

## A BRIEF CHARACTERIZATION OF LEPANTO SOCIETY, NORTHERN PHILIPPINES

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The so-called "Lepanto," "Lepanto Igorot" or "northern Kankanai," one of the nine or so ethnic groupings into which the non-Christian mountain peoples of north Luzon island have been divided, are known only through fragmentary data.<sup>1</sup> No comprehensive study has yet been presented of their system of life, so that their relation to better known neighboring groups, the Bontok, Ifugao, Tinggian, and Kankanay (or southern Kankanai), has not been established with certainty. This paper offers a brief sketch of Lepanto society, and at the same time will make clearer their ethnic affiliations.<sup>2</sup>

### *People and History*

The name "Lepanto" is obviously of Spanish origin. It has been applied primarily to an administrative area, the boundaries of which have varied considerably under Spanish and American rule. Secondarily it has become transferred to the inhabitants, and more sharply to the predominant ethnic group here discussed. These people have no generic name for themselves, being identified by their community or immediate neighborhood (e.g., *Ibaukoka*, "the Bauko people"), so that the label can be adopted here.

The Lepanto number today about 20,000, this apparently representing an increase of roughly one-third from pre-Spanish days.<sup>3</sup> Like their neighbors they show more of the earlier Indonesian racial strain than do the dominantly Malayan peoples of the lowlands.<sup>4</sup> They have a distinctive dialect of their own, with the Bontok tongue as probably its closest collateral.<sup>5</sup> Rice terracing agriculturists, they live in

some thirty-four villages ("towns," *pueblos*, *barrios*) scattered on the high slopes and in pockets of the central cordillera where it dips to about the six thousand foot level at the Kayan-Bauko and Sumadel-Besao passes. That most of these communities have been long established is indicated by the extensiveness of their terrace systems; many of their names appear, too, in the records of the first Spanish expedition in 1665 (Blair and Robertson: 1903-1909; Vol. 37, 245-48).

Each village is near the headwaters of a stream or streams which provide the all-important irrigation water, and a direct correlation seems to exist between the extensiveness of the flow and the size of the community concerned. Only rarely are two villages dependent on the same stream. Apparently a main reason why such groups went to the heights, once they had left, or were pushed from the adjacent narrow coastal belt, was because they could not risk having any other group in control of their water sources above. The healthy temperate climate of these highlands, too, with their grassy slopes and pine forests to relieve the rugged contours, may have appealed to them by contrast with the malaria-ridden jungle belt that goes up to about the three thousand foot level.<sup>6</sup>

The Lepanto people have had a longer and more intensive experience with modern intrusive influences than the Bontok, Ifugao, and other mountain peoples further inland, but less so as yet than the Tinggian and Ibaloi who were more accessible.<sup>7</sup> The Spaniards first occupied the adjacent lowlands in 1572, but it was nearly a century before the first expedition penetrated to Lepanto country. Not finding gold as they

had hoped, and because of the costliness of maintaining such remote outposts, they withdrew after three years. Another century and a half passed, marked only by indirect influences and by desultory contacts with the few Lepanto who visited the lowlands. Exactly what changes took place in Lepanto culture as a result of this early interaction it is impossible to know; they may well have been considerable in some aspects of life, as will be noted later.<sup>8</sup> From 1831 on the district was re-explored, and in 1852 it was constituted a politico-military *comandancia*. Apart from several "revolts" and sporadic headhunting, an era of peace set in. Because the Lepanto communities were mostly on or near a main trail (later a road) from the Ilocos coast into the wilder interior they came particularly strongly under the influence of the Spaniards and of lowland Filipinos and Chinese who entered the region as soldiers, traders, and laborers. In one district, Mankayan, copper mines were exploited by a Spanish company, while the officials pressed the people in some districts to grow coffee and tobacco. Missions and schools were established at certain points.

When Spanish control in the Philippines was overthrown in 1898 the mountain region lapsed back for a four year period. This was marked by a resurgence of headhunting in the less pacified districts, though not in Lepanto except as the Bontoks made raids there. Aguinaldo's flight from pursuing American forces in 1899 took him and them through Lepanto. Political reorganization under United States auspices occurred in 1902. From that time forward, American and more recently Filipino administrators have conducted an aggressive "civilizing" process along with Catholic and Protestant missions. Several educated mountaineers, including Lepantos, have risen to high posts in the government system. How far change has taken place will be seen to some extent in this paper as a by-product of the ethnographic analysis.

#### *Lepanto as an Ethnic Unit*

Lepanto stands out as a distinctive culture area, marked off by immediately obvious features like dress, house style, color conventions,

and dialect, as well as many unique elements of organization, custom and belief. At the same time it shares the general patterns of life characteristic of the so-called "Igorot" communities in these mountains: an economic base with wet-rice culture as the nucleus, the Malayan "generation" type of kin structure, an aristocratic class system validated by wealth, a narrow range of political loyalties, the "cañao" (a gathering, solemn or festive, marked by animal sacrifice and haruspication), and an interpretation of things supernatural which involves a "cult" of ancestral spirits.<sup>9</sup>

As with the mountain groups in general, the boundaries between Lepanto and the neighboring culture areas are not absolutely clear-cut, in spite of mountain barriers and other isolating features. There are transitional villages in which Lepanto traits combine with, or are replaced by those characteristic of the adjoining ethnic units. The villages to the northwest in what is now the Besao administrative district show Tinggian influence, especially nowadays since people of that group trade extensively and even settle there; the Bagnen and Sabangan districts to the northeast have marks of Bontok; the Monamon district to the east hints of Ifugao influences; and the Banaao district, and particularly that of Mankayan to the south merge into the Southern Kankanay. To the west on the seaward cordillera are the so-called Amburayan communities who seem to show very close affiliations with the Lepanto, though their system of life has been so changed in modern days, and the information on them is so meager, that the exact relation cannot yet be established. The typical patterns of Lepanto culture appear most clearly in the Kayan-Bauko district of central Lepanto, comprising nineteen villages, and it will be primarily with these that the paper will deal.

The eight "districts" here mentioned, comprising the administrative units of today, likewise form from the ethnographic viewpoint sub-areas within the larger culture area. Here too, the natural contours of the country provide the dividing lines. Each comprises a cluster of villages with distinctive variations of custom and speech.

More minutely still, every community has its own ethnic peculiarities. The village was in pre-white days a politically autonomous entity. In view of the headhunting usages of the region it was always something of an armed camp. Inter-village alliances sometimes occurred on the basis of mutual convenience, and those grouped in a district seemed to have been for most of the time friendly. But both the folktales and modern memories indicate that "incidents" might bring about hostilities and feuding even between immediate neighbors. Marriages crossed village lines to some extent, especially in the case of aristocratic lineages, and under recognized conditions there could be visiting, as in the festival *cañaos* of these families. Minor trading also went on, some communities being special manufacturing centers for pottery, metal artifacts, woodwork, and the like. Such inter-village mingling has obviously increased considerably in modern days, this made possible by the white man's peace, and it is hard to know how far it occurred under indigenous conditions.

Even today, however, the Lepanto are loath to venture far from their own communities. There is still a lingering fear of the headaxes of their Bontok neighbors, while outside their own familiar group they may run foul of supernatural forces (alien spirits, or black magic) over which their traditional neutralizers will have no effect. Several communities are particularly feared for their witchcraft. Their main travelling today is by motor truck to get jobs at the Benguet gold mines, or to the lowlands where they earn money by working for Christian Filipinos, especially between the times when the rice crop is planted and harvested. Government attempts to build up larger political unities through formal peace-pacts and district administrative machinery have not as yet gone deep, and only among the schooled minority are large "Igorot" and Filipino loyalties taking form. The village is still the key territorial and political unit, and on this attention may now be concentrated.

