



Cultural Change among the Kalinga and Catalangan in the foothills of the Sierra Madre



Report on the Kalinga and Catalangan of San Mariano, Province of Isabela, Philippines

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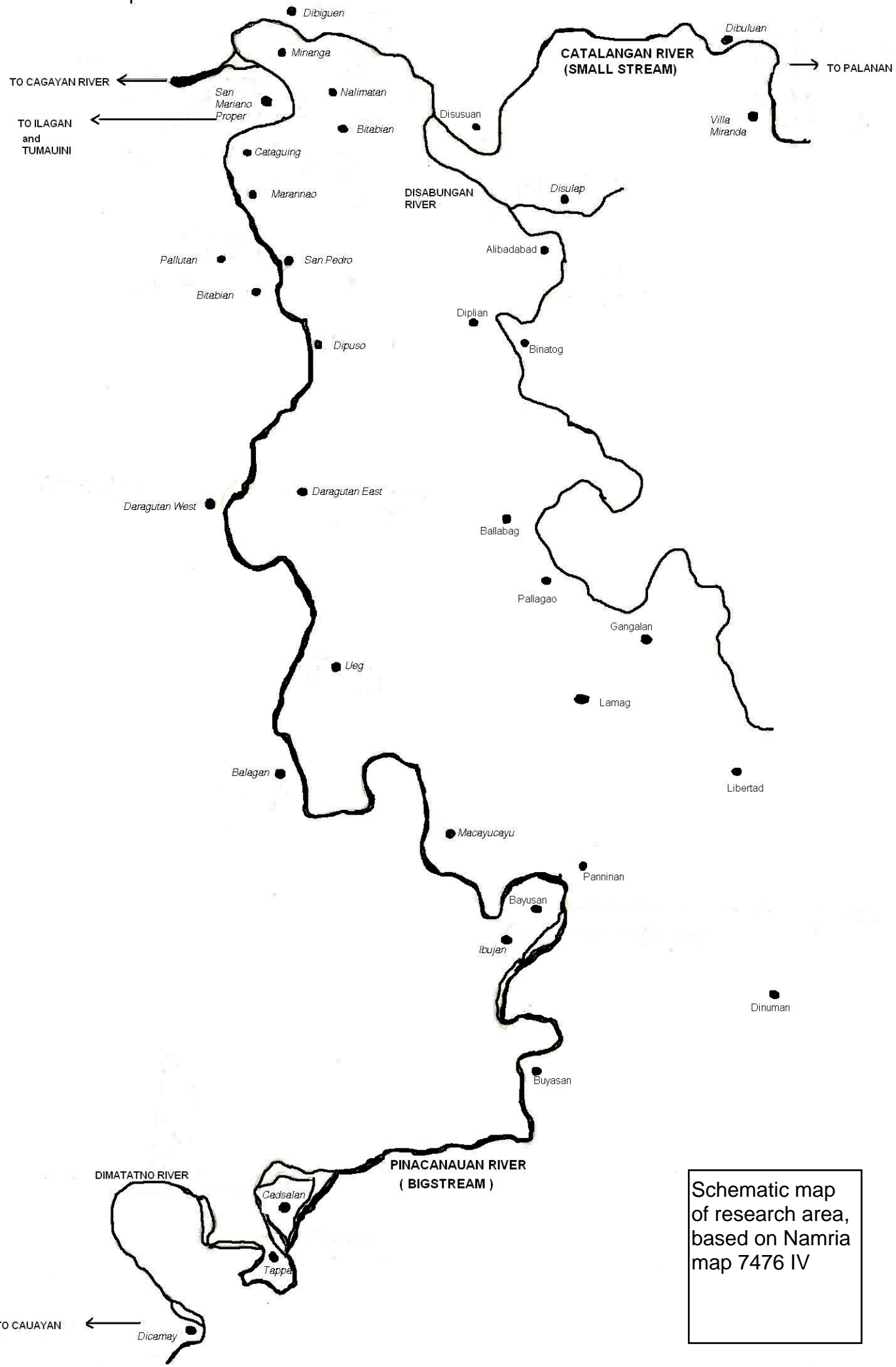
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Schematic map of research area, based on Namria map 7476 IV

1 INTRODUCTION

In May 1860 a German naturalist called Carl Semper hiked over the Sierra Madre Mountains situated in the northern part of the Philippine island of Luzon. He made record of two group of inhabitants who were according to him a typical ‘cultural minority’. He noted down various names for them: Kalinga, Irrayas and Catalanganes. He noted that they grew their own food, forged their own tools, and practised their own religious rites. Their artefacts were decorated with distinctive designs, and they traded forest products for metal and salt with other groups in the area. They subsisted on hunting, gathering and fishing as well as growing rice and tubers (Semper 1861).

In 1978, the historian and lay Anglican missionary W.H. Scott went to the same area in order to see for himself the changes since the time Carl Semper first described the people he encountered there. He stayed for five days. According to his publication about this trip, he found them relatively unchanged (Scott 1979).

However, some significant events had taken place in the 120 years between Semper’s visit and that of Scott. The Philippines have become independent first of the Spanish and later of the Americans. The foothills of the Sierra Madre have traditionally been the hide-out for those groups opposing whatever regime was in power during a particular period. General Aguinaldo and the Katipunan, the Hukbalahap during WWII and after, the New Peoples Army resisting the Marcos regime since the early seventies. During the Second World War, the Japanese governed the town of San Mariano. Towards the end of the war, they fled from the oncoming American troops through the Sierra Madre Mountains towards Palanan, following the Catalangan River upstream. There are still many stories going round about the gold they have supposedly buried somewhere in the mountains during their flight (Top 1998).

Aside from these occasional ‘side-effects’ of history being made, the area was opened up by large scale logging after WWII. In the wake of the logging companies, immigrants came into the area and settled there to farm, mostly Ilocano and Ybanags (Top 1998). New crops and farming techniques were introduced and the immigrants now form the majority in the area.

The purpose of the research on which this report is based was to assess how these changes have affected the culture of the Kalinga described by Semper and Scott, especially in terms of worldview. In this first chapter, we outline what was known about the Kalinga prior to our research, the research questions, key concepts and fieldwork methods. Chapter 2 summarises the data on the history from ‘times immemorial’ to the present. Chapter 3 describes what we have been able to piece together about the ritual life and beliefs in the spirit world. Chapter 4 discusses the dynamics of continuity and change, based on the previous chapters and additional data on the interaction between Christian beliefs and practices and traditional beliefs and practices. In chapter 5, some broader conclusions are discussed. Finally, the appendix provides additional data that might be of use to other researchers and follow-up.

1.1 CVPED and municipality of San Mariano

The municipality of San Mariano nowadays encompasses the region where the groups described by Semper and Scott live. This municipality borders the Sierra Madre National Park and has been the subject of intensive research conducted by graduate and PhD students from Cagayan Valley Program on Environment and Development (CVPED), a collaboration between the Centre of Environmental Studies in Leiden (CML), the Netherlands and the Isabela State University (ISU) in the Philippines. Much research already focussed on land use transitions and indigenous peoples, especially the Agta (a hunter/gathering ethnicity).

Currently, a WOTRO project, run jointly by researchers from the CML, Wageningen and Nijmegen universities is taking place in this area, looking into the driving factors of land use transition. The research reported on below is intended to gain insight into social and cultural processes that are connected to the land use transition of the groups indigenous to the area.

1.2 Impressions of CVPED researchers regarding the Kalinga prior to this research

Prior to our research, other researchers based at CVPED familiar with the municipality of San Mariano, told us that the Kalinga are now barely distinguishable from the immigrant groups of San Mariano, at least to the casual observer. They have mostly adopted the same way of subsisting on smallholder farming. Their impression was that the Kalinga moved away because of the pressure of the newcomers, further and further into the mountains and away from the centre of the region, the town proper of San Mariano. They also noted that Kalinga usually insist on calling themselves 'Christian', yet they had the strong impression that this does not adequately describe their worldview. The immigrants in the area still identify them as Kalinga, and dubiously Christian.

One possibility to be considered is that in the future they will use their ethnic background to claim land under the Indigenous Peoples' Rights Act (RA8371), which have become effective in 1997. According to some, this has already been done in Cadsalan, although in reality, this seems to have little significance.

This study will therefore not only pay attention to processes of Christianisation and situate itself theoretically within the literature on this subject, but will link these subjects to the current situation where 'ethnic identity' is becoming an asset to defend certain rights.

1.3 Worldview according to Semper and Scott

What did we know about the religion of the Kalinga before starting our research? Semper describes the religion of the Kalinga as a complicated form of ancestor worship¹. He notes rituals accompanying the planting cycle, a belief in ancestors, and two pairs of gods (male/female): Tschiehonau and Bebenangan, and Sialo and Binalinga. The priests of this cult had just died when he came there. They were called 'hantasan (the male priest) and 'talamajau' (the female priest).

Although Semper tried to figure out the logic of their ancestor worship, he admits that he does not understand much of it. The anitos, which Semper equated with deceased ancestors who have left behind grandchildren, are held to be responsible for the protecting the house and possessions of a family. Later, Scott thinks he must have been mistaken, making it more complicated than it was (Scott 1979). According to Scott, in 1978 the anitos were still held in high regard, although his informant indignantly denied that they had anything to do with ancestors. Literally, Scott writes:

'All of these relics were explained as signs of respect for the anitos, but it was rather indignantly denied that anitos had any connection with departed ancestors. Ipiyak himself (Scott's informant in Dilumi) said that he did not know what happens to the spirits of the dead with a finality that discouraged further inquiry' (Scott 1979: 98).

Scott does not speculate on the reason for this 'finality'. Nor does he tell us whether there were signs of Christianisation when he visited Dilumi and Dibuluan in 1978. He does speculate that 'Semper's Kalinga' had given up some of their distinctive customs because they got tired of facing the ridicule of their trading partners and incoming migrants settling in their area (Scott 1979:100).

At the time Semper described the two groups they were a distinctly different from the mainstream, yet, according to Scott at least, more dependent on relations with 'hispanised' groups than other such ethnic minorities that had retained their distinctiveness at that time². His interest was in describing their distinctiveness and comparing his findings with those of Semper, so this may have prejudiced

¹ Whenever I cite Semper, it is based on my reading of the full original German text, the letter Semper wrote to his magazine. There is an English 'translation' of this text, but it is bad and inaccurate.(Semper 1860).

² It is questionable whether the Kalinga really did trade more with lowlanders than other marginal groups. Even for the Agta, living in the same area as the Kalinga or even further into the mountains, it has been shown that trade must have been a part of their life for centuries (Headland and Reid 1989).

him against taking detailed note of Christianising influences. He does not mention whether the festival worshipping the two pairs of Gods mentioned by Semper still takes place. Generally, Scott seems to think Kalinga beliefs are fairly standard for indigenous Filipino groups. However, we have to bear in mind that he only spent five days with the Catalangan, not enough to note much more than outward signs of change in material culture and agriculture.

If the Kalinga and Catalangan are gradually being integrated into the mainstream Filipino culture, it is important to take note that this 'mainstream' is not dominated by purely Christian beliefs. Prior to the research we were mindful that traditional healers, beliefs in anitos, duende, asuang etc. often play an important role, especially for the poor (e.g. Cannell 1999, Lim Tan 1999, Pertierra 1995,, 1997). One hypothesis was that Kalinga traditional healing practices persist as part of the richly varied mainstream folk repertoires of healing practices.

1.4 Theories on Christianisation

In the disciplines of cultural anthropology and history, many case studies describe the process of conversion to Christianity in connection to processes of colonialism and globalisation. All over the world these processes have taken place and are still taking place, with very different results. In some areas, people have resisted conversion; in others they have embraced Christianity. The reasons behind this worldwide process of conversion vary.

According to some social scientists, the 'universality' of Christianity makes for its appeal, since people are increasingly connected to other people outside their own local community. Traditional worldviews, they argue, are badly equipped to deal with difference since they are bound to a particular way of life, to a particular people and a particular place. Christianity, on the contrary, views all people as essentially the same, whatever their differences and thus prepares people better for dealing with people outside their own localities.

In the introduction to a collection of articles presenting case studies on Christianisation, Hefner wonders whether Christianity has a peculiar capacity to challenge received worldviews (Hefner 1993). However, looking at the history of the way peoples the world over have been introduced to Christianity, it is clear that 'the capacity to challenge' should not be sought only, or even primarily, in the appeal of Christianity as a convincing doctrine. Christianity has often been the frontline of a process of colonisation. Matters of power, politics, and the particular local social configurations therefore play a very important role. In general, the more people are incorporated into the global economy, the more they will be incorporated into discourses deeply influenced by Christianity. Even where Christian doctrines seem to have fallen on fertile ground, the intellectual outcome is often very different from what the missionaries foresaw. In the same collection of studies on conversion, author Peter Woods concludes:

'In all these situations the possibilities of conversion are tempered by people's concepts of religious knowledge- whether such knowledge is or should be open to critical reflection; whether it is experienced as pervading life or is, alternatively, mostly contextualised; and whether it is a repository of timeless realities, or a conditional stage of understanding' (Woods in Hefner 1993: 319).

For the Philippines, Rafael has shown how the Tagalogs received Christian doctrines and practices and used them to solve existential dilemma's generated by their 'pre-chirstian' worldview, as well as a medium to communicate with their colonisers (Rafael 2000 [1988]). One important dilemma solved by Christianity is the problem of the spirits of the ancestors bothering the living: according to Christian doctrine, they will go to paradise an be at rest eternally. Another problem solved by Christianity is the unpredictability of the spirit world. The Tagalogs assumed an unpredictable spiritworld, to which offerings could be made in an attempt to generate a relationship of reciprocity, but the outcome of this relationship was never certain. God, on the other hand, is predictably good and just, a distinct advantage. And He is more powerful than any spirit. However, this does not mean that beliefs in a

spiritworld have disappeared, as we have noted earlier. For example, one problem addressed by some present-day cults is what happened to the souls of the unchristian (unbaptised) ancestors, because according to Catholic doctrine, they cannot go to paradise.

Summarising: in studying worldview change it has to be taken into account that the nature of the cosmology prevailing when people first come into contact with Christianity will predispose them in crucial ways in how they will approach this new religion. Furthermore, Christianity should not be taken to be simply a set of beliefs competing with other beliefs, but should be considered as a political tool that shapes relationships in certain ways.

1.5 Ethnicity and religion.

In his 1979 article, Scott speaks of ‘Semper’s Kalinga’. However, Semper himself distinguished between Catalanganes, living along the river of the same name, and Irrayas or Calinga’s living along what he calls the Ilarou or Ilagou, the river now called the Pinacanuan de Ilagan. According to him, ‘Kalinga’ is a general name for the unchristian peoples living in the mountains. CML researchers who have done fieldwork in this region also noted that there are some differences between the Kalinga living in Dibuluan along the Catalangan River and those of the other sitios situated along other rivers in San Mariano. Their languages are also different, though similar.

