

## THE DEVELOPMENT OF STUDIES IN CORDILLERA ETHNOGRAPHIC RESEARCH

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This paper presents a sketch of the development of Cordillera ethnographic research from the early Spanish contact to the present. Due to time and space constraints, it could not cover a comprehensive review of the large volume of literature on Cordillera ethnography. The inaccessibility of some articles and studies further limited the scope of this paper. Hence, studies covering Cordillera linguistics, archaeology, and physical anthropology have not been included.

The introductory portion of the paper attempts to trace ethnographic accounts in the early reports of Spanish military commanders and missionaries. It tries to look into the reasons for the attraction/repulsion of the Spanish conquerors, missionaries, and travellers towards the peoples of the Cordillera.

The second part attempts at a short review of the development of Cordillera ethnography during the Spanish period. This is followed by a brief review of the contributions of the American anthropologists who pioneered Cordillera ethnographic research during the American colonial rule and goes on to the present (1978).

To account for dissimilarities in Cordillera cultures, migration theories have been put forward, and later challenged, in the light of available data. Controversies stimulated more ethnographic researches, as seen in later years.

The paper ends with a short assessment of the unresolved controversy on the different theories to account for the presence of Cordillera populations and cultures, such as "waves of migration," "independent development," and "lowland runaways."

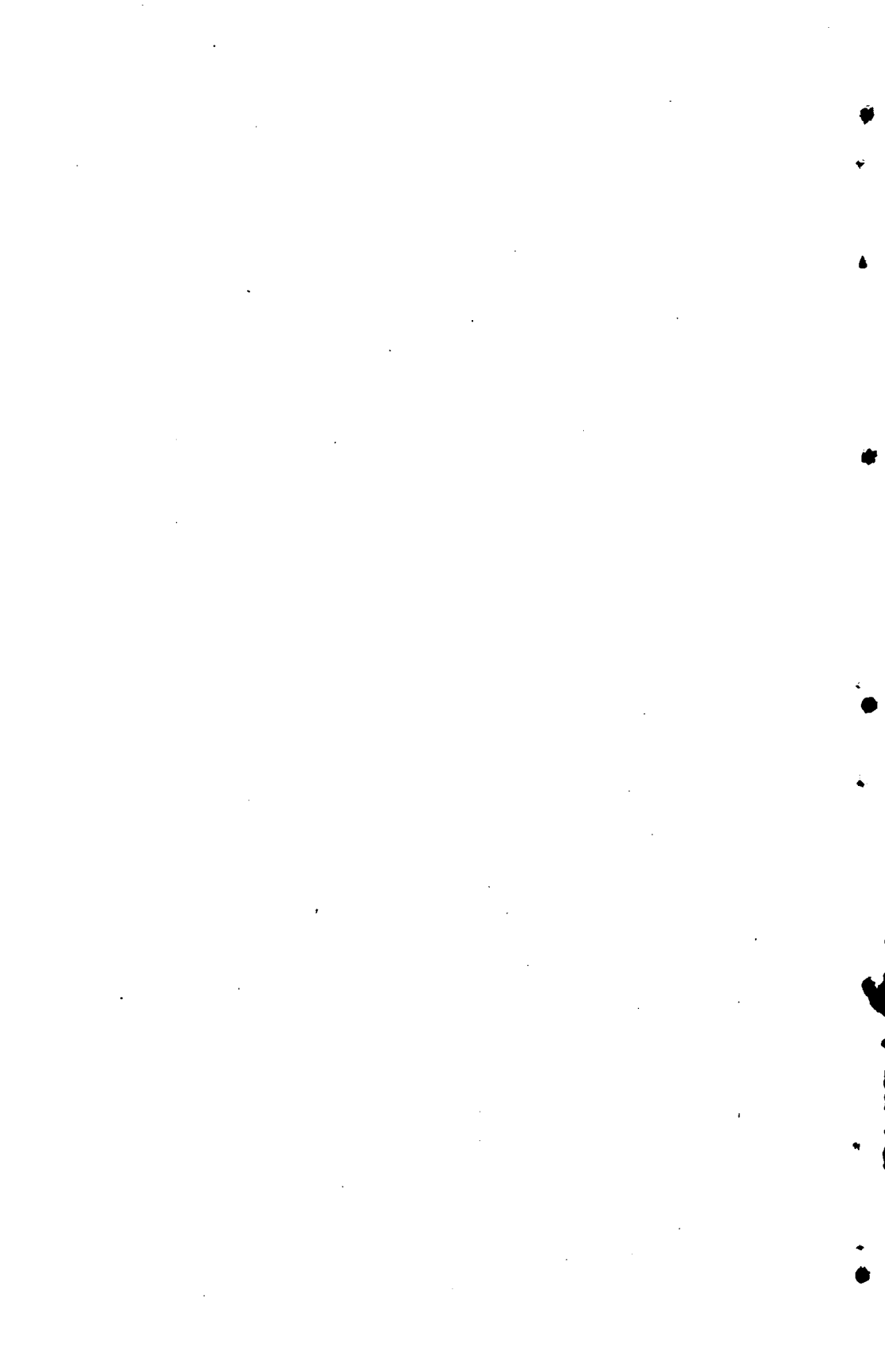
Finally, it presents a short assessment of the gaps in Cordillera ethnography and suggestions for future research.

