

SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS OF THE TINGLAYAN IGOROT

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Daniel K. Folkmar was an American anthropologist who came to the Philippines early in the twentieth century to work for the Ethnological Survey of the Philippine Islands. He served as third Lieutenant-Governor of Bontoc in 1903-1905, leaving that office rather precipitously after one of his American constabulary officers ill-advisedly led a punitive expedition against one village with a contingent of their enemy warriors from another. He later served as an anthropologist for the Bureau of Immigration in the United States.

The results of the great ethnological surveys of the Cordillera peoples completed between 1905 and 1910 were not available in Folkmar's day, and his jurisdiction included a large part of what is today the sub-province of Kalinga. Folkmar recognized that these people were significantly different from the central Bontocs, and the present paper was his report to the Survey of his observations of this fact. He defined the Tinglayan¹ culture area as the present municipal districts of Tinglayan, Tanudan, Lubuagan and Balbalan, the first three of which constitute what Dr. Edward P. Dozier calls "Southern Kalinga."

Since Folkmar spent only a short time in the Tinglayan area and was dependent upon non-Tinglayan interpreters, it was inevitable that some errors were included in his paper. Most of these are of little consequence but one or two are significant enough to warrant correction. Such corrections are included in footnotes to the present paper, and are based on data collected during personal visits to Tinglayan and neighboring villages between 1954 and the present, and particularly on a discussion of the Folkmar paper on Sept. 8, 1962, in Tinglayan

with Mayor Francisco Paltug, Mr. Eusebio Boliyat, Lacay Aggod, Lacay Dantug and Lacay Tiggangay. The spelling of place-names has been modernized throughout, and annotations in three different hands in the manuscript from which the Editor worked have been omitted.

The Editor is indebted to Dr. Fred Eggan of the University of Chicago for a typescript copy of this paper, and to Dr. H. Otley Beyer for clarification of some typographical points and for information on Folkmar's career.

W. H. Scott

The Tinglayan culture area is one of the least known portions of the little-studied ethnological field of northern Luzon. Of late, interest is turning in this direction, especially toward the Igorot. . .

The Tinglayan area has been entered by but few travelers. It is situated . . . near the center of the widest part of Luzon and is the most remote point reached from the west coast, far over the rugged *Cordillera Central*. At the time of the writer's visits, there were barrios into which the natives said no white man had entered — as that, for instance, of Dalupa.² The large pueblo of Balinciagao comprising six scattered villages, had never been visited by Americans and seemed unknown to the provincial government. The Tinglayan area had probably not been entered on an average more than once a year by American officials. It was in this safe hiding place, at the town of Lubuagan, that Aguinaldo found for many months a refuge. American troops were searching on either side of the district, north and

south, but they did not find him. No native soldiers or other representatives of the provincial government were stationed within the area until after the visits of the present writer. No Iloko or other Christian Filipino dared live there.

Fray Angel Perez (1904) says that the creation of the *Comandancias* of Benguet and Lepanto "set foot in the last entrenchments of savagery, and later, that of Bontok pierced it to the heart." But here was still a spot where the heart of savagery beat courageously.

Distinguishing Marks of Tinglayan Culture

The chief peculiarity which distinguishes this area from others from the point of view of culture is the absence of what are called the *ato*, the *at-ato*, and the *papatayan*, and the *olag* and, with the first named, the absence of councils within subdivisions of the town, and, therefore, a relatively small number of *capitanes* in the town government. It is sufficient for the present purpose to define the *ato* as a section of the town having in its center a "tribunal," the public building of the *ato*, usually with an open court in front of it, paved and surrounded with a circle of stones, where the council of old men meets. In this building the men generally and the boys always sleep. There are seventeen *ato* in the town of Bontok. The *at-ato* is a similar circle or row of stones where spirits or *anitos* are supposed to meet. The *papatayan* is a sacred tree or clump where certain *cañaos* (animal sacrifices) are celebrated. Bontok has three *papatayans*,³ called the "man," the "woman," and the "children." The *olag* is best known as the sleeping house for all the older girls and unmarried women. In it "trial marriage" or considerable other sexual license is found.

With the presence or absence of these institutions go many and important differences in the beliefs and practices of the two regions — Tinglayan and Bontok — of course, there is still more difference between the Tinglayan Igorot people and the contiguous Kalinga people to

the east and the Tinggian people north and west.

Boundary of Tinglayan Culture Area

As thus characterized, the Tinglayan culture area comprises the following towns . . . beginning just south of the Kalinga town of Naneng and following up the Chico River: Legleg (a barrio of Tanglag), Tanglag, Mabontot, Bangad (with two barrios), Tinglayan, Basao, and Bugnay (an offshoot of Botbot). Following up the Tabia River⁴ from Naneng, one passes Potao, a barrio of Dangla, and Dangla with its two other barrios, Ableg and Dalupa. Thence come the two pueblos, Balinciagao and Guinaang, the first with six barrios, including Magsilay on the mountain slope toward the Tinggian town of Salegseg; the second, farther up the river, with a dozen barrios surrounding it, including Pogong. Both these towns seemed too much like Tinggian towns to be given much attention in this study. On the southern exposure of the low central mountain spur lying between the Chico and Tabia Rivers are Lubuangan, between Mabontot and Guinaang, with several barrios; Sumadel, with two barrios; Dananao, with one barrio; Tulgao, Botbot, on the old trail from the river at Tinglayan, and still farther on, Locog, an offshoot of Botbot but now with a separate government. These towns nearly all lack in the peculiar social institutions of the Bontok culture area. On the border of the two areas, however, certain of those institutions appear, as will be mentioned later.

The Environment

The Tinglayan culture area lies in 17°30' north latitude and 121°10' east longitude, on the southwestern border of Cagayan Province, the northeastern province of Luzon. It occupies nearly the central one-third of Bontok Sub-Province. Most of its towns lie in the valleys of the Chico de Cagayan River and its northern branch, the Tabia, converging toward the north-east. The greatest length of the area is about twenty miles. Its southernmost towns lie within

the limits of the old Spanish *comandancia* of Bontok. The rest are in the portion recently annexed to Bontok Sub-Province from Abra Province. The whole district shows the influence of contact with Abra and perhaps with Cagayan more than with Bontok. From most of the towns no resident had ever reached Bontok until this year, 1904. Neither can the people have had much intercourse with other surrounding populations. . .

The narrowness of the valleys and the dryness of certain months determine the agricultural system of rice terraces . . . or *sementeras*, for which the Igorot is famous. Usually there is no strip of level land along the river. Where *sementeras* are possible on the steep side of the valley, they are levelled down to a rod or sometimes only half a rod in width. The supporting wall of stone is at times as high as the *sementera* is wide. The largest plot of level valley in this region is perhaps one-fourth of a mile wide and one-half of a mile long. The terraces are supplied with water by ditches from the river or from tributary streams. Sometimes dams are constructed, especially in the smallest streams, and larger canals as much as a mile or two in length run high along the mountain sides. There are real feats in engineering, such as carrying water in flumes around cliffs, or in wooden aqueducts across streams. Much of the gently sloping central ridge cannot be supplied with water but is available for sweet potatoes in the rainy season and even a variety of rice which is not found at Bontok. . .

The chief agricultural crops of the Tinglayan area are those already mentioned, rice and sweet potatoes. There is also plenty of sugarcane for home consumption but it is used mainly for making the native fermented drink, *basi*. Considerable tobacco is raised; it is the only crop worth speaking of sold outside the district, but by no means such a business is made of it as by the Christianized Cagayan people farther down. A fair amount of maize is raised, a variety resembling "Yankee corn," but also suitable for popping. Coffee is no doubt one of the most valuable crops that could be raised here for distant markets, but the natives seem quite ignorant of it. A number of varieties

of vegetables more or less like those of America were found. Different kinds of beans and peas grow everywhere, some peculiar to the Philippines, as the pea that grows on a shrub. Squashes and eggplants were seen, also the native taro (*gabe*). There are no "Irish" potatoes as there are west of Bontok. The banana is plentiful. So far as the writer could determine, nothing is known of cacao.

With the exception of ducks, there is less game in the region than in Lepanto or even about the town of Bontok. Ducks, on the other hand, are less plentiful than in Cagayan Province. The common wild chickens of the Philippines, resembling our domestic fowls, are found . . .

The native mental ability is rather higher than one would expect to find in people of their social condition. Of course, as they are unaffected by schooling, their judgment shows to poor advantage on some subjects that are simple to us; but on subjects familiar to him, the Igorot can reason well enough to give us at times considerable trouble. He has a good sense of humor and a rather happy disposition. The worst moral faults, as will be noted farther on, are his inveterate lying, his cruelty, and his comparative laziness. His best virtues center about his sense of civic solidarity. With the absence of the Bontok *olag*, there is less sexual freedom among the unmarried in Tinglayan than in Bontok.

The towns also have the general appearance of other Igorot towns in Bontok Sub-Province — a close group of houses with rice fields lying about them. The larger town, which gives the name to a pueblo, has usually from 100 to 200 houses; the barrios usually have from 20 to 40 each. The latter sometimes lie at a distance of one, two, or three miles from the central town. The houses, as well as the social institutions, are uniformly different in the Tinglayan area from those in the upper districts. The houses are entirely enclosed, not open around the sides as at Bontok; and the people do not live on the ground but on a floor breast high. Neither is there a pit for the pig joining the house as in the Bontok area to the west. The rice is beaten out in the entrance way, the mortar being placed

on the ground. The better houses are built of planks; others are of lighter materials. The house often has little besides bamboo and the grass thatching in its construction — woven bamboo for its sides and parallel half-inch strips lying loosely for the floor. No nails are used. Logs for firewood are often piled against the walls, giving the appearance of a log house built without mortar. . . The people sleep on mats on the floor instead of in a tight box as at Bontok. The cooking and all other household operations are carried on in the one room. . .