Prior to the actual fieldwork, it was our impression that Kalinga³ is a general name used by Ilocano’s and Ybanag to indicate the people living in the Sierra Madre east of Ilagan, while Catalangans is the specific name for those who live along the river of the same name. However, in the Spanish records ‘Catalanganes’ is also used as a general term to refer to the indigenous inhabitants of the region of San Mariano which is roughly equivalent to the missionary district Catalangan, delineated by the Spanish. They use the term Catalanganes to distinguish them from the ‘negritos’ and the ‘Christianos Remontados’ from the lowlands.

It is impossible to say in what way these ethnic labels reflect shared group characteristics and culture based on the historical sources. But it does reflect the local political configurations mainly created by Spanish colonial rule, as they are described in the historical and anthropological literature (e.g. Cannell 1999, Hedman and Sidel 2000, Hefner 1993, Jesus 1982).

In this case, as in many others, ethnic classifications and group boundaries and labels such as ‘Christian’ and ‘uncivilised’ run parallel, both in the Spanish records and in the everyday language of the inhabitants of San Mariano now. Religious categories cannot be distinguished from ethnic categories. The Spanish saw it as their duty to Christianise the Filipino people. Often, missionaries were first to go into an area. Drawing on the lessons they had learned in South America, they embarked on a program that sought to make this process ‘less painful’ than it had been for the indigenous peoples of South America. From the first, they tried to bring Christianity to the people in their own language. Allegiance to the Spanish and conversion to Christianity were presented as one and the same, and this was enforced in many different ways (Rafael 2000 [1988]).

In the Spanish records, the people living in the Catalangan mission were considered to consist of three groups: Christianos Remontados, who fled the Spanish rule firmly established in the lowlands, negritos and ‘pagans’ called Kalinga or Catalanganes. With regard to the region we are interested in here, during the time of the tobacco monopoly, De Jesus mentions that trading with ‘pagans’ was made illegal, thus enforcing the distinction between Christians and pagans in law (Jesus 1982). However, Kalinga would sometimes come down from the foothills of the Sierra Madre to trade contraband tobacco. This is corroborated by Semper and Scott, who mention that trading did take place, although they seem to think it was mostly lowland traders going to the Kalinga.

Further, there is a general distinction in the Philippines between ‘highlanders’, who either resisted or simply escaped Spanish colonisation, and ‘lowlanders’ who have been under Spanish rule for a long

³ Kalinga is pronounced in a different way when referring to the people of the province of Kalinga Apayao. In San Mariano it is Kali-nga, in the other cases it is pronounced Kalin-ga, with the g as a soft k.

time. For lowlanders, the mountains often served as a refuge when they came to be at odds with Spanish rule. The mountains and their inhabitants were therefore regarded as the habitat of pagans (infielos) and bandits, people not belonging to the civilised world. Although the 'Kalinga' of San Mariano are never called highlanders, they do often seem to fall into the category of people classified as 'infielos'.

Through the Spanish, American and present-day policies, the most relevant distinction between the many ethnic groups of Luzon became that between 'Christian'/'civilised' and 'pagan' groups. In mainstream Filipino society, pagan and uncivilised both have negative connotations. Later, in American and postcolonial legislation, the 'unchristian' groups, or those groups that had never submitted to colonial law, came to be called 'indigenous peoples'. The Americans had a grudging admiration for the mountain groups (especially in the Cordillera) who had so long resisted Spanish rule, but nevertheless also saw it as their duty to bring Christianity and civilisation. The mountain groups of the Cordillera (e.g. the Ifugao and the Igorot) have since become the symbol of the indigenous peoples of the Philippines: proud of their own traditions, practicing ancestor worship, yet Christian.

In present-day Filipino laws, special provisions are made for 'indigenous peoples' living in the mountains, the forest or on the forest fringe. Since 1997, the republic of the Philippines has one of the most progressive laws protecting indigenous people's rights. It is not unimaginable that as these laws become known and are implemented, the attitude that it is best to become part of the mainstream (and therefore Christianise), will change. Instead, populations 'on the brink' of becoming mainstream, might opt to emphasize their ethnic distinctiveness in whatever way is most appropriate.

Although Scott found 'Semper's Kalinga' in Dibuluan and Dilumi relatively unchanged, it is hard to imagine that the attitude that went with this distinction between 'Christian' and 'unchristian' had no influence whatsoever during the long history of contact between the Kalinga and the 'Christians' who came there to trade, to cut trees or to find land. At the time of Scott's visit in 1978, the logging companies and migrant labour had already reached the sitio of Dilumi where he stayed (this sitio is one of the last before crossing the mountain range to the coastal side of the Sierra Madre, and therefore relatively remote), and San Mariano proper was a booming town.

We might conclude that in 1978, the Catalangan were outwardly, in farming techniques and in ritual, still very much distinguishable from immigrants in the area. And at least to Scott, they did not identify themselves as Christian, they were introduced to him as 'Infielos'.

1.6 Research questions:

Based on the background information available before this research and the theoretical orientation described above, the following research questions were formulated:

- How did the influence of a christianised way of life make itself felt among the Kalinga? Was it mainly through trading with other groups, were they visited by missionaries?
- In what way are the two groups of Kalinga different, do they descend from the Kalinga first described by Semper or should they be considered to be two different peoples?
- When did people start converting, how long did this process take, was there any resistance, is it complete or are there still 'unconverted' people?

These questions can be answered by facts and information. The second group of questions was of an anthropological nature asking how to interpret this historical process and the present state of affairs as it can be found among the Kalinga now.

- What reasons do they give for their conversion (emic),
- Why did people convert (etic),
- How can their present-day worldview be described (e.g. syncretistic, completely Christian, or a shallow Christianity grafted onto traditional ways)?
- Is it different from that of their neighbours?
- How do their neighbours see them and how do they see themselves?

- How do they use their status as an ‘ethnic minority’ nowadays and what role do they assign to religion in this representation?
- Can we reconstruct something of the cultural predispositions they brought to their encounter with Christianity?

1.7 Fieldwork: methods used and data gathered

The fieldwork was conducted mainly in two barangays: Cadsalan and Dibuluan. Since in the first week of our research in Dibuluan and Minanga it became clear that there was indeed a difference between the two groups according to our informants, both in language and in customs, we treated them separately in our research, and we will distinguish between them in this report. Although the immigrants refer to both groups as ‘Kalinga’, and the Catalangans also refer to themselves as Kalinga sometimes, they do distinguish themselves from the big stream Kalinga. It is important to note that ‘Kalinga’ is pronounced differently from when people are referring to the people of the province of Kalinga-Apayao. In San Mariano, the pronunciation is Kali-nga, whereas the widely known term for the people from Kalinga-Apayao is pronounced as Kalin-ga.

The group calling themselves ‘Catalangan’, live along the river of the same name and along the Disulap and Disabungan rivers (these rivers together are referred to as ‘small stream’ in local geographical indications). The other group call themselves by no other name than ‘Kalinga’, and lives in the ‘big stream’ region, along the Pinacanauan River. Some have migrated to the small stream region. We did not visit all the places where Kalinga or Catalangan were reported to live but concentrated on the barangays furthest apart from each other geographically to compare the two groups.

In the big stream region, we also visited the barangays Dicamay, Tappa and Balagan in order to see whether our findings in Cadsalan were very different from what the people in those barangays told us. The group of people living along the Catalangan, in the small stream region, is so small that it did not seem necessary to branch out to other barangays. We found almost no references to groups of Catalangans living in other barangays. According to our informants, Dibuluan is the ‘centre’ for the Catalangan, what they consider as their place of origin from where they and their ancestors would branch out to find new land to farm.

It was our intention to find people who remembered their introduction to Christianity and ask them to describe this. In practice, their first introduction to Christianity was usually baptism initiated by immigrants, so we followed up on the meanings this event had for them and for the initiators. We also tried to gain some insights into the socio-economic context in which the process of conversion and cultural change took place. This meant finding out when the first immigrants had come to their community, what kind of changes this introduced, the influence of the logging companies and the struggles between the NPA and the AFP. Apart from trying to gain a micro-level historical perspective on socio-economic change, we spend a lot of time trying to piece together something of the rituals and traditions from the stories of the older people. According to everybody we met, the knowledge of these rituals was fast disappearing because ‘they are already Christians’, something that turned out to generate its own problems: some people were afraid that talk of the anito’s would remind them that they were not doing the rituals anymore.

We also paid attention to our informants’ views of the process of cultural change: are the traditional means of livelihood incompatible with Christianity? Are the traditional rituals incompatible with the new agricultural practices they were introduced to since WWII? Based on what we were able to gather about their worldview, we also tried to find out more about the way they viewed land and property, and the relationship between humans, animals, spirits and nature.

Stories and impressions of the other researchers based at CVPED would lead us to inquire into a particular direction. For example, the CROC project made us extra aware of any mention of crocodiles and other animals. In the course of the interview, the subject would accidentally come up, but as a

sideline. Asking about it specifically would get us nothing, except stories of crocodile hunters. In the appendix all the crocodile stories we found are gathered together.

With regard to the question of the Kalinga and their status as an 'indigenous group' we did not gain much. In Tappa, we met a person who declared that he was 'the only recognised Kalinga', recognised by the National Commission on Indigenous Peoples. However, he was half Ilocano. Otherwise, most people seemed totally unaware of the IPRA and the use they might make of it. Of course, it would only take a few political-minded people to change this situation completely. What this will mean in terms of land and land rights is a question for another research altogether, one that will be very difficult since land is a sensitive and heavily politicised issue.

In drawing conclusions from the data, there are several obstacles. The first obstacle is obvious: we have to rely on people's memories. This means that information about historical events and processes is patchy and inevitably coloured by people's subjective perceptions. The second obstacle is also obvious, but surmountable: communication difficulties. In qualitative, open question interviewing it is important that both interviewers and respondents understand each other well: the informant has to understand the question, and some indication of the purpose of the questions so that he or she can correct the course of questions when they are going into a direction irrelevant to the subject. The interviewers have to pay attention to their own mistakes in interpretation, recognise when their questions are not getting good answers and why, adjust their vocabulary to that of the informant, try to find out from which perspective he is speaking (was he there, or is it hearsay, does he know how to perform the ritual or did he just attend, how precise is the notion of time?). To be able to adequately assess the value of information generated by an interview, it is important to establish a good working relationship between all parties, and not to be satisfied too easily by answers that might be inspired more by a desire not to lose face rather than by knowledge.

In any research, this is a learning process that takes a lot of time. In this case, one of us started on the research with only very little knowledge of the language and the lifeworld of rural Philippine communities. So it was inevitable that the first interviews were peppered by many misunderstandings on both sides. After a while, we had established good working relationship with several ritual specialists and older people with a good memory. We managed to interview all of them at least three times, usually lasting a few hours, sometimes a whole day. Most of the ritual specialists are too old to perform the rituals now, and the younger generation is not interested in continuing these practices. Coming back to these ritual specialists again and again, we pieced together the sequences and reasons for the most important rituals, identified several kinds of ritual 'specialisation', and how it is passed from one generation to the next.

Regarding history, we found that informants among the Kalinga were better informed about the outside world, talked more easily and were less 'shy' and more knowledgeable about timeframe than the Catalangans. In the Catalangan region, it was much harder to find out the specific dates. Often, people would say 'ten years ago' and it would turn out to be thirty years ago. Or use the indicator 'lately', and we would discover that lately could also mean twenty years ago. So when we did find a date for a particular event, we would regard it with some scepticism. Using general indicators such as the approximate age of an informant or the mayor incumbent at the time, we would try to narrow down the timeframe. However, in many cases this would make the interview very stressful to the informant, because it would make them feel 'caught out' in contradictions, creating an embarrassing situation and interrupting the flow of their story.

2 HISTORY

This history has been put together from various sources, which are often vague, and sometimes contradictory. Strangers unfamiliar with the area, depending on translators, were the only providers of historical information about this region prior to our research. This creates many problems: the names referring to places and ethnic groups might have been misheard, the Spanish might have created their

own names, and there have been differences between what people call themselves and what other people call them (there still are). It is a well-established anthropological insight that ethnic labels are subject to change, subject to economic and political configurations. It is not even certain that the places that still appear to have the same name were in fact always in the same place. For example, the Spanish records refer to the place 'Disabungan' along the big stream river and according to an old Agta woman we spoke to, Disabungan used to be a trading place. However, this place does not exist on the map anymore, it is now the name of one of the 'small stream' rivers.

About the historical data of oral history interviews we might add that it is based on the unstable memory of people, trying to answer questions that they would sometimes only half understand the purpose of. All in all, there were and still are many opportunities for misinterpretation. Where this history is based on our interviews, we will introduce the informant in the footnotes, giving some information about age, background and the quality of memory and information. In discussing the history after WW II we will subdivide our discussion according to theme in order to present our findings in a more orderly way. Even when we are unsure of how to interpret our findings we decided to present them anyway for future reference.

2.1 Times immemorial- WWII:

In Salgado, a whole chapter is dedicated to the 'Catalangan mission', first delineated in 1755. It comprised the people living along the Disabungan, Disulap and Pinacanauan rivers, which is roughly the area of the present day municipality of San Mariano (Salgado 2002)⁴. There was some resistance from the lowlands (the city of Ilagan) against the missionising activities there. For the inhabitants of Ilagan, bringing the Catalangan region under Spanish control meant that they would lose a place of refuge and a source of contraband.

This area is most often mentioned in the Spanish records in connection to illegal trading, the place where 'infiles' dwell, and Christians from the lowlands would run to. It was not only the Spanish imposing their rule that people from the lowlands would flee, but also to get away from epidemics (Salgado 2002).

According to Keesing, there was a struggle about the jurisdiction of this region between different religious orders during the nineteenth century, because both the Franciscans from the side of Palanan and the missionaries dispatched from the side of the Cagayan Valley wanted to claim the area⁵ (Keesing 1962:262). The Dominicans, who obtained the 'Catalangan' mission in 1803 decided to 'reduce'⁶ the people in their villages, instead of trying to force them to come and live in the lowland settlements. The Spanish would undertake military expeditions every now and then, to pacify the region. Records of these missions are a source of a few pieces of information, collected by Salgado in his chapter on the Catalangan mission⁷.

In 1848 the Spanish, led by governor Oscariz, forced the Catalangans to improve the trail crossing the Sierra Madre to Palanan (we assume that this is the trail Semper took when crossing the Sierra Madre from Palanan, ending at Ambabok, see below). He wrote that he met only silent resistance; generally people simply retreated into the forest and tried to keep a low profile but refrained from taking up arms against the Spanish. Although at one point, entering a village, he thought that the 'pagans' would have

⁴ When citing from Salgado, I'm referring to his chapter on the Catalangan mission, pp 479-490

⁵ He does not mention the name of the latter order.