#### *The Village Community*

The typical Lepanto village of today has

close to seven hundred inhabitants, living in a cluster of about one hundred and fifty pyramid-like houses. Several communities are considerably larger (one in 1932 had 1,213 people and 245 houses), while a number have less than three hundred people. These latter are either recent offshoots of older communities, or on the higher slopes of Monamon district where irrigation water is scarce. The size of the village in pre-white days was probably smaller by about one third; in Otukan, for example which now has 150 houses the first Spanish expedition reported "about 100 houses," and Bauko had "about ninety," instead of the present 148. Even nowadays no one lives outside the village, though the tendency is for the marginal houses to spread out somewhat more.

Nearly always the living site is on a hump or knoll which offers defensive advantages and does not lend itself to easy irrigation. It is reported that in rare cases where a community has prolonged misfortunes such as fires or epidemics, it may shift residence as a whole to some new place nearby. The ground is usually on the slope, so that the houses stand upon a series of levelled earth and stone platforms. Between these are dividing walls, usually of stone but sometimes of bamboo, and generally two or three feet high. The stone walls also serve as the village pathways — the rice terraces are all at home on narrow stone walks such as also make up the edges of the rice fields. Pigs will occupy special walled off places, or else in the villages nearest Bontok are kept in pits (Jenks 1905:108). From above, the village has a roughly checkerboard appearance. A spring, or the nearby stream, affords a water supply. Immediately back of, and above the village is a sacred grove or tree with its place of sacrifice for community *cañaos*. The steplike rice terraces, the surrounding slopes where dry land crops, timber, and other products are obtained, some high lookout points that command a view of the country around, a nearby peak that is counted the "sacred mountain," various places for "out-of-town" omen reading and sacrifices, and burial places along the cliffs and hillsides complete the total community setting.

The Lepanto had no generic term for the village, each being known by its own name. Numerous labels exist, however, for particular zones in and around it. Various observers have spoken of the "great union and strong community sense that prevails." Origin stories of village usually assert that the inhabitants sprang mainly from a small group of migrating relatives, even in several cases from the intermarrying offspring of an original pair. This acts as a binding force,<sup>10</sup> along with the criss-cross of more recent kin ties, and varied forms of economic, social, religious and aesthetic activity in which the whole community has a part.

The psychological significance of living in such small stable groupings, where ancestors and other familiar spirit forces are considered to play a role along with the contemporary generations, where the stimulating and controlling forces of public opinion, gossip, and the like are especially potent, and where the people are conscious of the fact that their customs, values, and interpretations of living differ in many respects even from those of villages in plain sight, cannot be over-emphasized. All activity must be seen as taking place with the whole village as its backdrop.<sup>11</sup> The entity of the village is perhaps expressed most clearly at the time of the community *cañaos* — the seasonal rituals of agriculture which include both solemn and festive occasions, sacrifices when fires or epidemics occur, and so on. During such periods no villager is allowed to leave, and no stranger can enter past the taboo signs on the trails (see Robertson 1914: 477, 479, 490, 494-95, 510, 514). More specific reference to village activities will appear in further sections of the paper.

Between the village unit and the house unit, the Lepanto have a sub-village grouping much like the well-known Bontok "village section" or "ward" (Jenks 1905: 49 ff.). In Lepanto this receives several names, the most widely used of which are *at-ato* and *dap-ay*; the Spaniards referred to it as the *tribunal*.<sup>12</sup>

### *The Village Section*

According to its size, a village may contain from three to seventeen of these sections. Any

one section may include from ten to forty houses, with the average around twenty-five. Often minor features of contour mark the boundaries, though this is not essential.

The village section has a name, a body of associated lore, and varied economic, social, and ritual functions. Its relation to the village unit, the individual households, and the larger kinship groupings is complex, and nowhere in the literature is it at all fully described.

The visible center of each *at-ato* as it will be called here, is a platform of no fixed shape, usually about seven yards by four, built of rough stone work and in most cases raised above the surrounding ground. At the back end is a low smoke-blackened hut where wooden sleeping planks are set up and ritual objects are stored. In front is a paved "court" with a fireplace which gives warmth and is also used for singeing and cooking chickens, pigs, or dogs in sacrifices. Around the court is a rough wall in the form of large stones, polished by generations of sitting and squatting men and boys. A wooden post stands in some part of the platform; at *cañao* time it is decked with *runo* leaves that warn all unauthorized persons to keep away, and it has other ritual uses. Beneath each platform there is said to be a resident spirit (*inumbon*) taken into account importantly in the ceremonial.<sup>13</sup>

The most obvious uses for such structures are as "club houses" for males during the day, and as sleeping quarters for boys and unattached men (unmarried youths, widowers, the divorced) at night. Taboo to the women and girls, the platform offers a sanctum where the men may gather (*mangat-ato*) to smoke and chat, and a center for more formal councils of its particular adherents, or else of larger groupings within the village. Growing boys get much of their education here, hearing from the old men the lore of the community and also the special body of history that pertains to the *at-ato* concerned. As with village unity, these sectional affiliations show most clearly on certain ritual occasions: either a *cañao* carried on by an *at-ato* as such, or else certain community ceremonies in the course of which every man "assembles at the *at-ato* which

controls him." The seasonal agricultural *cañaos* of the village, for example, require this latter at certain stages. Before transplanting the rice shoots from the seed-beds and again before harvesting, at least the older men spend the night at their *at-atos* preparatory to an expedition which goes at dawn to the sacred mountain to observe the omens and invite the ancestral spirits<sup>14</sup> to the village for the *cañao* festivities. The general observances of such a community *cañao* are conducted at one of the platforms chosen as being ritually "clean" at the time (e.g., none of its members are sick, or have travelled recently, or have a family *cañao* in progress, or have a child just delivered). On the economic side an *at-ato* member can get help from his fellows, usually by contributing a chicken or pig for a regular or special *cañao*. The *at-ato* platform is a center to which the ancestral spirits of former members may come for food, or may be summoned as in the case cited above.

The village section was also formerly a basic unit in connection with warfare, and the taking of heads. Apparently none of the old men now living have witnessed organized headhunting in their lifetime. But all agree that this was a prime function of the *at-ato*. One said: "We do not like to bring heads into our houses, and so have a common place for making *cañaos* and putting the heads." Each village section, according to some old men, had a war leader or priest, and when parties from more than one section made a joint expedition there was a given order of precedence among the *at-ato* units — but such matters are now very vague. On the night before such a venture none of the men slept in their houses but gathered at the *at-ato* for the appropriate haruspication and other rituals. Later the groups met outside the village. On returning, each successful *at-ato* group held the head *cañao*. The skulls were lodged in the *at-ato* hut, or else buried beneath the platform.<sup>15</sup>

The cessation of war and head-taking customs in modern times has greatly reduced the sphere of the *at-ato* in community life. *At-ato* affiliation is definitely of less importance, and the attendant usages are regarded more "lightly." As will be seen, the household unit

has come more to the front, while the general village organization has been elaborated. The Spaniards found it convenient to make one *at-ato* platform in each village the administrative center (*camarin*) where visiting officials could go to hold their consultations, secure baggage carriers, or transact other business; in it was placed a drum by which the *semana* or group of people who were responsible for such duty at the time could be summoned. This special platform is known today as the "at-ato of the councillor" or head-man. It is the political center of the modern village, and tends to supersede the rest of the platforms as the place for formal councils. On the other hand, because strangers go there, it has become secularized and polluted, so that activities of a sacred character are likely to be conducted at other platforms.<sup>16</sup>

The all-important question of who constitutes the *at-ato* personnel must await for its fullest elucidation in the later study of kinship usages, but the main points can be made here. It appears from the present day scene that membership rests essentially upon patrilineal and patrilocal principles, but that the factors of congeniality and personal choice have entered in to make these no hard and fast rules. The origin of the *at-ato* as an institution is obscure. In the case of several recently formed village sections, persistent bad omens, fires, and overcrowding seem to have been the prime causes in uprooting people from their former living sites, and both kin connections and friendships were involved as binding links. Apparently it has always required unusual circumstances to make a man leave the *at-ato* of his father and other male progenitors in the paternal line, among whom were perhaps great warrior heroes whose deeds were preserved in stories. Usually, too, married couples settle in a house, or have a new house built within the village section of the husband. The cluster of households within the boundaries of an *at-ato*, according to informants, normally provide its membership i.e., it is at once a local and a social unit.<sup>17</sup>

The mistake must not be made, however, of overstressing the exclusiveness of the *at-ato* grouping. A man has more or less intimate ties

with a wide range of persons in other village sections by way of connections by blood and marriage: kinsmen in the village sections of grandparents so far as these rooted back to other *at-ato* groups, likewise of his mother, his wife, his brother's wife, his sister's husband, his children's marital partners, and so on through the list of active linkages. Apart from the occasions when *at-ato* lines were drawn for ritual or other purposes, the people visited the houses and, in the case of males, the *at-ato* platforms of relatives and friends. As will be seen, the kinship system and marital customs fostered such inter-sectional connections.