General View of Institutions

If we put into a paragraph a general view of the social institutions which are detailed in the following pages, especially those which are most characteristic, we must begin with head-hunting and note that it is grounded not only in a desire for vengeance but also in the superstitions or religion of the people and even in their economic motive; they believe heads are necessary for a good crop. The next thing for which they and the adjacent Igorots are famous is their *cañaos*, or feasts. Their religious and governmental systems are less complex than at Bontok. With a small number of councilors in a village, the president has more autocratic power. His ancient counterpart appears to be the *am-ama manlilintog* ("the old-man-who-gives-the-law"). The family life is comparatively pure; the marriage and burial ceremonies are similar to those of Bontok. Industry and trade are restricted by the distant and inaccessible position of the district. Generally speaking, the Tinglayan region seems a little more ready for our civilization than the Bontok towns; that is, there is less elaborate system of institutions, beliefs, and practices to be modified. The writer is not sure why this is so; it would seem that the Tinglayan must be the more primitive culture, the less modified by Caucasian influence.

Political Institutions

An effort must now be made to express in general terms what has been learned about

Igorot government from their own explanations and from observations made in the Tinglayan area. That which is most obvious, the institution of president, which the traveler meets immediately upon entering the town, is, no doubt, more or less a transitional form. But it is of value to study as a transition and adaptation to the present stage of development politically; and we may perhaps discover older elements in it.

The Modern President and Teniente Mayor

All pueblos have a president and a *teniente mayor*. The latter (head lieutenant) is a sort of vice president who is chosen to assist and generally to succeed the president. He seems in some cases to stand almost in the relation of an adopted son to the latter. This bond of affection is particularly noticeable in the case of Agpad⁵. His young lieutenant not only wished to accompany him on his long trips with us, but they were often to be seen in personal contact. They would curl up to sleep together at night. The *teniente mayor* had apparently been chosen solely at the wish of Agpad, although it is safe to say that the tacit consent of others was an element in the choice. He was admittedly in a state of training for the presidency, lasting in his case for several years.

On being told that the office of president often descends from father to son or to nephew, one is tempted to think that he has found something like kingly succession and rule rather than democratic selection; and there are other things that bear out the impression of an autocratic and absolute form of government. But it is in reality more like an oligarchy, the rule of certain leading families. This characteristic of the president's office is probably only borrowed from the older office of "the old-man-who-gives-the-law," to be presently described. The Tinggian people on the northwestern border of this region, namely, at the village of Balbalasang, who have, no doubt, exercised an influence on the region, show this fact in still clearer relief. The present youth,

who is the descendant of the former rulers of the upper Saltan and who is obeyed as the representative of the ruling families, is not and would not be president. He prefers to be the one who makes presidents. It is something, also, like the rule of the "rich men" behind the presidents in pueblos of the Bontok region. They, too, make presidents, who are often only their puppets.

In the Tinggian region, farther removed from the visits of the white man, the presidency would seem more often to have fallen into the hands of the natural rulers. Some of them, like the mature and wise president of Locong, piously aspire to become lawgivers, a position which they of course regard as higher than, and beyond, the presidency. Such men may have become president because they are the ablest to rule as are he and Agpad, who are the wisest councilors through native ability and through unusual acquaintance with the white man and his purposes; or, perhaps, because they are the most daring and the best fitted for warlike forays; or again it may be because they have the sharpest wits, like the vice president of Basao, a natural lawyer and trickster; or one may become president because he is simply a picturesque figure, like the president of Dangla, with his brilliant uniform of a captain of the insurgents; or, finally, because of solid good sense and trading proclivities, as the president of Tanglag. Agpad of Tinglayan is all of the foregoing.

It is significant that both of the most intelligent presidents, those of Locong and Tinglayan, insist that the first presidents were appointed only about fifty years ago.⁶ But they were not really "president," they said, of which there were none before the American rule; but, whether called *gobnadorcillos*, or some other title, they were no doubt the equivalent of presidents. In fact, Agpad said at other times that he had been president for ten years, thus carrying back his office into Spanish and insurgent days.

The present duties of president or vice president, which are the most obvious to the traveler, also seem to indicate the recent origin of the office. He has, in general, to represent his

pueblo before the provincial government. This amounts in most cases merely to providing the official traveler with carriers and food and also, since the establishment of a constabulary post in the district this year, to be responsible for receiving and complying with the request of the authorities for lumber, rice, and other necessary supplies, and to furnish workmen for building the roads. This is no longer in the nature of an unpaid contribution, as was the case when the Spaniards were in control, but is now paid for. This has become an especially public and important function.

How Appointed

The president and vice president are the only two officers of a pueblo that the provincial government recognizes by title. In a vague way the "old men" or *capitanes* (more properly so called in the Bontok region) are supposed to have a voice in community affairs, especially in the appointment of the two officers just named. Although the law gives the lieutenant governor absolute power over municipal affairs including appointments, it is the present practice, and probably has generally so been, merely to confirm the choice made by the pueblo. As is evidenced above, the choice in the Tinglayan area seems to be usually made by the outgoing officials, although controlled and confirmed, no doubt, by the lawgiver soon to be described and by other elders of the influential families. In a measure, their action corresponds to that of the councilors of the Bontok region. In a formal way, the governor may ask whether all the people wish the new man for president; but in reality "all the people" have nothing to do but tacitly to consent to the action of their leaders. The term of services is usually one or two years. Men with a genius for the work, however, like Agpad or the president of Locong, have been continued by governor after governor to the great satisfaction of the people. Changes in the office have usually been made only upon the occasion of the infrequent visits of the governor and especially upon the arrival of a new

governor.

What has been said especially applies to the pueblos in the Chico Valley. There, as along the upper Chico toward Bontok and Sagada, the pueblos are well defined political unities. They seldom have outlying barrios — never more than one or two. Along the Tabia, however, the limit of jurisdiction becomes more indefinite, as it does also in the neighboring Tinggian region. There, the barrios being more numerous and scattered, some may be more independent. A barrio may have a *teniente segundo* of its own and be transferred from the jurisdiction of one pueblo to that of another, as in the case of Ableg. Or a *teniente mayor* may be given it in exchange for its president at its own request, thus joining it to another pueblo, as in the case of Pogong. The barrios seem always to recognize themselves as offshoots of a parent pueblo which usually determines their political connection. In time, no doubt, towns of common origin have forgotten their closeness of ties and have made reprisals upon one another in the good old Igorot style. It must be remembered that enmity is the natural condition that exists between the Igorot pueblos of this sub-province, although one pueblo generally refrains from taking heads in the pueblo next to it. This, of course, has prevented the forming of any confederacy or any political unit larger than the pueblo. This condition made it unnecessary in aboriginal Igorot policy to have a president or other officer to represent his people in extra-pueblo affairs except in the case of war, and as we shall see, other provision was made for this. The functions of the president, therefore, were forced upon the Igorot community from without by the coming of the white man's government.

Let us turn now to an office of greater antiquity and one more deeply rooted in the Igorot civic consciousness.

*"The-Old-Man-Who-Gives-the-Law?"*⁷

It is instructive to see a president like Agpad, of great native ability and force of character,

with all the prestige that he acquires from the reflected power of the provincial government, absolutely defer in his own pueblo to an old man who holds an office without a name. To the Igorot mind, the president is vested with none of the inherent and compelling authority that their superstition credits to the old man to whom the president comes for instruction and without whose consent he fears to act in any matter of importance.

The real head of the aboriginal Tinglayan community can be designated only by a phrase. He is the *am-ama manlilintog*, which phrase being literally translated means "the-old-man-who-gives-the-law." This apparently means that he directs in all the political affairs of the community. He is also called *am-ama mangitudtuchu*, that is, "the-old-man-who-gives-instruction;" but this instruction applies to little else than political matters. In these pages he will be called the "lawgiver." He is clearly the representative of the legal profession in the community; the other learned professions of theology and medicine being represented by distinct individuals upon whose authority he cannot encroach. The same man is, however, sometimes both lawgiver and priest, as at Basao, Botbot and Sumadel. The lawgiver stands for the political wisdom of the community. The function of teaching, of giving counsel in public affairs to those who need it, is so characteristic of his office that the enquirer may at first think he has stumbled upon an educational rather than a political office. But in reality he, with perhaps one or two elders as associates, appears to have filled all governmental functions, being executive, legislature, and judge in one. He is the interpreter of omens. It is he who determines the right time for a head-hunting raid by the cries of the *idaw*, a bird they hold in superstitious awe; who turns back the expedition if a snake (*owug*), or a rat, or an eagle (*keling*) crosses the path. It is he who can read the tale of future success or failure by watching the flies that cover his hand when smeared with the gore of the pig sacrifice for the *cañao*. It is he, in short, who instructs the community in all matters of the highest

importance excepting religious observances. He even corrects the president when the latter acts unwisely, and he often, if not always, instructs him in the duties of his office when he is first appointed. This relation was clearly seen to exist between Agpad, the strongest president of the region, and Olmun, the "old-man-who-gives-the-law," both of whom live at Tinglayan. It is noticeable that at feasts and on other public occasions he takes precedence of the president and ex-presidents, that is, of all other municipal officials.

The *lintog*, or law, which he lays down is the final word in administration as it is in legislation and in *res adjudicata*. It covers not only what we would call the customary law, but it covers the dicta enunciated for the first time, which thus become law. It embraces the denunciation of that which is immoral rather than illegal, such as loose conduct among the unmarried. It covers instructions in the duty of taking heads and other relation of the history and the cause of the enmity. The lawgiver is also the chief authority on what we would call the religious history of the tribe but what probably seems to the mind of the Igorot, if he had words to express it, the political history of the pueblo and district — its ancient history, the myth of tradition that recounts how Bagan, the wife of the Bontok Igorot god, Lumawig, died and floated in a coffin to Tinglayan, where she came to life, married, and peopled all that region.⁸

Conditions of Eligibility

It seems to be the rule that the office of the lawgiver passes from father to son or at least remains among the members of certain ruling families, although only those wise by nature can take it up. In one place it was said that any wise man could give the law, and in Tinglayan it was even said that a youth could enter into this high function. It was noticeable, however, that it was one of the oldest men at Tinglayan who actually served in this capacity, and that the middle-aged president of a neighboring town, Locong, aspired to it when he should become older. The writer got into an embarrassing

position with a certain old man of Tinglayan because he appealed to the man for information — as he always did in Bontoc, where old men form the town councils and are the repository of wisdom. This old man, when unfortunately appealed to as one wise in the law, was taunted with derision by the boys of the town who sat around, and it was evident that he held the place of ancient fool, though but little distinguished him to the eye from the old wise men whose word was law.