⁶ 'reduce' meant to Christianise and generally bring the 'indios' under control in the colonial jargon of the Spanish. For a discussion of the Spanish colonial ideology and the role of Christianity in it, see (Rafael 2000 [1988])

⁷ We tried to get more information from the Spanish records in the library of UP Diliman. Many of the sources Salgado mentions could not be found ('missing', according to the staff, or not even listed in the library) and in those we did find, there was no further information than what is already mentioned in Salgado. In the online database of the University of Michigan (<http://www.hti.umich.edu/p/philamer/>), the information was also in concurrence with Salgado.

taken up arms, if only the ‘negritos’ and ‘Christianos remontados’ had joined them. The Spanish tried a policy of ‘penalising’ the pagans of the villages the Christians fled to, but all in all it seems the region was too remote for the Spanish to really get under their control. Oscariz mentions the names Dicamay, where negritos live who cultivate fields, Disabungan or ‘Capitan’, where escaped Christians mostly live, and Sappat which according to him is the principal abode of the pagans (Salgado 2002). According to Oscariz, Disabungan is not along the river of the same name, but along the Pinacanauan. In the interviews with the older people, we would drop the information from the Spanish records to see if they could remember anything more about it from the stories their parents and grandparents told them. With regard to the geographical indicators, we were able to clear up some details: Dicamay can still be found; the furthest barangay of present day San Mariano, near Jones, along a sideriver of the Pinacanauan is called Dicamay. Sappat is probably the barangay Tappa, which is called ‘Sagpat’ by the Kalinga nowadays, meaning ‘on top’. ‘Tappa’ is actually the Ybanag term for ‘on top’, so it is probable that they simply translated the Kalinga term to give the barangay its official name. It is situated between Cadsalan, one of our main research sites, and Dicamay, along the Pinacanauan. We could not figure out which place might have been called ‘Disabungan’ previously.⁸ We found no stories about resistance against the Spanish. Rather, the big stream area seems to have been a place of refuge from the Spanish.

The most elaborate source of information about the people living in the area of what is now the municipality of San Mariano is the German naturalist Karl Semper mentioned in the introduction, who visited the region in 1860 (Semper 1861). He came from the direction of Palanan, arriving in the first settlement after crossing the Sierra Madre mountain range called Ambabok. He travelled around in the region for a few weeks, and wrote a report on the people he found living there for a German geographical journal:

‘These Iraya’s or Calinga’s – the latter seems to be a collective sort of name, because all ‘infielos’ living in the provinces of Nueva Isabela, Cagayan and Nueva Vizcaya are called by that name– live in the area of the upper reaches of a side-arm of the Rio Grande de Cagayan This side-river pours into the Rio Grande at Ilagan. Four to five miles upriver, this ‘rio de Ilagan’ divides itself into two arms. The smaller one is called Catalangan - from which the name for the tribe of the Catalangans is derived- and the other one the Ilágo or Ilárou...and the triangle lying between these rivers and the Cordillera [by this he means the mountain range of the Sierra Madre] going from north-east to south-west is the place where they live, an area of about 15 to 18 square miles, in about 30 Rancheria’s about 1500 to 1800 of them live. Under this number we also reckon the Negroes living with them, as well as about 200 ‘christianos remuntados’ who live in one of the last rancheria’s on the banks of the Ilarou. [we do not know which place this might be, because ‘last’ depends on where you start of course]’

He sees them as two distinctive groups. Since the Catalangan are the first group he met on the western side of the Sierra Madre mountain range, he described them in detail. But before he describes them, he complains: they were very inhospitable to him, refusing to provide or sell food. He had to resort to breaking into their storage houses and paying them afterwards for what he took. Later, arriving in Minanga, he was so desperate to obtain food for himself and his men that he levied a ‘war tax’, telling people to bring food on a certain day; if they were late they would be forced to give even more. Semper reports that travellers to Palanan sometimes died on their way because the Catalangan refused to give them food. This inhospitality might be explained in various ways: perhaps it was the memory of the forced labour and Spanish expeditions, perhaps it had to do with the belief prevalent that no one else should look into the storage houses, or because that kind of rice was reserved to serve as offering for the anitos in the rituals of the agricultural cycle.

⁸ According to Salgado, one Juan Prieto wrote the history of ‘Disabungan’, so there might be more information about the geographical location in this document. However, we were unable to locate this history in the files of Diliman or Michigan.

In the Catalangan area, he noticed Agta living peacefully side by side with the Catalangan, making their lean to's between the houses of the Catalangan and farming their fields. Because he did not see many signs of intermarriage, he thought that it must have been only recently that the Agta gave up their 'wandering ways'. In the big stream region, he also noted Agta living with the Kalinga. He thought that they had probably been living with them longer, because he saw more signs of 'mixed blood'.

He noted that the Spanish had established 'gubernadorcillos' in the villages along the Ilarou as tokens of their power and to collect taxes. However, according to him the Spanish officials he spoke to considered this a wild area, where they were hardly able to establish control and where inexplicable inter-ethnic wars would sometimes break out, especially due to the alleged Agta custom of raiding after someone in their band had died. Semper himself was much more positive than the Spanish about the people he visited, describing them as peaceful and industrious farmers. According to him, the people along the Ilarou had already been more exposed to influence from the lowland. He deduced this from the presence of water buffaloes and because they were 'sloppier', throwing their garbage around their houses 'just like the Tagalogs'.

Despite their love of haggling, Semper judged that they paid far too much for the products they liked buying from the traders who came to visit them: salt, iron, beads, messing wire and silver or copper, and 'badly gilded' earrings. They did not really know the worth of money, which, according to Semper, they only saw as worth its weight in silver. The source of the prosperity of the Catalangan however, was wax. From Semper, we get the impression that traders would come mainly to them. However, De Jesus mentions 'Kalinga' from the foothills of the Sierra Madre coming to the lowland cities to trade (illegally) their wood and canoes, as well as tobacco (Jesus 1982).

Keesing, writing about the same time period states that 'to the east and west of the Cabagan Ilagan Cauayan valley flats were mountain non-Christian groups, of whom at least the great majority other than the negritos appear to have been runaways of earlier or later times' (Keesing 1962). For the region where we did our research, our findings as well as Semper's description contradict the impression of the Kalinga as a ragged group of runaways: at least in the nineteenth century, they were not. As we will see below, the families who migrated to the bigstream region (Dicamay, Tappa, Cadsalan and Balagan) from the lowlands in the late nineteenth century describe themselves as islands of a different ethnicity than the people already living there: the Kalinga and, in Dicomay, the Agta. Semper noted that there were a 'few Christianos remontados' living in Minanga, but otherwise he sees the Catalangan and the Kalinga as indigenous to the area. As we saw, the Spanish in reporting on their expeditions in the early nineteenth century generally made a distinction between 'Christianos Remontados', negritos and 'pagans'.

For some Kalinga families, we were able to trace an unbroken line of ritual specialisation from the nineteenth century to the present. Since these rituals have to be performed with more than one ritual specialist, coming from different communities, this would imply that they had the same traditions throughout the region, with the same ritual specialists, and the same rituals⁹.

The high degree of social homogeneity and cooperation along the big stream imply that the Kalinga had been living there since before the first half of the nineteenth century. Of course, this does not exclude the possibility that this apparent homogeneity emerged out of the mixture of traditions of pre-nineteenth century runaway Christians, or at least lowland groups trying to get away from the Spanish. But as far as the Kalinga we interviewed know, they have been in the area since 'times immemorial', there are no stories of another place of origin.

In the years after Semper visited the region, the Spanish continued their periodic attempts to get the region under control and missionise among the people there. In 1879, San Mariano was given to the Recollects to missionise.

⁹ The arguments behind this assumption will be further explained in the section about rituals, especially those in the big stream.

From the oral history interviewing we did with some older people we know that the region still served as a refuge from the Spanish, especially during the time of the Katipunan, at least the big stream region. In the Catalangan area, nobody remembers any stories of forced labour to improve the trail to Palanan, and we found no stories about lowlanders settling in the area before WWII. As far as they are concerned, Dibuluan is their 'place of origin' from where they would spread out to open new *uma*'s. In Dicamay, our main informant was Wenceslau Baquiran¹⁰ whose Ybanag grandfather migrated to Dicamay from the lowlands during the Spanish times. This was probably before the time when the Katipunan became active, because he came to Dicamay before the Yogad fled from Echague (see below). His family and those of other immigrants in Dicamay came here mainly through trading contacts. Because of the abundance of land, they decided to settle in Dicamay. According to Baquiran's grandfather, Kalinga and the Agta were living side by side when they first arrived in Dicamay, and the Agta were planting their fields (this is in accordance with the observation of Oscariz). However, it seems there was no intermarriage between the Agta and the Kalinga. The Ybanag adapted to the ritual cycle for planting and harvesting of the Kalinga, which meant that they had to wait with planting until the proper rituals were performed. Otherwise, they would not have any help in planting and harvesting.

In the big stream region, they do remember many stories from the Katipunan times, when lowlanders fled the pressure of the Spanish to take up arms against their countrymen. According to several informants, the Yogad Anafunan barangay fled from Echague via Angadanan and Dicamay to Cadsalan to avoid being drafted by the Spanish in their war against the Katipunan. They spread out, to make it harder to be found. Four households stayed in Cadsalan. They intermarried with the Kalinga. According to Baliwag¹¹, a descendant of these Yogad, his grandfather would emphasize strongly that it was very important to get baptised because 'the Spanish kill everybody who is not baptised'. Of course, when Baliwag was growing up, the Spanish had long gone, but apparently the memory was very strong. Again according to Baliwag, the Yogad integrated with the Kalinga already living there, learning the language; although among themselves they would speak Yogad. Their customs were similar, both following the agricultural cycle, so they combined them¹².

He and other informants descending from early immigrants and refugees also remember being taken by their parents to Echague to celebrate the Holy week.

In 1896, the establishment of the town of San Mariano according to Keesing, missionising efforts become more intense. In August 1900 General Aguinaldo came to Dibuluan, leading the guerrilla war against the Spanish. He enlisted the Catalangan as guides and spies. He also describes them as horticulturalists, farming swiddens of about 1 hectare (Villa 1969)

Based primarily on Semper's report, which is not contradicted by the Spanish records or by the report of General Aguinaldo's travels, it is clear that the Kalinga and Catalangan mainly relied on 'kaingin'.

¹⁰ Wenceslau Baquiran (about 70 in 2004) descended from Ybanag traders who intermarried with Kalinga. He worked for the logging companies for many years. His memory was very good. Perhaps because he is a naturally curious person, his observations were generally sharp. His mother and grandmother used to perform the rituals of the agricultural cycle.

¹¹ Baliwag Simangan was one of our main informants in Cadsalan, about seventy years old in 2004. He has been a government employee from 1952 until 1995 (meaning he has for that time been involved on the barangay level in one or another official capacity). His grandfather was one of the Yogads that fled Echague to Cadsalan from the Spaniards. He was able to describe clearly and specifically the main rituals for the Kalinga. He is also one of the most respected old man in Cadasalan and sought out by the barangay officials of Cadsalan when it comes to settlement of land dispute. He was also often called upon to deliver babies. According to the other residents in Cadsalan, his wife was one of the leading "mag- anito" in Cadsalan (see chapter on rituals)

¹² As we will see later, the agricultural cycle as described by various different informants was very elaborate, and the people performing them were organised in networks. We tried to find out more about the agricultural cycle of the Yogad, to establish similarities and differences with our findings but were unable to find any information about it from written sources. It would be interesting to talk with someone who knows more about the customs of the Yogad to compare notes.

They traded forest products, such as bamboo, rattan, beeswax and wood, in order to buy tools and jewelry. According to De Jesus they would also sell tobacco, wood and wooden canoes and game (Jesus 1982). Our informants who descended from traders confirmed this list of products, and added that they would bring back clothes, tools, sugar and seeds from the lowlands.

In Cadsalan proper (Pudok), Anacleto Labuguen told us that his grandfather came to San Mariano from Laoag (in Ilocos Norte) during the Katipunan times (late nineteenth century). According to him, he already had cousins living in San Mariano. They settled upstream from San Mariano proper, in Dipuso, because the land around the town had already been claimed by other Ilocanos and Ybanags. He was born in Balagan, from where his aunt took him to Cadsalan before WWII.

Although the few lowlanders settling in the area seem to have adapted to some extent, it is probable that they also introduced some new practices and notions to the Kalinga, notably praying for the dead and the miraculous powers of particular statues representing Christ or one of the Saints. In Villa Miranda, in the small stream area, we found a book of prayers for the dead, for Christmas and for Holy Week that according to Kikay¹³ had been handed down to her from her great aunt on her mother's side. That means it was already in their family since before WWII. Her family originally came from Balagan, a barangay relatively close to San Mariano proper in the big stream area. They only migrated to the small stream after WWII.

We found no indications that the Catalangan had any experience with praying for the death or other Christian practices before WWII.

In the barangays where our research was focused, 'Christians', i.e. Ybanags or Ilocanos, seem to have been a rare occurrence until WWII. They only became dominant after the logging companies entered the area in the last half of the twentieth century. Based on this research we cannot say if this goes for the other barangays as well. Especially those communities closer to San Mariano proper probably experienced an earlier dominance of Christians.

Summarising what we know of the pre-war period, especially the nineteenth century, we may conclude that the Kalinga and Catalangan have been living in the area for as long as they can remember. The big stream region occasionally absorbed (groups of) refugees from the lowlands and immigrants looking for land. They lived in varying degrees of closeness with the Agta, and traded with both the Agta and lowlanders. The Spanish never really managed to consolidate the area politically. Trade with lowlanders was conducted despite Spanish laws that forbade trade with non-Christians.

Christian practices were introduced to some families before WWII in the big stream area, probably by immigrant farmers. Ritual life was flourishing among both groups. Among the Kalinga, it indicates a social organisation that spans the whole big stream. Among the Catalangan, ritual life required the cooperation of different families spread across a much smaller geographic region. In general, the big stream area seems to have been less remote from lowland society than the small stream area.

2.2 1940-1945: WWII:

Aside from establishing a general picture of the way the Kalinga and Catalangan experienced the war, we did not focus on it. Below we will briefly outline the impressions that arose out of the interviews.

2.2.1 Kalinga/bigstream

In Cadsalan and other places, we were told that they saw the Japanese coming down the river to surrender to the Americans, noted the airplanes flying overhead, and in isolated cases traded with the

¹³ Kikay (50 in 2004) is the daughter of Lakay Ando and Scholastica. She still performs the bawang, one of the agricultural rituals, even though she was not trained by her mother to take over, because her aunt pressured her to start doing it again to improve the health of her family. Although very shy, she was usually firm in her answers and could not be gotten to give answers on subjects she did not know enough about.

Japanese when they needed food. Otherwise the war seemed pretty uneventful for the Kalinga. The old people also mention that it was almost impossible to get salt, or trade for other wares like clothes. Some people went to Dinapigue, across the Sierra Madre at the coast to get salt. They wore clothes made out of bark because the traders could not come to sell them cotton clothes. Nobody reported that they had to flee.