### Introduction

The inhabitants of the Cordillera successfully resisted assimilation into the Spanish empire for three centuries and in the pro-

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more intimate observations were later provided by the military and missionary incursions during the nineteenth century. They had reinforced the concept of dissimilarity between lowland and highland Filipinos, but, as Scott puts it, "strangely had failed to rouse an awareness that the various Cordillera tribes were dissimilar from one another" (1974:305).

In the second half of the nineteenth century, four European travellers from north of the Alps, namely, Carl Semper, Richard von Dresche, Hans Meyer, and Alexander Schadenberg, visited the Cordillera primarily because of scientific curiosity. Not biased by military or missionary motives, they were able to leave personal accounts of their observations. Semper was a naturalist who spent eight months in the mountains of northern Luzon in 1861 collecting butterflies, mollusks, and other zoological specimens. Von Drasche was an Austrian industrialist who made a month's geologic reconnaissance of the Cordillera in 1875 as part of a study on volcanos and volcanic formation in Asia. Meyer was a young German university graduate who spent the months from July to October 1882 in Abra, Benguet and Lepanto during a two-year globe-circling trip. Schadenberg was a German pharmacist who resided in Vigan and Manila. His several excursions into the Cordillera between 1886 to 1889 made him the only one among the four to observe the inhabitants of all the five areas of what is now called BIBAK (Benguet, Ifugao, Bontok, Apayao, Kalinga) country, in the hope of throwing some light on Ferdinand Blumentritt's theory that the Philippines had been populated by two distinct Malay migrations, the first of which had practiced head-hunting.

The peoples of the Cordillera long attracted the attention of ethnographers especially with regards to their origin. All attempts to solve this puzzle have been speculated on. Blumentritt (1882) for instance, in his admirable paper, "An Attempt at an Ethnography of the Philippines," concluded:

... the probably Papuan original population of the island of Luzon, the Negritos, was displaced by two Malayan invasions to such an extent that it now exists only scattered in isolated tribal islands in the country. The first invasion of Malays drove the Negritos back from the coast into the mountains of the interior, where they remained undisturbed until the second Malayan invasion. This latter forced the Malayan coast dwellers in their turn back into the interior of the land and took possession of the shores, where its tribes are still settled. The Negritos on the other hand were absorbed by the dispossessed Malays of the first invasion through war and massacre to such an extent that they now form no cohesive tribe ... the Malays of the first invasion, which prob-

ably originated in Borneo, are the tribes of the Igorrotes, Guinaangs, Abacas, Gaddanes, etc., who thus inhabit the mountain ranges of the interior of Luzon, while the Malays of the second invasion – Tagalogs, Pampangos, Visayans, Bikols, Ilokanos, Pangasinans, and Cagayanos – inhabit the coastal regions, where they were discovered by the Spaniards arriving in the third quarter of the sixteenth century. (Quoted in Scott 1975:104-105).

Ferdinand Blumentritt characterized the first Malay invasion as practicing head-hunting as opposed to the second which did not. However, erroneously thinking that both the Tinguians and Catalaganes were not head-hunters, he found it necessary to subdivide the first migration into separate invasions. Had Blumentritt had access to Spanish historical records, he would have found head-hunting a poor criterion for differentiating the two invasions since missionary friars during the first generation of the conquest also reported this custom among the people in the Tagalog Region, Zambales, Pampanga, Pangasinan, Ituy (Nueva Viscaya), and Cagayan. His basic theory of a series of migrations of varying stages of cultural development was later refined by H. Otley Beyer in his (1918) "The Non-Christian Tribes of the Philippines," *Census of the Philippine Islands*.

Among the Ifugao, five generations of devoted Dominican friars who exposed themselves to Cordillera culture – and dangers – long and close enough to understand it intimately have left a record of their insights. Fray Jose Tomas Villanova in the 1850's quickly learned the intricacies of Mayaoyao politics, and Father Alarcon sought out motivations behind customs which were considered most offensive to European moralists. However, the most distinguished in this tradition was the late Fray Juan Villaverde, who spent a quarter of a century in Kiangan before his health broke down in 1897. He later died at sea on the way back to Spain, leaving for posthumous publication his scholarly "Supersticiones de los Igorotes Ifugaos." (Scott 1974: 320-321). This work, despite its title, is a study of Kiangan religion. It records the basic cosmology of a remarkably complex pagan universe, describing a lengthy pantheon with almost fond detail, and presents enough well-ordered data to construct a real Ifugao theology.

An important but little known book about the peoples of the Cordillera is Father Angel Perez's 1902 *Igorotes: estudio geografico y etnografico sobre algunos distritos del Norte de Luzon* (Igorots: A geographic study of some districts of northern Luzon). Father Perez was an Agustinian missionary stationed in Kayan from 1886 until the end of the Spanish regime. His book

begins with a section on history recounting many Spanish punitive and exploratory expeditions, and giving a brief account of each one of the Politico-Military Commandants of Lepanto. He, too, discusses possible origins of the Igorots and the Filipinos in general, and then describes the Cordillera peoples under five headings — Burika, Busaos, tetepanes, Guinaanes, and Kianganes—Mayaoyaos. He speculates about similarities with the Japanese but most of his descriptions of native customs and religion are incorrect.

