

THE MATERIAL CULTURE OF SAGADA

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THE JUNIOR CLASS, ST. MARY'S SCHOOL

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"The material culture of Sagada" was a class project undertaken by the third-year English students of St. Mary's School during the academic year 1954-55 under the direction of Mr. W. H. Scott. It was intended as an exercise in English composition rather than in social studies. As its specific goals, it had given the students experience in working together in groups, in collecting original information and presenting it in written form, and in the grammatical precision required in making specific definitions.

Work on the project was spread over several months' time. Students were divided into groups for the collecting of information and for the writing of the reports. The whole class was brought together for discussions of vocabulary, grammar, organization and consistency of expression.

The value of this report for ethnological research is therefore limited. Moreover, since the people of Sagada recognize no Webster's dictionary or Sears and Roebuck catalogue as definitive of the names of the objects they make and use, it was impossible for the compilers of the report to present an authoritative summary. The report is best received as an indication of the scope of the material culture of Sagada rather than as a complete description of it.

There are several Igorot, Ilocano or Tagalog words so commonly used in English in Sagada that it has seemed useful to leave them untranslated in the text. Several others are the names of plants whose biological nomenclature is unknown both to the authors and the editor.

These words are as follows:

Bika: a small bamboo-like vine used for making baskets.

Anes: a bamboo-like vine with greater diameter and longer sections than *bika*, used for making baskets.

Camote: a tuber similar to the yam or sweet potato, which supplements rice as the mainstay of Sagada diet.

Cogon: a kind of rough grass used for thatching roofs of houses.

Kaingin: a mountainside field prepared for agriculture by burning off the brush; it is generally used for raising camotes, is neither watered nor irrigated, and is abandoned after two or three seasons.

Palay: the general term for rice before it is pounded or threshed, including both the growing rice in the field and the harvested rice stored in granaries.

Tapis: a wraparound skirt of one rectangular piece of cloth.

W. H. Scott

Houses

There are four types of houses in Sagada: *innagamang*, *tinokbob*, *binna-ey* or *binang-iyang*, and *tinabla*.

The *innagamang* is the main kind of house and it is very hard to make. It has a wooden granary inside the house — called the *poso* ("heart") — and the people live under this granary. The granary, the walls of the house, and the floor are made of wooden boards cut by hand. The roof is made of cogon-grass tied to reeds. Mud and mashed rice-husks are put in the cracks in the wall. This house has no nails in it and the boards are mortised together so they

will be very strong. There is one doorway. There are no windows. The granary is supported by four posts in the middle of the house, and the four posts stand on stones. The roof is supported by the granary on the four posts, not by the outer walls of the house. These are the special parts of the house:

Ba-eg: the attic above the granary.

Baliw-a: a stone bowl containing water beside the doorway outside for washing; a stone bowl in the pigpen for the pig's drinking water.

Atag: a reed platform above the wood-drying shelf above the cooking place.

Dalikan: three stones used as a stove.

Dapoon: the cooking place.

Degyan: the rice-pounding place.

Da-o: the wooden floor; the first story.

Gatipan: the doorway.

Kamalig: a boxlike bedroom about three feet high; the top is used for storing things not often used.

Katin: the sleeping place.

Losongan: a mortar or the place where the mortar is used.

Palidan: a stone for sharpening tools beside the doorway outside.

Top-ok: a shelf for drying wood over the cooking place.

The *binna-ey*, *binang-iyon* or *binangi* are houses similar to the *innagamang* but larger and having a wooden ceiling above the granary, which makes a "three-story" house instead of a "two-story" house. This third story may be a kind of second granary or the wooden ceiling may only serve the purpose of protecting the palay in the granary from rats that could come down from the grass roof.

The *tinokbob* is the easiest and cheapest to make. It is very low and has no granary inside. There is no place inside for pounding rice. Palay must be kept on a reed platform above the cooking place.