2.2.2 Catalangan/Small stream

According to lakay Ando¹⁴, the planting rituals were interrupted during WWII, because people went to Palanan, Kurawitan (just above Gangalan along the Disulap) and Minanga. According to lakay Poldo¹⁵ and baket Maria¹⁶, the Japanese passed by, retreating to Palanan from San Mariano, just when it was time to make the kalamig, so that would suggest they did perform the planting rituals during the war years, except in the last year of the war.

While retreating, the Japanese killed some people in Malasin (Serpida's¹⁷ mother and brother). Serpida's family was warned by a 'good Japanese' who came to shake her father's hand, holding it for a longer time than usual and signalling with his facial expression that they should flee. In Dibuluan, the community was warned by a big stream Kalinga, who said the Japanese had already killed a Catalangan woman, an Agta, and a child.

Baket Maria and her family fled with lakay Ando's family to Dibiguen. When fleeing, many of their things got lost or were damaged, like the gongs and corn mills. Lakay Poldo's family fled to Palanan with the family of Serpida. According to him, the bodies of the people killed by the Japanese, and the bodies of the Japanese soldiers fleeing from the Americans were still rotting when they returned, so that means they did not stay in Palanan a long time.

Some Catalangan worked as labourers for the Americans. In Minanga, some Kalinga were enlisted as guides by the Americans to find the hideouts of the Japanese upstream of the Catalangan River.

¹⁴ Lakay Ando (Fernando Aggabao) is one of the oldest informants in Vila Miranda. Although he remembers a lot, we had the impression he was not the most credible informant. At any rate, he seemed to find our questions to be beside the point sometimes, and would answer just to 'get off the hook'. Because he was not motivated to really dig into his memories to make sure that the information he provided us was correct, nor took any pains to clear up misunderstandings, we decided that his stories could only be used as indicators, to be verified with other people. He was married to Scholastica, who is originally a big stream Kalinga from Dibiguen (a sitio of Minanga) and the father of Kikay, the only one we found still performing the bawang (passed down via the Kalinga side of the family however, so different from the bawang found among the Catalangan).

¹⁵ Lakay Poldo (Poldo Velazco) is the son of Ipiyak, Scotts main informant when he stayed in Dilumi. He lives in Dilumi, although the site is a different one, with his wife Serpida. It was often very difficult to establish timeframe with them, but otherwise the statements of Poldo and his wife are pretty credible as far as it concerns things that are or used to be part of their immediate lifeworld. We visited them many times. The first two visits, they were so shy and nervous that it was almost impossible to interview them, but after that they suddenly became very motivated to straighten out any misunderstandings and to explain everything to us as best as we could. They even started to anticipate, preparing folk stories to tell us when we would visit them next. This created funny situations sometimes, because we would try to go down our list of questions, while they would constantly stop the interview to tell the stories.

¹⁶ Baket Maria (Maria Infiel) is the mother of the current barangay captain of Dibuluan, Nicholas Collado. She was first married to Scholastica's brother, a Kalinga from Dibiguen (Minanga), and later to her present husband, also a Kalinga from the big stream. She was one of our best and most credible informants. Her memory was very sharp, and she was not intimidated by our questions or giving answer to 'get off the hook'. She was trained to perform the bawang, the biggest one in Dibuluan proper, by Tabiat, her grandmother.

¹⁷ Serpida is the wife of lakay Poldo (see above). Because her mother was killed by the Japanese, she was not trained to perform the bawang. Later in life however, the anito's 'reminded' her to do it by giving her a burn on the leg.



Bow and arrow of lakay Poldo

2.3 Traditional use of natural resources

Semper described both groups as horticulturalists, supplementing their food with fish and meat. The crops he mentioned are tobacco, coffee, rice, (white) corn, sugarcane and rootcrops: samate, ubi, and gabe. According to him, the source of the prosperity of the Catalangan was beeswax. The rivers were full of fish, which they hunted with nets and small arrows. He mentioned that once a year all the rancherias poison the river at the same time, on the moment a certain kind of fish swarms out. In the interviews we established that both groups still hunt, wild pig and deer, using hunting nets. Although we did not go into it very much, it is likely that this is done less and less often as the forest receded. They would also eat monkey and the monitor lizard if they were caught in their nets or traps. Some people would know how to use bow and arrow, others said dismissively that it is only the Agta who know how to use them. The Kalinga seem to rely on fish more than the Catalangan. The yearly fish poisoning is not done anymore.

The forest products mentioned in the historical sources and our informants as being traded with lowlanders are rattan, bamboo and wood. Although we asked many times, we could not find anybody who remembered trading beeswax.

The farming practices of the Kalinga and the Catalangan as described by our informants is usually characterised as the slash and burn method applied by many upland farmers, known as 'kaingin'. The fields where they grow their crops are referred to as the 'uma' (see also Blumentritt 1901, Top 1998:124).

In the case of the Catalangans and the Kalinga, this means clearing a portion of the lower part of the forest near their settlements. The small trees are cleared away, and the branches of the bigger trees are cut off to accommodate the sunlight for their plants. They clear the ground and then put the waste in the centre of the cleared patch to dry and burn. The residue is then used as fertilizer. The clearing usually is usually done during the months of April and May, although some would start to clean the

land as early as March. Some start planting the upland rice in April but mostly planting is done in the month of May, in time for the first rain of the rainy season.

For planting, people used the 'assad' – a wooden stick that has a hole on one end where the grains of rice or corn to be planted come out when it is dug into the soil. Another technique would be the use of sharpened wooden sticks to dig holes with another person following who would drop seeds or grains in the hole (see also Top 1998:124-143).

The main crops planted were upland rice of different varieties, and around it, white corn, cassava, camote (sweet potatoes), gabi, sugarcane, bananas. Occasionally, depending on contacts with traders, peanuts, tobacco, coffee, mung beans, string beans, and other lowland leafy vegetables were also grown.

In the big stream, people claimed that they used to have forty to fifty varieties of rice. In the small stream, people could not give an indication of the number of varieties; they could name about four or five. It is hard to say whether this is due to a real difference in the number of varieties people used to grow, or a difference in the quality of the memory of our informants (people in the small stream generally had more trouble indicating years and numbers). It is likely that people in the big stream region had more varieties of rice because they were more accessible from the lowlands. For ritual, a particular kind of rice had to be grown (diket nga puraw) that could be pounded to make sweet sticky rice delicacies.

One uma was usually farmed once or twice, until cogon would grow on it, making it hard to clean. Usually, one family would depend on several uma's. In the big stream region, they mentioned more often that they would go back to their uma, the Catalangan seemed more inclined to look for new land. The rice and corn would be stored in separate storage houses. Especially around the storage house of rice, many taboos are still observed. It is not allowed to look into someone else's storehouse, else you will get sick.

According to the older informants in Tappa, their parents used to plant peanuts for household consumption before they were introduced as a cashcrop in the other barangays. Both in Tappa and Dicamay, they mentioned growing tobacco since times immemorial as well. It seems that ploughs were used occasionally. Semper, and the old people in the big stream area mentioned that they already had water buffaloes for a long time, and certainly the immigrants would use them for ploughing but not many Kalinga. They might also have been used for other purposes, such as dragging logs. In the small stream, people say they did not use ploughs traditionally. Immigrants (probably Kalinga from the big stream region) coming in after WWII taught them how to use ploughs.

With the advent of logging companies and the roads they made, cash crops were grown more and more. This will be described in section 2.7.



Access to market is often precarious

2.4 Trade routes and logging

Both the big stream region and the small stream region were relatively inaccessible before the logging companies opened up the area. Trade was conducted using the river, foot trails or water buffalo trails.

2.4.1 Big Stream:

The Kalinga in Tappa and Cadsalan used to trade in Ilagan, San Mariano proper, as well as Balagan using bamboo rafts and dug out canoes (takuli) going down the Ilaguen River. Baliao and Benito Soliven were also important destinations for trading, using water buffaloes and pull carts. They would trade rattan, wood, bamboo and dug out canoes, for salt, sugar, bagoong, clothes, blankets, and iron tools like axes and bolos.

Balagan seems to have been a sort of stopover point: for the people of Balagan, Ilagan Tumauni and San Mariano were relatively easy to reach, and they would trade the goods and seeds they obtained there further upriver to the far flung barangays.

The residents of Dicamay not only traded in Ilagan, Balagan and San Mariano proper (to the north and north-west of Dicamay) they also went to Angadanan, Echague and Cauayan using trails (places to the south and southwest). Presumably, some of these trails are the same as the ones used by the 'Christianos Remontados' fleeing from the Spanish like the Yogad from Echague. Sometimes the residents of Dicamay would get their salt in Dinapigue which is a 3 day walk across the Sierra Madre to the coast. The Agta in Dicamay were also trading in Angadanan according to Baquiran.

When the logging companies established the road from San Mariano roughly following the course of the Pinacanauan River in the mid 1960's, it became easier to transport goods to the market in San Mariano. At about the same time, the road from Cauayan reached until Dicamay. However, like the Catalangan, they still use the Ilaguen river, especially during rainy season, to transport their goods.



Truck to Villa Miranda

In the big stream region, the logging companies also employed people locally. In Dicamay, both our main informants said that although people did not really get ‘rich’ because of the logging companies, farming became a sideline and they became more heavily dependent on cash to buy their supplies. Presently, illegal logging is still a popular activity in the big stream region, although it is becoming harder and harder to find good wood. This scarcity is causing people to go into debt because they can not pay back the cash advance they obtained (to pay for their expenses when they are away from their land and therefore unable to farm). Ultimately, this leads to people losing their land: they have to loan it to pay back their debts.

Both in the big stream region and in the small stream region, the roads are maintained irregularly: mostly during election times. When they are not maintained, they are used as water buffalo trails and the trucks do not go further than the barangays closest to San Mariano proper. Furthermore, the price of transportation is often a barrier to using trucks as means of transportation.

2.4.2 Small stream

The Catalangan of Dibuluan and Villa Miranda used to trade mostly in San Mariano proper and Ilagan. There was also a trade route passing by the Catalangan that connected Palanan, on the eastern side of the Sierra Madre, to Ilagan. This traderoute was used by water buffalo and horse traders. The

Catalangan would transport rattan and wood through the Catalangan River connecting to Pinacanauan River in 'takuli' – dug out canoes - or rafts. According to Scott, they also sold canoes, logs, bamboos, beeswax and fish. They would sell it for money or exchange their goods for sugar ('inakob'), salt, bagoong, clothes, blankets, iron tools (axe etc.) and other necessities they were unable to make themselves. It would take 3 days to go down river to Ilagan and then 1 week to go up using the dug out canoe. Walking back would take three days. Sometimes they would also walk for three days to Palanan from Dibuluan or Villa Miranda to get salt. Lakay Poldo also reported that his father Ipiyak would go to Disusuan, near San Mariano proper, and traded rattan for white corn.

When commercial logging started in mid 60's, the logging company built a road connecting San Mariano proper to Villa Miranda. This provided opportunities of faster access to markets by means of transporting cash crops by logging truck to sell in the centre of San Mariano. Basic necessities could be bought more easily and frequently as well: before the roads, people would only go to San Mariano once a year at the time of the fiesta, or not go at all. Until this day the Catalangan River is used to transport goods, although it is riskier than the road. (Presently, the Catalangan river is mainly used by illegal loggers to transport logs). The price of transporting goods by truck is a barrier to some. Everybody we spoke to in the small stream area said the logging companies did not make a very big difference to their livelihoods, because they did not employ people locally. On the other hand, Mr Marciano maintained that everybody was happy when the roads and the trucks came. It made things easier for them during summer or dry season but otherwise did not have much impact. Besides: 'if they (the NPA) see that you have a lot of money, they will kill you'.

We may conclude that in both regions the entrance of the logging companies meant that the possibilities for trading and the importance of cash through the reliance on store bought products grew. In the big stream region, logging replaced farming as a main source of livelihood for some, creating a greater reliance on store bought products and introducing spiralling debts leading to loss of land. In the small stream region, it seems that this development was lessened by the presence of the NPA. This will be discussed in more detail below.

2.5 Relations with other ethnic groups

2.5.1 Agta

'Agta' is the collective name used to indicate the hunting and gathering groups in the Northern Sierra Madre living along the river-valleys and the seacoast.

2.5.1.1 Catalangan/ Small stream

When Semper arrived in the Catalangan region, he noticed Agta's living peacefully among the Catalangan. He concluded that they must have given up their 'wandering ways'¹⁸. He thinks this cannot have been a very long time ago, because he did not see any (physical) signs of intermarriage. We found many instances of intermarriage going both ways, stretching back into the nineteenth century (see the family tree and list of persons for the small stream in the appendixes). According to Gel Gel, the Catalangan are less friendly with the Agta now, reflecting their increasing orientation towards mainstream culture. The older Catalangan usually talk about the Agta as their 'brothers'.

2.5.1.2 Kalinga/big stream

Describing the big stream region, Semper concluded that the Agta must have been living among the Kalinga far longer, since he saw more evidence of 'mixed blood' in the combinations of skin colour,

¹⁸ According to Agta specialists now however, this does not necessarily mean that the Agta have become farmers. They would often farm fields for a few years, living among the more sedentary shifting cultivators but at the same time relying on hunting and gathering (Headland and Reid 1989)

type of hair and shape of the skull. Of course, it is impossible to know what to make of such statements now, but the oral history interviewing at least confirms a long history of contact and farming together. According to Anacleto Labuguen, intermarriage between the Agta and the Kalinga went both ways as far back as he can remember since before WWII. However, in more detailed interviewing we were unable to find any concrete instances of intermarriage with Agta going back further than ten years, so this statement remains inconclusive.

There seems to be more fear for the Agta among the older generation of the Kalinga than is usually expressed by the Catalangan, although they often add that the Agta are 'good' now, because they started wearing clothes. This would imply that they are considered to be 'civilised'.

2.5.2 Immigrants

Interaction between the Agta and the Kalinga and the Catalangan must have been going on for centuries. From the Spanish sources and Semper and by examining material culture we know that trade relations and intermarriage between the Kalinga and Catalangan and lowland society also stretch back into 'times immemorial'. But it was only after WWII that closer contact between the two groups and migrants representing 'lowland' or 'mainstream' culture became an everyday occurrence and shifted the balance in the local communities in the two regions.

2.5.2.1 Kalinga/ Big stream

In the big stream region we saw that small scale immigration had been taking place as far back as the early nineteenth century and probably already before that (see paragraph 2.1 above). These immigrants were either fleeing the Spanish or found the region attractive because of the easy availability of land. The Spanish encouraged farmers from the overcrowded region of Ilocos to go to Isabela. After the Americans gained control over the Philippines in 1898, the immigration of farmers looking for new land continued.