### Ethnography During The Early American Period

Soon after the establishment of American authority, a Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes was set up for the purpose of studying the non-Christians “in order to find how their interest might be best served” (Forbes 1928: Vol. 1: 592). Consequently, ethnological surveys were made in northern Luzon resulting in the establishment of government administrative units as more was known about the people. In 1902, Bontoc was established as an administrative unit (Worcester 1914, Vol. II: 551).

The first attempt by American anthropologists at a systematic research among the Cordillera peoples was pioneered by Dr. Albert E. Jenks. It was also the first attempt at overseas fieldwork of an American anthropologist. Jenks was Chief of the Ethnological Survey of the Department of the Interior in the Philippines when he completed his book *The Bontoc Igorot* in 1905. He first met the Bontocs during an expedition in 1902, and in 1903 he took up residence in a Bontoc village for five months with his wife Maude Jenks. It was during this period that he made the extensive study which resulted in an excellent description of the people's material culture, and a preliminary account of their social, political, economic, and religious life. In the introductory part of his book, he describes the Bontoc as:

... a very likeable man ... He is of kindly disposition, is not servile, and is generally trustworthy. He has a strong sense of humor ... I recall with great pleasure the months spent in Bontoc pueblo, and I have a most sincere interest and respect for the Bontoc Igorot as a man (1905: 15).

After the span of more than half a century, Jenks' ethnographic accounts on Bontoc culture still hold true, except for minor changes brought about by acculturation. Government administrators that came and went, and not a few writers have echoed Jenks' accounts (e.g., Worcester, Kane, Cole, Keesing).

During the American colonial administration Cordillera cultures were little disturbed by the usual obsession of Western administrators to "civilize" indigenous non-western peoples. This was largely due to a U.S. policy set during the American occupation, after President McKinley decided to send the Taft Commission to the Philippines to help the military authorities in the administration of the islands, and to facilitate the transition from a military to a civilian government. His instruction to the Commission pertaining to the non-Christian tribes was:

In dealing with the uncivilized tribes of the islands the Commission should adopt the same course followed by congress in permitting the tribes of our North American Indians to maintain their tribal organization and government . . . Such tribal governments should, however, be subjected to firm and wise regulation; and without undue or petty interference constant and active effort should be exercised to prevent barbarous practices and introduce civilized customs (Worcester and Hayden 1930: 797).

Horn, in his book "Orphans of the Pacific" (1941: 189), observed and wrote on matters concerning administration of government in northern Luzon:

When Americans tackled the problem of governing the pagans (of northern Luzon) they sent in administrators who were remarkable for their respect of pagan customs. While they were firm disciplinarians, especially on the matter of head-hunting, they wanted to leave undisturbed, even to make use of, as much as they could in the pagan culture.

Another pioneer anthropologist was Fay Cooper Cole who lived among the Tinguians during his fieldwork from 1907 to 1908. Cole gathered data on Tinguian religion, social organization, and folklore and published these in 1922. He tried to present an explanation for the observed differences among the ethnic groups in northern Luzon and others in the Philippines:

I hold, (that) we find evidences of at least two series of waves and periods of migration, the members of which have similar physical type and language. It appears that they came from somewhat different localities of southeast Asia and had, in their old homes, developed social organization and other elements of culture radically different from one another - institutions and groupings which they brought with them to the Philippines, and which they have maintained up to the present time (1922: 235-236).

Right after the turn of the century, ethnographic and linguistic research among the Ibaloi of Benguet was contributed by Otto Scheerer, a German who settled in what was to become the city of Baguio when the American occupation forces arrived. His knowledge of the language and local ethnography made him par-

ticularly useful to the new colonial regime. He became Provincial Secretary of Benguet in 1900, acted as a guide and interpreter for the Taft Commission, and wrote on the Ibaloy Igorots and their agriculture for the Commission's report. He moved to Japan in 1901 where he taught German and completed a study on *Nabaloi Dialect* (1905). He later returned to the Philippines to become a faculty member of the University of the Philippines. He served as instructor and professor until his retirement in 1929. He died in 1938 after 35 years of linguistic research, teaching, and publishing in German, Spanish and English. Among his works, *On Baguio's Past* (1931-1932) is a successful comparison of oral traditions preserved in a prominent family of Benguet Igorots, and the events recorded in several Spanish books published between 1904 and 1906.

Another pioneer in Ibaloy ethnography is Claude R. Moss who lived among the Kabayan Nabaloi while he was supervisor of Public Schools. Some of Moss' major publications are *Nabaloi Law and Ritual* (1920), *Nabaloi Tales* (1924) and *Kankanay Ceremonies* (1920).