The *tinabla*, unlike all other kinds of native houses, is elevated from the ground on posts. It is divided into two rooms: one for sleeping and for storing personal things, and the other for storing palay and things seldom used. Eating

and cooking are done in another building. There are walls below the house to protect chicken-coops, tools, weapons, etc., stored there. The *tinabla* has windows.

Granary

The granary or *agamang* is a cube-shaped wooden room about 8 x 8 feet and about 6 feet high, standing on four posts about 5 feet above the ground; its roof is made of grass and is a pyramid in shape with two triangles and two trapezoids for sides, and its eaves are level with the top of the posts (that is, the floor of the room). There is one door and no windows. Four smaller posts sometimes are placed between the roof and the ground at the corners. A granary can hold from 300 to 500 bundles of palay. They may be built near the fields, near the house, or inside the house.

When a granary is part of a house, it has the same construction as when it is separate from a house. Inside a house it sometimes has a stove where cooking is sometimes done in addition to the stove in the house. When the granary is in the house, valuables and ripening bananas are often stored in it. Camotes are sometimes stored there also for a month or more for sweetening.

Rice-Pounding Place

The place for pounding rice is called *pagbayowan* or *degyan*. There are two kinds: one is a separate place outside the house, and one is inside the house.

The pounding place within the house is convenient for people to pound or thresh rice on rainy days. It usually takes up about one-third, or less, of the total floor space, but is separated from the rest of the house by a low board wall which stops rice-husks from getting in the house during winnowing. Both ends usually have raised wooden platforms for storing farm implements and large tools and boxes; above are shelves or hangers for hanging palay, corn, millet, etc. The disadvantage of the *pagbayowan* inside the house is that it takes up space there. The mortar is usually partially buried in the ground, but it is not permanent there and people can roll it outside if they want to.

The rice-pounding place outside the house is the simplest form of cogon-grass roof supported on posts, usually four. The mortar is not buried in it and does not stay there permanently. The mortar is approximately 2 feet high and the hole is about 6 inches wide. Mortars are usually made of stone, which is more lasting than hard wood, but some are made of wood. It takes more than a month to make a stone mortar. They have to make it out of a very big stone and they shape it with a chisel-like stone-cutting tool. It is usually round at the mouth, somewhat smaller in the waist, and the same size again at the bottom, rather like a chalice. But there is not a specific shape for mortars. Some people have them so they get narrower all the way down to the bottom. There are also large mortars with two holes.

Dap-ay

A *dap-ay* is a house for men and boys to sleep in or a clubhouse for them to meet in. The building itself is rectangular with walls of wood or stone closed up with mud to make them very tight so the *dap-ay* will be warm. The roof is about 8 feet high and its eaves almost touch the ground, and is made of wood, rattan, reeds, and cogon-grass. Some *dap-ay* are divided into two parts: the *abong* and the *tongbab*. The *abong* is the inner sleeping place in which a fire is kept burning all night for warmth. The *tongbab* is a kind of porch with stone walls on two sides and open on the front; it is usually used as a sleeping and lounging place in the daytime. The floor of the *dap-ay*, on the ground, is hard-packed earth or is paved with stones. The *dap-ay* also has a stone-paved yard in front of the building; this is called an *amlangan*, and in the middle of it is a stove used mainly for ceremonial cooking. Around the *amlangan* are poles or stone posts called *padaw* that have stories of successful warfare connected with them. Some of the stones around the *amlangan* are set upright as backrests to lean against.

Pigpens

The pigpen is a stone pit about 3 or 4 feet deep, semicircular or oval, and is narrower at one

end where the house for the pig to sleep in is. One part of the pigpen pit is a narrow raised place above the lower level so the pig can keep out of the water in the rainy season; the rest of the pit is the pig's wallowing place. Steps sometimes lead down into the pigpen so people can get down easily to give food to the pig, but the steps are too small and too far apart for the pig to walk up and get out of the pigpen.