In Balagan, Ybanags had settled before WWII, turning the Kalinga into tenants. Interestingly, this is the only place where we heard of Kalinga elders discouraging their children to intermarry with the Ybanags. We did not do much research in the other barangays closer to San Mariano proper, but it is plausible that the pattern of relationships between immigrants and Kalinga was different from that in the far barangays, like Cadsalan, Tappa and Dicamay, with Kalinga more often becoming tenants to Ybanags in the barangays closer to San Mariano.

After WWII, (mostly) Ilocano in-migration continued in the big stream region. In Dicamay, they remember that the first Ilocano family came there in 1958. In Cadsalan, according to Boy Robles 114 families from Pangasinan came to the area in the early sixties, including his own family. Most families left again after a few years because they could not take the hardship of life. According to kagawad Labuguen, about 70% of the people living in Cadsalan now are Kalinga, and 30% newcomers¹⁹.

In Tappa, we could not really establish when the first immigrant families came, but most probably there were already a few Ybanag and Ilocano families before the war, more or less integrated into the Kalinga settlement. After the war, more Ilocano families came in the mid sixties. According to Corey Montano²⁰, there were already three of four Ilocano and Ybanag families when he came to Tappa then. During one interview with him and a Kalinga healer²¹ the reactions of the Ilocanos²² and the Kalinga, and the way they adapted to each other were discussed. According to Montano Corey, the immigrants

¹⁹ This is just an indication, because we have no idea of how she distinguishes between immigrants and Kalinga, since both are intermingled to a large extent. For example, she has an Ilocano father, and a Kalinga mother, but we do not know how she would classify herself.

²⁰ An Ilocano immigrant who happened to be present when we went to interview an old Kalinga lady in Tappa.

²¹ Unfortunately, we did not get the name of this healer, and he did not consent to a follow up interview, although we were really eager to dig deeper. During the interview, he had some outspoken and contrary opinions that we did not hear voiced very often, or only after winning someone's trust by coming back several times.

²² Ilocanos is here used as a general term for immigrants, often interchangeably with Christians.

learned the language of the Kalinga and followed their ways. They became close with their neighbors, so when a baby would be born, they would also apply their own ways and have the baby baptized. According to the Kalinga healer however, they followed the ways of the Ilocanos more than the other way around. The Ilocanos made them feel 'ashamed', so the Kalinga learned their language and imitated their ways. According to him, the Ilocanos 'grabbed' their land.

In Minanga, 'Christianos remontados' had been settling there sporadically for centuries, but it was after WWII that more and more people came looking for land. Here too, the Ilocanos made the Kalinga feel 'ashamed' of their own ways. According to lakay Simoi²³ 'they were embarrassed, and abandoned their ways, and got sick'. When we asked more closely about the reasons for this embarrassment, he exclaimed: 'I do not know! Why should they be embarrassed? It is their culture! Why should you be embarrassed because of your own culture? Now the old people died, and the young do not continue the traditions'. He also told us that his father Bayoyang would tell immigrants that they could farm land, but they could not own it. It was given to them under an arrangement called kalima, which meant that every fifth cavan of rice went to the Kalinga.

This was the first and only time we heard about an arrangement like this. Perhaps due to their proximity to the developing center of San Mariano, the Kalinga in Minanga seem to have been aware of the consequences of landownership earlier than other Kalinga.

In all places, the Kalinga would follow the ways of the Ilocanos when they married. This meant that marriage was a very expensive affair for the Kalinga, because it involves a bride price. Marrying an immigrant is considered a 'step up' for most Kalinga, and after marriage they would mostly follow the Ilocano way in raising their children as well. In the mixed families we saw, the children would speak Kalinga as well as Ilocano or Ybanag. The children of the second generation of Kalinga intermarried with Ilocano (at least in Cadsalan) spoke Kalinga with less fluency.

2.5.2.2 Catalangan/Small stream

As noted above, we could not find any concrete instances of immigration in the small stream region before WWII. Until recently, Dibuluan, Villa Miranda and other sitios along the Catalangan were less accessible from the lowlands, with only the trade route (foot and water buffalo) from the remote Palanan to San Mariano and Ilagan passing it by. De Jong found that during the mid-sixties, the first Ilokano immigrants came to Andarayan where some 15 big stream Kalinga households had settled since the beginning of the sixties. In the beginning of the seventies, it seems the Ilocanos already outnumbered the Kalinga/Catalangan²⁴ (Jong 2003:84). According to lakay Ando, about ten Kalinga households came to settle in Andarayan in the early sixties.

Again, the Catalangan would follow the ways of the Ilocanos when they married one of them.

Intermarrying with the Kalinga, as in the case of the Kalinga of Minanga, meant that the traditional practices would be mixed, but they would also go to visit a little chapel during Holy week. This chapel contains a miraculous statue found by a Kalinga girl just after the war in Minanga (more about this chapel below).

De Jong's impression is that the Kalinga/Catalangan were not pleased about it, but felt that it was inevitable. To us, it seemed that in the interviews with both lakay Ando and lakay Tolio²⁵ there was undertone of distrust when they spoke of the newcomers, both in talking of the Kalinga from Minanga and the Ilocanos who came later.

²³ Lakay Simoi (Simoi Baua, after the mayor) is the son of Bayoyang and Carlotta and the brother of Scholastica, the girl who found the miraculous stone (Ina Baket). He is also a healer.

²⁴ De Jong does not distinguish between Kalinga and Catalangan

²⁵ Tolio is Kikay's husband, a Catalangan who also used to perform ritual healing (bugey) until one of his daughters died a few years back. He is still a palatera, someone who delivers babies, and he is good at setting bones.

De Jong could not find any examples where the immigrants took land from others. However, she is not sure about this because her informant, Paggao Mawili²⁶, seemed to change his mind while talking. The first time he said that Ilokano's took advantage of the fact that Kalinga's could not prove that they owned the land (95-96). The Kalinga would use fruit trees as evidence the land was theirs, as well as the oral tradition. It seemed that usually, this did not cause many disputes. According to lakay Tolio, there was an attempt to grab land, but his father prevented it by pointing out the fruit trees he planted. According to baket Maria, the Ilokano's would just settle anywhere, but the Catalangan did not mind. The immigrants would get seedlings from them. In Andarayan however, as lakay Ando said, some people filed tax declarations on their land to safeguard it.

When we tried to dig deeper into ownership of land, we found out that the Catalangan traditionally did not have a very strong concept of ownership. Since they were shifting cultivators in a scarcely populated region, they probably did not necessarily return to land that they had farmed before. There was no inheritance of land, for example. Land was abundant. So it was probably only when the immigrants came that they realised that it was worthwhile to claim permanent ownership. Before this realisation sank in among all the Catalangan, it was often too late for them to claim back their lands they had farmed years before, even by pointing out old fruit trees.

2.6 NPA

The NPA has been active for a long time in San Mariano, and even more so in the barangays we visited most often: Villa Miranda and Cadsalan. Since the early seventies, villagers often found themselves crushed between the opposing forces of AFP and NPA: suspected by both sides of supporting the other side.

2.6.1 Kalinga/ Big stream

In Dicamay, people remember that the presence of the NPA in their place was strongly felt beginning in the 1970's; it declined in 1982. They said they could still work normally in their farms. In 1972, some families evacuated because of the Philippine Constabulary's harsh treatment of the residents. Everybody in the area was liable to be suspected as a member of the NPA or sympathising. Baquiran's family stayed since they had land declarations. From Dicamay until Balagan, people fled (to Cauayan or other nearby cities). Some returned after 5 months, others only returned after a few years because they found work.

In 1982, the people's sympathy for the NPA changed, because of their way of dealing justice by killing someone accused without trying to prove the validity of the accusations. Apparently the presence of the NPA declined after 1982. In some places, people mention being recruited as 'pasabilis', putting them in a difficult position. The AFP would capture and torture villagers to obtain information about the NPA.

From Balagan to Dicamay, the people said that the positive effect of the presence of the NPA was that high way robbery, thieves, greedy people and other bad elements of society were stopped. The NPA also helped in settling land disputes, delegating the decision of who is the 'rightful owner' to local residents with long experience and good memories.

In the 1990's according to most reports the NPA laid low. The people observed that they slowly regained strength in 2002. It seems they changed strategies, first verifying the accusations that reach them before acting on them. For example, one informant told us that he was once accused by one of his neighbour to be a land grabber, however, the NPA went to him and concluded that the report was untrue.

²⁶ Unfortunately, he died by the time we did our fieldwork.

2.6.2 Catalangan/Small stream

In her research on land ownership among the Agta, De Jong established that the time of the strongest presence of NPA was 1982-1995 (Jong 2003). During that time, an NPA training camp was situated nearby the furthest sitios of the Catalangan region. Again, the villagers were often caught in between. The presence of an NPA camp and encounters between them and the AFP made farming problematic for a while. Besides, the NPA established a communal plot, where people had to work 3 to five days a week.

In 1975 'everybody moved to Dibuluan proper' according to Alejandra²⁷. According to Tolio, they evacuated for one year to Dibiguen, during the time of Edring Go (he was the mayor from 1988 to 1995). They could not farm, nor perform the bawang because of constant fear. He was afraid of the soldiers, but even more afraid of the NPA. They were caught in between, suspected as collaborators by both sides.

In 1995, the AFP flushed out the NPA camp. According to the stories, this was made possible by someone who had been captured by the NPA, and was about to be executed, but managed to escape. He showed the Army from a helicopter the location of the NPA camp.

According to Alejandra they went to stay with father John in 1994 for fourteen days, because there were many helicopters in the sky then. The NPA's would escort them to work on the comun they established, and they would work there for three days a week, and on their own land for another three days a week.

According to one of the cousins of lakay Ando, it was especially in 1985 and 1986 that it was difficult to go out to farm because of the encounters. According to De Jong, in 1987 and in 1995 people evacuated.

Whatever the details of the history of fighting and between the NPA and the AFP may be, the picture that emerges from this is one of frequent encounters, constant fear and disruption to a much larger extent than in the big stream region. Whereas the 1980-ies were perceived as a relatively calm decade in the big stream region, for the small stream it was a time of greater fear and stress until the NPA camp was flushed out in 1995.

According to mr Marciano, everything changed when the NPA came. He thinks it is the reason why the Catalangan stopped performing the rituals of the agricultural cycle. People could not plant their uma's anymore. Many Catalangan evacuated to Gilingan, Soliven, Disulap and Minanga, wherever they had family they could stay with. 'Before, the community was peaceful, there were no disputes over land'. The Catalangan became less hospitable. After their life was disrupted by the NPA, they had to resort to short-term cash production to recover. In the section on change and tradition we will return to this hypothesis.

According to De Jong, an important effect of the presence of the the NPA was that there were not too many immigrants during these times, because they would talk to each new face and even advise people to leave. People probably also stayed away because of their fear for the NPA. However, she also mentions that the land of the Catalangans was used by homesteaders and sold because they did not establish ownership. As we saw already, another effect of the NPA-presence was that people were discouraged from accumulating too much wealth.

²⁷ Born around 1945, lived in and around Dibuluan most of her life. Was raised by Tabiat, but proved to be unable to get possessed.

Drying corn to sell to the trader



2.7 Post-war changes in agriculture

Both in the big stream and in the small stream, agricultural practices started changing at a slow pace after WWII. The pace of the change varies from place to place, and among the Kalinga from family to family. Below, we summarise the findings on the changes in agriculture in the places we visited. It has to be taken into account that the below is mostly based on interviews, not on observation. Further, the introduction of a new crop or technique should not be taken to mean that everybody, including the Kalinga, started growing that crop or using that technique in the same year.

2.7.1 Big Stream:

According to Semper, one difference between the Kalinga and the Catalangan was the fact that the Kalinga used waterbuffaloes for ploughing. He associated this with the influence of lowlanders. However, when we asked Anacleto Labuguen the main difference between the Kalinga and the Ilocano, he mentioned language and the fact that the Kalinga do *not* use ploughs. They were taught to use ploughs by Ilocano immigrants like him, which according to him meant that they are ‘already Ilocano’s’. According to manung Boy, when he came to Cadsalan with his family in 1964 there were already a lot of water buffalo, and they were also used for ploughing. In Tappa, people told us they only started to plough during the logging times [later than 1964?], to grow white corn²⁸. It seems then

²⁸ Confusingly, they said that the older people never planted white corn. We thought this very unlikely because we found that everywhere in the region people had already been planting white corn since time immemorial, and it is also mentioned by Semper as one of the crops he saw when travelling through the region. However, we got the same answer every time.

that some Kalinga did use ploughs around Cadsalan, but lowlanders would teach them how to use them.

Closer to San Mariano proper, in Minanga, it seems using the plough has been an established practice for a longer time, and the Kalinga there started growing peanuts as a cash crop during mayor Baua's time (mayor Baua's time is from 1948-1963, so this is a very rough indication). In Dicamay as well, peanuts were grown as a cash crop since the early sixties. In Cadsalan, our informant told us he started growing peanuts a decade later, in 1973. He obtained the seeds from an Ilocano in Bitabian (see map). When the group of Ilocanos manung Boy came with settled in the area of Cadsalan in 1964, they introduced a new kind of banana: Lakatan. The same year an Ybanag family introduced them also in Tappa. Since that time, growing banana's commercially has become common.

In the late eighties, during the time of president Cory Aquino, watermelon was introduced as a cash-crop, especially in Dicamay and Tappa. They would trade them in Cauayan. In Dicamay, they started experimenting with growing yellow corn in 1986, even before they started growing lowland rainfed rice. In the year 2000, they report that everybody had switched to growing yellow corn.

In Balagan, closer to San Mariano proper, the first kagawad started growing yellow-corn in 1985 after attending a seminar organised by the Department of Agriculture. More people switched to farming this cash crop in 1995.

In Cadsalan, Baliwag said that yellow-corn replaced peanuts as the favourite cash crop around 1990. However, the barangay-captain of Cadsalan situated the introduction of yellow-corn a few years later, around 1993, the same year it was introduced in Tappa.

According to many informants, the introduction of yellow corn has caused farmers to become caught up in a spiral of debt. Yellow corn is easy to grow, but it needs a lot of fertilizer inputs and the seeds have to be bought new every time. Traders and financier supply people with these inputs, but charge rents up to 35% per cropping. Typhoons and floods increase the risk of indebtedness.

Many farmers are now finding out that although corn seems an easy way to get cash, in reality it is not. Furthermore, since corn needs a lot of land, production of rice for households consumption is lessened, causing a greater dependency on cash to buy rice. Transportation costs and fluctuating prices and newly introduced costs such as the charge on the sacks to transport corn further burden farmers.

Agricultural changes among the Kalinga was mediated by personal contacts with immigrants. When we asked about agricultural change, people would often say: whatever the immigrants do, the Kalinga imitate. This means that the changes were uneven within the community, varying from household to household depending on their relations with immigrants. Not all Kalinga had good relations with immigrants. Often, these relations were cemented through Christian baptism, as we will see in paragraph 2.8.