### *The Household*

The unit of daily economic and social life is the house group. Official statistics of population, taken in conjunction with the number of houses in each village, given an average figure of four or five to a house. This number, however, must be set against the local usages in order to be understood.

The nucleus of the house group comprises a married couple, with their young children if any, since these are in continuous occupation. Lepanto marriages are monogamous and generally permanent once children are on the scene. It is at marriage that people normally become "householders," occupying a house structure and carrying on the economic and ritual activities expected of such status. Along with this nuclear group, but more loosely attached, will be (1) any older children yet unmarried, (2) perhaps aged parents if they are too old to carry on a household of their own or where one survives the other, and (3) close relatives who are indigent or have no marital partner at the time because of death or divorce. These people customarily "sleep out," but come to the households for meals and participate in their work, leisure and religious activities.

As noted already, the older boys and unattached men use the *at-ato* as a social center and sleeping quarters. The unmarried girls and unattached women go at night to an arranged sleeping place, congenial groups of them occupying some house not being used at the

time by a regular household, often that of a widow. The widely current Lepanto term for such a house is *ebgan*.<sup>18</sup> Boys and girls are not sent out to these sleeping places at any set age. If a boy has an older brother at the *at-ato* to help look after him and the parents have smaller children he may start sleeping out when four or five years old; or again he may go at eight or nine. The same applies to girls. In general children move out as association with other children make them conscious of the custom and desirous of graduating to the new "independent" status. As will be seen, these sleeping arrangements are geared to usages of adolescent sex play and trial mating. They have been attacked in modern times by the missions, and in the villages most under their influence the missionaries have succeeded in getting some families to keep their girls at home, or else to allow boys and girls to sleep in mission dormitories; but such customs die hard.

House sites and houses form an important part of Lepanto wealth. A family may have its prestige heightened by owning a number of these. Though the services of the whole community are available to anyone who wants to set up a house structure, the long task of getting and preparing the lumber, and the providing of food and rice-wine for the working bee requires some economic standing. Many of the poorer people, by contrast, have no lot or house of their own, and must depend on using such extra houses. No rent is paid for such occupation but they are expected to keep the roof in repair, and will give portions of household *cañao* sacrifices to the owner. There is a certain instability about residence, since persistently bad omens or unfortunate household events may cause the occupants to shift out temporarily or permanently. In some cases people faced by these may even call upon a village working bee to dismantle the structure and set it up on another site, no difficult operation as nails are used. Occasionally houses new or old may stand empty for long periods because of unfavorable omens. But usually they are taken over by another household which has more success in gaining supernatural approval, or used as female sleeping places.

The house itself, of a type unique to the Lepanto ethnic area, is bound up with manifold social usages too detailed to give here. People often work and gossip on the "ground floor," really a square stone or earth platform over which the house is supported on piles. A ladder leads up to the house proper which is invisible under the eaves; here in one room are the fireplace, sleeping quarters, storage places, and nooks for ritual objects, likewise the appropriate places for males and females, the old and the young, the householders and any visitors. Outdoors, in front of the house, is a paved court (*batawa*) with a sacrificial fireplace. Here the householders, notably the women, may gather with their friends in fine weather, while the *batawa* is the setting for household rituals not held indoors, and especially for larger assemblies of kinsfolk for consultations and *cañaos*. Sometimes the wall round the house lot has extra stonework at a place that overlooks best the surrounding area so that people can squat and talk, and at the same time keep an eye on what is happening in the village. Under the house itself are buried the bodies of children who die young, especially first-borns, while in some cases adults may be buried beneath the outer parts of the house lot.

In a real sense the Lepanto household, as also wider kin groupings, takes account of the dead as well as the living, this especially finding expression in terms of food offerings, reference in prayer and certain types of *cañaos* directly given in honor of ancestral spirits which have been summoned, or where these are believed to be making their influence felt upon the living through causing sickness. As with the village and *at-ato* units, the house group materializes most clearly on ceremonial occasions when its taboo signs are set up. Numerous *cañaos*, festive or otherwise, large and small, are performed in connection with the seasonal cycle of agricultural ceremonies, dream "revelations," proposed marriages, barrenness, and the like. Following these, the household is counted as under some form of ritual constraint, usually having to stay in the house for a period of hours or days, and keep burning continuously a sacred fire; after this there may be further limitations

regarding travel and activity for prescribed periods. Pregnancy, birth, and early infancy involve special taboos for the mother and father, and to some extent the rest of the household concerned. Contact with water or anything even damp is avoided at all costs, as this is a desecrating element. Such ritual features are observed in particularly elaborate and meticulous fashion by the aristocratic households in the effort to maintain and if possible enhance their prestige; poor people of necessity skimp over them.<sup>19</sup> Where the head of the house is young, he may call upon his father or other elderly relatives who are counted expert in things supernatural to help in important ceremonial matters, and for many occasions a wider group of kinsfolk may participate along with the house group.

A prime concern of the household is to wrest a living from what is obviously an inhospitable natural setting. All able-bodied people work in the rice terraces in accordance with the seasonal cycle, either as independent holders or as "share-croppers" in the fields of the wealthy. Men and women both participate in the heavy work of digging and fertilizing; men keep the walls and irrigation works in repair; planting and transplanting are strictly the task of women; and harvesting calls for the labor of both sexes. The children take a minor part in these operations; they likewise watch the all-important flow of water, and scare away the rice-birds by manipulating various mechanical devices when the crop is ripening. Women do most of the "kaingin" (dry) agriculture, growing sweet-potatoes, yams, millet, beans and other products on the slopes; they also gather molluscs and other marine products in the rice terraces to add to the larder. Men herd the animals and hunt. There is also sex specialization in craft work. Young children whose mothers are away in the fields may be looked after by those a little older, or by their fathers if they are home, or again by the old people; these last can also be seen doing many of the less strenuous tasks round the house. In earlier days a considerable part of the men's time was spent in guarding the community and in warfare. Today this energy is devoted in part

to growing a second rice crop,<sup>20</sup> and partly to work on government roads or other money-earning activities, including trips to the lowlands or mines.

The household is the usual work unit in these economic pursuits. But for many operations, notably the heavy work of rice cultivations, groups of kinsfolk, *at-ato* fellows, friends, or the poor adherents of wealthy families get together for cooperative labor. There seems, however, a distinct tendency today for the household to become a more individualistic and self-contained group, and this marks particularly the homes of the schooled younger generation.

#### *Wider Relationship Linkages*

Kroeber (1919) has analyzed the general patterns of kinship organization in the mountain area, and Lepanto fits within this, though with its own minor variations.

Every individual in Lepanto society forms an organizing point for linkages by blood and marriage. His or her birth consolidates a relation between the kindreds of the father and mother that started building up with the first tentative gifts and services of their marriage ritual. The individual's prime loyalty throughout life is to these parent kindreds, with a minimum of unilateral emphasis. Again, his or her marriage creates a new alignment of two kin groups, which will be consolidated as children are forthcoming. The marriage of these children ties the person into still other relationships connected with the role of parent. He or she now enters into numbers of other kinship configurations of a near or more distant nature by way of siblings, uncles, aunts, and the rest of the recognized kinsfolk. The widest range of active and effective kin linkages occurs among the aristocracy. Far more than those of lesser rank they find it socially significant to remember and exercise their ties by blood and marriage. Conversely people are mindful of whatever connections they may have with aristocratic lineages.