There are two kinds of pigpens: pigpens connected with the house, and pigpens separate from the house. When the pigpen is connected with the house, the pig's bedroom extends under the house and the square wooden roof of this bedroom is used for storing things inside the house. The pig enters through a small round hole in the boards. The advantage of this kind of pigpen is that pigs grow faster and bigger when they live in a warm place, but has the disadvantage of taking up space in the house. When the pigpen is separate from the house, the pig's bedroom must be constructed of boards, grass, galvanized iron, etc. It is used especially if more than one pigpen is required. Part of the bedroom can be used for storing tools.

It is necessary to build pigpens where the pig can have sunlight. There is usually only one pig in one pigpen unless it is very large, then there may be two. Piglets, however, are always let to stay with their mother in her pigpen. The pigpen is used by the family that owns it as a toilet. The wallowing place or *lomeng* usually has grass and sunflower plants and rice-husks thrown in to turn into manure to be used in fertilizing crops. A pigpen may be 35 feet around the outside, and the pig's bedroom may be 3 x 3 feet. There is usually a stone or wooden bowl, or trough for the pig's food in the pigpen; this is called *baliw-a*. The *sodan* is a sort of bucket, usually wooden, used to carry the food to the pigpen. The food is usually boiled greens, camote skins, banana tree stalks, etc.

Weapons

There are three types of spears or *balbeg* which are used by the people of Sagada. They are spears with curved "ears" (barbs or protrusions), spears with straight "ears," and spears

without "ears." These are some of the kinds of spears named according to the kind of spearhead they have: the *sinnimod* has a head which is plain but has small protrusions at the back end; the *sinalong*, *bagsay* or *kinangaw* has a head which is plain and straight; the *sinagat* has two barbs pointing backwards; the *gayang* and *pangkaw* both have curved protrusions that point outwards or frontwards; a spearhead with three sets of barbs is also called *sinagat*.

Spears are usually used for hunting wild pigs or other wild animals, but in olden times they were used to kill enemies, too. They are also used to help carry heavy loads on a man's shoulders. The spear consists of four parts: the spearhead or *begasna*, the iron ring which is placed around the top part of the shaft to secure the spearhead and which is called *kalo-lot*, the shaft or *bayog*, and the pointed butt or *sosog* into which the bottom part of the shaft fits. The butt serves as a protection to keep the bottom of the shaft from splitting, and to make the spear stick in the ground when men are using it for a staff. The first and second type of spears are the same in the arrangement of the placing of the spearhead into the wooden shaft and the iron ring at the top. The last type lacks the iron ring. Instead it is the shaft that fits into the spearhead.

There are two types of bolos or *gamig*: the bolos which have wooden handles and the bolos which have iron handles. These iron handles are a prolongation of the blade. People used to use bolos to kill their enemies, but now they are usually used to remove the bark of trees when they go to get fuel. The bolo with the wooden handle has three parts: the handle, the blade, and the iron ring as in the spears.

There are three types of axes or *wasay*: axes with thick, narrow heads; axes with thin, wide, flat heads, and axes with heads a bit thicker and narrower than the second type but fastened to the handle differently. Axes are used for cutting trees, splitting wood, and in the olden times for killing enemies.¹ The first kind of ax, the *pinagada*, is one that has two parts: the handle and the axhead. The bigger end of the handle has a hole in which the axhead fits. The head is about one inch thick and about 2 inches

wide. The second type, the *gaman*, is the most common, being used for fuel and small trees, and in the old days for killing or cutting off the head of somebody. It has four parts: the handle, the axhead, the iron ring to hold it in the handle, and the iron band at the other end of the handle. The handle usually is one inch in diameter. The last type of ax, the *pannakot*, is the modern ax. The axhead has a hole which the wooden handle fits in.

Tools

The following are the common tools used in the kaingins:

Sanggap. The *sanggap* is a tool used for digging camotes and for cleaning kaingins. It has a wooden handle more or less 20 inches long and a flat metal blade on one end. The blade is thinner and wider at the front end and has a semicircular edge which is sharpened for digging. It is only 2 or 3 inches wide. The handle may be long or short depending upon the owner.