Fieldwork among the Ilongots was pioneered by William Jones, the first American anthropologist to be killed in the Cordillera while doing fieldwork. He studied the Italon Ilongots of Nueva Vizcaya at the same time Fay and Mabel Cole were doing fieldwork among the Tinguians from 1907 to 1908. Letters, reports, and other data related to the Italon group of Ilongots, and "An Unpublished Diary" of William Jones (1907-1909) is available at the Chicago Natural History Museum.

Research among the Ilongot was picked up by Renato and Michelle Rosaldo (Stanford University) from 1967 to 1969, and from 1972 to 1973. Studies dealing with kinship, social organization, and symbolism are some of the published works of these Ilongot scholars.

Among the Ifugao scholars, H. Otley Beyer, the most noted, had written extensively on the Ifugao with whom he lived and married. His ethnological interest is not just limited to Cordillera cultures, but covers the whole archipelago. Most of his writings and other collected ethnographic materials are available in the Beyer Collection Series, now in microfilm at the U.P., Diliman Main Library.

In accounting for the differences among Cordillera cultures and other Philippine groups, Beyer suggested a migration theory that tried to account for the differences in ethnic cultures in the

Cordillera. He suggested that the ancestors of Filipinos entered the Philippines from Asia in different waves of migrations. This theory was expressed in "The Non-Christian Peoples of the Philippines" 1918 *Census of the Philippine Islands* but made popular in his "Philippine Saga A Pictorial History of the Archipelago Since Time Began." published by *The Evening News* in 1947. His theory has been persistently quoted in almost all modern history books as fact.

According to this theory, the ancestors of the Negrito pygmies migrated into the Philippines about 25,000 or 30,000 B.C. Then about 5,000 B.C. came a group he called "Indonesian A" who were tall, slender and light skinned with thin, sharp faces, and their descendants are to be found today in Apayao, and parts of Abra, Kalinga, and Ifugao. Another wave called "Indonesian B" supposedly came around 1500 B.C. from Southern China, sailing in dugout boats to Luzon and Formosa. Beyer believed that they had thick lips, large noses and were dark and stocky, that they used stone tools, and knew how to grow *gabi* and dry rice in *kaingins*. Their descendants are supposed to be found among the Ibanag, Gaddang, and parts of Ifugao, Ilocos Norte, and Kalinga. Then between 800 and 500 B.C., a more advanced group of migrants arrived with copper and bronze tools and the knowledge of how to build rice terraces. Two or three hundred years later came the Malays sailing their boats up from the south along Palawan, Mindanao, and the Visayas. Beyer believed they brought the horse and carabao with them as work animals, and their descendants are to be found in Ifugao, Bontok, and Abra. He also believed that the present lowland populations of the Ilocos, Visayas, and Tagalog regions came still later.

Another theory put forward by Beyer is the age-dating of the Cordillera rice terraces, especially the famous ones in Banawe. Beyer dated the original terraces at 2000 B.C.

The view that rice terracing techniques were brought to the Philippines by a migrant group is supported by Beyer (1918), Blumentritt (1882), Keesing and Keesing (1934), and Barton (1919). Speculations on their origin usually refer to "somewhere" across the China sea in the mountains of Asia. Other zones have also been suggested such as Java or far-off Japan. Certain cultural parallels have been noted, especially between the Lepanto-Bontok groups and the terracing Naga mountain peoples of Assam.

Beyer suggested that as many as five post Negrito migrations must have occurred to account for the racial and cultural charac-



teristics of the Luzon peoples, with most of them affecting the northern zone. Beyer did a "detailed" study of the terracing systems throughout the Mountain Province and made it a part of a general survey of the Non-Christian peoples for the 1918 Philippine Census. Beyer writes:

The general results of this study seem to indicate that the culture in question originally came to the Gulf of Lingayen and the west coast of northern Luzon from South China, and that it spread up the Agno and Kayapa river valleys and across certain relatively low watersheds into the upper ends of the Ifugao valleys, where it became established and underwent a period of development and gradual expansion . . . in a general northward direction, eventually spreading over the greater part of Bontok, Lepanto, and western Kalinga to the borders of the province of Abra . . . The culture of southern Benguet may have been an offshoot directly from the Agno valley, while that of northern Benguet may have come over from Lepanto or western Ifugao (1918: 936).

Roy Franklin Barton, another pioneer in Ifugao and Kalinga ethnographic studies, was living among the Ifugao as supervising teacher when he became interested in their language and ways of life. While H. Otley Beyer was stationed in Banawe, Barton concentrated on the Kiangan region. *The Half-Way Sun* (1930) gives an account of his life among the Ifugaos and the problems involved in the administration of the Mountain Province. His first major publication, *Ifugao Law* (1919), is still a classic in studies of primitive jurisprudence. Another popular contribution of his to Cordillera studies on institutions is his *The Kalingas: Their Institutions and Custom Law* (1949). In this book, Barton describes Kalinga customs and local "laws" in terms used in modern nations with centralized governments. The most quoted (and perhaps the most criticized) part of Barton's *Kalingas* is his chapter entitled, "The Regional Unit: Its Institutions and Custom Law." In this chapter, he presents the classic description of the Kalinga peace-pact as a "State" with local government, police powers, and domestic and foreign relations, including wars and treaties. The power in one of these "local governments" is a prominent leader called a *pangat* who guarantees the safety of anybody from the other pact holder's territory.