Ordinary people remember their genealogies in specific detail for only two or three genera-

tions; beyond this their ascendants become lumped into the general body of ancestral spirits. Aristocratic families, however, keep their lineages for at least several steps further back. Among the factors causing exact genealogical records to pass into the limbo is apparently a taboo on uttering the names of one's progenitors, especially those dead. It is said that anyone who wants to know about his or her more distant connections could get information on this from the "wise old men." Ordinarily, however, persons in each generation acquire a working knowledge of their kin connections through what they hear from parents and others as they grow up, and from observation of just who are on the spot when family assemblies occur.

By formal Lepanto ideology, the range of blood kin carries laterally to the third degree, though beyond first cousin the linkages tend to be less actively exercised. Within the constellation of relatives a prime organizing factor is "generation." The growing child may possibly see alive one or two of his great-grandparents, and these with his grandparents, also their collaterals and further ascendant generations, grouped together under the general term *apo*, or terms of which this is the root. In the present generation, the basic terms of reference are *ama* ("father"), *ina* ("mother"), *alitau* ("uncle") and *ikit* ("aunt"), these with brother- and sister-in-law being the only sex distinguished terms. In the person's own generation siblings are *tun-od*, first collaterals *pingsan* ("first relative"), second collaterals *pigdwa* ("second relative") and third collaterals *pitle* ("third relative"). As he moves up the generations, he refers to his kinsfolk of the first descendant generation as *anak* ("children"), while the grandchild and great-grandchild generations are grouped reciprocally as *apo* (see above). This basic terminology is rounded out by a variety of linguistic additions to give more specific reference, e.g., *inanak ay babay*, "step-daughter."<sup>21</sup> Honor, respect, and ability to command increases with age, i.e., as a person moves up the generation steps.

Another principle comes in here, order of birth. "Older" and "younger" emerge con-



tinually in speech and action, and the firstborn stands out among siblings, especially in the case of aristocratic families. Sex distinctions are subordinated to this in matters common to males and females. The seniority factor not only produces a hierarchy of privilege and responsibility among individuals but also defines the importance of family branches. A missionary told how he once asked one of the leading men of his village to perform a small task, and the job was passed on through the various kin levels until finally it was done by a younger boy in one of the minor households.

The writer has only limited information on the functional significance of the various kin linkages. The reciprocal terminology linking grandparent and grandchild generations corresponds to a close social relation. The parents, as able-bodied workers, spend a lot of their time away, and the care and education of children devolves to a considerable extent upon grandparents; boys are frequently given the name of their father's father, and after his death specific requests may be addressed to him by grandsons in household *cañaos*. Members of the parent generation are given respect which increases with age (occasionally a person may have a parent generation kinsman who is actually younger than himself); seniority, nearness of relation, and personality factors also come in to shape the behaviour involved. A particularly warm bond is fostered between parents and children in the immediate family, this reinforced by the round of practical and ritual affairs that carry through from the time of the mother's pregnancy to long after the parents' death. A "brother-sister" taboo, involving great restraints, is held to very strictly among siblings; it also applies to first cousins of opposite sex and in more perfunctory fashion to all collaterals beyond. No boy goes to an *ebgan* where his sister is sleeping, nor can the two dance at the same time on festive occasions; he also is restrained where there is any female relative present. Anything connected with sex matters is taboo in conversation and behaviour between all kinsfolk of opposite sex.

Along with the strong bilateral character of kin ties as they operate in family gatherings,

economic cooperation, and other activities, a certain patrilineal emphasis can be discerned. Already it has been noted that residence and *at-ato* affiliation tend to show this. The norm is for a man to look to his ascendants in the direct male line, living and dead, as his main vertical linkage, though where on the distaff side there lie genealogical advantages, as when ties exist with a family of higher rank, elders on the female side usually come to the fore.

As noted above, every marriage aligns the two kin groupings concerned into a working relation as long as it lasts, and especially when children are forthcoming. *Katugangan*, that is one's parents-in-law, or those of siblings, should be treated "just like one's own father and mother" — perhaps if anything with more respect. "Brothers-in-law" (*kasa-ud*) and "sisters-in-law" (*aido*) are also respected, and the marriage tie links such persons in bonds of mutual helpfulness. "Sons—" and "daughters-in-law" (*inapo*) are like own children, and are treated with special solicitude. When a marriage first takes place such linkages have a rather tentative character, as marked by the formal *cañaos* and other give-and-take of the new bonds. Time and children crystallize them, especially because relatives by marriage merge with the blood kin on all "family" occasions: births, marriages, sickness, deaths, the reckoning of indemnities when an offense is committed by, or against a family member, and so on. The extended family group of an aristocratic line, gathered on a *batawa* platform for the death *cañao* of the eldest male in the senior family branch, demonstrates probably the fullest range of effective kin linkages. As noted above, the village and its *at-ato* divisions are criss-crossed with such ties by blood and marriage that radiate out from their constituent individuals, these a main factor in community integration.

Lepanto ethics count as incest the mating of a circle of close relatives. Unions are forbidden absolutely as far laterally as first cousins, and frowned on to the third degree; the levirate is absent and the sororate is disapproved, though cases are known at least in modern times.<sup>22</sup> Children of aristocratic lines, especially the

eldest, male and female, are betrothed in infancy to children of other families of appropriate rank in order to safeguard their standing. Such unions could have great social and political importance, and they involve elaborate ceremonial and property arrangements at the betrothal and later at the marriage.<sup>23</sup> Apart from these special cases, however, Lepanto marriages take form mainly from sex play and experimental mating by the adolescent and unattached males with the females in the *ebgan*.

The interests of young people from around the onset of puberty until marriage largely centers around the visiting, singing, joking, and sex associations of the *ebgan*.<sup>24</sup> These have their recognized rules, and there is by no means the promiscuity that early observers read into the institution. The marital prescriptions and restraints among kinsfolk of opposite sex limit greatly the scope of *ebgan* adventures. An *ebgan* within a boy's own village section is almost sure to have female relatives in it, likewise any in the village sections of his maternal uncle, his paternal aunt, and so on. No formal exogamic rules can be discerned here, however, as unattached girls and women do not have to sleep in *ebgan* structures within their own village sections, and if a boy or girl want to associate they can arrange for relatives to shift out, or themselves adjourn to another *ebgan*. An unattached male keeps well posted on just what females are unattached in *ebgans* not taboo to him, and boys and girls work together to consummate desired associations. What the avoidance rules do is to project the sexual adventures of the males beyond their own immediate kin into other family groups. As marriages result, they reknit these more distant groups into the cooperative relationships of close kin.

When two young people count themselves compatible, the test of this often being pregnancy of the girl, they seek the consent of their families. Alternatively, an individual who tires of the *ebgan* adventures may look for a partner who has a good reputation as a worker or has prospects of getting property. In this he or she may take advice from parents or kinsfolk. Or again an older man who is widowed or divorced

may send a "go-between" to ask for a girl as wife without going to her *ebgan*. In nearly all marriages, probably, the practical considerations of family status and property are taken into consideration so that individuals tend to make unions within approximately the same class level; but there is a minimum of overt prescription.

The public and familial phases of marriage involve a formalized procedure including gifts and services, haruspication to secure the approval of spirit forces, and allotment of property to set up the new household. Chickens, and, if the family can afford it, pigs pass from the boy's kin group to that of the girl for *cañao* purposes. These are the Lepanto form of "bride-price." Should parents disapprove, a rare thing except when wide differences in rank are involved or should supernatural "consent" be withheld consistently after repeated *cañaos*, the couple will separate and try out new partners. If a child is forthcoming in such cases where the union cannot be consummated, its position is secured by property settlements from the boy's family. The mother should have little trouble in securing a new marital alliance, as a girl who proves herself fertile is much sought after.