Tampak. The *tampak* is like the *sanggap* only the blade is usually sharper, thinner and wider than the blade of the *sanggap*. It is used for cleaning kaingins and the surroundings of rice fields. They don't use it for digging camotes because of the wideness of its blade which might easily destroy the camotes.

Sinowan. The *sinowan* is a tool used as a shovel for breaking soil for a new kaingin. It is constructed like a *sanggap* but is larger and heavier. It is not used for digging camotes.

Kagitkit. The *kagitkit* is constructed like the tools already named but is round and pointed instead of having a flat blade. It is used mainly for removing camotes while leaving the plants undamaged but is also used for cultivating kaingins.

Da-os or *Tolan*. This tool is something like a sickle and is made out of a damaged or discarded metal shovel. The curved blade is fitted into a wooden handle and held there by an iron ring. This tool is used for cutting weeds in kaingins and rice fields.

The following are the common tools used in rice fields:

Aklo. The *aklo* is a curved piece of wood about 5 feet long, often with a small handle at one end, used in place of a plow by both men and women to dig up rice fields. It may be 5 inches wide or wider.

Alado. The *alado* is a plow. It is made of wood and has only one handle and a pointed blade of iron or steel. It is pulled by a carabao.

Sagad. The *sagad* is a kind of harrow used to smooth the soil after the rice is plowed. It is made of several pieces of wood fastened together and is pulled by a carabao. On the bottom it has wooden "teeth" about 4 or 5 inches long. The holes for these pieces of wood to fit in are made by a kind of auger called a *taleleng*. When the *sagad* is used, the dirt piles up in one corner of the field, but is put back in the field again so it will be smooth and clean.

There are a few other tools:

Te-ek. The *te-ek* is a small knife used to prepare bamboo for weaving baskets, for skinning camotes, or for other work around the house. The blade is three inches long or longer and usually more than a half-inch wide, and is fastened into a wooden handle.

Pinagada. The *pinagada* is an ax used for splitting wood. Its metal head fits into the wooden handle, but it is not used commonly now because people are using modern axes.

Gaman. The *gaman*, which is also the name for a headax used in warfare in the olden times, is a cutting tool used for cleaning fields and cutting grass. Its blade is flat, wide and curved, and is fastened to an ax-like handle.

Baskets

Liga-o. The *liga-o*, commonly called a winnower in English, is wide, circular and shallow, with a diameter of 20 to 28 inches and a depth of about 1½ inches. The frame, about one inch wide, is made of wood or bamboo, and it is bound with rattan cut lengthwise in strips about 1.5 cm. by one cm. The rest is made of bamboo or *anes* in ½ inch strips. It does not require much skill to make; the average worker takes only one day.² It is used for winnowing rice, millet, corn and coffee. It can also be used as a container for drying meat, corn, palay or

legumes in the sun.

Kamowan. The *kamowan* is roughly jar-shaped and has a lid and loop handle. Its overall height is 10 to 16 inches and its top is 4 to 6 inches square and about 3 inches deep. From the top to the bottom it gets sharply bigger for 2½ to 3½ inches and then gets smaller again. The base is square and wooden, although the basket in the middle is round, and is made of a strip of wood ½ x 1 inch. The lid and the base are the same size. The handle is about 18 inches long and is woven of rattan. The basket is made of rattan or *anes*. It is used for storing rice or legumes. The average weaver can make it in about a week and a half.

Kobeng. The *kobeng* is about the same height as the *kamowan* but much bigger in diameter. It is 11 to 14 inches wide. Its cover is 2 inches deep and has wooden sides, but some are coverless. The base is usually a square of 10 to 14 inches but some are round. It takes about three weeks to weave without the cover. It is used for storing clothes and blankets.

Topil. The *topil*, often called a lunchbox in English, is square or rectangular, and its cover is connected to the body by two rattan handles. Its size is from 4 x 6 inches to 6 x 8 inches. It has no base. It is woven of rattan or *anes* and takes from four to eight days to make. It is used as a lunchbox or for putting legumes in.