In the area of kinship, Barton's major premise was that kinship was the preliminary basis for social relationship and that each individual or sibling group is the center of a kinship or family-group whose "unity must at all hazards be preserved" (*Ifugao Law*:8).

During Barton's internment (Second World War), he completed his book, *The Religion of the Ifugaos* (1946) where he

suggested that portions of Ifugao, with its small hamlets scattered over the mountain sides and valleys, were settled by migrants from the Lepanto region "Proto-Kankanays." The suggestion is in accord with the linguistic evidence which indicates that Ifugao is closest to Kankanay-Bontok, with a separation of an order of about a thousand years.

### Cordillera Ethnography: 1930's To Present

Felix Keesing (1934) has also done fieldwork among the Bauko Kankanay (Lepanto region), and briefly among the Bontok. He studied the social organization of both ethnic groups and noted the striking similarities of their cultural practices. His criticism against Jenks' (1905) investigation on Bontok culture is the over-emphasis on the *ato* organization and the neglect to explore the super-*ato* organization. He added that the area on kinship is a weak part of the study.

Keeping proposed a radical theory (1962) to account for the peopling of the Cordillera. This will be discussed in the next pages.

In 1941, Fred Eggan, an eminent anthropologist of the Philippine Studies Program, University of Chicago, and with growing interest in Cordillera cultures, opened up a new line of thought. In a paper ("Some Aspects of Social Change in the Northern Philippines"), Eggan points to a series of cultural gradients in the Cordillera suggestive of dynamic changes and localized developments that took definite directions. He noted that social and political organization is less elaborated among the Ifugao, and then increases in complexity through the Bontok, Lepanto, and Tinguian areas and the Ilokano in the West. Conversely, terracing has its highest development among the Ifugao, and then decreases in its technical efficiency in a westernly gradient. An emphasis on both wealth and class differentiation increases in the east to west direction are features of the elaborating social organization. Eggan interpreted these variations partly as a product of long continued contacts with Asiatic and European peoples, and partly as representing local cultural drift resulting from ecological and behavioural factors. On the basis of both archaeological and linguistic evidence, Eggan has subsequently suggested that the "wedge" of Lepanto-Bontok groups represents a separate migration, as he states here:

There are growing evidence, both archaeological and linguistic, for a direct migration into the northern Philippines from the region of

south China coast Hainan Island. Paul Benedict's (1942: 576-601) linguistic studies in particular, have suggested that this is a major jumping-off place for Malayo-Polynesian speaking peoples for the Oceanic region as a whole. But it does not necessarily follow that the "wedge" of Lepanto-Bontok peoples, who are believed to have entered the Philippines between 1500 and 500 B.C., brought along the above mentioned institutions as part of their cultural baggage . . . Even so, small loads of migrants weren't likely to maintain large-scale community patterns in a new land under pioneering conditions. It is much more probable that the large compact community structures of the Mountain Province are a relatively late development related to population increase in a region of limited resources in land and water (1954: 1-2).

Kessing, writing in 1934, suggested:

These forms of social organization in Bontok and Lepanto show every sign of being old, rather than recent developments. So far as they are present in Ifugao, they seem to be an Indonesian understratum showing through the Malayan culture that came afterwards to the area.

However, Kessing is to completely reverse his above hypothesis in his book, *The Ethnohistory of Northern Luzon* (1962) where he stated that one of the purposes of his research on the ethnohistory of northern Luzon, was to see if the records could shed light on the question of whether the wet rice terracing techniques might have been a local Cordillera development. Kessing writes that the lack of reference to the great terracing systems until so late might appear offhand to indicate that they were a product of comparatively recent innovation. The argument he presents here has purposely emphasized the possibility that the terracing system developed as late as the beginning of the Spanish Regime, and hence challenges the migration hypotheses which give it much greater antiquity.

Lambrecht (1967), reviewing the Ifugao *hudhud*, found that Kiangang genealogy went back to only 12 generations and, allowing for two or three generations of forebears, "since genealogies were not yet needed in the beginning," he suggested 1680 as the possible time when the terraces were first built. This seems to support Kessing's hypothesis on the Kiangang rice terraces.

The controversy continues to be unresolved. In 1961, Robert Maher, of Western Michigan University, decided to excavate the terraces. Work was delayed until early 1973 and the results were revealed recently. Using Carbon-14 dating, Maher has announced that a charcoal sample from a house terrace yielded data which support an occupation period very close to Beyer's estimates. The C-14 yielded a 2950 B.P. — or around 1000 B.C. However, Maher qualifies his findings by stating that "the radiocarbon dates ob-

tained apply to the area of the house terraces excavated at three sites. All other artifacts recovered must be regarded as being from a later age than the terrace with which they are associated. There was no age determination for the rice-terrace site itself." But Maher assumed that there was some degree of association between the technological skills for house-terracing and field-terracing construction (quoted in Patanne, E.P. 1975:39).