As noted above, monogamy is the rule and marriages tend to be stable. Sexual adventures are considered to be for the immature or unattached, and both social and supernatural pressures are strongly against them in the case of married persons. The main ground for divorce is lack of children, either through infertility in the case of unions that do not begin with pregnancy, or through successive miscarriages or death of children, which may occur under the hard conditions of mountain life and women's work; this, of course, after *cañaos* to try to deal with the situation prove unsuccessful. A wife who has children, especially male children, is held in high esteem and her marital status is virtually impregnable unless she herself wants a divorce. In one of the songs collected by Vanoverbergh, a wife says of a husband: "You slap me, and chide me as if I had no children;" another, after picturing a quarrel between husband and wife, concludes: "It is better that we remain, both of us; if we

marry a second time, the children are to be pitied." In the instance of an approved separation, the partners are likely before long to contract a new union: either through the *ebgan* or by arrangement through an intermediary. A widow or widower may do the same after a mourning period of at least one year: if they were to remarry earlier the spirit of the dead partner might get angry and cause their death.

The crisis of death has come in at several points above. The extent of ritual depends on the age, order of birth, and social standing of the deceased. The corpse of a dead aristocrat of highest standing, seated in its "death chair" amid display of wealth, slaughter of animals, high feasting, and the like provides the acme of death ceremonial (Robertson 1914: 508-09, 514, 524; also Northorst, Barton, Jenks, etc.). Its social significance is the more highlighted by contrast with the simple disposal of, say, younger children of the poorest households. A conflict is now joined between government orders for quick burial, and the custom of holding important bodies, smoked for preservation, for much longer periods, especially if the omens are against immediate internment. Note was made of burials under and around the house. Alternately bodies may be interred outside the village in a stone-lined cist on the hillside. In the case of more important people the corpse will be taken to a burial cave or rock shelter for lodgment in one or other of a number of large pinewood coffins that bear relation to kin lines, and hold a number of bodies.<sup>25</sup> One set of villages in the east Bauko district have a special local development of entombing aristocrats of highest rank in stone sarcophagi which are set up prominently on the house lots or on rocky projections within the village — an enterprise which nowadays at least calls for cooperative work by their many kinsmen in the different villages to prepare and transport the stone coffin.

Following on the death *cañao* come successive mourning *cañaos*. Other attentions paid to the spirits of the dead are referred to elsewhere. A person always changes his or her name at the death of father, mother, spouse, or grown sibling, or when a person of the same

name dies, because "this turns from them the evil spirit forces that caused such decease?" after an appropriate lapse of time they take another name. This custom is now in conflict with the government and mission system of having families and individuals permanently labelled, and is usually handled by having supplementary Spanish or American style names for the latter purpose. Summarizing the complex of beliefs and rituals relating to the dead it can be said that a man looks to the ancestral spirits (*anito*), along with the larger supernatural forces,<sup>26</sup> to help him maintain and if possible improve the health, wealth, and general "goodluck" of his household, kinsfolk and community.

A final topic that will clarify further the social arrangements discussed in this subsection is the matter of ownership and transfer of property within the kin. As with neighboring groups distinctions can be made between real property (rice lands, hill clearings, house sites, etc.) and personal property (animals, precious jars and beads, gold earrings, spears, gongs, etc.); also between family property received from parents and that accumulated by the individual concerned through his own efforts, or by a husband and wife jointly during their marriage.<sup>27</sup> Two main occasions bring a person property by way of his kin connections: marriage, so that the couple can establish a working household, and inheritance at the death of parents. Aged parents may also hand over property to children before their death at least in a tentative way for their management. Again, special individuals may have had rice fields allotted to them in infancy by fathers who could not complete the marriage contract with the mothers. Or where collateral lines die out for want of children to inherit, a person may receive property as being the eligible next of kin. Every Lepanto has a meticulous knowledge of his or her rights in property, yet such property is perhaps hardly "owned" as a westerner uses that term; it is more a kind of "trusteeship" of kin property that is to be used by the individual in his generation, subject to the privileges and duties of kinship customs.

Where rich families betroth their children,

property settlements are agreed on as part of the arrangement. Otherwise these take place at marriage, their particular nature depending on the status and wealth of the groups conjoined. The bridegroom and bride, who in the normal way have owned nothing except a few personal articles to this point, receive if possible enough property to make their household an independent working unit: house, land, utensils, ritual objects, and so on. The husband and wife become, so to speak, joint managers of this property so long as the marriage lasts, but by Lepanto ideology the two marriage portions, together with any other property that comes to each of them from their blood kin, remain distinct, and are disposed of separately when the occasion arises through divorce, death, or otherwise. Whatever property the couple may accumulate by their joint efforts in addition to his is counted separately as household wealth and disposed of through mutual agreement. When a divorce occurs a main feature is the property settlement; household property will then be divided or allotted to one or the other according to what is agreed, and should there be young children the man will pass over property for their maintenance from his personal holdings — later, of course, at his decease they will be eligible to share his inheritance along with others of his children.

A feature of the death ceremonies of any person is the disposal of his property. This is effected by the heirs with or without advice from the village elders in accordance with the customary law. If possible a person of importance about to die gathers his or her kinsfolk in formal assembly to hear final instructions for the disposition of property. Such "last words" were considered to have a sacred character and would not be lightly disputed later. The eldest son may get a larger share, especially in aristocratic families, but otherwise children who are the issue of socially sanctioned unions get equal shares regardless of sex; provision is made also for smaller portions to go to any children of less orthodox unions.<sup>28</sup> If there are no lineal descendants property reverts to parents, or if they are dead to collaterals. So long as such kinsfolk exist to

inherit whatever property an individual has received through his kin channels, it will never pass over to the surviving spouse.

These dispositions must be visualized as occurring within communities which keep about stationary in population, and in which the total wealth remains about constant, including the all-important rice terraces that form especially convenient units for transfer. Some kin lines flourish, others wither away. In each generation, more or less of the property aggregates progressively round each individual by way of kinship ties or other forms of transfer, or else as manufactured by him; it is brought together at marriage to be managed jointly, and if possible to be supplemented through activity of a household; and then scatters out to become reaggregated around the individuals in the next generation to form new units of use. In the process it serves important functions other than the purely economic: "oiling" the social and ritual mechanisms, and particularly, defining and validating the hierarchy of rank and class now to be examined.

### *Class Distinctions*

The Lepanto distinguish clearly an aristocracy, the *kadangyan* class, nowadays often referred to by the Ilokano term *baknang*. This is based on an hereditary principle, and is reinforced and validated by possession of wealth and the conduct of ritual activities. At the other extreme of the social scale from the aristocracy are the poor (*kodo*), comprising persons and family lines that have no rice lands or other wealth counted important, and must subsist on inferior foods and by working for those better off. Between is a middle class of smaller but more or less independent property holders, referred to as *komidwa* (i.e., of second rank). Within each of these three groupings there are further hierarchical distinctions or gradings in terms of descent and wealth that are socially recognized though not crystallized in a fixed terminology.<sup>29</sup>

Apparently about seven or eight percent of families in a typical village qualify as *kadangyan*, that is ten or eleven families in a

community of 600 to 700 people. Only one or two, however, count as of "first-class" status; three or four would group as "second-class," and the rest range down through inferior or minor *kadangyan*. Below the recognized *kadangyan* are the folk more or less closely related to the aristocratic lines (junior family branches, younger brothers, and so on), this giving distinction as well as being of great social usefulness. Being poor, too, is a very relative matter. Members of the *komidwa* and even persons of high *kadangyan* descent may be "temporarily embarrassed" by a run of bad luck that gets their lands mortgaged, as where a series of unfavorable omens calls for prolonged sacrifices. At the extreme bottom are individuals descended from family lines that have been poor and dependent for generations. As noted above, such class distinctions tend to be stabilized by marriage customs.

In sharpening up this general picture the student is faced with a difficult problem of reconstruction because of changes that have taken place in modern days. New sources of power have come to hand notably the exercise of authority on behalf of the white man, also new forms of wealth. At the same time old avenues of leadership and status, notably in terms of war and head taking exploits, have been closed. Individualistic and commercial values have been intensified. The exactions of the Spaniards, and the introduction of new diseases and epidemics that called for more frequent *cañaos*, drained away the resources of some of the older *kadangyan* families. A *nouveau riche* group has arisen, including the mixed blood descendants of several Ilokano and Chinese traders. These are now the dominant leaders in several villages with corresponding eclipse of older aristocratic lines. Even where the latter are still in the forefront there has been a tendency for them to metamorphose into minor squire-capitalists, as apparently happened long before among the Christian Filipinos of the lowlands.<sup>30</sup>

These trends have gone considerably further among the Ibaloi and coastal Kankanay and Amburayan peoples, and were a source of caustic comment by early American observers.