The lawgiver is not elected but apparently assumes the function little by little, and others learn to defer to him. His family rank is in his favor and, as in many communities in other lands, presumption wins. He who claims superior authority is believed — but he must be shrewd. In Tinglayan at least the fool is laughed at. Like many other things in primitive society, the lawgiver is no doubt usually a survival of the fit. Superstition and perhaps something of the occult play their part in inspiring awe and gaining ascendancy; authority imposes upon credulity; the strong-willed masters the weak; wisdom overawes ignorance. But strength of will and wisdom are the chief things needful. Inquiry failed to find any woman having individual power in the law and government, although women are represented in the medical profession and in certain religious functions.

From what has been said of the lawgiver's functions in deciding head-hunts, will be better understood the claim made further on that the whole community and especially its leaders are legally accessories in these murders. . . The president always seems to have knowledge of the raid and when he is one of the younger and more enterprising men, he is often one of the principals in taking a head. The lawgiver, although he sets the hunt in motion, is generally too old to take its lead on the trail — a position which he resigns to more active men who often are brought forth by the occasion. First, certain old men go out under the lead of the lawgiver to hear the *idaw*, the omen bird. If its call is favorable, the latter spurs on the young with his shouts while he follows behind.

Not only on these great occasions but at many other times the lawgiver will carry the

day where his authority is pitted against that of a president who is more civilized or who understands better the need of obeying the white man's government. The lawgiver was once himself, no doubt, the only and supreme political head and he feels today that he merely delegates or yields his authority in minor matters to the externally appointed president.

Other Features of Government

It is evident from the foregoing that the Tinglayan Igorot, like the Bontok, "has no political organization like a nation, tribe, or clan. . . The Igorot political body is the crudest democracy; it is only the beginning of organization." (Jenks 1904). The following description (Jenks 1904) of a Bontoc pueblo, however, does not apply to Tinglayans:

There is not even a pueblo political organization. . . [The pueblo consists of] seventeen small geographical and political unities bound together by common bonds of defense, offense, and industry. Yet the several divisions, or *atos*, have no political leader or headman; each has a council of old men, but the council is also without a head.

One of the most characteristic differences between the pueblos of the Bontok culture area and those of Tinglayan is that the latter have no *atos* and therefore no government by councils. On the other hand, the Tinglayan pueblo, as a political unit, has a distinct political leader in the lawgiver; and the government is so nearly autocratic that there is hardly a council at Tinglayan besides the lawgiver, the president, and the vice president, although the first two seem to be supreme in authority. At Mabontot, it was clearly stated that there was no council; but that three men alone constituted the government, namely, the president, the vice president, and messenger or "official" corresponding to the "*justicia*" is the lawgiver also. They also have at Mabontot a word for something like a mass meeting; it is *in-oolog*.⁹ The government may be called there also "the crudest democracy" but with aristocratic features and an autocratic authority that savors of monarchism.

No doubt the public consent is a weighty consideration and is secured at least tacitly in making appointments to officers in the pueblo in other public affairs of importance. Yet birth is regarded, as has been said, and it would probably be extremely difficult for a mere plebeian to rise to the highest position in the community. But, once in authority, the ruler is apt to be autocratic, especially if naturally endowed with unusual force. As would be expected at this stage of culture, governmental forms blur and shade into one another; they may even seem to coexist, but they really vary in time and locality.

Democratic Spirit

Comparatively speaking, there is a more democratic spirit among the Igorot people than among the people of the lowlands. The common *tao* ("man") of the latter, and the *apo* ("gentleman") have their counterparts in Igorot communities; but the word *tako* is never used in the sense of *tao*, as if with a slur, while the *apo* may be addressed the same as any common man. It is hardly so much a political as an economic relation that exists between townsmen. The inherited independent spirit of the Igorot is at once evident in the reception he gives the American. He is far less respectful than the Iloko or other lowlander. A *plista*, as Spaniards and now most natives call one who works for another will generally pass an American without any expression of greeting or respect in the Tinglayan region. Indeed, in some communities, as in Tinglayan pueblo, American visitors will feel that there is a lack of sympathy, a critical attitude that might become hostility on the part of most of the men, however skillfully the leading man, as Agpad himself, may try to give the impression that they are all warm friends of the government. This pueblo, however, is somewhat an exception for its independent spirit. It has always resisted, with success, so it is said, any effort on the part of the Spaniards to levy taxes. Agpad himself, however, may be depended upon always to act wisely; he has learned this partly through seven years'

imprisonment in Spanish times, for resisting taxation and murdering a soldier. But this same romantic career of his seems to have the opposite effect upon the town from what it has upon himself.

There is indefiniteness in the tenure of offices, as there is in the form of election to them. The lawgiver, no doubt, acts for life or until he is incapacitated. The president's tenure depends upon the president himself. Some, for instance, as the president of Basao, cling to the office as if it were associated with the function of lawgiver. Others, like the able presidents of Tinglayan and Locong, constantly ask the government to relieve them, having held the office for perhaps ten years under Spanish, insurgent, and American rule, and being greatly desired by their people. Retirement from the presidency would, no doubt, mean in their case entrance upon the more sacred duties of lawgiver.

The recent happenings recounted in the case of Agpad illustrate various relations in which he stands to his pueblo. He seemed chiefly responsible for his missing townsman at Bontok. He took high-handed measures in threatening that town with Igorot vengeance if the man was not found and in sending to his distant town for war parties, one of which was with difficulty restrained from attacking an innocent town, Sadanga. It was all an example on the part of the president and his people of unreason, of injustice toward others, and of deceit and lack of faith toward the government.

Independence of Towns

The possibility of inter-pueblo relations is, of course, greater now than before the white man came and therefore is illustrated to the widest degree by the relations cultivated by Agpad on his trips with the lieutenant governor. It was evident that he was more widely known than any other president; but he evidently was absolutely without influence beyond the narrow range of his own kind of people — those of the Tinglayan area. Agpad has had decisive influence in the portion of this region nearest his own pueblo, that is, from Bangad and

Samadel west to its limits. But this arises largely from the action of the American government which made him "president of the Tinglayan district." The desire of the president of Dangla, at the other extreme of the Tinglayan area, that Agpad be a sort of lieutenant governor to them is, no doubt, traceable to foreign conditions rather than to Igorot conditions. But the next town below, Naneng, inhabited by Kalingas and Tinggian people, want nothing to do with him, if only he and his people keep out of their territory. It may be that they are welcomed at Naneng as traders, although it appeared that even presidents living much nearer Naneng were glad to go there under the protection of the lieutenant governor's party. They are certainly feared as head-hunters and robbers, as are all Igorots among the Kalingas and especially among the peaceable Tinggian folk. Agpad seemed to see that he was out of his element among the Tinggians. There was no adulation shown him there — and there was hardly friendship. Indeed the officials of his neighboring town, Bangad, accompanied the lieutenant governor to this, to them, almost unknown region to exchange presents of friendship with a Kalinga town which had apparently been involved in their affairs.

In the opposite direction in the Tinglayan area, the people are afraid of all others after one town is passed beyond the limits of their own. Many of their townspeople had never been to Bontok because of their fear of Sadanga, and the president of Dangla could not be persuaded to come on this trip even when there were plenty of soldiers and all the other presidents came. He said the bad spirits (*anitos*) would harm him if he went there, because none of his people had ever gone. The distrust existing between different Igorot districts was illustrated in the great *cañao* where the government proclaimed that all eat together as friends; yet the Tinglayan village, the Lias-Barlig, the Sadangas, and the Sagada groups of villages insisted on forming separate circles while eating.

A few minor matters may still be mentioned that throw light on political relations in the

Tinglayan area. In the building of government roads it is never the individual workman who is engaged; all is done through the president or his representative. How he and his assistants regulate the matter within their community, it is too early in the undertaking to say. It is very noteworthy, however, that with remarkable fidelity they live up to an agreement when once it has been made, especially if it has been written and signed. It is, no doubt, with some superstitious awe that they regard writing, an art of which they are still ignorant, but it is very helpful to the government when a heavy task is nearing its close and the town is tired out. It is not evident that the president, as such, directs any industrial undertakings. Of course, as a man of force and perhaps of wealth, he may be active in organizing working parties and directing irrigation undertakings; but not apparently as president. In his official capacity, however, he generally has the privilege of getting others to work for him in the way of a fine, or he assumes the authority as an ancient right. Perhaps in some places, as in certain Bontok pueblos, it is a contribution to his support, although it would very likely be considered an unjust exaction. The custom of paying fines, however, when demanded by himself or the lawgiver, is backed by superstition, and the fine is readily yielded up — sometimes on so extensive a scale as to look to an American like systematic robbery. It is the usual custom for the fines to be eaten on the premises of the one who is mulcted. Not only the minor officials often partake in the banquet, but the whole town may do so, as when a carabao is demanded for some supposed injury done the town as a whole — for instance, like the causing of a forest fire during the progress of a general *cañao* and thereby, as they superstitiously believe, inflicting a general injury on the harvest. In smaller cases partaking of the nature of civil actions, the delinquents and the injured parties and perhaps all their relatives, together with the officials, eat the assessed fine. But this leads me to the next general subject.

Law and Justice

As it is hoped to treat this subject later in a separate paper, only a few of the more general and important features will be taken up here. Much of what has been said under the head of political institutions has a bearing on public law and incidentally on judicial organization and procedure. To the paragraphs on religious institutions must be left what corresponds to canonical law. Although administered in general by the religious rather than the political leader of the pueblo, religious observance is often closely connected with the law proper, and with it has equally binding force upon the Tinglayan pueblo.