Baliwag's uma



In informal conversation, people would sometimes come out with their own interpretations and evaluations of the changes in livelihood that had taken place. With regard to farming practices, our informant in Dicomay commented that they changed most during the logging times, because the lowlanders introduced seedlings of lowland rice (at this time, it was mostly rainfed). Other people told us they started planting rainfed lowland rice in the eighties, in combination with their more traditional uma's. In Cadsalan, lakay Baliwag commented that if it was not for the immigrants, they would still have been farming their uma's. According to him, uma farming provided more than enough for them to live on, they would even 'get tired of harvesting'. This phrase was also used in the small stream region to indicate that the yield from the uma's could be too abundant. After the introduction of yellow corn, some people realised that it was wiser to continue planting their uma's, to lessen their dependency on cash. However, not everybody has developed this strategy to keep afloat: they cast their lot with cashcrops.

With regard to landownership, it is clear that traditionally the Kalinga considered land an abundant resource, and were careless about staking permanent claims to land, similar to the way land was viewed in the small stream. Perhaps the process by which they became aware of land as a limited resource started a bit earlier than in the small stream region, especially in the barangays closer to San Mariano proper. From Balagan, groups of Kalinga migrated to the small stream region, probably because land was getting scarce in their own region. At present, land is becoming scarce everywhere, and they are learning that they have to secure ownership or else be left with nothing.

Especially the situation around Cadsalan has a complicated history. From several sources, we heard stories about land disputes. It seems that a lot of land was claimed a few years after the war by a teacher named Aglugob. According to the people we spoke to, he told people he would declare the land for them, so they could obtain formal ownership. Instead, he titled the land in his own name. This

effectively turned many people into tenants on the land they were farming. This meant that they had to pay Aglugob and his family with a share of the crop. There are many stories of how he would enforce these payments using violence, and the various strategies people resorted to to break out of this situation.

Formal ownership of land is still a big problem around Cadsalan. The problems increased with the introduction of yellow corn. Yellow corn is not very labour intensive, but one needs to plant a lot of it before it becomes profitable. So the introduction of this crop led to a rush of land claims. Disputes over land are also caused by a new income-generating scheme: According to our informant, some Kalinga recently started reclaiming the land they had farmed before but left again when the soil became exhausted. After reclaiming it, they would clean the land and sell it. Often, he would be called to settle a dispute over land, (these settlements are 'informal' but locally considered valid) only to hear that it had been sold the next week.

However, in many cases the land the Kalinga once farmed is already claimed by an immigrant for years. In that case, the older claim is not recognised.

In Dicamay we were told that landownership of most of the land surrounding the village was settled formally during martial law, after some legal wrangling. It seems that the Kalinga got a good deal, because special attention was paid to their position. However, since to the Kalinga land was something that is available everywhere, they would sell their piece of land to immigrants coming into the area to settle, and go deeper into the forest to clear new *uma*'s themselves.

The role of the NPA in land disputes in both Dicamay and Cadsalan should be noted, because they were an important factor in the way land has been divided and would often prevent landlords from collecting their share or having tenants farm the land they legally owned. In Dicamay, one informant told us that the NPA would even kill the tenants to intimidate the landlords and anyone who helped them.

As we saw in paragraph 2.5.2.1, Bayoyang in Minanga was already aware of the importance of establishing a claim over land.

Although there is much more to say about this issue, and it was very tempting to follow up on the stories people would tell us more or less spontaneously, it was not our main concern in this research.

2.7.2 Small Stream

According to De Jong, shortly after the WW II the Catalangans²⁹ started using ploughs, imitating Ilocanos from Minanga (Jong 2003). In our fieldwork we found that according to several informants in Dilumi, Andarayan and Dibuluan, they already had water buffaloes earlier, but did not use them for ploughing until the Kalinga's (or Ilocanos)³⁰ from Minanga (Dibiguen and Nangka) taught this to them. They would take care of the water buffaloes for others people, and in return they would get the first-born calf.

The Catalangan already planted bananas for home consumption around the edges of their *uma*'s, but the immigrants introduced new kinds, that could also be grown for trading: Manila, Tordan/Damilig and Lakatan. Mr. Marciano says that people started planting Lakatan in 1989. According to *baket Maria*, the introduction of bananas as a cash crop changed their land use, because they would plant their *uma* with bananas after just one cropping, where before they would often plant their *uma* with upland rice at least twice. Their bananas would be fetched by the trader's truck if the weather

²⁹ De Jong does not differentiate between Kalinga and Catalangan, so we cannot be sure whether she is referring to the Kalinga, who were newcomers at that time, and probably already familiar with ploughs, or the Catalangan, for whom ploughs were new.

³⁰ Some people in Dibuluan said it was the Kalinga who taught them, others said it was 'the Ilocanos'. At the time, we didn't notice the contradiction. However it might be most easily explained by noting that 'Ilocano' is often used by Catalangan to refer to Kalinga's too, or any 'Christiano' i.e. 'mainstream Filipino'.

permitted; otherwise they would bring it down to San Mariano by raft. In Dibuluan, where the road only came later, they would always use the rafts according to lakay Ando.

When mr Marciano settled in Andarayan (1980), according to him ‘everybody was planting upland rice and trading bananas’ (Tordan). Scott also noted that the people in Dilumi and Dibuluan were mostly relying on traditional shifting cultivation as described by Semper, and he noted that his host planted coffee. According to Poldo, they were planted that year, but they only grew coffee a few years. Later, still in the eighties, c4 was introduced, a variety of lowland rice. According to baket Maria she learned from the immigrants to plant bituelas (white beans), balatong (mungo beans), Tordan, and Lakatan.

The road going to Villa Miranda was improved in the late nineties, and people started planting yellow corn. Some people are now also investing more heavily into beans, because they realise that they can be sold on the market for a good price. According to the people in Villa Miranda, there are only a few who still grow upland rice.

Walking through the region, we observed peanuts and watermelons being grown as cash crops. However, none of our informants mentioned them as a significant source of income.

With regard to land and landownership, we would get contradictory answers. Lakay Poldo says that it is only ‘lately’ that they became aware that land was getting scarce. These days they do not allow anybody to settle on their fallow lands anymore. Before, they would not mind, they would not return to that land anyway because they did not use ploughs. Now, they do not want to transfer anymore, because on the other side of the hills surrounding their house the land is completely owned by ‘Christianos’. Before, they opened uma’s until Dunoy and even further, but now they just go around their little valley. The uma’s were smaller then. Their fallow lands in Malasin are all taken now, so they could not return to them even if they wanted to.

The husband of baket Maria in Dibuluan commented that they now have to go further and further into the forest to find new land for farming because everything is taken. Others say it is not a problem: they would simply stay in the same spot. When we asked if the soil did not get exhausted they replied that it was not a problem. It seems that in Dibuluan, the yield of upland rice is increased by adding chemical fertilizers.

De Jong noted that her informants were not forthcoming about the issue of land grabbing. We had the same experience, but noticed among some informants an undertone of resentment against newcomers with regard to the subject of land. During the period of mayor Felicisimo Baua (1947-1964) some Kalinga’s filed tax declarations on the mayor’s advice to claim their land (Jong 2003). When we asked Ando about this specifically, it turns out there were five people, of whom one was Kalinga, and the others were Catalangan. In Villa Miranda, a dispute over landownership was being fought out at the time of our research. In this case, as in Cadsalan, it seems that a person claiming land in his name that was already occupied by others caused the dispute.

Concluding, we can say that the importance of land *ownership* has increased. Further, kaingin farming is giving way to cash crop farming. Traditional landuse is becoming impossible due to population pressure.

2.8 Introduction to Christianity:

One significant event in the religious history of the Kalinga and Catalangan is the finding of a miraculous stone with healing powers. In the years just after the war, Scholastica³¹ and her friend Esmenia found ‘ina baket’: a stone in the shape of an old lady. Scholastica was the daughter of two

³¹ Scholastica was the daughter of Bayoyang and Carlotta Imfiel (all deceased). Bayoyang and Carlotta were both Kalinga ritual specialists who were important and respected in the years around WWII. They lived in Dibiguen, in Minanga, but they are known and remembered in the whole region. Scholastica used to perform bawang, passed down to her by her aunt. She is the wife of lakay Ando (see footnote 14).

Kalinga ritual specialists living in Dibiguen, Bayoyang and Carlotta. Although the stories about the finding of 'ina baket' differ in details with the person who is relating it, it is clear that Bayoyang established the reputation of 'ina baket' as a miraculous stone. They built a shelter for the stone, and carry it around on Good Friday. People leave oil in the chapel to be blessed so it can be used for healing purposes, imitating practices of folk Catholicism all over the Philippines. According to several informants, people of all ethnicities come there to pray, especially after a man who had mocked the statue got hurt the next day. Through their personal ties with the Kalinga from Minanga, many of whom married Catalangan from Dibuluan, the Catalangan were also introduced to the miraculous figurine and would visit the chapel yearly during Holy Week. Since 1997, many people from Dibuluan stopped visiting the chapel due to their conversion by SIL, a protestant evangelical ministry. The story of Ina Baket will be elaborated on in more detail in paragraph 4.3.1.

In the case of Ina Baket, it is clear that the Kalinga incorporated Christianity into their own religious imagination and practices. However, as we will see below, becoming a Christian was often dictated by more practical concerns.

2.8.1 Kalinga/Big stream

As we saw, some families already had ties to Echague or other big cities like Cauayan or Ilagan because their ancestors came from that region, and they were taken to be baptised there. Some Kalinga were baptised through the efforts of Christian immigrants they had a relationship of dependency or friendship with. Lakay Simoi said that his father Bayoyang was convinced to be baptised by an Ilocano 'because otherwise his sons would have no last name'.

For other Kalinga's, baptisms were something that was introduced through the establishing of barangay fiesta's. Establishing fiesta's, with a patron saint, seems to have been part of a process of political consolidation that is mostly associated with mayor Baua (mayor from 1947-1963) and continued by the politically powerful families of San Mariano. However, this process seems to have been very uneven: Dicamay and Balagan had a fiesta relatively early, and people in Cadsalan remember going to Balagan to be baptised. In Cadsalan proper, the fiesta was only established in 1994. In Dicamay, Alejandrina Martinez, an old Ybanag lady who was educated by the Mormons and therefore spoke good English, told us in vivid detail about the establishment of such a fiesta:

The fiesta was sponsored by Romaldo Go and first held April 28 1974 (so this was just after many people had evacuated because of their fear of the Philippine Constabulary). The organising committee of the fiesta had solicited Our Lady of Fatima and Good Voyage to come here, and the statue was flown in by plane, from Manila, by mr and mrs Deodoro Go. The first fiesta's were accompanied by mass baptisms and weddings. It was mainly children and youngsters who were baptised. Some people were not willing to be baptised though. When we asked why, our informant (an old Ybanag lady) answered: 'because they were uncivilised'. When we pressed her to explain the difference between civilised and uncivilised, she and her daughter explained: 'civilised means that you know your way around town, that you are not shy to receive visitors. Uncivilised means that you are afraid to go to town, and afraid to receive visitors'.

Invariably, the Kalinga took over the practice of praying for the dead to beg the soul of the deceased to leave the surviving relatives in peace. In Dicamay as in other places, it was also the school, introducing the need for a last name, which encouraged people to have their children baptised. According to one immigrant, it was usually the initiative of the Christians to urge the Kalinga to be baptised, because that would introduce them to the 'better culture' of the christianised groups. And the Kalinga would agree to the baptism, because otherwise their familyname would be Infiel. She considered the Kalinga were as 'lower' in culture, however now 'they are not Kalinga anymore because they can already marry people from the other groups'.

In Balagan, a group of Kalinga became Rizalistas. A logger who stayed there in the eighties converted them, and they built a church beside the Catholic chapel already present in Balagan. In their religious

enthusiasm, they even went to Laguna to await the returning of Rizal, who is considered as something like a Messiah. Before they became Rizalistas, they had already been baptised as Catholics through personal and tenancy ties with immigrants.

2.8.2 Catalangan/Small stream

When we first asked people why they were baptised, we got many contradicting answers. During our first orienting interview in Dibuluan, with Alejandra, Moneng and Clarita³², they said that most of the baptisms took place, during the time of mayor Baua. They were baptised because otherwise they would be discriminated. They laughed: 'We do not know anything, we just go along'. A priest would come by to baptise them, or the Ilocano's would improvise it. Under the influence of the Ilocanos they also started observing the practice of praying for the dead on the ninth and the thirtieth day after the burial, and yearly after that. It has become more common to bury the dead in sanctified ground instead of under the house.

Throughout our fieldwork, we went to visit the son of Scott's host who he names as his main informant (Scott 1979). The son is addressed as lakay Poldo, his father was called Ipiyak. He lives with his wife in Dilumi, the place Scott also stayed, although the site of their house is different. Although Scott noted Ipiyak's last name as Infiel, lakay Poldo says that Ipiyak was baptised Aggabao a long time before Scott visited them. He got the name from Ilong, an Ilocano of Disusuan, whom he knew through his trading in rattan in exchange for white corn. A priest came to Dibuluan to baptise them when lakay Poldo was still a child, probably just after the war had ended³³. Lakay Poldo himself was baptised in the centre of San Mariano when he was still a child. He was named after the first Ilokano to come to Malasin. When we asked why his father wanted to be baptised he shrugged his shoulders and said: 'I do not know, he just liked it'.

Here we see clearly that people within the same family would get different names with their baptism: Ipiyak was named Aggabao, while Poldo got both his first name and his last name from an Ilokano immigrant. It may have been the case that Ipiyak wanted to strengthen the relationship with the Ilokano immigrant by having his son named after him. From the point of view of the Ilokano immigrant, as a newcomer to the area, it may also have been beneficial to establish good and stable relationships with Ipiyak through becoming a godfather to his son. In the case of the baptism of Ipiyak himself, getting the name of his trading partner also consolidates a relationship that is beneficial to both parties.

When we asked lakay Ando why the Catalangan wanted to be baptised he said that it was because it was necessary to get a name. They were baptised by Mariano Aggabao. 'This man came here and baptised everybody. He was a farmer. The mayor asked him to go here and do it'. That was before the advent of the Ilocanos and logging activities. In the last interview we conducted with him, he said that people wanted to be baptised so they would be more like the Christians. However, not all Catalangan were baptised. According to Mr Marciano, the baptisms of the Catalangan started when the Kalinga came here from Minanga in the fifties. The Catalangan followed them.

According to lakay Poldo and his wife, the mother of the barangay captain, baket Maria, was the first one to have a church wedding. We did not confirm this with her, and it may well be that the wedding was performed by a layperson in the 'ermita' in Dibiguen, because her first husband was one of Bayoyang's sons. She has no idea why people wanted to be baptised, and she does not know if she was baptised herself. According to her, the immigrants would often decide for them that they should be baptised. She is not sure but she thinks many baptisms took place in San Mariano just after the war.

³² Alejandra Imfiel, raised by Tabiat (grandmother of baket Maria), born in 1945. Moneng Velazco, a cousin of both Alejandra and baket Maria, a little older. Moneng was trained to take over the bawang by Ikek, her grandmother, but 'buried the beads' (i.e. discontinued performing the rituals) when she died. Clarita is a very active convert of SIL, around 45, married to a Bicolano.