Such individuals have been in a position to monopolize the political and economic advantages provided in the new order; many of them have shed off their economic, social, and ritual responsibilities that made them formerly in a sense the servants as well as the leaders of their communities, and at the same time have foreclosed on debts and accumulated land and other property, thus forcing more and more people into a lower group of modern-style tenants and wage-earners. If it were not for the fact that the mountain peoples can now earn money, perhaps the majority would be reduced to virtual serfdom. It can be understood from this why in Lepanto and elsewhere in the mountain area today "it is becoming a very shameful thing to call a person *baknang*." This opprobrium, however, fails to touch a number of the Lepanto *kadangyan* who have managed to survive the modern social shifts. These keep more or less to the ancestral customs, and foster the older type of relation with their fellows.

If one looks back of these post-white developments so far as can be done, the figure of the *kadangyan* can be seen as probably the outstanding *dramatis personae* of Lepanto life. The folklore takes the aristocratic principle back to Lumawig, the great culture-hero, who accumulated wealth and introduced the type of *cañao* called *bayas* which validates a person's standing as *kadangyan* (Robertson 1914: 489, 513). This *cañao* provides the greatest festival occasion in Lepanto community life, and involves the slaughter of numerous animals, and an accumulation of other foods such as only a "rich" man could afford. The lavishness here displayed is a main test by which the standing and prestige of the *kadangyan* concerned is measured. As part of the ceremony he summons and invokes the continued support of his ancestral spirits, and it is a time of high celebration. The circle of those present will include not only the people of the community concerned, but also relatives and, nowadays at least, many other visitors from the neighboring villages. The *bayas* festival was "made" formerly by each *kadangyan* at least every three or four years, but now the intervals may often be

considerably longer. It is always held to mark the first accession of a man to *kadangyan* honors, and additional celebrations may result from dreams, sterility of an aristocratic couple, marriage of their children, and the like.

The *kadangyan*, according to the writer's information, is ideally an eldest of eldest in the male line, and in accordance with betrothal and marriage customs he will ideally have female ancestors who are eldests of eldests. At the death of an incumbent *kadangyan*, the bulk of the property passes normally to the eldest male who in turn will carry the honor, this added to the large settlement arranged at his marriage; to cut up the "estate" unduly might lower the prestige of the line. The eldest daughter will also get a large amount, as normally she is married to the potential incumbent in another aristocratic line and so has extensive property settlements. Younger sons and daughters in each generation get smaller settlements, and they and their descendants fall back more or less into the "middle class" while yet basking in the glory of their *kadangyan* relatives. It was noted already that *kadangyan* marital alliances often crossed village lines, either because it was found politically and socially strategic, or perhaps in the case of those of the highest rank because there was no partner in the local community with sufficient prestige.

The marriage ceremony brought a working conjunction of the wealth of husband and wife that was in time to go to their children. It devolved upon a *kadangyan*, with his wife, to maintain and if possible enhance the status of the family name by successful stewardship of the property: seeing that fields and herds produce, directing the work and welfare of dependents, conserving resources for the supreme socio-economic exercise of making *bayas*, and passing it on at least unimpaired to the next generation. In time of need, any member of the community could come to him for food or sacrificial animals, repaying in kind or in service what custom prescribed.<sup>31</sup>

The *kadangyan* was thus something of a community manager, storage agent, and banker. If, however, he valued his good name and that of his ancestors, he could not under the

old-time conditions of life afford to become an exploiter, or neglect his responsibilities. He was likewise no aloof figure walled off by taboos or distinguished by elaborate insignia. His dwelling and ordinary clothing showed few difference from those of his fellows. His political influence, though profound, was exercised directly in the squatting circle of the family, *at-ato*, and community councils. It was only his periodically crowded house platform, his granaries and herds, his jars, beads, gold earrings and other precious articles, the special blanket used to wrap his dead body, and certain other marks that would enable the stranger to single him out.

The investigator today takes note of some *kadangyan* lines that have moved up in the social scale, and of individuals who have accumulated enough wealth to "make" this class. By contrast, other *kadangyan* lines have suffered demotion, even to the point where they themselves, or ancestors of theirs, have forfeited a right to be counted in this class. How far this represents an elasticity that goes back to pre-white times or results from the modern changes is not at all clear. Folk stories in some instances tell of the rise of poor persons to *kadangyan* status, and according to one informant many people petition the deity of luck, Kabunian, to "make me a *baknang*, too." But undoubtedly the opportunities to rise in status have been greatly enhanced in recent decades. The eclipse of former *kadangyan* lines, too, either through being out-propertied by the *nouveau riche* or as losing wealth to a degree where they may be unable to make *bayas*, is likewise much more in evidence. The point at which an aristocratic line would finally have been *declassé* in the old order is rather obscure; considerable respect appears to carry over for at least a generation or two in the expectation that "the family luck may change again."

#### *Leadership and Polity*

The *kadangyan* has here been presented as the most influential personage in Lepanto society. Several other important figures have a leading role in community life.

Persons usually called *manabig* are keepers of the lore and traditions, the "old wise men" as English-speaking Lepanto refer to them. The villagers call upon them to define correct custom, interpret omens, define procedure in *cañaos*, remember significant matters from the past, and the like. People in trouble are likely to select the *manabig* whom they consider most able to solve their problems, and they may visit several if necessary. Today, some Lepanto villages are without any such individuals because those dead in recent years have had no successors; they must go to a *manabig* in neighboring communities. Naturally those whose prognostications have been most successful enjoy a reputation that carries far and wide. The *manabig* "sits thinking, thinking for hours, or perhaps a night, and you have to stay till he starts to speak." Recompense is made in meat or rice-wine, or both.

Certain wise women, *manpudpud*, have sickness as their sphere. Usually these are very old, but even young women may occasionally display the required capacity to "talk with the anito."<sup>32</sup> A *manpudpud* is consulted by families and individuals when sicknesses of body or "spirit" appear, in order to have the trouble diagnosed and the appropriate *cañao* prescribed. Often she will consult the *anitos* with shakings and other manifestations, conduct the *cañao* ritual, and give "treatment" that includes stroking and massage to evict a spirit that has entered the body. She, too, is given food and rice-wine for her services. The large village of Guinsadan has ten such people today.

Agricultural "priests" known as *mamaqde* (*mamaqdur*) have charge of the elaborate ritual phases of the seasonal rice crop. Each village has one such leader who sees to the agricultural calendar, and is master of ceremonies in the community and *at-ato* observances, including sacrificial haruspication (*patay*) with pigs at the sacred tree. The position tends to be hereditary, but calls for a man who is still at the active period of life. An incumbent will be displaced if the harvests are consistently poor, or if his wife dies. A widower cannot hold the position, for "all the rest of the wives would also die." But if he remarries and holds the appropriate

*cañao* he will be eligible again. The *mamaqde* receives part of the sacrificial meat whenever a group distributes it after a *cañao*. To assist him in keeping the calendar and organizing and conducting the ceremonies each *at-ato* names an old man (*manpatik*) who acts as its liaison officer.<sup>33</sup> If necessary the *mamaqde* and *manpatik* seek advice from the wise old men.

The cluster of most respected elders in a village are today called *lakay*, or collectively *lalakay*. But this is apparently an Ilokano word introduced in comparatively modern times (see Cole 1922 for this term). The older Lepanto equivalent may be *manapat*, "wise elder." To be counted *lakay* today a man "must be old, have some wealth, and have sponsored the *bayas* ceremony." A typical village may have ten such persons, including of course elderly *kadangyan*. Other old men gain a considerable respect, for long life under mountain conditions is an achievement, and indicates luck from the deities; but their word bears no such weight in affairs outside their immediate families as does that of a *lakay*. Persons of *lakay* status form the nucleus of the community councils, supervise litigation, "witness" special happenings like property settlements, and give a hand in affairs of community, *at-ato*, and kin groupings. In the ritual drinking of rice-wine they will be served first.

