustrated in William Henry Scott's description of a ritual feast held by a prominent family in Cebu in the sixteenth century to heal one of their sick relatives:

The site was adorned with green branches, palm-leaf cloths, and colorful blankets; and the offerings—red blossoms, roasted fish, rice and millet cakes wrapped in leaves, and a piece of imported Cambay cloth—were set out on large [porcelain] plates. A live large hog, raised and fattened for this end, lay bound on a grass mat, and cacophonous music was provided by gongs, drums and resonant porcelain plates. The *babaylan* was an old woman wearing a headdress topped by a pair of horns and accompanied by a second medium, both of them carrying bamboo trumpets which they either played or spoke through. They both proceeded to dance around the hog with scarves in their hand, acting out a dialogue with the spirits possessing them, drinking wine on their behalf, and sprinkling some of it on the hog. Finally, a spear was given the presiding *babaylan*, and with it she began a series of feints at the hog as the tempo of her movements increased to a frenzy, and then, with a sudden thrust, ran the victim through the heart with unerring aim. The foreheads of the main beneficiaries of the ceremony were marked with the blood of the victim, whose wounds were then stanching; and the mat that had been bloodied during the sacrifice was carefully burned. The *babaylan* was then divested of her accoutrements and awakened from her trance, while the hog was singed, butchered, and cooked. The feasting then began, everybody receiving a share, though the flesh touched by the spear was reserved for the *babaylan*.

(1994:85)

In this case, the *babaylan* summoned the malevolent spirit that had captured the soul of the sick individual and expelled it from the body, at the same time providing “vitality” and sustenance to the feast's sponsor and guests through consumption of the sacrificial meat.

3. Ritual feasts are a primary (but not exclusive) context within which a cyclical series of reciprocal exchanges of food and valuables take place between individuals enmeshed in a web of obligation involving alternating credit and debt. Commonly, wife-giving or wife-receiving affines, agnates, fellow villagers, and distant individuals not related by kinship but with whom strategic alliances are desirable become the exchange partners who make the ceremonial donations and repayments necessary to host a ritual feast.

4. Similarly, Beatty suggests that feast sponsorship is one of the key elements (along with descent, prowess in warfare, and concentration of resources through widespread tributary networks) in consolidating rank and prestige amongst the Nias chiefdoms of western Sumatra: “Prestige is attained and maintained through lavish feast-giving. The scale of the feasts—the number of pigs killed, the amount of gold given away, the size of the *urakha* payments [i.e., return payments of meat or resources associated with attending feasts of others], the number of guests—wins acclaim and creates indebtedness amongst the guests, which translates directly into influence” (1991:229).

5. Human sacrifice (but not consumption) is reported ethnohistorically in association with ritual feasting in some Philippine complex societies (Blair and Robertson

1903–1909, 16:262, 18:209, 21:203–206; Cole 1913:111–120; 1956:84–86, Manuel 1971:185–189; Pérez 1680:116). The sacrificed individual was typically described as a “slave” (San Antonio 1738:314) and generally a “foreigner” captured in warfare (Pérez 1680:116; Cole 1913:113), that is, someone from outside the community. Cole’s detailed description of a human sacrifice that took place in 1907 among the Bagabo chiefdoms of Mindanao suggests that death ritual and mortuary feasts were an important context in which these sacrifices occurred (1913:111–120). Traditional mourning rites in a number of contact period Philippine lowland societies including the Bagabo require a series of sacrificial offerings over a protracted period after death to ensure that the spirit of the deceased will cease wandering on the earth and find a final resting place in the hereafter. The human sacrifice recorded by Cole involved the killing of a “decrepit” foreign slave, and a significant number of different kin groups had “purchased” a portion of the sacrificial victim to complete the death rites for their deceased relatives. Human sacrifice was viewed among the Bagabo and other groups as the ultimate means of warding off the actions of malevolent spirits. However, they were “expensive” sacrifices, since they involved the capture of foreign slaves through raiding activities and thus were a relatively rare event. In Chapter 12, I relate the availability of human sacrificial victims to the intensification of warfare in Philippine chiefdoms, suggesting that expanded interpolity raiding in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries may have led to an upsurge in human sacrificial rites.