³³ Scott estimated Poldo at about 40 in 1978, so that would be 30 to 35 years before that date, between 1943 and 1948.

She does not know how to pray, but her second husband (also a Kalinga) knows how to pray, he prays in Ilokano.

The advantage of being baptised according to Tolio was that you have a compadre (the godfather to your child), so that you would have a place to sleep when attending the fiesta in San Mariano and not be on the fringes of all that was happening. Other people also mentioned going to the yearly fiesta in San Mariano as a big event, and the lack of a sleeping place as a problem.

In 1981, according to Marciano, most Catalangan were already baptised. In the same year, an elementary school was established. A church was established in Villa Miranda (still called Andarayan at that time) in 1982. The Kalinga and Catalangan were invited to pray for their dead there. They held their first fiesta in 1987. In 1988 they also had mass baptism in Villa Miranda.

According to manang Melly when she came to Villa Miranda in the eighties, she observed that Kikay used a prayer book to pray for the dead, during Christmas and Easter (we already mentioned this prayer book before, in paragraph 2.1). They would go to visit the chapel in Dibiguen, where the miraculous figurine of 'Ina Baket' is displayed.

Summarising, it seems that on the one hand the baptisms were politically motivated on the part of the mayor, on the other hand the Catalangan were convinced to be baptised by new family and acquaintances: Kalinga from Dibiguen and immigrants. Baptism facilitated the relationships between Kalinga, Catalangan and immigrants, introducing a vocabulary of familiarity that is used to mutual benefit. To the local community, their first fiesta is not only a major happening marking the history of their place; it is also a way of establishing a relationship between the local community and the larger world. With its own fiesta, a barangay gets its place in local political structures.

On the individual level, baptism facilitates the step from a face-to-face community to larger networks: with a last name that ties you to a godfather and his family, you can find your way to town more easily than as a 'nobody' camping out on the riverbanks during the town fiesta of San Mariano. Without a last name your children cannot enrol in school.

It is important to note that the person being baptised and his or her family are considered to hold a lower position than the person lending his or her name to the new Christian. From being the religion of a small minority in a remote area, Christianity became the ticket to a bigger world full of opportunities.

2.9 Summary of history

In general, influences from the lowlands seem to have arrived earlier and, at least until recently, made a deeper impact in the big stream region. Christians came there earlier, as refugees or to find a place to farm, and introduced practices like praying for the dead and baptising newborn babies, as well as new farming techniques. In Balagan, Ibulan and Dicomay, schools were established just after the war. In Balagan, they already have a fiesta since several decennia, where Kalinga from upstream would be baptised.

Because of its geographical location, it is easy to understand why Minanga became a sort pivotal point between the big stream and small stream, feeding new techniques and religious practices to the Catalangan via the Kalinga living there.

The logging companies as well, seem to have had a greater impact in the big stream region, employing more Kalinga and creating a greater reliance on cash and greater exposure to mainstream culture (this might explain why the Kalinga were usually easier to talk to for us as than the Catalangan). In the big stream region, uma became a sideline for those who worked for the logging companies, while in the Catalangan region people emphasized that the logging companies only provided the road, but did not employ them.

The presence of the NPA had a different impact in both regions. Many people evacuated when martial law was declared, and returned after a few months, or in some cases, after a few years. In the big stream region, people reported a strong presence of NPA in the seventies until 1982, but they say it did

not affect farming very much. However, the presence of the NPA did play a role in the settling of land disputes. In the small stream region, the presence of the NPA was strong until 1995. De Jong concludes that the NPA slowed down immigration in the small stream region, and this might also have been the case for the remoter barangays in the big stream region. It is noticeable that in talking to people the memories of the times when the NPA had a strong presence in the region seem different in quality: in the Catalangan region they are more often coloured by fear, and they more often emphasize the hardship of those years. They had to evacuate more often, and vividly remember the encounters between army and NPA.

In general, it seems the Catalangan have closer ties with the Agta than the Kalinga, although in both cases they are reported to be living side by side at least since the nineteenth century. The Catalangan would more often emphasize that the Agta are their brothers and sisters, and there are many cases of intermarriage. However, it seems that as the ties with lowland culture become stronger, the ties between the Agta and the Catalangan are weakened.

In both regions, people mention being 'embarrassed' vis a vis newcomers representing mainstream culture. Whatever their ethnicity, as a group they are referred to as 'Ilocanos' or 'Christianos'. In general, awareness of land as a scarce resource is dependent on the presence of immigrants, and the ability to act on this awareness is dependent on the contacts they have with someone of these groups. New crops, new techniques, new concepts of landownership and Christianity at first all go through the same channel: personal ties with immigrants. Among the Catalangan as well, new crops and techniques are introduced through personal relations with immigrants. What is interesting is that in this area, the Kalinga fulfilled this role. They introduced ploughing, for example, and provided the connections in San Mariano to buy inputs for cash crop farming. They are seen as 'worldly', and therefore classified as 'Christianos' like the Ybanag and the Ilocanos. To the immigrants, the Kalinga and Catalangan are becoming 'civilised', 'already Christian' when they are baptised and in general take over their practices. Intermarriage is the next step in assimilation and for now, it seems this means 'becoming Ilocano' to the Kalinga.

So on the one hand, the immigrants often see themselves as bringing 'civilisation', on the other hand the attitude of the Kalinga and Catalangan was to 'go along', imitate, and in general not to protest against this view of them as 'still uncivilised'. This does not mean that there is no undercurrent of resentment and criticism towards the immigrants, but it seems they rarely mobilise each other as a group united by tradition to give a counterweight to the impact of lowland culture, economically, in terms of land or politically. Rather, relations are established with immigrants to profit from the trading and political opportunities this offers.

With regard to land use change, the general pattern seems to be that cash crops like banana and peanuts are first taken over in addition to traditional uma farming. Ploughing is taken over to plant white corn. Later, during the eighties, the planting of lowland rainfed rice is gradually taken over, and since the nineties there has been a boom in yellow corn, which seems to completely change both the pattern of land use and subsistence strategies, creating a pressure on land and a greater dependency on cash economy. In isolated cases, people turn to wetrice farming as a viable option.

It would be interesting to find out more about the extent and pace at which the use of ploughs was taken over, because it enables a farmer to go back to the land he has farmed before, when it has become overgrown by cogon grass. It seems that it was often the case that immigrants would take the land that was overgrown with cogon grass. Because the Kalinga and Catalangan did not traditionally use ploughs, this land was worthless to them. However, once they started using ploughs as well, in combination with labour extensive cash crops, these kinds of lands become a source of disputes. So it is only with the introduction of ploughs that the settling of immigrants in their area could potentially be termed as 'landgrabbing' by the Kalinga and Catalangan. The changes in agricultural techniques have a lot of influence on land use and landownership, but also on the ritual practices since the main ritual cycle is directly linked to the planting cycle of upland rice.

Claiming land and then selling it seems to be the option that arose in the confrontation between the immigrants, who put value on formal ownership of land, and the Kalinga, who traditionally did not seem to attach much importance to claiming land. In this confrontation, the Kalinga took advantage of the value the immigrants would place on formal ownership and their own practice of simply finding a new place to farm every now and then. Gradually however, a shift in attitude is taking place among the Kalinga, adjusting to the reality that land is becoming a scarce resource instead of something that is available everywhere. It is perhaps a bitter reality to them that they only realised this after most of the land had been claimed already, putting them in a disadvantageous position. According to some, this is aggravated because the Kalinga in the big stream rely more heavily on illegal logging for their income, putting up their land to lend money and often losing it when they fail to repay their debts.

As we saw, 'becoming' Christian is often equated with 'becoming civilised', becoming mainstream, becoming indistinguishable from the immigrants in farming practices and customs. It is not necessarily accompanied by any particular beliefs. Before the war, individual Kalinga were baptised through their accidental relationships with immigrants. After the war, the efforts to baptise the Kalinga became more systematic on the part of the politicians, by organising mass baptisms during fiestas. Baptism was a tool in forging a relationship between Kalinga and Catalangan on the one hand, and 'lowlanders' on the other hand. It would be interesting to look more closely into these relationships to see how they work. It would seem that it means the introduction of these isolated communities into the fluid hierarchy of 'utang nga loob' (debt of gratitude) that potentially expands until the highest offices of the Philippines.

Although becoming a Christian was historically dominated by practical concerns, this does not mean it did not have any impact on worldview. Praying for the dead and miraculous healing seem to have been received as welcome additions to traditional practices. In the case of the Rizalistas and the conversions by SIL, we can speak of 'real conversion' in the sense that people feel they have found their true religion that has changed their lives. However, before we can understand more about the impact of Christianity on worldview, we have to look more closely at the traditional worldview through which Christianity as a worldview was perceived.



Garatiyo with the gong

3 RITUAL

In trying to find out more about the traditional worldviews, we focused on ritual practice. Abstract questions asking about beliefs did not work, and only asking for stories would make the potential gap pointed out by Malinowsky between ‘what people say’ and ‘what people do’ even bigger than it already is when relying on interviews.

Like the rest of this report, this should be seen as a first inventory, still groping for insight.

In the following we will present a sort of ‘timeless’ narrative of how the rituals were supposed to be performed. ‘Supposed to be’ because in actual practice things were probably not always done the way they are supposed to. A general characteristic of rituals is that they are perceived as unchangeable, while in fact they do often change. Moreover, in a formal interview setting it is easy to forget that these rituals were also parties that engaged the imagination and energy of community members in exciting ways.

Some could tell us about the rituals first hand: they used to have a leading role in them until quite recently. Others were only participants. The information informants provided has been weighed accordingly. On the whole, people agreed to a remarkable extent on the way the rituals should be performed, so we will only refer to the specific informant when he or she is the only source for the data presented.

It was only during the last fieldwork period that we could focus on the social context of these rituals. We were able to clarify this context a little bit, but further research using oral history would be required to say anything conclusive about it.

Understanding the ritual practices, the ritual specialisations, the way they are inherited and why they were discontinued, as well as getting a clear picture of what they entailed took a lot of time.

Unfortunately, questions like: ‘can you sum up the different kinds of healing for us?’ do not work. Of course, people do count, people do sum up things, they do categorize. But in a different way, and for different reasons and occasions than an anthropologist does. For example, at the end of the fieldwork we had discovered 4 kinds of healing involving possession among the Kalinga³⁴. Usually, one healer combines two or more kinds of healing, but they can be separated. But we only stumbled across the differences between these kinds of healing when we would try to clear up some contradiction like ‘why is one saying that the ritual should be done at night while the other says it should be during the day?’ Only then would we be informed that they involved two different possessions by two different kinds of spirits. In practice, the difference is in degree and in quality, whereas by writing down these different practices we fix healing into distinct categories. Nevertheless, we think there is some consistency in these categories, because they were similar across the whole region of the big stream. With regard to the actual ritual sequence, the different activities could be more readily summed up, but only by the ritual practitioners themselves, or, as in the case of Baliwag, someone with very close ties to a ritual practitioner. Among the Catalangan, the sequence of events in preparation for the pre-planting *bawang* could also be summed up by many people of the older generation, because these preparations involved the whole community and were coordinated through a knotted rope to count the days. Not everybody who is a Kalinga or a Catalangan is also knowledgeable about the rituals, just like not everybody who is a Catholic would know how to celebrate mass.

Although the two groups seem very similar in terms of subsistence strategies, language and worldview, we also found significant differences, especially in ritual practices and the social organisation around the ritual practices. In both groups, women lead the rituals for the planting cycle while men have to prepare the food and the place where the dancing will take place. Both women and men can do healing rituals. In both groups, possession and sacrifice are the main ingredients of each ritual. However, the Kalinga seemed to have had a much more elaborate series of rituals, both for the planting cycle and for healing, and they have a set of rituals that were linked to community health and prestige and status for the family that is able to perform them.

With the Catalangan we found only two kinds of ritual specialisation: one for the planting cycle and one for healing. With the Kalinga we found at least four kinds of ritual specialisation. There is some overlap: generally, it seems the Kalinga have all the rituals of the Catalangan plus some extra.

³⁴ Not counting the healing done by bonesetters and midwives



Skirt used by Tabiat while dancing

3.1 Planting cycle

The Kalinga and the Catalangan have a similar series of rituals connecting to the important moments in the agricultural cycle of upland rice: planting and harvesting.

3.1.1 Kalinga/Big stream:

Among the Kalinga, the cycle of agricultural rituals consists of three rituals, plus one optional ritual if the harvest has been bad the preceding year: Bawang, Dumagot, Awatan and the optional ritual Pataw. Our main informants for the description of these rituals were Baliwag, Tersing, and Garatiyo in Cadsalan, Baquiran in Dicamay, two old ladies in Tappa, Soliven and Aurora in Balagan and Simoi in Minanga. Sometimes, we do not understand every detail of the description that people gave us (for example, below, the role of the hammer and the anvil), but we will include them anyway so that they can be used as a starting point in possible future research.

Bawang

The agricultural cycle starts with the bawang, a possession ritual. Two kamaligs (small bamboo houses) will be put up, one for the offerings to the anitos, and one for dancing. In one house, they will put an anvil, dedicated to the ancestors. They will also prepare bassi, sugarcane wine. The dancing is done at night. A woman will call on a particular anito by name until she is possessed by that anito and starts to dance (dancing is always a sign that one is possessed). After that, the next woman will call on an anito, etc. Usually, they do seven rounds, calling all the anito's in turn. The woman with the biggest anito will dance last. In

Cadsalan, in the bawang led by Garatiyo, that would be Tersing's mother. According to Baliwag, they would dance with a hammer (a hammer with one end rounded). The men will play the gongs. The women getting possessed and the men playing the gongs inside the kamalig will drink the bassi, and if there's anything left over the people outside will also get some bassi. Sometimes, the women outside will also get possessed.

Dumagot

The day after the Bawang, Dumagot is done to divine how their harvest will be. In this ritual, both the gongs and the patong, a wooden drum, are played.

They will go to the river and get some fish. They will cook this without salt, with rice (although in Dicamay, Baquiran maintained that they did use salt). Then they will put the food on a plate and throw it to the ceiling. The way the rice will fall and scatter or stick to the ceiling will predict the kind of rainfall while the rice is growing.

According to Tersing the reason for the prescription not to use salt is that they believe that the stalks of the rice plants will wilt in the field, because salt absorbs liquid. After doing this ritual, the planting can start. Anyone who will start before this time, will be at a disadvantage both because he does not know what the rainfall will be and because the anito's might get angry and cause him to be sick.