Such individuals in the modern scene nearly always have their status enhanced through having held top posts in the white man's administrative system.<sup>34</sup> Today as in earlier times, with rare exceptions, only a *kadangyan* would be chosen as a district *presidente* (president) or village *consejal* (councilor), and such people after retirement are known as *capitanes*. Lesser positions in the government service also carry proportionate honors. This new basis of prestige and hierarchy has by now been rather thoroughly indigenized.

Looking back at the modern *lakay* and official elite, however, it is hard to know how far these phases of leadership, also the community councils and polity which they dominate, root back into pre-white days or represent the result of modern process of political uni-

fication in Lepanto communities. Bontok, more isolated in the interior, shows no such degree of general village leadership and organization over and above that of the village section and kin groupings, and it is quite foreign to the Ifugao who live in small scattered hamlets.<sup>35</sup> The Spaniards and later the Americans, with their particular philosophy of government, treated the Lepanto village as a unit and worked through the outstanding people singly and in council, an influence that certainly tended toward centralization. It is to be suspected that the Lepanto had originally a closer community organization than the above mentioned groups; for one thing their adjustment to the modern political ideas has apparently involved far less strain and difficulty. Undoubtedly, however, the village unity has been enhanced in the new setting. An example of this previously cited is the emergence of the "councilor's *at-ato*."

Barrows spoke in 1902 of a form of "primitive folk moot" (*agom*) characteristic of Lepanto communities along with those of Amburayan.<sup>36</sup> This has no strictly formal composition, even today. There are merely differences of degree between the casual discussion circle around house or *at-ato* platform, the more purposive meeting of kin, *at-ato* or community groupings (*ma-agom*, i.e. to assemble), and the "community council" (*omong*) where the *lakay* are to the fore. Just who is present depends on the matter in hand: planning a new house, investigating a fire in the village, and so on. If the occasion is one of popular interest, women and children may come to listen in — if it is on an *at-ato* platform they squat nearby. Everyone, it is claimed, has the right to give an opinion, but as noted already the voice of the poor and the youthful have not the weight carried by that of the *lakay*. In the case of the *omong* or more formal type of community council no hereditary or elective mechanisms are involved but it is self-perpetuating; individuals are admitted to its inner circle by the members as they are considered to acquire appropriate standing. In the councils of numbers of villages today a struggle is under way between the *kadangyan* or incumbent of high government office; in some

the former is said to "render the final decisions" still, and in some the latter.

Early American observers speak of the old men, sitting in council, as comprising the village "court" or "board of arbitrators." It may be noted first that where troubles and disputes arose within a kin group it is usually possible for them to be handled through family channels, and the same applies to the members of an *at-ato*. To help in such adjudication some or all of the *lakay* outside the group concerned may be asked to attend. Again, inter-family and inter-*at-ato* difficulties are dealt with by direct consultation, often too with the help of the elders. What came especially to the attention of the Americans, however, was a more comprehensive procedure by which cases of assault, stealing, property disputes, adultery and the like were brought to the *lakay* for investigation and settlement. Whether this roots back to pre-white custom is by no means clear. Deliberations of this kind have in modern times been held at the "councilor's *at-ato*."

A technique of detecting offenders and adjudicating disputes by means of "ordeals" is characteristic of the mountain peoples and evidently oath-swearing by the deities, reading entrails, and throwing missiles are three among a number of methods used.<sup>37</sup> Apparently punishments against the person were once in vogue, but the modern white law forbids this, so that they are nowadays directed against property. "Fines" are levied in rice-wine or animals which will be consumed by the elders and the rest of the company present. Now that war or violence is taboo as a means of settling inter-village troubles, and the alien newcomers have introduced all kinds of new laws over and above the indigenous customary law, a more comprehensive judicial system has become a necessity, and this naturally forms a major phase of government activity.<sup>38</sup> For intra-community disputes and in matters of local usage, however, the people are still loath to appeal to outside authority.

#### Conclusion

The Lepanto type of society here summarized follows the general patterns of life



characteristic of the rice-terracing mountain peoples of the central region. The closest affiliations of the Lepanto are probably with the Amburayan communities to the west, though these latter are so imperfectly known and their life is so overlaid with intrusive modern influences that the exact relation cannot yet be established. Other than this they stand nearest to the Bontok. The close linkage with the Kankanay to the south which was postulated tentatively by some ethnographers on the vague information available must be discarded, as a comparison of the materials here presented with those available on the Kankanay (Moss 1920) will quickly show.

From the point of view of social theory, the Lepanto and their fellow mountaineers offer significant data, notably their specialized economy, pre-marital sex experimentation, the aristocracy with its validating mechanisms, the ancestor cult, and the all-important *cañao* system around which so much of custom and belief is oriented.

### Notes

"A Brief Characterization of Lepanto Society" is an unpublished paper written by the late Felix M. Keesing, author of *Taming Philippine Headhunters* (1934) and *The Ethnohistory of Northern Luzon* (1962), sometime following his research in the Mountain Province in 1932-33. At the time of Dr. Keesing's death in April, 1961, the Editor of the *Sagada Social Studies* was trying to persuade him to publish this paper, and is now indebted to his son, Dr. Roger M. Keesing, for a copy and permission to include it in the present series.

1. Angel Perez, in his *Igorrotes* (1902) gives a useful account of Lepanto communities and customs. Father Vanoverbergh has published a *Grammar of Lepanto Igorot as Spoken at Bauco* (Bureau of Science 1917) and *Dictionary of Lepanto Igorot or Kankanay*. . . (Linguistische Anthroposbibliothek, bd. 12, 1933); also a collection of songs (*Anthropos*, July-Dec. 1919-20, Jan.-June 1921-22, July-Dec. 1921-22, Jan.-June 1923-24). A set of notes on the history and usages of Lepanto villages, these recorded at government request by the local officials, was compiled with editorial comments by J.A. Robertson, under the title "The Igorots of Lepanto" (1914: Vol. IX, No. 6, Sect.

D: 465-529). Scattered references are found in government reports and the literature of Philippine ethnography. An amount of unpublished documentary material, including translations from the Spanish, has been assembled by Professor H. Otley Beyer of the University of the Philippines in a series of typescript volumes titled "History and Ethnography of the Igorot Peoples."

2. It is based upon the available source materials, and on field notes gathered by the writer and his wife during an all too brief reconnaissance in 1932-33: three weeks actually in Lepanto villages, plus consultations with several Lepanto informants over a considerably longer period. This was included as part of an acculturation study in the north Luzon mountains lasting six months in all, and done under the auspices of the Institute of Pacific Relations.

3. This is based on a comparison of the number of houses in certain communities as counted in the record of the first Spanish expedition and as given in official statistics of 1932. An analysis of population stimulating factors in modern days — the growth of trade, double cropping of rice, the breaking in of what were hitherto "no man's lands" cessation of killings, etc. — is given in Keesing (1938: Tome II, Sect. III: 458-464).

4. Following here Beyer's terminology; see his summary statements (1921) and in the *Philippine Encyclopedia*. Compare, too, Kroeber (1928); Cole (1922: 235-37, 247-60); and Keesing (1934: Chap. II).

5. See the linguistic references in footnote 1 above, also Scheerer (1908: Vo. 5, Part 1).

6. For a picture of the mountain environment see Jenks (1905: 23-27) and D.C. Worcester (1912: Vol. 23).

7. Perez (1902) summarizes the history of Lepanto in the Spanish period. Original source materials are found in Blair and Robertson (1903-1909: Vol. 37, pp. 243-249; Vol. 48, pp. 85-86; Vol. 51, p. 56), also in unpublished manuscripts in the Beyer collection (footnote 1). This latter also contains a valuable "Preliminary Report on Explorations. . ." by D.P. Barrows (1903). The early published reports of the Philippine Commission, and census volumes of 1903 and 1918 show the history of American control. A general historical survey is given in Keesing (1934: especially Chap. III). Official statistics of 1932 showed 206 lowland Filipinos, 8 whites and 2 Chinese living in the Lepanto region.