6. The sponsor’s provisioning of prodigious amounts of alcoholic beverages (rice wine or fermented fruit wine) and intoxication of the participants were also important measures of a feast’s success. As described in Francisco Alcina’s *relación*: “They make greater provision for this [drink] than for food, and so in their manner of speaking when they are arranging their feasts, they do not say, “we will eat”, but “we will drink.” The feasts where the most is drunk and many become drunk, as we have already said, is the most celebrated and has the most honor for him who gives it. In this they made their greatest reputation in ancient times saying that, in the house of so-and-so, fifty or a hundred or more became drunk. He who caused the most to become drunk was the greatest *datu* and the most celebrated among them” (1688b:136).

7. Chiefly sponsors at Marquesan feasts served the attending elite on a series of graded banquet platforms that reflected the social hierarchy (Goldman 1970:501–502, 504, 508; Thomas 1990:97). As in Nias and Sulawesi feasts, guests at Marquesan feasts were either vaunted or humbled as their names were called out loudly to call public attention to their food allotments and hence their ranking within the feasting hierarchy (Thomas 1990:95).

8. Dietler (1989, 1990) has explicitly tied the status value of feasting assemblages to expanding foreign trade for drinking paraphernalia. He has pointed out that a high proportion of the ceramic and bronze vessels imported into Iron Age chiefly centers in western Europe through trade contacts with the Greeks, Etruscans, and other Mediterranean states have forms associated with serving and drinking wine. Bronze cauldrons for mixing wine, bronze wine pitchers, ceramic drinking cups, and ceramic amphoras that were the primary vessels for transporting and storing wines are the primary foreign components of grave furnishings in elite tumuli at Iron Age chiefly centers along the Rhone, Danube, and Seine rivers. Dietler suggests that Iron Age chiefs may have vied for access to foreign wines and

elaborate drinking paraphernalia as prestige-enhancing ingredients for elite feasting activities.

9. The sampling strategies and quantitative approaches used in the zooarchaeological analyses of the Tanjay faunal remains are discussed in some detail in Schwaller 1990 and Junker, Mudar, and Schwaller 1994. One of the major issues with this faunal material is the lack of systematic sampling of household middens. Faunal material from the 1981 excavations at Tanjay were not collected with areal comparisons in mind, but instead focused on investigating changes in faunal use over time. Statistical studies used Number of identified specimens per taxon, minimum number of individuals, and weights by species. The reader is referred to Junker et al. 1994 for a review of methodological issues associated with these various quantitative measures.

## CHAPTER 12: *Raiding and Militarism as a Competitive Strategy*

1. Alternatively, if the larger-scale and economically favored polity had absorbed enough captured labor to begin a decline in labor value, then the smaller-scale polity that was the original source of the enslaved would have the option of “ransoming” more valuable individuals (particularly members of the local elite) and transferring them back to the original polity (see the discussion of slave ransoming in Chapter 5), since the cost in ransom payments would be lower than that individual’s labor productivity.

2. In addition to perpetual pirate attacks against trade ships heading for rival ports, large-scale maritime military campaigns in island Southeast Asia were often initiated by rulers against neighboring polities as a direct result of foreign trade rivalries. Historians have suggested that the large-scale Javanese attack on the bustling trade entrepôt of Melaka in 1512, which paved the way for Portuguese colonization, was an aggressive move to seize the spice trade monopoly away from the Malay state (Manguin 1993:202).

3. Scott suggests that the Spaniards may not have fully realized the economic importance of piracy in the mid–sixteenth century, as reflected in their puzzlement over the inexplicable annexation of a small, barren island off the coast of Leyte by the powerful mid-sixteenth-century Butuan ruler Rajah Awe, who claimed to use it as a “hunting” locale for the chief and his relatives (1994:151). However, the strategic position of the resource-poor island with respect to trading routes between the Pacific coast and Visayan trade centers at Butuan and Cebu suggests that the island served as a staging ground for pirate attacks on trade vessels bound northwestward toward Cebu rather than southward toward Butuan.

4. Philippine maritime marauders are reported as attacking coastal ports and ships outside the archipelago and even allying themselves with foreign rulers as a mercenary naval force. In the sixteenth century, some Philippine warriors/traders that are likely to have been Tagalog speakers from Luzon are reported to have contracted themselves out as mercenaries to the rulers of maritime-trading polities in the Malacca Straits region (Reid 1993a:13).