At Tinglayan, as elsewhere, custom becomes law. But so, also, do the dicta of the lawgiver, although he is not only the lawgiver, but is the executive head of the aboriginal community. Much apparently that takes its origin in his authoritative pronouncement, as called forth by new occasions or cases, becomes customary by repetition of the same and persists no doubt often as a survival of the fit; or, in broader terms, the community or stock that has such laws survives as the fittest, and perpetuates its institutions and its laws with its own existence. Incidental support is given to this view of one origin of native law by observing the preference which a community often shows, in that instead of regulating its own affairs in public discussion, the government or municipal officers under the governor's direction issue an order, the substance of which the Igorot thereafter considers as law. The native law may be seen also to arise in courts conducted by Americans when headmen are called upon as experts to state the customary law. They show no hesitation in providing a rule for every occasion, no matter how novel, and have an answer ready for every hypothetical case or question raised. It is evidently natural for them to invent the "custom" when one is not clearly at hand; and their good sense and authority appeal to the community as effectively as if they expressed an immemorial rule.

The headman of the village originally had jurisdiction in all cases, including those most grave.¹⁰ It is only since the white man came that they cannot settle their own cases of murder and similar offenses; yet Igorot communities still attempt at times to compound murder and other serious offenses for financial consideration. More usually they settle it after the most approved Igorot method of retaliation in kind. If someone in a neighboring pueblo has stolen your livestock, you simply steal livestock from that pueblo, no matter to whom it belongs. If someone has stolen the head of your townsmen or your relative, you take one in return, and the closer you come to the offender, the better.

Punishment

The punishment for offenses in the pueblo often appears disproportionate. Since there is no imprisonment, death or a fine are the common punishments. Death seems to be the punishment at Tinglayan in the case of selling a rice field even though it involves only ten or fifteen dollars. Death may be inflicted there also for adultery, but the punishment is inflicted privately rather than by the officials. Again, however, homicide may be punished simply with the fine of a carabao worth thirty dollars or a rice field worth ten dollars. The amount and nature of the fines are more flexible than they are in the Spanish code. They vary with the mood of the officials and the community. As has been said, it is common for the fine to be served up in the form of a feast to the officials, often joined by the injured party and his relatives, sometimes by the whole community. In Tinglayan two carabaos, worth perhaps sixty dollars, would be the proper fine for burning another man's house; but the whole pueblo would eat the feast — the owner of the house gets nothing. Flogging is very seldom resorted to; at Tinglayan, it would seem a proper punishment for slander.

If one were to believe Agpad or other presidents of the region, there is no crime in their own villages; it is always in another that the people are bad. In every barrio of the

region, the lieutenant governor asked, as part of his official duty, whether there were any complaints against officials or other individuals; and in every case the people answered, "No." The question seemed often to be resented as an imputation on the character of the community and the explicit statement was made more than once, "We are all good in this pueblo." Indeed, one is inclined at first by such representations to think that perhaps the residents of one of these little towns do all live together like the members of a big, good-natured family in an Eden-like existence. But in time he comes to think that they are like other Igorot towns he has learned to know well and that they have their full quota of quarrels, beatings, and lawsuits over lands, inheritances, contracts, sales, divorces, and all that go to make up a settled human community. What is really the case in the Tinglayan area is that the people do not like to bring these affairs before the white man's government. A sufficient reason why the custom has not arisen is that they are so far from the capital of the sub-province as to make the delay and trouble too great. They prefer that these minor and internal affairs be settled in their own way.

External affairs, however, are more naturally brought before the provincial authorities. Not that they would not prefer to settle them in the old way by retaliation, but sometimes they are not able to do so. Furthermore, there is a general disposition among the pueblos for each to look upon the provincial authorities and soldiers as probable allies with them against their enemies' towns. This is carried to an unbelievable degree of assurance. Towns actually count on winning in a headhunting raid with the help of the soldiers and they use every device, such as swearing out false complaints for murder, in order to stir up the authorities to send out an expedition. They have not succeeded in any case in the Tinglayan area during the writer's acquaintance with it, but only because the strongest measures were taken by the constabulary officer commanding the soldiers to prevent them following. Large war parties went over half the way on both the expeditions that have been sent into this region,

namely, those against Lubuagan and Basao. In each case they were halted at a strategic point, as on a bank of a river, and told that they would be fired upon if they advanced farther. What would have happened with a less determined stand has been shown in one or two other districts where, it is believed, heads have been taken as the result of a constabulary expedition.

Crimes

More is said on other pages as to the amount of headhunting still carried on. In this small Tinglayan area, in short, the following cases have come before the writer's attention within six or eight months in 1903: Bangad against Lubuagan, Basao against Daneo, Daneo against Basao, Magaogao against Lubuagan and vice versa, and Dacalan against Lubo. There is a doubt as to whether the last-named case is within the Tinglayan area, although it would have been so considered under the Spanish occupation. The writer is of the opinion that on at least one other occasion, a town, for reasons of its own, refused to make complaint against another town for headhunting. It probably was just as guilty as the other and feared the government would punish it. This is, of course, the usual case. There has been an infinite series of retaliations and the government is forced to draw a line in time somewhere — back of which it will not attempt to bring old cases to justice.

Aside from headhunting, the usual charges brought by one town against another are those associated with it, as the burning of dwelling houses, destruction of rice houses, and carrying away their contents and other property, especially carabaos. Some towns, like Lubuagan, are accused of making a regular business of stealing carabaos, generally from another region or from other tribes, as from the Tinggian of Abra Province or perhaps even from those adjoining them on the Saltan River. In these enterprises, carabaos rather than heads are really the objects sought, although the robbers do not hesitate to kill people when discovered in their crime. Natives of Lubuagan naively spoke to an American officer of this industry as

if there were nothing reprehensible about it. Only one carabao case has been brought from the Tinglayan area before the writer.

Civil Cases

Not only is the criminal code extensive; but the nice distinctions and apparent development of the civil law are a surprise to one who has not studied customary law among the barbarous peoples. Only a few subjects of major importance may be mentioned here. The law of real estate and of inheritance is very elaborate, although the latter is not uniform in all the towns. Title by leveling off land is probably the original method of acquiring all real estate suitable for rice irrigation. That is, land not claimed by individuals, generally on steep hillsides, as most land is here, must be cut down and terraced up by immense labor so that water will stand at a uniform depth over it. The one who does the work or has it done by calling together his neighbors, thereby perfects his title to it, and this passes to his descendants. Other lands for the cultivation of *camotes* (sweet potatoes) and of rice without irrigation are apparently acquired by simply clearing and occupying them.

Where water is so important to the existence of the community, the law of water rights is naturally well developed. Of course, nothing like the English common law is applicable here; instead of a riparian right, which prevents the diminution of a stream, something like the civil law rule of absolute ownership in, and right to divert, a certain amount of the flow of a stream, is the universal rule. In at least one place in the district, a stream has been seen coming down a mountain slope and divided high above two towns (e.g., Sumadel and Dananao), one-half being taken by ditches a mile or two in either direction. In this undertaking, with so many claimants in towns of opposing interests, it might be expected that frequent conflicts and even murders would occur over water disputes, as is sometimes the case in more civilized countries and no doubt they do, as in other parts of the sub-province.

The people acknowledge some indefiniteness in the division of water in this particular case. They seemed to think the sharp practice of certain claimants a subject for amusement when they went up by night and diverted more than their share. The division of water is made not by officials but by the landowners and was said generally to be fair, even when the water is scarce. Sumadel would take all the water for a few days and then Dananao would do the same. Or, sometimes, they would alternate one day with another. This is the right of *suksukat*, or alternating. On the important point whether recently made rice terraces have the same right to the water with older ones when water is scarce, the answer was in the affirmative. The investigation has not been carried far enough as yet to make sure that prior rights never have the preference.

An important rule was found to apply in some places in real estate law, namely, that of reversion to the family after the death of the one who alienates his land. In these towns, an estate in fee cannot be acquired by purchase nor an estate for life, but estates in reversion or remainder. In effect, the law prevents the wronging of innocent heirs, as wife or children, where land has been gambled away and, of still greater significance in the social economy, makes sure that the small landholding families of the community shall never be without a source of support.

The law of inheritance varies in important particulars. Thus, while Bangad and Dalupa agree in dividing numerous rice terraces equally among the children, if there is but one piece, it goes to the oldest in Bangad, not as in Bontok to the youngest. The youngest in Dalupa, however, gets the poorest share, if there is not enough for an equal division. In the latter town, also, the daughters get more than the sons, and the house also goes to the daughter.

Personal property seems to be divided equally, excepting that certain articles must go to the sex which uses them. Thus, the ax and the spear must go to the sons, the baskets to the daughters; a knife may go to either. Property may be bequeathed by will; otherwise, if there are no children, it goes to the brother

or his children or to the sister if there is no brother (as in Dalupa) or to other relatives if there is neither (as in Sumadel). Or, if there are no relatives, anyone may buy the property and the proceeds are expended in an *otong*, or great feast, for all the pueblo; that is, the estate virtually reverts to the community. At Tinglayan, the widow was said to have the same right, as in the ordinary American law, to one-third of the husband's property, which upon her death, could pass, for instance, to her brother. Another one-third could go to the husband's brother.

None of these customs, as has been intimated, seem to be suggested by a sense of natural justice. In actual cases, they would have the effect of law, because enunciated by the highest authority of the community. But it cannot be pretended that they are as invariable as written law or as the common law of an older civilization.

Before leaving this subject, it may be merely noted that the laws of marriage and divorce also are definite and elaborate. The ceremony is of a religious, as well as civil, nature. The strictness in sexual relations, which is referred to elsewhere, has ample support in the law. As has been said, death is the punishment for adultery. "A fine is not sufficient," said the president of Tinglayan, "because the man knows she is married." Rape, he said, is punished with a large fine, as of a rice field, and if the man refuses to pay he may be killed. Bastards are rare, as compared with other districts, but they inherit the same as other children. In a divorce at Tinglayan, the law seems to give the advantage to the woman rather than to the man. In other words, there must be an equal division of the property in case the man had more than the woman. If the divorce is the act of the man, he must pay for it. The woman's equities are guarded if she is wronged.

Headhunting

War may be discussed under the term political relations, although the Tinglayan war affair partakes of a religious nature and has an

important bearing even upon industry. To the Igorot mind, heads are necessary for good harvest, and the beginning and ending of a headhunt are impossible without certain religious or superstitious observances.