Eggan (1954:6) suggested that "there is need of extensive comparative studies of particular regions. Such intensive comparative studies are best carried out in a controlled historical framework. We need to know the relationships of the peoples of the Mountain Province to mainland and Oceanic groups, and to one another." Taking the hint from Eggan, a comprehensive historical-comparative study was carried out by Jules de Raedt (1964), in an attempt to shed some light on the cultural variations among the Cordillera shifting cultivators and the wet rice cultivators. His study investigated the apparent directions of change in religious representations concomitant with the shift in cultivation. He analyzed the changes in the representations of ancestors and the ancestor cult. In a historical-comparative study, De Raedt directs his research toward some aspects of the religious representations in relation to the socioeconomic aspects of the different ethnic groups inhabiting the Cordillera. He draws a synthesis showing that dry rice antedated wet rice terracing. This shift in method of cultivation, he pointed out, manifests an accompanying change in the social rank system from achievement to ascription. These changes are reflected in two aspects of the representation of the pantheon. With the shift from dry cultivation to wet rice cultivation came the shift from a "hostile" relation with the ancestors to a "friendly" one; he discusses, also, the increased involvement of the culture here (head-hunting patron) in the other ritual foci, especially the agricultural cycle.

Among the chain of scholars who have contributed to Cordillera ethnographic studies are the Belgian Fathers Francis Lambrecht, Morice Vanoverberg, Francis Billiet and Alfonso Claerhoudt (CICM). Lambrecht's rich contributions to Cordillera ethnography range from kinship to folklore, custom law, economics, religion, social organization, and culture change. He studied Ifugao culture perhaps more extensively and intensively than any scholar of Ifugao culture.

Father Claerhoudt lived among the Bokod Benguets, an Ibaloy group. He described their joys and sorrows in his writings.

He probed into their inner feelings through observation and analysis of their life cycle rituals. A series of these descriptive accounts are entitled *The Songs of a People* (1967), published by the Saint Louis Press.

Father Billiet devoted much of his life working among the Bontok and Kalinga. In collaboration with Father Lambrecht, Billiet was able to share his knowledge of Kalinga culture in the publication of the *Kalinga Ullalim* (1970, 1971).

Father Vanoverbergh, a prolific student of Cordillera anthropology studied the culture of the northern Kankanay of Bauko. His extensive research papers cover the cultures of the Kankanay, Isneg, and Negritoes. Many of his papers have been published in foreign and local journals. In his noteworthy observations and analysis of the Cordillera peoples, he concluded:

The various so-called non-Christian tribes of the mountains of Luzon, while differing one from the other in numerous details, are actually essentially one. Whether they were originally one or have become so in the course of time is another question (1929:240-241).

Another student of Kankanay culture is Moises Bello (1972) who wrote on Kankanay social organization and culture change based on his fieldwork among the Bakun Kankanay of Western Benguet. He presents a detailed description and analysis of both material and social culture, field methods, life cycle, and the processes of culture change.

William Henry Scott, a distinguished and prolific author on Philippine history and on Cordillera ethnography, is an acknowledged authority on the mountain peoples of northern Luzon. He has lived and travelled extensively on the Cordillera since the middle 1950's. His interest, however, goes beyond the Cordillera to include other regions of the Philippines. Scott's researches and publications on the Cordillera history, ethnography, culture change, and bibliography, are great contributions to scholars and students of Cordillera ethnography and history. Scott has edited and annotated the German travellers' accounts in *German Travellers on the Cordillera* (1975) published by the Filipiniana Book Guild.

Work on the ethnography of Cordillera political institutions was pioneered by Barton. Another anthropologist, Edward P. Dozier, also did fieldwork among the Poswoy Kalingas. He devoted particular attention to the Kalinga peace-pact. Dozier disagrees with Barton's view that the peace-pact system indicates Kalinga society at the threshold of state organization. Furthermore, Dozier argues:

... the Kalinga regional population group was, and still is, essentially a kinship unit while the peace pact system operates on the kinship principle and the related concept of the blood feud. Evidence for at least a practical departure from dependence on the kinship group exists in northern Luzon, but is found among the densely populated areas of the central part of the Cordillera rather than among the marginal Kalingas. (1966: 234).

Dozier viewed the Kalinga peace-pact or *bodong* as an obvious response to recent historical developments. The former regional isolationism of the Kalingas was broken by Western cultural penetration particularly by creating opportunities for trade and travel. He says that the earliest date for the establishment of the Kalinga peace-pacts is around the turn of the century. However, it may have begun earlier with the opening of the Spanish military roads or trails from Abra over the Cordillera central. His latter statement that Kalinga pacts may have begun earlier than the turn of the century is supported by De Raedt's findings on earlier dates of Buwaya pacts (i.e., 1850's to 1875), quoted on page 16 of his *Some Notes on Buwaya Society*, 1969.