Tampipi. The *tampipi* is rectangular and may be about a foot long, with a tight-fitting cover about 6 inches wide with sides of wood. The base of the *tampipi*, about 4 inches wide or more, is also made of wood. The sides are made of rattan and need very fine weaving. *Tampipi* are for storing clothes, necklaces, earrings, etc., and may be made larger, too.

Bitoto. The *bitoto* is actually a plate and is used to eat rice off of. It may be from 5 to 12 inches wide and from 1½ to 3 inches deep. Its base, of wood or a strip of bamboo an inch or so wide, is added to the bottom after it is finished. It is woven of *anes* and takes the average worker a day to make.

Jar Covers. Jar covers are round at the lower end but may be square on top, and are usually about 2½ inches deep. They are 4 to 7 inches wide, depending on the size of the mouth of

the jar. Some have the middle of the top made of wood. They are woven of rattan or *anes*.

Baskets for Women

Balokaw. The *balokaw* can be either round or square, 6 to 10 inches across. It has no regular cover. It is made of *bika* or *anes* and is loosely woven; it can be made in a day or less. It is used for camotes, camote leaves or vegetables.

Lowa. The *lowa* is 30 to 25 inches in diameter and is round but it has a square base about 4 inches wide; it is 4 to 5 inches deep. It is usually edged with rattan, but is made of bamboo. It can be made by an unskilled weaver and takes about one week. It is used for carrying camotes, rice or corn.

Akiak. The *akiak* is flat and round, about 14 inches in diameter and 1 inch deep. It is loosely woven with holes about a quarter of an inch or less. It is made of bamboo but rattan is sometimes used for the edge. It is used for catching shellfish and small fish, and also for drying meat and fish in the sun.

Atobang. The *atobang* is a small roughly jar-shaped basket. It has a square wooden base about 3 inches wide, and its diameter increases above this base until about 5 inches deep, then it decreases to the top about 7 inches deep, so the biggest part is about 6 inches in diameter. A string is added so a woman can tie it around her waist and wear it on her hip. The best kind must be made by skillful weavers, and take two or three days. The base is wooden, the body bamboo, and the edge is rattan. Women wear it and put small things in it when they are in the fields, such as shellfish or snails, or grains of rice which fall off during harvesting, or beans or corn for planting, or if a woman goes to the fields to work alone she can put her lunch in it.

Tinangban. The *tinangban* is round, about a foot in diameter and 10 inches deep, with a square base. It has a cover of the same diameter and about 3 inches deep. Without cover, it has leaves or paper put over it. It is used for carrying food on a trip or when going to work in the fields.

Labba. The *labba* is round with a square base and varies greatly in size. Its diameter is from 8 to 10 inches and it may be from 8 to 18

inches deep. It sometimes has a cover. The base of the *labba* and the sides of the cover are made of wood, while bamboo, *anes* and rattan are used for the rest of the basket but *anes* is not common. It is used as a container for palay, corn, camotes, camote leaves or for carrying any wares to market.

Baskets for Men

Gimata. The *gimata* is really two baskets fastened together by a long piece of wood about 42 inches long. Each basket is the same size in order to keep them balanced. Usually they are about 2 feet in diameter and about 15 inches square at the bottom, but sometimes they are larger or smaller. They are from 8 to 10 inches deep. At the bottom is wood fixed crosswise and rattan bound around. The baskets are made of *bika* and *anes*. The *gimata* is used during harvest time to carry palay, corn, camote or vegetables. It is also used to carry fertilizer.

Obe. The *obe* is a round, more or less cylindrical basket for catching fish in the rice fields; it varies from small ones a few inches in diameter to big ones a foot in diameter and 18 inches long. There are holes at both ends; one is a funnel pointing inwards for the fish to swim in through and not be able to get out, and the other one is covered when the *obe* is being used for fishing and opened when you want to get the trapped fish out. At the mouth end the *anes* of which the basket is woven protrudes with sharp ends pointing toward the center, to prevent the fish from getting out.