This institution is by no means a survival. It exists in full force this year, as is proved by the five cases of head-taking that have occurred in this area in about six months. If this record is followed by a decline, it is only because the government is getting too energetic in its suppression. Certainly headhunting has never been stopped by any government heretofore. The present lieutenant governor has given notice everywhere in his provincial trips that the chief business of the government now is to stop headhunting. The prompt punishment, which the people could see was meted out in their own district and elsewhere, has had its full effect. At the Fourth of July *cañao* in the presence of the various town officials of the sub-province, Agpad addressed all the villagers formerly under his jurisdiction in the following terms:

"Sumadel, you must not take any more heads; Tulgao, you must not cut any more heads; if you do, you will surely all be killed."

Of course, it would continue if there was no strong government to prevent it. It continued in the very streets of Bontoc pueblo during the insurrection, and there is apparently evidence for saying that it has since continued in connection with operations of American troops and of the constabulary. It is still uncertain how sacred and necessary this custom may appear to the Igorot mind. There is no doubt that it will persist in the form of private vengeance and of family feud beyond the present generation. . . . It may be expected that the more sensible of the pueblo officials will be forced by the action of the government to take a stand similar to that of Agpad, at least when under the observation of the white man; although it is doubtful whether within their own community they can entirely resist the spirit that they share with their townsmen. The presidents and vice-presidents, however, can hardly be so foolish as to continue doing what they have done the past year — namely, to be

among the foremost in organizing expeditions and in cutting heads with their own hands. . . .

The "lawgiver" might be appropriately called the "head murderer" in this connection. He regards it as a sacred custom, law, and right of his people, which it is his duty to teach and encourage; and he will do more mischief than any local president can counteract. It cannot be expected that any other president will do so remarkable a thing as did Macues, the president of Tetep-an, a village near Bontoc; it was totally subversive of all Igorot principles. He brought the Tetep-an "lawgiver" bound to the lieutenant governor's office for inciting what was probably to be an expedition against Basao. . .¹¹ It might be expected that the lawgiver, as a personage unknown to the government and not understood by it, would continue for many years to nullify any loyal action of the president's without such an investigation as this into his power and influence. It is doubtful, then, whether this can be counteracted until the heart of the Igorot culture is converted to another way.

As was said before, it is the part of the lawgiver to interpret the omen given by the *idao* and set the headhunt in motion. . . . It is often heard from the interpreter and other Christians who are most familiar with Igorot character, that a young man cannot be sure of marrying his choice until he has at least taken part in a successful headhunt. The women are, no doubt, largely responsible for headhunting. On this point, the writer's informants of Tinglayan and Mabontoc were a trifle non-committal. "To take a head is not necessary to marriage," they said, "but the young women like it better. . . ."

It was tacitly admitted in this conversation that tattoo marks on the man indicate participation in one or more successful headhunts. As most certainly more than half of the men are tattooed, they naturally dislike to talk with a white man on the subject. From all that the writer has thus far learned on different occasions and inferred from indirect evidence and the conflicting statements of those who know the Igorot best, it would seem certain that those who are elaborately tattooed

on the chest, like Agpad, have not only taken part in several such hunts but have themselves taken a head. Every successful affair entitles them to add more marks in this pattern. It also seems certain that it is necessary for each one before being tattooed to strike the body of the one killed. This may be in the course of the combat with weapons or it may be later; some say it is the custom to touch the fresh blood and smear it on the face or spot to be tattooed. It is doubtful whether tattoo marks around the chin indicate that the person has himself taken a head. Other marks on the face and arms indicate merely participation. The Mabontot party said that the man who cuts off the head keeps it. He is not necessarily the one who strikes the fatal blow. Marks cut on a spear handle indicate the number of heads taken. . .

As has been said, the lawgiver who initiated the party usually leaves its direction up to more active men. It is clear that the whole pueblo, and especially the officials, are accessories in the usual head hunt. Of course, there are occasions when one person acts alone, like murderers in other countries. Thus, the Tetep-an woman killed her Basao (Besao?) relative, a girl, in a fit of passion or sudden insanity, and she was killed and beheaded immediately herself by a relative of the girl in revenge. Sometimes defenseless women and even children are attacked unawares in the fields. The last Barlig murderer lured two women of Lias into a field when they were there on a visit and killed them because their relatives had killed his relatives; heads were not taken on either side in this case. At other times, a party of two or four men may meet the desired victim between their respective towns and kill him — such was the case with another Barlig murderer sentenced this year.

When a large head hunt is organized, it is customary to employ more honorable methods than ambush. A challenge is shouted from a hill near the enemy's town which the latter seldom rejects unless the attacking party has guns. . . Instead of a general battle between the opposing parties, a series of duels may be said to take place. Agpad and his companions showed surprise at the question, since a small

barrio might be entirely wiped out. He said that only a few heads were ever wanted. This is, no doubt, the case in this region. Vengeance or a good harvest is thus secured. He admitted that headhunting was bad, but said it was necessary because the enemy took heads of his people. Prisoners are never taken.

Single Combat

A fine example of the duel form of fighting was witnessed by the officer commanding the constabulary at Bontoc early this year (1906). All the warriors of Balangao followed him against his orders in his expedition against the Mayoyao people. He found himself suddenly between two hundred combatants — or rather, in a place where he could not control the situation easily with his handful of native soldiers, but where he saw two or three single-handed and mortal combats occasioned by challenge between the opposing forces.

In all the cases mentioned, except perhaps in the case of Balangao, the towns involved professed friendship with each other shortly before the heads were taken and usually soon afterward also. This illustrates the readiness with which these Igorot towns pass from the friendly state; it also shows that it is never safe to rely on professions of friendship. Not only are these given at times to mislead the opponent and make success more easy, but the towns of Basao and Talubin had the assurance to parade their friendship for other towns before the provincial authorities and then shortly attacked the same towns. Generally, only adjoining towns in the Tinglayan area are in a fairly permanent state of friendship. *Cargadores* never wish to go beyond the town adjoining their own, however, presumably because they are afraid of towns farther away. Indeed, for some reason, *cargadores* change regularly midway between the towns of Daneo and Butbut and between Butbut and Tinglayan. It is further to be noted that the two chief headhunting cases described in the area, namely, Basao against Daneo and Lubuagan against Bangad, were between adjoining towns.

Friendship is made after a headhunt by the towns exchanging presents, generally spears.

Finally, it is not known that two towns have ever united in this area even for the temporary purpose of headhunting and it may be doubted whether such joint action can be found anywhere in the sub-province unless called out incidentally upon an attack made by the government forces. It is said that this occurred in several cases during the Spanish occupancy, such allies being needed or encouraged to accompany the troops.

Religious Institutions

... Among the characteristics that separate the Tinglayan culture area from that of Bontoc, like the absence of the tribunal, and the corresponding political divisions of the community, is the absence of the *at-ato*, or meeting place of the spirits, and of the *papatayans*, or sacred trees. The president of Locong seemed to think this a great difference between the two sections and accurately described the dividing line. A few places along the border are transitional in form or rather show the influence of both districts. Thus, while Daneo belongs to the Bontoc culture area, it has no *at-ato* as has the region about Bontoc pueblo. On the other side, Butbut has an imperfect tribunal unlike the regular tribunals of the Bontoc area in that it corresponds to no municipal subdivision and is located outside of the town. Tinglayan, in like manner, has a degraded sort of *papatayan*, frequented by women and children rather than by men. This clear exposition heard on entering the Tinglayan area was confirmed by the answers everywhere given to the standard questions asked on entering a town: "Do you have an *ato*? an *at-ato*? a *papatayan* or an *olag* or other separate house for girls or old women?" A negative answer was always received, with the few exceptions noted.

Priests and Adepts

Who are the old men that represent the profession of theology as the president and the

lawgiver do the profession of law? They are called *asuchu*¹² at Tinglayan and *ladau*¹³ at Mabontot. It is they who have authority to conduct the ceremonies of the larger *cañaos* and regulate the holidays of the community. There may be only one, or more than one, in a town. This priestly function may sometimes be combined with the political office. Thus Nganip, the president of Basao during the last headhunting affair, was also *asuchu* — they said "because he is old and knows the ceremonies." The president of Lokong not only acts as *asuchu* in his town, as there is no one older there, but he also acts in this capacity in the parent town of Butbut with two other old men. In Basao, as an exception, the *asuchus*, or *pula* is a woman, the wife of a leading man named Fiegsau...¹⁴

The Cañao

The *cañaos* of the Igorot are becoming famous. They perform a great part in the native life and touch so many of its phases as to merit as much description as all the rest of their religion and superstitions combined.

The *cañao* is the sacrificial feast, as nearly as it can be expressed in a phrase. So far as the words employed in the *cañao* are concerned, it always includes a prayer or request. In this the address is often made to all spirits of the dead, beginning with those of relatives lately deceased, then of ancestors, and finally of Lumawig. In the same prayer may be addressed also "Thou, O Sun, who lookest down upon us;" also the souls of chickens and pigs and everything that has life, especially the sacred trees, where there is one. Besides the request, there seems to be something resembling a confession of faith or at least a statement of what the worshippers are doing, as "We are praying," "We are bringing you this chicken," and the like. In the longer and more important *cañaos* there is also what might be called the scripture lesson, a recital of the life of Lumawig, the chief events in the history of their people coming down to and including by name all the headhunting expeditions within their memory.¹⁵ The lesson ends with a prayer.

These long formulas and recitals necessitate, as is evident, one who makes the priestly function his business. Among a people who have no written record, it is a heavy tax upon the memory. During *cañaos* embracing the entire town, no resident may leave and no stranger may enter — except that a white man who wishes is generally allowed to be present.¹⁶

Cañaos have to do with almost all the activities of the community, especially headhunting, agricultural operations, sickness, birth, marriage, and death. . .

There are many *cañaos* connected with the raising of crops, two great ones conducted by the *asuchu* and smaller ones conducted by the owner of the piece of land or a small company working together. The two great *cañaos* are at planting time and harvest. . .