Albert Bacdayan's dissertation (1967) is a descriptive inquiry into the operation of a functioning "primitive" socio-political institution. The thesis of his study is that the development of the Kalinga peace-pact has been due to the American government's use and sponsorship of it on the one hand, and the fact that it has been functional to the society in adjusting to the drastic changes wrought by the introduction of government authority on the other hand. He challenges the hypothesis shared by Barton (1949) and Dozier (1966) that the peace-pact is "an indigenous product of a natural evolutionary process." Bacdayan's view parallels that of Felix Keesing (1934) who believes that the peace-pact had been introduced by American administrators during the American regime as a means of governing the Kalingas and Bontoks.

Brett's study (1975) on the Bontok peace-pact, shows an indigenous inter-village political mechanism used to establish relative peace among the warring groups. The peace-pact allows safe passage and safe socioeconomic intercourse. An analysis of collected cases from *ator* elders, dates based on genealogical reckoning, an investigation into the terms used in relation to the peace-pact complex (i.e., conditions of the treaties, fines, and peace-pact rules), all fail to support the hypothesis that the peace-pact was "a government introduction, an American administrative invention, and therefore not indigenous to either (Kalinga) or Bontok" (Keesing 1934:137).

Another contributor to Cordillera ethnography is the late Larry Wilson, a noteworthy person who, by profession is a non-anthropologist, but has done much to contribute to the body of Cordillera literature, especially in the area of acculturation and folklore (see the *Skyland of the Philippines* 1956). Wilson is well-known for his leadership in the organization of the Baguio Religious Acculturation Conferences, commonly called BRAC. He invited missionaries of both Roman Catholic and Protestant denominations to these meetings. The aims are stated as follows: that religious groups in the Mountain areas of whatever faith should study together the problems of acculturation, so that through assimilation of fundamental values and adequate religious, social, and political attitudes, lasting benefits for the people concerned might result.

E. Arsenio Manuel whose scholarly contributions cover a wide range in the field of anthropology has not failed to contribute his part to Cordillera ethnography. Aside from various articles on Ifugao culture which were published in local magazines and journals, a short but stimulating paper was recently published entitled, "The Last Rites Over H. Otley Beyer" (1975). In this paper, Manuel presents a detailed description of Beyer's wake and some aspects of Banawe mortuary practice, custom law, religion, and material culture.

Some of the doctoral dissertations and master's theses based on Cordillera studies should be mentioned briefly here, especially by writers of their own culture. Dr. Pio Tadaoan's investigation (1969) offers a comprehensive view of the economic, political, religious, and social aspects of the culture of the peoples of the Mountain provinces. His study was made in relation with the objectives of the Commission on National Integration and the community school towards educating and integrating the Igorots with the greater body politic of the country.

Another dissertation in the field of education which may be of value to students of Cordillera culture is Kate Botengan's study (1977) which explores the life-ways of a Bontok community and family through beliefs and practices as they affect the education of its members. The ethnographic part of the thesis is of value to students of ethnography for comparative purpose. It gives an accurate view of Bontok social organization (i.e., the so-called trial marriage).

Other native contributors are Father Pablo Filog, Esteban Magannon, and Rufino Tima. Filog (1974) did a study on the

pagan religious rice agricultural cycle and the accompanying "rest days" called *tengao*. He suggested the incorporation of Bontok religious rest days into the Catholic calendar for the area. Instead of making Sunday the church service day (when most of the village folks work in their ricefields), the *tengao* was suggested as the day for holding church service. Filog also gives a full description of the rice agricultural cycle and the accompanying rituals.

Magannon (1969) and Tima (1962) both from Kalinga, have studied their indigenous religious system and have described and analyzed their findings as "perceived by the native."

A bulky dissertation on Kalinga religion is Jules de Raedt's eight hundred thirty five pages on "Myth and Ritual: A Relational Study of Buwaya Mythology, Ritual and Cosmology" (1969). Phyllis Flattery's thesis on "Aspects of Divination in the Northern Philippines" (1968), analyzed a survey of various kinds of omen-taking on the Cordillera.

Recent studies have also been carried out in the area of population, economics, and social organization. The current view to account for central Cordillera population density (Bontok-Kankanay regions) is the hypothesis which proposes that concentrated population was made possible by the development of wet rice irrigation which allowed for the concentration and support of a larger population. Robert Lawless (1977) investigated Kalinga ecology through economics and tried to show population theory (in the Bosserup tradition) application among the Kalinga. He emphasized the shift from a less intensive mode of cultivation to a more intensive one as due to population pressure.

Jesus Peralta (1974), in his unpublished dissertation based on fieldwork among the I'wak of eastern Benguet, presents another view that differs from Lawless' thesis. Peralta makes use of the microeconomic method outlined by Scheider (1975) and made the household the basic unit of the study. His findings show that the change from the shifting mode of cultivation to a more intensive kind does not follow necessarily from the pressures exerted by a population on the land, since shifts to other modes of productivity are possible. Peralta suggests that "the shift to intensive agriculture is possible only where there are no factors that would limit the spread of the requirements of the technology." He states further that "technological change is not a mathematical function of population pressure."

A much more technical report on field research methods is Conklin's "Some Aspects of Ethnographic Research in Ifugao"



(Transactions of the New York Academy of Sciences, Series no. 2, Vol. 30, no. 1) which gives a view of the methods of one of the most sophisticated workers in the field today. It also contains incidental details of rice terracing nowhere else recorded.