5. The Spanish chronicler Antonio Morga suggests a more direct relationship between warrior status and prowess in procuring heads: “They show great dexterity when they go after their opponent. Grabbing him by the hair with one hand, they

cut off his head with the other with one stroke of their *balarao* [metal sword] . . . and carry it off since they keep them hanging in their houses afterwards where they can be seen; of these they make a display so they will be taken as braves and avengers of their enemies and their injuries” (1609a:175).

6. Similar associations between interdistrict conflict and mortuary ritual are reported by Cole for the Bukidnon, who terminated the mourning process for a deceased individual with a raid on a village with which they had an ongoing feud, removing an arm rather than the head of a victim for use in death ceremonies (again involving public display of the enemy trophy and possible inclusion in the burial) (1956:84–86).

7. In one Visayan tale, a gigantic and powerful warrior on Samar named Pusong, who had earned a great reputation as a *magabat* (raider) by capturing and killing a phenomenal number of enemies, was himself finally slain through trickery (1668b: 167–169). However, his death was memorialized by a magical hand that etched his image into the rock where he fell, a rock carving that Alcina claimed to have seen on Samar.

8. Similarly, the traditional epic hero of Manuvu tales of raiding exploits recounted by Manuel has filed and brilliantly gold-pegged teeth, so many gold rings on his fingers that it seems as if “they were dipped in sea foam” (1958:328), blood-red trousers, and an intricately woven *monsala* (kerchief worn over the shoulders or wrapped around the head).

9. As noted by Reid, this belief that ritually donned, magic-imbued talismans and clothing can make a warrior invulnerable is a notion that is widespread in traditional Malay societies (1988:125–127).

10. Alcina reports the claim that the Cebu paramount, at the time of initial Spanish contact, could summon an armed force in the thousands at the sound of an *agong* (bronze bell) (1688b:10).

11. “Bingi” was not a chiefly center or other geographic locale, but referred to Samar *datu* Karagrag’s wife, a legendary beauty who had captured the attention of Datu Dumaraug of Albay. Datu Dumaraug, according to this tale, launched an enormous fighting force of one hundred ships to attempt to seize Bingi for himself. Although Datu Karagrag’s forces were woefully outnumbered, the tale ends with Bingi averting the attack and escaping seizure by courageously taunting the Albay chief and expressing her loyalty to her husband (Alcina 1688b:20–23). Father Alcina compared Bingi to the classical Homer’s “Helen of Troy.”

12. While hunting spearheads were generally manufactured of bamboo, those for fighting were bronze and were also personalized through lavish decoration on the shaft that marked the status of the warrior: “[Some spears] had elegant round or framelike inlays of brass, copper, or silver, and could be valued at one slave” (Scott 1994:149). Both spearheads and sword edges were frequently smeared with poisons to increase their effectiveness in disabling enemies (Relation of the Conquest 1572:95).

13. Scott provides a rare illustration of the only known surviving Filipino *lantaka* (swivel gun) from the Manila conquest, which now resides in the Museu Militar in Lisbon (1994:235).

14. Scott cites a 1544 manuscript by García Descalante reporting on native claims that many of the interior Mindanao settlements were populated by peoples who had fled inland from massive coastal raiding campaigns along the western and northern littoral of the island in the early sixteenth century (1994:155).

15. The ditch-and-stockade fortifications at Tanjay were excavated over a distance of only fifteen meters within a linear trench excavated at the site in 1986, but portions of the fortifications were followed in test pits along the eastern edge of the settlement to the north and south. We do not know if the fortifications extended around the entire perimeter of the settlement or whether they only impeded access from the sea.

16. The National Museum has several radiocarbon date determinations in progress that should clarify the chronological relationships between the stone fortified sites in the Batanes archipelago.

17. Interestingly, the traditional Tagalog name for two nearby cemeteries that were only test-pitted by Fox is "*pinagpatayan*," translated as "massacre." However, Fox suggests that this name may not be as ancient as some contemporary inhabitants believe and that it may be a recent interpretation of skeletal material unearthed through modern agricultural activities (1959:333). Fox notes that uncited Spanish documents dated to 1570 refer to significant conflict in what is now western Batangas with inhabitants of Balayan farther east along Balayan Bay and towns on the Calatagan Peninsula (p. 348).

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