Before harvest a good crop is assured by holding a headhunting *cañao* and, if they do not too much dread the government, going out and taking one or more heads. After a good harvest there are also *cañaos* of rejoicing in some towns, as at Bangad, but not in Tinglayan pueblo, they say. Other industrial operations necessitating small *cañaos* are the building of a rice terrace, celebrated by the man who builds it, and the construction of an irrigating ditch, celebrated by all who cooperate in making it. If water from the ditch is taken afterward to the land of a person who did not help build it, he must contribute his share of the original expense. He may make a *cañao* over it if he wishes.

In hunting with dogs, a *cañao* is given for success, the dogs being present, but not participating until they get game. If a number of wild pigs are trapped in a pit, a big *cañao* is given. *Cañaos* are also held to bring rain; another, three days long, is held by the town if a house burns down. After the four posts of a new house are erected, all who please take part in a *cañao* given by the owner in the afternoon. On setting out for a long journey, for instance, to another province, a *cañao* is necessary as well as a favorable omen from the *idao*. In political matters, when new pueblo officials are appointed, they give a *cañao*. In cases of

sickness, anyone may hold a *cañao*, although it is better to call in the *insisipok* or medical expert.

One can tell the number of small *cañaos* held by a family by the number of feathers sticking up in the walls inside the house, one feather for each chicken. In some houses may be seen many pigs' jaws preserved for the same reason, and in some Igorot towns may be seen pigs' skulls hanging by the dozen in rows. In some towns one may see human skulls preserved in memory of more barbarous *cañaos* in the houses of those who took the heads.

Within the family circle, the chief events are celebrated by a *cañao* given generally by the father, as upon the occasion of a birth. Upon marriage, the fathers of both the contracting parties contribute to the *cañao*. If a husband or wife dies, the survivor holds a *cañao*; if a child dies, the father, in case of his death, the mother gives it. The death of a person well known in the community is made the occasion of a general *cañao*. . .

It was said distinctly at Tinglayan that a man is buried in only his breechcloth and blanket and without an ax; but a small amount of food is buried with him, say five or ten *manojos* of palay. The burial *cañao* is called *otong*. All relatives and the town are in mourning for four days — five days at Sumadel. The widow takes off her earrings, wears old and dirty clothing made of bark, and must not bathe for one month. In one year she may marry again. At Sumadel, she binds a strip of red bark on her head and wears a breechcloth of the same material for nearly a year; and she does not bathe.

Morals

It would be of value to know what influence the preceding religious beliefs and observances, especially the numerous *cañaos*, have on moral conduct. It is not easy on first acquaintance to see much in them that strengthens morality although some parts survive, no doubt, because they contribute to hygiene or other practical ends. . .

As regards this point in character, the Igorot

is more like the American Indian than like the Negro; and he may be the loser in not having the imitativeness of the latter, and so being unable to take up so readily the white man's civilization. It is a part of his superstition, one might say of his religion, to follow the old custom simply because it is old. As the president of Dangla refused to come with an ample guard to Bontoc, saying that the *anitos* would probably kill him because none of his people had ever gone there, so the Bontoc official who accompanied the writer on this trip said that the Bontoc Igorots could not build houses of the better Tinglayan style because the *anitos* would take revenge; they must always build them as their ancestors had done, open to the weather, forcing the family for warmth to sleep in an air-tight box with a bit of a fire, and foul from their bodies. They would die if they did not build as their ancestors had built. It was pointed out that the Tinglayan people did not die in their warmer, more sanitary houses; but this argument was of absolutely no effect as against old custom. And yet this official was one of the most sensible young *capitanes* of Bontoc, holding appointment as provincial messenger. Although having been in the employ of Americans from the first, and more open to new ideas than most of his people, he was impervious to them when they conflicted with what was old in custom. This same quality in most cases opposes schools, and especially a new religion. . .

One of the most admirable traits of Igorot character, that of civic solidarity, is exemplified in the vengeance of the headhunt. The entire pueblo does, indeed, live together as one great family, as Agpad said in speaking of the absence of internal disorder. To avenge the death of one of its members is a sacred duty resting upon each and all the others in the village. It will be remembered that the Igorot had no other means of securing justice; therefore, Agpad said that it was the duty of every able-bodied and well man to accompany the avenging expedition, whether for murder, robbery, or other wrong committed by another *pueblo*. It is Mosaic retaliation.

This same civic solidarity of fraternal spirit

goes naturally with a generous or benevolent attitude toward the weaker and poorer members of the community; at least, so it appears to an observer. Certainly, there is no such thing as pauperism in the hateful aspect in which it presents itself in more civilized countries. A whole community may be poverty-stricken but the poor are much on an equality with the others. There does not seem to be an actual "submerged" fraction. A town takes care of its poorest in some way; for one thing, it is easy for one who is in want of food to find work, and, therefore, the little sustenance necessary. The people are, of course, frugal from the very necessities of the case. They are also, in the main, temperate, although during their chief festivities there is much drinking, usually excessive drinking, of their native liquors, mainly *basi*, the fermented juice of sugarcane. There is also a large consumption of tobacco, a condition not strange in a tropical region that raises it easily and plentifully. There is no chewing of betel, except in a few barrios nearest the Kalinga town of Naneng, where the betel grow.

There is apparently much honor in business agreements within their own pueblo. Government officials and Americans in general consider that they live up to a contract with remarkable fidelity, perhaps in such cases because they do not think it possible to escape justice. It has been the custom for the American to pay in advance for rice or other necessities and, once that the Igorot has accepted the pay, one may wait a week or even months with full confidence that the goods will be delivered. This custom could easily be abused, as it is said to be by Moros and oppressive traders elsewhere in the Philippines even to the point of slavery because of debt. All that would be necessary would be to force payment upon an individual to make him feel bound to meet the demands made upon him. It is not known that there is any especial abuse of this nature, although it is said to be found among Igorot people elsewhere.

Lying is undoubtedly one of the chief vices of the Igorot. It is really a fine art with him.

Far from being something to be condemned, he seems to be proud of especial proficiency in it. It is common to see an amused smile on the faces of the people in a lawsuit at dramatic situations in the development of a lie. The witness who has been perjuring himself smiles blandly when the justice exposes him; he usually appreciates the sharpness of wit which is necessary to do it. He may feel some chagrin but shows no concern over the denunciation of the practice. It has become a truism with some officials that "the Igorot always lies." It is to be reckoned with as a matter of course and an effort made merely to sift out the truth from the lies. Along with this goes a natural adeptness in sharp legal practices. It was well exemplified in the case of Afoli, the vice president of Basao, accused of head-cutting. He was called at the preliminary hearing one of the sharpest natural lawyers among his people; and if, as is probable, he manufactured his line of defense, it is a work of art. It is one of those cases in which each town practically duplicates the story of the other, with a change of place of the crime and change of the personnel involved; and each account is often so consistent and well fortified as to make it almost impossible to determine which is true and which is the imitation.

In the most remarkable murder case of the kind this year, the deed occurred across the line in Lepanto sub-province. The headless body of the victim was carried to the governor at Cervantes by one party in the fight, while one of the severed hands was carried to the lieutenant governor at Bontoc by the other pueblo involved. Each town claimed the corpse belonged to it and that the other town had taken the head, and to this day it has not been decided which of the stories is true.

It would be thought that the vices of cheating and stealing would accompany that of lying, but such does not seem to be the case to any extent as between townsmen or between the Igorot and the white man. Baggage is pretty safe left with the native carriers or headmen. This may be in part because they are afraid of the white man's punishment. It would not

appear that they have any very strict conception of "mine" and "thine." It is probable that as a part of their own civilization they have learned to take the right course in certain civic matters because the penalty has become well associated with the crime in their minds, while punishments for other acts equally reprehensible have not become so associated; otherwise, it would be difficult to explain much lying that is virtually stealing -- the former being creditable, the latter blameworthy to the native mind. No doubt, too, some of these faults, like those connected with their superstitions, are to be attributed to their ignorance and to childish unreason.

As to sexual morality, most Tinglayan communities appear to stand much higher than certain other Igorot districts. There is not, as in the Bontoc and other districts, the institution of the *olag* for girls where, as Dr. Jenks says, "trial marriage is fostered," (Jenks 1904) but where license with no intention of marriage, so far as the man is concerned, is also found. Igorot towns but a short distance from each other may differ quite radically in this matter of loose conduct, especially among the unmarried. In the marriage relation there is more uniformity as regards faithfulness.

Manners

The Tinglayan Igorot is not very ceremonious in social intercourse. The independent spirit which characterizes him militates against an attitude of servility, as does also the comparative absence of rank and caste. The local officials are addressed the same as any other Igorot. . . To pass an acquaintance in the path without stopping, if not exactly bad manners, is apt to give an unfavorable impression. If one does wish to talk and especially if he does not wish to share his tobacco or give a light to one who has none, the other may say to himself, "I will not help you when you want neighbors to do your work or when you call for help in the mountain." Strangers, of course, pass without talking. It was noticed that a few old men at Dananao act differently than the younger generation.

Bending graciously over the white stranger's hand, which they take, they blow upon it. It might be questioned, however, whether, instead of this being a very old Igorot custom now gone out of practice, it may not have been an ignorant imitation of the kissing of the *padre's* hand which they may have observed on some infrequent trip to Abra. It certainly has no connection with the kissing of the hand found in the *Guardia de Honor*.

At a Tinglayan meal it is usual for the sons and visitors to eat before the daughters, the old, or the parents. Visiting friends and even strangers are welcomed to the hospitality of the home, although they do not wish to help an enemy. It is very difficult for an American official to pay for his hospitality without offending the Igorot. All that he needs for food is usually brought him as a *regalo* ("present") by the president or *capitanes* or delegates from neighboring towns, and not to receive this would be considered a sign of displeasure on the part of the official. But it is always best to give something in exchange, not money, but matches or other things as a *regalo* also, as Igorot people do in contracting friendship. Although this practice has its root in native customs, it no doubt has been strengthened by an over-willingness of some of the first Americans in the region to accept such presents as contributions. Though one may say now on every occasion that no *regalos* are necessary after the first one in order to show that we are friends, yet they will not stop bringing them. Even the finest head-axes, spears, and shields are brought as *regalos* on special occasions. And after trouble over headhunting, such as the case of Lubuagan, it is decidedly good policy on the part of the government to accept those which have been brought a three days' journey to the capital as a peace offering. On the other hand, a vicious relation with the Igorot is cultivated if the *regalos* are accepted which persists in bringing to the justice before whom his case is to be heard.