Two useful bibliographies are Conklin's "Ifugao in the South-east Asia Studies" (Yale University, Bibliography Series no. 11), and Scotts ("Manuscript Holdings in the Dominican Archives on the Pagans of Northern Luzon, (in the Historical Bulletin, vol. 11, No. 3). The former lists more than 659 titles containing information on Ifugao, both published works and manuscripts, some of which are impossible or difficult to obtain. The latter lists 261 letters and documents written in Spanish between 1620 to 1900, and contains an introduction which summarizes the historic and ethnographic content of the collection.

More bibliographies with focus on Cordillera ethnography or with sections on Cordillera materials are recommended here to aid students interested in Cordillera cultures. W.H. Scott's *Cordillera Bibliography* (1970), published by the Sagada Igorot Studies, deals exclusively with Cordillera literature. Another bibliography that includes Cordillera literature is Shiro Saito's annotated *Bibliography of Philippine Ethnography*. He divides his bibliographic materials into regions, making it convenient for any student searching for references.

E. Arsenio Manuel's *Philippine Folklore Bibliography* also incorporates Cordillera folklore which includes customs and beliefs, myths, folktales, proverbs, riddles, games, costumes, ornaments, and works dealing with the general culture of any group.

## SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Initial studies on Cordillera ethnography were fired with the desire to explain the resistance of the mountain peoples against Spanish subjugation, and to explain the cultural differences between these people and their lowland brothers. As the lowland ethnic groups became Christianized and "civilized" while their non-Christian brothers retained most of their indigenous culture, the two groups became more dissimilar culturally.

The earliest and most popular theory regarding these cultural differences advanced by missionaries, men of science, and a few European visitors, was the different "waves of migration" explanation. This view was carried over during the early American colonial

period, as emphasized by Cole, and later refined by H.O. Beyer who not only suggested different waves of migration, but included racial types that came in different periods of time, complete with their cultural kits from an earlier homeland. This theory became a standard explanation for the early population of the Philippines.

However, in the 1940's this theory was challenged by Eggan (1941) who accepted the hypothesis of separate migrations, but rejected the view that the social institutions and cultural practices found at present were brought into the Cordillera by early migrants. Eggan argued that much of the differentiation in the Cordillera has taken place locally as a result of adjustments into the new ecological conditions and increased population or "culture drift."

A more radical hypothesis is Keesing's (1962) suggestion that the mountain populations with the exception of the Benguet gold miners, were all lowlanders who ran away to the mountain to escape Spanish domination and to live in freedom.

Father Lambrecht's analysis of the *hudhud* epic indicates that Kiangan genealogy goes back to only 12 generations and dates the rice terraces. However, this may hold true for the Kiangan rice terraces, but may still leave some gaps in the analysis. Maher's findings (1973) in his archaeological excavations should also be considered in trying to search for explanations.

Keesing stated that one of the purposes of his research on the ethnohistory of the northern Luzon areas, was to test if the records could shed light on the question of whether the wet rice terracing techniques might have been a recent local development or an ancient technique brought into the Cordillera by migrants from south China. However, no direct answer has been offered. Unfortunately, the documents relating to central Cordillera are too scanty and too recent to throw light upon the chronological problems involved. Thus, Keesing's hypothesis appears too simplistic an explanation to account for a late Cordillera population. It may apply to some Cordillera groups but may not be acceptable for all.

More archaeological surveys, comparative ethnological probing, and glottochronological analysis, will have to be made if controversies are to be scientifically resolved.

The postwar years saw a new trend in the ethnographic studies. It gave emphasis to cultural processes and dynamics of change, gradually discarding the overemphasized diffusion hypothesis. The varied aspects of study have expanded to include social structure, analysis of institutions, and ecological studies.

However, in view of the vast amount of literature, there are still gaps in Cordillera ethnographic research. There is a lack of detailed description of related economic activities and land use data. Other forms of ecological documentation have not been included by earlier writers. Conklin, however, has done an extensive man-environment relation, but unfortunately, his study is not yet available to us.

Studies on ethnicity have been very few. There is a need to investigate the dynamics of ethnic relationships between the different groups and lowland-highland interaction ethnicity in relation to economic, social and political access, and the persistence and dissolution of ethnic boundary.

Eggan underscored (1954:6) the need for intensive comparative studies of particular regions. He added that such intensive comparative studies should be carried out in a controlled historical framework. In line with this suggestion, an investigation into comparative Cordillera political systems in the context of cultural – ecological analysis, should throw some light on the dynamics of cultural processes such as adaptation to historical, ecological and cultural changes.

Controlled comparative folklore studies should be carried out to throw some light on the gaps in ethnographic studies.

In comparative economic systems, analysis should be considered in the context of labor-land use, demographic, ecologic, religious and political factors.

These studies may aid Community Development agencies in understanding the Cordillera cultures before attempting to introduce change in their basic life-ways.

There is also a need to discover universals to help arrive at generalizations and explanations and to help account for the gaps and problems in Cordillera ethnography.

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