8. Robertson (1914:498-505) gives a Lepanto account of contact with the lowlands in this period.

9. See the ethnographic data of Jenks, Cole, Moss, Barton, Beyer and others; also summary presentations by D.C. Worcester (1906) and by Kroeber (1928, also 1919: 69-84). The term "*cañao*" (*kanyau*), apparently Hispanized from the Ilokano, has universal currency in the mountain area and is widely used in the literature; hence it will be employed here.

10. See Robertson (1914: 492, 403, 498; 502, 505-06, 507); also Beyer (1913).

11. Jenks' classic study of Bontok, 1905: 48, 75-79, 164, 168, 205-215), the writer judges after a parallel reconnaissance of that culture area, does not stress nearly sufficiently these factors of village integration there, especially as he made no close study of kinship and its ramifications. His preoccupation with village sections leads him to minimize the village unity, though his evidence hints of this at various points.

12. Jenks' (1905: 49) reported that the name *dap-ay* in its Bontok form, *chap-ay*, is also used in southeast and south Bontok adjoining the Lepanto culture area. Elsewhere in Bontok the village section is known as *ato*, though the term *chap-ay* is applied to part of the ceremonial platform of the *ato*: the stone wall around the sides. See Seidenadel (1909: 289).

13. The terms used for the various parts of the *at-ato* structure differ somewhat from district to district. There are characteristic distinctions between the Lepanto type and that of Bontok; it can be noted here that Jenks' account of the Bontok tells of two platforms to a village section instead of one, these called *fawi* and *pabafunan*. His studies were based, however, on a Bontok village, which, the writer's enquiries showed, is deviant. Throughout the rest of the Bontok culture area the village section has one platform only as in Lepanto. Jenks (1905:52) reported this to be the case in the neighboring village of Samoki, but did not make clear the localized nature of the double platform system. This social development is said to be due to overcrowding in this very large village.

14. The "souls" of the dead are called *anito*, which is also a general name for spirit influences. These *anito* are considered to fly west through the air "to the lowlands" or "under the sea" or to reside in the mountains, but can be summoned by appropriate ritual. The term *kakading* is also applied to the spirits of the dead in general. A dead person also has a "ghost," *liman*, which lingers round the village and may manifest itself to the living especially in sleep or by causing sickness. People said frequently, "We treat the *anitos* as we treat living persons."

15. The ancient war and head-taking usages were probably much like those reported in detail by Jenks (1905: 175-83) for the Bontok.

16. In the coastal region of Amburayan, the writer gathered from several schoolteachers whose homes are there, the *at-ato* system has been modified to a point where in most communities only one platform remains active, this the councilor's *at-ato* which has continued to have a functional place in the modern setting.

17. The writer was unable, however, to make a comprehensive census by which this could be checked and exceptions accounted for. This key point is not touched on at all by Jenks in his study of the Bontok

village section, nor does he correlate the *ato* with kin groupings.

18. The institution is very similar to the girls' *agamang* (Barton 1938). The Bontok system of having a special house structure is not found in Lepanto (see Jenks 1905: 53ff). This structure, however, is called by the Bontok equivalent of *ebgan*, namely *ifgan* (Jenks 1905:54ff), in the southeast and south part of the Bontok ethnic area adjoining Lepanto; elsewhere it is called *olag*.

19. Robertson (1914: 484-488-492, 495, 508-09, 510-11). For the generally similar usages of neighboring groups see Jenks (1905), Barton (1919) and Moss (1920a, 1920b).

20. This comes in the wet season, and is called the "Ilokano crop"; it is treated as secular, and is attended by none of the ritual observances such as are still maintained tenaciously in connection with the traditional dry season crop - an interesting adjustment of the agricultural process. The double crop system is now well established in Lepanto, though in neighboring Bontok few communities have yet dared the anger of the spirits by trying it.

21. Comparative technology for the Bontok is found in Seidenadel (1919) and for the Ifugao in Barton (1938: 4-9).

22. Compare Barton (1919: 17), Jenks (1905: 68), and Cole (1922: 278, 361).

23. Robertson (1914: 480, 484, 487, 494, 508, 523-24); also D.C. Worcester (1906: 850). In the Beyer collection (Vol. IV Paper 14) is an unpublished Manuscript by Capt. C.E. Northorst 1906 on "Marriage and Burial Ceremonies of the Lepanto Igorots and of the Bontoks." Comparative material can be found in the works of Barton, Jenks, Cole and Moss. The Lepanto custom of betrothing children is passing, because (it is said) young people insist more on making their own choices and the families no longer like to make commitments on which they may have to go back later.

24. The atmosphere of the Lepanto *ebgan* is, the writer gathers, much the same as that of the Ifugao girls' *agamang*, excellently portrayed in the autobiographies collected by Barton (1938).

25. An aristocrat who had become a Christian took the writer to one of these places; he pointed out the particular coffin in which his grandfather was lodged and remarked that doubtless when he himself died his kinsmen would bury him in this same coffin.

26. Kabunian, the sun deity and patron of luck, and Lumawig, the culture hero common to most of the mountain peoples, are the main "persons" who form the subject of myth recitations and prayers; the more generalized *anito*, also the moon, stars and various other natural forces are called upon for support along with these.

27. Robertson (1914: 485, 487). Compare, too, Barton (1919, 1938: 4-5); Jenks (1905: 69, 75, 137,

159,165); Cole (1922: 362). In modern days the trend has been for individualism in property holding to increase, especially since new sources of wealth have become available through trade, money, etc. This however, does not affect greatly the principles of passing family property as here discussed.

28. Some villages at least have their "bad girls" who do not settle down to marriage at least at the usual age and may have several children by married men or otherwise. This is not institutionalized to a point where it could be labelled "prostitution" or "concubinage," nor do the girls seem to be greatly stigmatized. One such girl in Bauko seemed always to be the "life of the party," and her house is used as an *eburan*.

29. Literature on the Lepanto has numbers of vague references to the "rich men;" specific references to the class system as found in the neighboring groups are made by Barton, Cole and Moss; hierarchical principles fairly similar to those described here exist in Bontok but are only hinted at by Jenks (1905: 74, 76, 79, 159, 160, 164, 168).

30. The so-called *cacique* class: See general works on the Philippines. Keesing (1934: 198-201) describes in more detail this transition.

31. The *kadangyan* today charges any person other than a kinsman "interest" at the high rate of fifty per cent per annum (the government has tried unsuccessfully to reduce this). Whether this is a post-white custom or goes back to former days is not entirely clear. A share system by which dependents cultivate fields on a half-and-half arrangement, or care for herds on the plan of taking one half or one third of the increase certainly seems old.

32. To the Lepanto, as to all other mountain peoples, sicknesses, ranging from being "off-color" to having serious illness, are primarily accounted for as the work of spirits; see Robertson (1914: 484, 490-91, 511, 514, 524). Compare with Jenks (1905: 196-200, 205); he calls the corresponding Bontok specialist an "*anito* exorcist."

33. See Robertson (1914: 494-95, 510, 514, 525). The agricultural rituals are a highlight of community activity.

34. The Spanish system has been described by Robertson (1914: 471, 481) and that of American times by Keesing (1934: Chap. 4). The Philippine Census of 1903 summarizes the position in early American days.

35. Jenks (1905: 167); Barton (1938: 1-2). In these groups, however, the figure of the outstanding warrior and successful headhunter is still to the fore in leadership, though in these days of peace he is now passing from the scene. It is quite likely that the Lepanto *Iakay* group are to some extent a modern equivalent of the elderly circle of leading warriors.

36. "Memorandum on Amburayan" in Beyer collection, Vol. 5: Paper 25.

37. See Robertson (1914: 494, 511-12, 525). Compare also Barton (1919: 92-109), Jenks (1905: 168-71).

38. For a summary of the modern judicial system, see Keesing (1914: Chap. 5).

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