The Family

Enough has been said to indicate that the

Igorot of the Tinglayan area holds stricter notions concerning the marriage relation than do some others. Unions are not so lightly formed as at Bontoc nor, apparently, are they so lightly broken. The old men of Tinglayan and of Mabontot said polygamy never occurs. Yet it is possible that in Agpad's own case there may be found something like the "consecutive polygamy," if it may be so called which disgraces the families of many native officials farther up the river. There a new wife is a matter sometimes of only a few days or a few weeks. She is as easily discarded as acquired, perhaps with the loss of a little property as damages. It was noticed on the second trip that Agpad had a new wife, although the wife of a few months previous was still living. This, however, is to be reckoned among the abuses that are bound to occur in primitive communities at the hands of those in power; they abuse their power in many ways and claim privileges which the common man cannot enjoy.¹⁷

The marriage ceremony found from one side of the district to the other consists chiefly in a contribution of property by the fathers of each of the contracting parties. They kill chickens or pigs, and the man and woman eat them together in the *cañao*. If there should be no parent, it is still necessary for the newly married couple to eat the ceremonial meal together. There is but little ceremony at the house besides this.

No particular words seem to be necessary to the marriage contract or ceremony. The young people agree in their own way, but it seems more necessary for the parents to agree. It is customary for any old man of the *wokoi*¹⁸ who knows appropriate words for such occasions to attend. He will say, for instance, "May you live long and have many children. May your pigs have many young. May your chickens have many young."

No trace of matriarchate was found. The inheritance of property has already been explained under "Law and Justice." In general, man and wife have each an undivided interest in their property. There is no surname or other

expression to indicate the line of family descent, except that it is very common for a boy to take the name of his grandfather. Both the grandfather and his brother are called *apuni* (compare Iloco *apomi*, that is, "our *apo*," or in this case, "grandfather"). The grandmother is called simply *babai* ("woman"). A son calls his father, of course, not by his own name but simply *ama*. This suggests the query as to whether the word applied to any old man *am-ama* (which does not occur in Iloco) carries with it something of the sentiment of "old father," a more respectful term than the American "old man." The uncle on either side is called *chakchakol* and also sometimes *ulitug*.¹⁹ The Iloco word is *uliteg*. Both introduce the word *liteg* or *lintog*. Is the uncle a father-in-law? This recalls errors that have been made in translating testimony in Bontoc lawsuits in which "father" was said when the Igorot meant "uncle." There the word sometimes used for both is *ama* ("father"), sometimes used also as a respectful mode of addressing any native official or elderly man and then equivalent to the Igorot²⁰ *apo* ("Senor"). The words for first, second, and third cousin have the numerals within them. In *pingpingsan* (up the river they say *pingsan*), the Igorot hears *esa* ("one"); in *pipidua* ("second cousin"), is the number two, *dua*; in *pitpitlo* one can distinguish *tolo*, three.

As has been said, a widow or widower cannot marry for a decent length of time — two years at Mabontot. A man or woman of middle age, who has never been married, is apparently an unknown case. And as marriages occur early, the age of fourteen being none too young if the parents are willing, one would expect to see larger families than appear to distinguish the region. Abortion and infanticide are said to be unknown at Mabontot. An infant is suckled there for one or often two years. The practice was found of burying the infant alive with the mother who had died in childbirth. In case of twins, one is not killed, as is said to have formerly been true of Bontoc. There being no polygamy, this cause for certain large families which is found in the direction of Lepanto, does not operate at Tinglayan.

Before a birth, the parents remain separate for two or three months. There is of course a *cañao* upon a birth. The mother cannot go out of the house nor a stranger enter it for a month afterward; if they do, it is believed the child will die. The same is true when pigs or chickens have been born in the house. Even an American is not welcomed in the latter case for two days. There is an eating ceremony upon divorce as upon marriage. As said elsewhere, the property is divided.

Although, generally speaking, there is no dividing up of the family, as in the Bontoc region, by separating the sexes and ages in different houses to the detriment of the morality of the family, it was found in a few places, as at Dangla, that there were certain old women each living in a little house by herself and, as at Dananao, where there had been a plague, widowers were living with them. These towns do have, however, one common house, namely, the *olag* for old men who cannot work, although this house has none of the ceremonial significance of the Bontoc *ato*, where men and boys of all ages also may sleep.²¹ Some peculiarities in mourning dress have been mentioned in connection with the burials. At Dalupa, there is an additional distinction, boys not wearing caps before marriage.

Education

Children do not receive, naturally, any very definite or uniform course of instruction. As with primitive peoples generally, it consists mostly in training in the practical arts or occupations of the community and in such physical exercises as are conducive to its well-being. In much of this process both child and parent are unconscious of any such purpose. Certain plays and certain customs that take the child into the fields or that lead to imitation in occupations, survive because they are useful. There are no teachers by profession. The old-man-who-gives-instruction (*tudtuchu*), as has been explained, instructs the adult members of the community as to certain duties, mainly political. He does not teach children except that he may in his judicial function tell the

boys that it is bad to fight and, as a judge should, see that they obey him.

It is said that there is no direct instruction at puberty such as is often found elsewhere. Before marriage, the father may explain how to take care of food and the like. It is more or less definitely his function by word and example to show how to plant, how to make a rice terrace, how to cut wood, and that one must not do bad things. There is no general instruction in hunting or in iron-working, these being occupations in which but few members of the community engage. Indeed, instruction in iron-working, weaving, pottery, and especially the healing art are more or less restricted to certain families. Agricultural operations, on the contrary, and all that belongs to headhunting, must be understood by every girl or boy in the community. These are begun in many childish plays. The boys make spears of reeds (*runos*) and become expert in throwing them into trees. They have sham battles with weeds and armfuls of refuse from the sugarcane hills. Still much more serious are their battles of stones, for which they prepare for days and make shields of reeds. This fight is a very real thing and trains to a high pitch the sterner virtues, bravery, endurance, and loyalty to one's party. The frantic motions of the legs made in avoiding the shower of stones resemble much the caperings of a real war party. The kicking game of the boys and their ballgames make them more agile.

Certain traps and snares and methods of fishing are learned by the boys but never amount to much economically. Boys and girls alike, however, begin very young to learn rice cultivation. They have to stay in the fields all day long as the crop begins to ripen in order to scare away the birds. They cannot help learning from early observation a multitude of things connected with the work. Girls of eight and ten years of age are allowed to begin the hard and real work that falls to the lot of their mothers in the fields and take pride in these first expeditions, feeling that they are already little women and bravely doing their part. Boys at an early age are sent to do such work as their

fathers do, to bring wood from the forest or to help in building rice terraces.

Medicine

The medicine man or woman has as distinct a profession as the lawgiver or the religious leader. The adept in the art of healing is called *mangchachawak* or *mansasapui*; farther up the river *insisipoc*.²² Such persons are rare. Sometimes, for a period, a town does not have one living in it, as Tanglag at present. . .

Social Industry

Much might be said of the division of labor and other social aspects of industry, but this is not the place for a full description of mechanical processes such as is necessary for a complete understanding of the subject. The reader must be assumed to know something of the cultivation of rice and irrigation. They are the center of all Igorot industry.

The division of labor between the sexes, already referred to in speaking of education, is very uniform and fixed. A man is ashamed to do woman's work and women have little respect for a man who is not energetic in man's work. His work is, like this headhunting, adapted to more sudden and magnificent spirits; woman's work requires a more patient, plodding spirit. Each carries equally back-breaking burdens, man, the wood and house timber, woman, for the most part, the harvested crops. Men sometimes carry a part of the latter upon poles. They never carry upon the head as women do but always upon the shoulders. On the whole, man has more rest and idle hours or days than woman, although it is by no means true, as some superficial observers would say, that woman does all the hard work. Men build and repair the rice terraces and canals; women do all the crop-raising. Both work together in the harvest. Men get all the timber, or at least do all the cutting, perhaps because the forest and the tool are more associated with the manly arts of self-defense. The woman does not carry weapons with which to defend herself. As most of the agricultural operations lie outside the village, sometimes at

a distance of three or four miles, men often accompany the women and children, taking of course their spears and axes. While on the trip, the man will look after repairs, although he generally does little besides putter around to give the appearance of work. Accompanying the women to the fields appears to be an old custom that has degenerated into a sort of lark for the young men when there are young women in the party. Husbands do not always accompany their wives; a party may be made up of ten or fifteen women and two or three men, neighbors, although it is common for many such parties to work within call of each other on any fine day in distant fields.

The children have their definite part in the care of the crops. They must stay at the fields from sunrise to sunset to scare away animals and especially birds that would injure the ripening grain. Little shelters are often erected where they stay when no one else has field work to do. They make noises by cries and by beating sticks or peculiarly constructed instruments; they throw objects at the marauders or run after them; they pull many ingenious contrivances by strings which wave objects or produce noises over distant terraces, or keep in order similar contrivances that are run by the action of the stream.

As in other countries, they help in the chores about the house. The woman has practically all the housework to do. In many a Tinglayan town, she is heard beating out rice far into the night to the heart-breaking tones, gasps rather than chants, which accompany the rhythmic strokes of her heavy pestle. . . She never helps as *cargador* ("carrier") in the white man's expedition through Tinglayan country. These trips seem to savor much of the adventure of headhunting expeditions to the men. As has been said, they never go beyond the next town; and the party of armed warriors, perhaps half a mile long, winding over the hills, looks like a military expedition more than like a peaceful visit through the pueblos. No matter if only five carriers are wanted, forty or fifty may insist on going along in all the towns along the Chico. On the Tabia, the escort is smaller, but always insisted upon because they wish to

take turns carrying. They generally divide the proceeds among the whole party although it is only five cents (gold) for one man's load the average distance between the towns. The men also do most of the other classes of labor needed by the government, although women and even boys and girls are sent upon the road by some towns; and it is sometimes almost impossible to get a fair number of workmen without taking them. While it may seem all right to the women and children, and in some cases they are eager to get the pay, it is probably in most cases a shirking of manly work on the part of the men. The last division of labor between the sexes to be mentioned is the art of tattooing, which is monopolized at Tinglayan by the men. Women do not know how, they said at Bangad; men tattoo the women.