Koppit. The *koppit* is irregular and oblong in shape, about 6 inches deep and 10 inches long, or sometimes larger. It usually has three compartments, one above the other, with the lid fitting tightly down over all three of them. The largest, bottom, compartment is for rice for lunch, and the second is for tobacco and matches, while the third is a "secret" compartment for hiding valuable things. Some *koppits* have only two compartments. The *koppit* has a string so it can be carried hanging from a man's neck or one of his shoulders. It is made of *anes* cut very fine and requires a very skillful weaver.

Sangi. The *sangi* is the so-called back-basket,

because it has two woven strap-like handles which enable it to be carried on a man's back. Its bottom is rectangular and about 4 inches wide and 10 inches long, and it may be about a foot or more deep, becoming oval or oblong at the mouth, which is smaller than the bottom. It has a rounded cover which is held on by the shoulder straps when it is on a man's back. It is made of *anes*, and has only one compartment. It is used for carrying clothing or anything else when going travelling.

Takba. The *takba* is a kind of square lunch-box. It has wooden base about 5 inches square and is about 6 inches deep, with the top a little wider than the bottom. It has two long handles of rope or rattan so it can be carried on a man's back. The lid is square and 1 1/2 inches deep. The lid is tied on with two rope or rattan handles, too. The *takba* is made of *anes*. It is used for carrying lunch to the fields or when a man is going to the mountain to cut wood. *Takba* is also the name of a sacred basket used in ceremonies and can be really a *sangi* or a *takba*. It is handed down from father to son for many generations.

Household Utensils

We find very little furniture in the Sagada houses. There is a low stool or *bangkito*, usually 3 to 4 inches high, and the people also have thick flat boards or *tokdowan* for sitting on, usually longer than the stools. We can also find a coffin-like box called *po-ok* which serves as a small storeroom. Some people store palay or seeds of any kind for the next planting season in it; others put a jar of wine in it. This box stays in the house although it is not really built as part of the house. It is placed on one side of the door instead of at the back if it is used for storing camotes or for camote leaves in.

Clay pots and jars for cooking and for storing water have always been imported from Bila or Data, south of Sagada.

The following utensils may be found in the house also:

Bitoto or *Giyag*. This is a basket woven in the shape of a plate and used to eat rice off of.

Taga-ong. The *taga-ong* is a dipper made out

of wood, coconut shell or anything else that is hollow. It is not carved of wood, the handle is wood or iron and fastened on the coconut shell. The size of the *taga-ong* varies but a common size is 12 inches. It is used for serving vegetables or meat from the pot.

Bakkong. The *bakkong* is a wooden, leaf-shaped spoon (or sometimes made of bone) with a handle as long as one foot. It is used for taking rice from the pot.

Kidlo. The *kidlo* is a wooden spatula about 10 or 11 inches long which is used to stir rice while it is cooking or to mash it soft before serving it. It is also used to mash any food old people cannot chew easily because they have no teeth.

Sokong. The *sokong* is a carved wooden bowl the shape of a coconut shell but may be larger. It is used for serving vegetables or soup.

Traps

Ateb. The *ateb* is a trap placed in fields for catching rats. It is a deadfall, and is woven out of reeds, making a sort of basket about a foot long, 9 inches wide and 6 inches deep. It is raised from the ground by a string tied loosely to a post. At the center of the trap is the bait. When a rat sees the bait and seizes it, the string is pulled loose and the trap falls on the rat suddenly. The rat is caught.

Ga-at. The *ga-at* is a slipnoose for catching birds on the ground. A string loop hangs from a reed which is fastened to two other standing reeds stuck in the ground. A narrow path is made which leads to the loop. If a bird walks through the path and happens to put its head in the loop, then the weight of the bird will pull the string and the loop tightens. The bird is caught by the neck.

Iyo. The *iyo* is a slipnoose with bait. A piece of reed about 2½ feet long is fastened in the side of a stone wall. At one end is a small piece of reed with a bait attached, which holds another reed bent over with a loop of string attached to it. When a bird alights on the reed to which the bait is attached, the reed falls and releases the bent-over reed, which pulls the loop tight and the bird is caught by the head.

Weaving

These are the tools used in weaving. First are the *sawdan*, two upright poles in the ground which hold up the warp-beam or *bawayan*, around which the warp threads are passed. The *ipitan* are two pieces of wood fastened together to serve as the cloth-beam, which is fastened to the waist of the weaver by a belt or *dokopan*. The *gol-on* and *tobongan* are used for shedding and to put the design in; the *gol-on* is the main heddle-stick and cannot be removed, while the *tobongan* can be removed. The main *tobong*, or shed-stick, is a piece of bamboo about 2 inches thick. The *leletan* are laze-rods which hold the warp tight and keep it from being scattered. The *baliga* is a flat piece of wood pointed at both ends used to beat the woof tight. The shuttle is called *sikwan*.

When a weaver wants to weave a skirt, she computes the length she wants, which depends upon the owner's taste. All of the warp threads will not be included in the woven cloth; there will always be some extra. After weaving, she cuts the woven from the unwoven thread, and then cuts the woven piece into two pieces, after which she joins the edges together and sews them into one piece. She sews the edges, too. This is true of the simple designs, but in the case of a *pinagpagan* blanket or skirt, the *sabbong* is required. This is a separately woven piece about 3 inches wide for the edges of the finished blanket or tapis.

A simple design called *inolma*, which requires little thread and is not too expensive, and which can be learned more easily than any other design, takes about three days for an expert weaver, not including the other days devoted to preparing and starching the thread.

There are seven designs of blankets commonly used. They are the *pinagpagan*, the *koabaw*, the *kinai-in*, the *inanggin*, the *kalgo*, the *galanggang*, and the *dinol-os*. The *pinagpagan*, *koabaw* and *inanggin* are the most commonly woven in Sagada. The *pinagpagan* was the only one used by rich people in the old days. The quality and beauty of this one is the highest in Igorot weaving. It may have four different designs, the *mata*, *tiniko*, *sinakaw* and *sopo*. No other blanket has these designs. It takes about 20

days to make. The common size is about three yards long and about 48 inches wide. Some are wider or longer depending upon the person who wants them. The design has a prominent white strip down the middle with intricate weaving in black, red, white, yellow and a little bit of green at both ends; the rest of the blanket is long strips of red and black. It may cost ₱40 or ₱50, depending upon the thread used. The *pinagpagan* design can also be used for a skirt.

The *koabaw* is either a blanket or a skirt and is mainly red, black and white, with yellow and green on the edges. It takes about 15 to 18 days to weave. Its cost also depends on how much thread is consumed, but a good one of this kind may cost ₱40. The *inanggin* is a blanket made of only black and white thread. It has no design. It is also commonly used for carrying babies. It takes about six days to weave, and costs about ten pesos.

Some current prices of 5 x 7 feet blankets are as follows:

<i>Pinagpagan</i> (white, black, red, green, yellow)	₱50.00
<i>Koabaw</i> (white, black, red)	₱40.00
<i>Bayong</i> (white, black)	₱17.00
<i>Galanggang</i> (white, red)	₱15.00

Old women who know how to weave say that the materials needed for weaving always came from the Ilocos provinces, even in the old times. The place where the people of Sagada bought salt was in Ilocos and when they came home from those provinces they also brought cotton with them. They used this in weaving. In those times the following kinds of skirts or *tapis* were woven: *pinagpagan*, *kina-in*, *inolma*, *kinayan*, and *kinoabaw* (*koabaw*). Skirts are commonly about 42 inches long and 28 inches wide, but a big or tall person takes a larger one to fit her. Some are dear and some are cheap, depending upon the thread used and how difficult the design is to weave.