There is also a division of labor by families, as was explained, regarding instruction in certain arts. Even hunting is not engaged in by more than one or two men perhaps in a community — and this is a country where wild hogs are plentiful and there are some deer. At Tanglag, there was only one old man who hunted much when young. He is said to have killed three hundred wild hogs. At Tinglayan, there were three hunters. The hunters provide dogs of their own. Ten or fifteen other Igorots may go along to help drive up the game to where the spearmen lie in wait. In this case, a division is made between all, the man with the dog receiving the head. Men will also spend much time like boys trying to catch, sometimes with their hands, the few small fish that are found here, seldom larger than minnows. But this is play rather than work. . .

Cooperation

The *kinuyug*²³ is something like a log-rolling or husking-bee in the States. It is still more like the exchange of work in harvesting, for the Igorots have the same need. It is not found much in harvesting rice, however. In digging sweet potatoes (*camotes*), four or five women will work together and help one another in turn. The *cañao*, which accompanies some of

the operations, has already been mentioned. No strict account is kept of time. This form of social helpfulness shades off into cooperative effort, as in building an irrigation ditch, where all engaged are working for their own interest, bringing water to their own land. Building a dam in a river is an analogous case in which a large number may be employed. Bringing in a man's wood by carrying it from the mountain and floating it down a stream is work in which similar return may be made. There are all *kinuyug*, or at Bontoc, *ub-ubu*, as industrial forms of cooperation, not ceremonies. They are purely voluntary forms and may be initiated by the proprietor or any enterprising citizen, not necessarily by any of the headmen of the community. The *dangas*, on the other hand, is the form of joint labor in which men are called out by a rich and influential man and receive only good meals for their work. A pig or a carabao is killed.²⁴

Trade

The amount of trade carried on in the Tinglayan area is small. Most of the towns being still afraid to come to Bontoc, they go generally to Abra, a habit started very likely through their recent political connection with that province. Three or four of the towns nearest Cagayan Province cross the line to Naneng, which in turn sells the goods, especially tobacco, to the lower Cagayan towns. Tobacco is about the only article that is regularly traded beyond the limits of the Tinglayan area. The people of Butbut and Lokong, and recently of Basao and Tinglayan, make expeditions with it a few times a year to Bontoc. Each man carries four packages that will bring about a peso each (fifty cents gold) from the Igorots there or the traders. Bontoc raises no tobacco. But little money goes back. When they get money instead of goods in exchange, most of it is expended in Bontoc. Salt is the one staple article for which the Tinglayan people must make frequent expeditions. Then come blankets or rather the cheap Iloko cloth which they make into blankets at about fifty cents (gold) each. Then if they have any money left, they are apt to

buy brass wire, which they wear around the neck and wrist. Breechcloths for the loins are needed less frequently. The cotton yarn for their domestic weaving probably comes mainly from Naneng and beyond, where it grows. Iloko traders from the outside are afraid to penetrate farther than to the northern border of the region, and that probably does not happen once a year. One was found at Dalupa, next to the Tinggian settlements, this year.

As no others enter the region with money except American officials, perhaps two or three times a year, it is evident that there has been but very little money in that region. Although Igorots often bury their money, all signs indicated that it was almost non-existent at Tinglayan. All the trade between people of the same or adjoining towns was by barter. Prices were quoted in rice, axes, and pigs. A change is setting in, however, with the establishment of a constabulary post in the heart of the region last June. Most of the barrios have received at least a little money from it for supplies and labor. The provincial road, which has just reached the edge of the region at Butbut at the close of this year (1905) and which will probably be pushed entirely through it next year, will leave much money there. Outside traders will follow and a government supply house will perhaps be established at Lubuagan.

There is practically no other trade from outside the Tinglayan area at present, excepting that the famous axes and spears made by the neighboring Tinggian people at Balbalasang and Basao are brought in and the large iron pots used for cooking great quantities of food at *cañaos* are passed from hand to hand up from the west coast. The same is true now and then of a gong, a rare string of beads, or ornamental shells. A few houses on the Tinggian border, especially at Balinciago, were also found to have a fine row of quaint crockery, probably from China. Iron-working is hardly attempted within the region except at Butbut and Dananao, and there no axes are made — the work is regular repair work or the manufacture of simple digging implements. The gay Lubuagan caps are traded at a distance.

Pottery is one of the staple articles of

domestic trade. Sumadel, the most famous for its production, trades in all directions. It has no rice or pigs to sell, but buys pigs. A single family will make as many as forty large pots a year. The native price, as for everything else, is very low, from three to ten *manoios* of palay valued at from two to five cents United States currency. Pots are often traded from family to family in other towns for rice, sometimes for cheap beads. No town is more of a trading center than others, unless it is Tinglayan, which is well known throughout the region and even across the borders. This, as may be imagined, is mainly due to the personality of Agpad, formerly district president. There is a system of credit (*utang*); one year's time, for instance, may be given on a carabao. The fact that such payments must be made in certain cases by work, gives a basis for the impression that some may hold that slavery through debt exists here, as is held to be true of certain other Igorot districts. It must be remembered, however, that these people are too independent by nature and situation to permit that this abuse be carried to such degree as is possible farther south in the islands.

Notes

Social Institutions of the Tinglayan Igorot is listed as No. 179 in the 1931 *Beyer-Holleman Collection of Original Sources in Philippine Customary Law* with the following introductory note: "Selected from Bontok Volume IV. One account (No. 7). Extracts. 1906. Series D, No. 1. Bontok. Local: Tinglayan District, in the northern part of Bontok Subprovince. Written in Bontok and Manila, 1905-06, for the Philippine Ethnological Survey, but not published." The paper is published as *Sagada Social Studies* No. 12 with the permission of Dr. H. Otley Beyer.

1. Pronounced "Tongrayan" by natives of the district.
2. A Lubuagan barrio on the Pacil River just below Dantalan.
3. Bontok has only two *papatayan*, but there is a third across the river in Samoki.
4. I.e., the Pacil.
5. Agpad, a prominent native leader of Tinglayan, had his first contact with extra-Montane authority when he was imprisoned by the Spaniards for theft. He subsequently attracted American attention by saving the lives of two constabulary officers drowning

in the Chico River. Soon afterwards he was appointed president and remained one of the most loyal petty officers of the American government until his death in the mid-1920's. Although he married many times, he never had a child.

6. The Comandancia Politico-Militar of Bontok was created by the Spanish Government on June 24, 1858.

7. Folkmar's most misleading error is this section attributing an indigenous autocratic one-man government to Tinglayan villages. The error is probably to be accounted for by three factors — Folkmar's own desire both as governor and anthropologist to find such a native institution, the eagerness of the American-appointed Tinglayan leaders to describe their government in terms acceptable to the Americans, and genuine translation failures. It is true that an individual Kalinga leader often attains a local prominence rendering him the most powerful person in the village, but such a person occupies no institutionalized position nor is there any native term to distinguish him from other leaders. No word has been reported from Cordillera dialects which could fairly be translated "chieftain" or "headman" in being restricted to one person at a time. Such terms as are used — e.g. *bravc*, go-between, leader, old man, father — are probably best rendered by the Spanish *principales*. The terms Folkmar here uses — *am-ama manlilintog* and *am-ama* (or *a-amma*) *mangitud-tuchu* — are common southern Kalinga terms even today and have the derivation Folkmar assigns them — but they are unambiguously plural. If the reader will read "old men" for "the old man," and "lawgivers" for "lawgiver," and keep in mind Folkmar's description of the qualifications for leadership, he will have a better understanding of Tinglayan political institutions both in 1906 and 1960.

8. The Bontoc legend of how Lumawig's wife floated down the Chico River in a coffin and married a second husband in Tinglayan is well-known in Tinglayan, but this union is not the source of any progeny — both sons born to the couple were killed while still youths in Kanew. [Cp. A.E. Jenks (1905: 203); Eleanor Moss (1954: 11); L.L. Wilson (1956: 156)]. Even today there are only two Bontoc women married into Tinglayan, and no earlier examples are recalled.

9. The Editor has been unable to locate this word in Kalinga.

10. At no point is Folkmar's imputation of authority to "headman" or "lawgivers" so seriously inaccurate as in suggesting that murder falls within the jurisdiction of any single individual.

11. Probably Besao, a village of western Bontoc, rather than Basao in the present municipality of Tinglayan.

12. Asuchu was the man's personal name, not a title or function.

13. Ladau is likewise a common Kalinga personal name.

14. *Pula* is probably Pul-an, the personal name of Fegsaw's wife.

15. Informants both in Tinglayan and the surrounding barrios of Basao, Butbut and Bugnay, many of whom were young men at the time of Folkmar's visits, consistently deny that Lumawig is ever invoked in prayers. The story of Lumawig and his wife's second marriage in Tinglayan is well known but considered a Bontoc story, and it is told as a sort of bedtime story around the hearth at home, not during any public or religious ceremony.

16. This whole description is so typical of a Bontoc *cañao* and so unlike pagan practices in Tinglayan today that one must conclude either that the people of Tinglayan used to have Bontoc religious customs and have forgotten it or that Folkmar and his Ilocano interpreter were mistaken.

17. Among Kalingas, marriages are not considered binding until a child is born, and childlessness is a common and frequent ground for separation.

18. Informants could not recognize this word.

19. Aunts are also called by these two terms.

20. Presumably "Ilocano" not "Igorot."

21. The word *olag* means "plant" in Tinglayan, and no such house is known or remembered today.

22. At present, *manchachawak* and *mansasapui* are always women; *insispuc* is a Bontoc word.

23. *Kinuyug* in modern Tinglayan dialect means "accompany;" such group work as is here described is called *pinango*.

24. *Dang-as* is a Bontoc word (with a slightly different meaning); the Tinglayan word is *lopyas*. The presence of these many non-Tinglayan terms is probably to be accounted for by the fact that Folkmar's interpreter, Nicasio Balinag, was an Ilocano who settled in Bontoc.

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