The *pinagpagan* is red, black and green, with a white strip down the middle with many colors woven in a fine design at each end of this white strip. The *kinayan* is red and white with a little yellow; the red and white are in alternate stripes with a little yellow in between them. The *kina-in* is black, red, yellow and green, and

is like the *pinagpagan* but the middle is black and green. The *inolma* is red and black in alternate stripes with a little yellow in between them. The *kinoabaw* is like the *pinagpagan* but it does not have the white strip in the center.

Women learn to weave by watching others weave. They do not receive lessons. Some women do not know how to weave all the different designs.

The decorated G-string commonly woven in Sagada — but it was used only by rich people in the old days — is the *binolda-an*. The decorated parts are a little more than a foot at each end, and in between these decorated parts of the G-string are stripes of red and black with little yellow and sometimes green. The thread used for the decorated parts is thick yarn so that part of the G-string is thicker. The common length of the G-string is from three to five yards and the width is from ten to 12½ inches. This type of weaving is reported to be introduced into Sagada in recent times.

The simplest kind of G-string is the *langat*, a piece of red cloth imported from the lowlands. People usually wear it for working in the fields, but very rarely for any pagan festivals.

Women wear a large woven belt called a *bakget*. The thread is twisted and braided before weaving. These braided threads, or a belt made from them, are called *linobid*, and a belt made of threads not braided is called *anggo-lingan*. The most common colors are red, black, white and yellow. The twisting of the thread takes about three days if it is done continuously. The weaving takes only a day. The common width of the belt is 3 to 4 inches and the common length is 6 feet or more. The belt should be thick and strong so it will last long.

In the old days, belts were woven from

braided threads made of a kind of grass called *balili*. It was dried before using. Those belts were shorter than the ones used now. People had to go out to the mountains to get the grass.

Bark Cloth

G-strings, and sometimes headbands (or turbans), can be made of the bark of the *koba* tree, and they are then called *koba*, too. They are not common now and only poor people have them. The *koba* G-string is only 6 or 7 inches wide and 2 to 3 yards long. It is very cheap but will last a long time, longer than a woven G-string. *Koba* is also worn by women after the delivery of a baby, but they fasten it to a string around their waist.

The bark is taken off the tree without necessarily cutting the tree down. They first cut two straight lines up and down both sides of the tree, and then it is beaten carefully with a round piece of wood that will not cut it to loosen it before pulling it off. Then they take it home and soak it in water overnight to make it elastic and soft. Then they whip it with a club on a flat piece of wood all over to make it soft and comfortable to wear. Next day they dry it in the sun, but afterwards they have to put it in a cool place to soften again. In about two days it is ready to wear.

Notes

1. Actually, only the second-named kind of ax, or *gaman*, was ever actually used for taking enemy heads; the other two kinds of axes are tools rather than weapons.

2. Baskets are woven by men only, and in the estimates of time given for various baskets, the facts must be taken into consideration that men have other daily tasks which prevent their devoting all their time to weaving.

**Philippine Sociological Society
P.O. Box 154, Manila 2801
Philippines**

September 1977

Dear Subscriber:

Your last issue of the PSR was dated July-October 1973 (and published October 31, 1974). Perhaps you have wondered why no further issues have appeared.

When Frank Lynch, S.J., editor of the PSR for 13 issues decided he must resign, caretaker arrangements and informal press scheduling were attempted. But no publications resulted.

In July 1976, with a maze of manuscripts, a fresh printer, and high hopes, I came on as editor to see through back issues and bring the PSR up-to-date. With the present Sagada Social Studies issue (1974 [1-4]), the journal resumes publication. Forthcoming in a few short months are the Population issue (1975 [1-4]), the Ethnicity issue (1976 [1-4]), the PSS 1975 Lecture Series (1977 [1-2]) and the PSS 1976 Convention issue (1977 [3-4]). For 1978 the journal has planned a General Issue (1978 [1]) and, an issue of special interest to me, on the subject of women (1978 [2-3]).

The Board of Directors joins me in thanking you for your continued interest and hope you will stay in touch.

Sincerely,

ELIZABETH U. EVIOTA
Interim Editor