Awatan

³⁵For Awatan, a lot of food is prepared to offer to the ancestors: 5 plates of upland rice, 5 pieces of binallai, one coconut shell with rice and a bundle containing a crocodile shaped rice cake. According to Tersing and Baliwag, they would take one leaf, putting the binallai underneath the leaf, and put the rice on top make the bundle. They shape the rice to resemble a crocodile, and then put another leaf on top. They put little pieces of banana leaf on top of the whole bundle, and a small saucer of oil. The oil is used to invite the anitos, the maganito will take some oil on her finger and put it on her forehead and scalp.

Calling the anitos will indicate the start of the ritual. Any person who wants to learn to perform the rituals can follow in calling the anito's, to practice.

According to Tersing, her mother was the most respected maganito, so she would do it first. The ones, who want to join, first turn the plates and then take some oil to put on their head. The maganito will hit the bottom of the plate and start calling the names of the anitos. Tersing remembers some of the names: Diladan, Agto, Geladan, Ditan, Pinading, Sindungan, Addakayunan. Pinading is the most important, and connected to particular places (so there is more than one Pinading, it seems).

Awatan is the last ritual of the planting cycle.

Pataw

If the harvest is bad one year, the next year a person can opt to do pataw to appease the anger of the ancestors. It will be done after Dumagot. One person will walk around the uma carrying a pig on his back. After making one round, someone will be called to wrestle him. When one man is down, they will call another one, and then a third to wrestle.

3.1.2 Catalangan/Small stream

The Catalangan region was the area where we first started our research. It was difficult to get the stories straight about the rituals, because there were not so many people who had firsthand experience

³⁵ Usually, people would mention Lakapit next, after harvesting. When we asked for a description, they would describe a ritual that turned out to be awatan. According to Tersing, Lakapit simply indicates the season for harvesting, and Awatan refers to the specific possession ritual performed after harvesting

with them (rather than just attending). Moreover, the catalangan is a smaller group, making it impossible to generalise: each family had its own way of performing the rituals. Every detailed account of ritual we have is connected to three names: Poldo Velazco, the son of Ipiyak who was Scott's main informant, his wife Serpida, both in Dilumi, and Maria Imfiel in Dibuluan. They agree to a large extent.

On the general aspects of the agricultural cycle and its meaning, our findings are more solid, although at first we were very confused about them. One reason was that it took us some time to realize that the rituals involve possession. This makes it harder to ask questions about the anito's, because the one in closest contact with the anitos does not remember much of what she said or did after the spirit leaves her. Furthermore, discontinuing the rituals was not such an easy matter for the Catalangan, and people still fear the anito's (see paragraph 4). This meant that they did not like to talk about them, because they were afraid that they might attract their attention. So any questions about the anito's were met by very vague and evasive answers. As Serpida declared: 'I hate the anitos! They only make you sick! Why do you want to talk about them!' Nevertheless, after a difficult beginning, Poldo Velazco and Serpida turned out to be very motivated informants.

Besides the obstacle of the fear of attracting the attention of the anitos, our own assumptions led us into the wrong direction at first, because we implicitly assumed that it was the men who led the rituals. It was only during the second fieldwork that we were set right by Poldo Velazco, the son of Ipiyak who was Scott's main informant: it was not the men who led the rituals, but the women, who will be possessed by the anito's. As he said: 'men are just accessories'.

The young women are trained from an early age by their mothers, grandmothers or aunts to perform the rituals. In the small stream, the planting rituals are always associated with a particular anito, which in turn is associated with a particular family. Women who belong to a lineage with one anito can attend the rituals performed by women with another anito, but can not join the dancing, because the dancing is the moment that the women are possessed by the anito. Although the anito's exclude each other, they do not seem to have names for people to be able to distinguish between them. Not all families have an anito, and it is considered to be a mixed blessing to have one.

Before starting to dance, the women dip their index finger in coconut oil and put it on their nose and scalp. Unlike the Kalinga, they do not seem to have any particular names by which they call the anito's. They just arrange the food offerings and start to dance until they are possessed. The pre-planting rituals would involve a lot of food, and everybody would go to Dilumi. In Dibuluan, Vila Miranda and other sitio's, individual families would do their own bawang after Dilumi. For the ritual before harvest there would be less food, and they did not have to wait for each other.

Bawang

The sequence of things to be done by the different communities to prepare for the pre-planting ritual in Dilumi was organized through a knotted rope. The rope would have ten knots, and each morning one knot would have to be cut to keep track of the days in order to know when to prepare the food, when to go to Dilumi to bring the food and make the kalamig, when the basi should be cooked to read in the bubbles who would have a good harvest and whose harvest would be destroyed by wild pigs. We got two conflicting accounts of what had to be done on what particular day, represented by a particular knot. The same persons, Poldo and Serpida, gave both of them. At least the order of the things to be done is more or less the same in each account.

We did not ask whether everybody would get this knotted rope to keep track of the days, or only certain families. But they would make sure everybody would start counting on the same day.

The sequence in the first account:

5th day: they will make the food (sticky rice, binallai, badoya and pinatarro). The food is prepared by the men.

6th day: they will make the kalamig, put the food in it and Lawigan, Esmenia and Misoha dance around the kalamig. Esmenia would dance with a chicken on the back. The dancing implies raising their arms wide and putting them down again, hands on the waist. The women will be possessed.

7th day: they will feed each other. The feeding each other bit is often remembered and laughed about. The men will sit under the kalamig (underneath the raised floor) while the three women will be sitting inside it. The men will start eating, and then come out from under the floor, the sign for everybody to start grabbing binallai and trying to stuff each other with it. Binallai is very heavy, sticky stuff, so everybody will have more than enough after just a few bites. Of course, the sportu is to make each other eat more than they can.

8th day: they will get the seedlings for planting and put it inside the kalamig to rest overnight.

9th day: they will plant in the pagulugan of Lawigan and Esmenia. Before they start planting, they will put the seedlings under a sort of teepee structure made out of three sticks. On one of the sticks they will put an offering of some cooked rice wrapped in a bananaleaf. Then they will start planting. When the planting is done for the day, they will take the offering, pray and offer it to the anito's and go back home.

10th day: they will plant with Misoha.

After this, everybody can start planting.

The sequence in the second account:

5th day: they will read the bubbles in the boiling sugarcane wine to see whose fields will be destroyed by pests and wild pigs, who will have a nice harvest etc.. When we asked what you can do if you know your harvest will be bad, the answer was: 'nothing. You just have to accept your fate'.

6th day: they will get the rice from the storage house to prepare the food

7th day: they cook and prepare everything

8th day: they will prepare the seedlings.

9th day: they let the food rest.

10th day: they make the kalamig and feed each other.

11th day: they prepare the seedlings again

12th day: Lawigan will start planting

13th day: Esmenia

14th day: Misoha

15th day: baket Ingga.

For the pre-planting ritual, the dancing is done during the day, and the dress is simple, a skirt and a blouse. The women will also wear a white headscarf. During the dancing, the gongs are played.

Sequence for the pre-harvest ritual

The bawang before harvesting was not coordinated among the different settlements, it would just be done per family. They would first get a few bundles of rice from the field, and burn them over a fire³⁶. These bundles are called 'palubyan', meaning 'for starters'. Then they would pound and cook the grains that fell on the ground. This stuff would be used to bless the children, to keep them safe from illness and accidents. From different informants we would get slightly different accounts: sometimes it is the man; sometimes it is the woman who gets the first bundles. Sometimes it is the men who hold the fire, sometimes it is the women who gather the reeds for the fire. Sometimes they leave the bundles overnight.

According to Poldo, his mother Lawigan would get 8 bettek of rice afterwards, and put them in the uma, covered with ricestalks. The next day she would get a bundle the thickness of a calf (lower leg) and put it over the betteks. The day after, the harvest will be completed.

³⁶ according to Manang Mely, this practice is called 'balogo'. We did not confirm this

The dancing is done at night for the pre-harvest ritual. We are not sure, but it seems that the dancing precedes the blessing of the children. They wear more formal clothes than, a white 'Filipina dress'. Again, they also wear white headscarves.

3.1.2.1 Anitos and social organisation among the Catalangan

A woman cannot be possessed by an anito other than the one of her lineage otherwise she will get sick. She cannot even work on the field of someone with another anito. Among the families with an anito there is a hierarchy: some anito's are stronger than others, and the strong ones have to be appeased first. This was one of our first findings, emphasized by everybody: the season for performing the rituals would be started in Dilumi, by the women of Mariano's family. The people in Dibuluan would go to attend the ritual in Dilumi³⁷. This illustrates the point that anito's are not connected to place, but rather to family.

After planting the pagulugan of the women in Dilumi, the planting could start. The bawang of the other families could also be performed after the planting had already started. Nobody could start planting if they had not performed the ritual in Dilumi yet.

We tried to identify the different anito's, their hierarchy and the lineages of the women who performed the rituals for them. We identified 6 anito's, associated with families in Dibuluan proper, Dilumi, Villa Miranda and Ambabok. Then there are some anito's that came with Kalinga from the big stream area, who do not fit into the sequence.

The most important anito (1) is associated with the names of Aleo, Lawigan, Esmenia and Misoha³⁸. Aleo and Lawigan are considered the main performers of the rituals, Aleo having trained Lawigan. Esmenia and Misoha probably also started their training under Aleo, but would perform on the nights after Lawigan. They continued performing when Lawigan died, but apparently this carried less weight: they were not the big social affairs that people remember from the time when Aleo and Lawigan were still alive.

The second most important anito (2) is associated with Tabiat, Ikek and Dalupenia (all relations) and their grandchildren, Moneng and Maria (the informant introduced earlier). Tabiat was considered the main performer by all our informants in Dibuluan. Everybody in Dibuluan would attend when she danced. Ikek and Dalupenia performed more privately, but for the same anito. Maria was trained by Tabiat, and Moneng was trained by Ikek, but both discontinued the practice.

The other anito's could not be arranged in a hierarchy by our informants, they seem to have been less important to the community as a whole, only relevant to the immediate family. Serpida 'inherited' her anito (3) from her mother Vicenta, whose mother in turn was called Mangina. Mangina was from Dibuluan proper, Vicenta was killed during WWII in Malasin. Therefore, Serpida was not trained to perform the rituals, she only realised later in life that she had to perform the rituals, when she was 'reminded' by the anito's: she got a big burn on her leg. Her stepbrother, Tolio, who is a healer, told her she had to make offerings and dance to appease her anito, because it was the anito who was making her sick.

According to Gel Gel, an old Agta man who was familiar with the Catalangan who used to live in Ambabok, Alihiyo was the leader of the bawang there (4) (that would actually be his wife, but in some cases the man is mentioned instead of the woman, probably because of his general importance to the community and because he could provide a lot of food).

Another anito (5) was associated with Ipiyak's brother Ikuk, who performed the bawang at night. It is the only case where we found a man dancing and getting possessed during the bawang. At least, people told us this ritual was also called bawang, although it seems to have nothing to do with

³⁷ Dibuluan is considered the 'centre' for the Catalangan, while Dilumi is a very small sitio, situated further upstream the Catalangan river, at a considerable distance from it.

³⁸ See appendix for family relations.

agriculture. He would put a crocodile-shaped rice cake into the river. If it swam upstream, it would be a sign that he would still live long. If it sank, it would be a sign that he would soon die. He would also make a wooden statue, with the eyes vaguely indicated, and dance around it with a chicken. During this dancing, he would eat the liver of the chicken, uncooked. He took over this ritual from Akes, Ipiyak's father.

Then there is another Maria who has her own *bawang* (6). She would also make a wooden statue, indicating the eyes and the eyebrows and the mouth and dance around it beating the gong. When they had no gongs anymore, she would use a tin washbasin instead. According to our informant she really seemed to be flying when she danced, it was so fast.

We are not sure whether or not there was another *Esmenia* apart from the *Esmenia* connected to the strongest *anito* in Dilumi, with yet another *anito*. This *Esmenia* would be Tolio's sister. She is mentioned only once, but not by Tolio himself. Although he did tell us that his family had another *anito* than Mariano's family, we did not get around to noting down the exact names of the women who performed the rituals for that *anito*, because he was out several times when we tried to find him.

Serpida, Poldo's wife, told us that she was raised by Tolio's family, but she had a different *anito* from Tolio's mother, inherited from her own mother who was killed during the war.

We are not sure whether it would be better to speak of 'one' *anito* per lineage, or 'one group' of *anito*'s per lineage. Unlike in the big stream region, people could not give us any names for the *anito*'s. Generally we found that questions trying to clarify the identity and characteristics of the *anito*'s did not lead anywhere, perhaps because they were the wrong questions or perhaps there was really nothing more to be said about them by the people we interviewed.

However, everybody emphasized very strongly that the *anito*'s of different lineages exclude each other, and that the 'pagulugan' of the families with the biggest *anito*'s should be planted first. This meant that in the system of mutual cooperation between the different households and *sitio*'s, some families were helped before the others, and some families did not help each other. When we tried to inquire further into the dynamics of mutual cooperation (for example, if the families with no *anito* were connected in some way to a particular family with *anito*), we drew a blank: there seemed to have been no 'general' rules other than the two mentioned above. Some people said that the families with a strong *anito* were also the 'important' families, but others strongly denied this. So even if they were, it was not through any formalised rule that they were more important than the other families.

However, in the case of Poldo's aunt (Aleo) and uncle (Mariano), the husband was considered to be an important man as well. The Catalangan referred to Mariano as the 'strong leader', he was 'even a barangay captain'. He was the wise man everybody went to have their problems solved, and the one most people refer to when they remember the *bawang* with the strongest *anito*. According to Tolio the *anito*'s only go to the important families, like Mariano. Comparing, he said that the *anito* of Tolio's father was only small. Probably this is connected to the fact that they had to be able to provide a lot of food, organise the ritual in advance and made people come to them.

3.1.2.2 Semper's account of the anitos

When we compare our finding to Semper's account, we must be very careful. By his own admission, he was very confused about the nature of the beliefs surrounding the *anito*'s, and 145 years have elapsed since he visited them. Many things might have changed. In fact, he noted that things were changing at the time of his visit: just before, the priest and priestess in charge of the rituals worshipping two pairs of gods had just died, with nobody to take over. At that time, people apparently still knew the names of these gods and the titles for the priests and priestesses who served them, but when Scott asked about these gods in 1978, nobody remembered them. We also asked about them, and got only negative answers.

With regard to the *anito*'s, according to Semper the Catalangan believed that a person becomes an *anito* if he has grandchildren when he dies. The most confusing aspect of his account is that he says

that the anito's are 'divided' after someone dies. Scott did not believe this, because he did not encounter it anywhere else in the Philippines. It was not clear to us, or to our informants, whether someone who dies 'becomes' an anito, as Semper claimed, still less if it had anything to do with grandchildren. When Scott asked Ipiyak about it, he 'indignantly denied that the anito's had anything to do with the ancestors' (see paragraph 1.3).

As far as we can make out, the anito is always already there, and associated with a particular household, transferred from one generation to the next by training girls from a young age onwards to get possessed and prepare the appropriate offerings. There are some stories about the origin of the planting rituals, but no stories that throw any light on the identity or characteristics of the anitos themselves.

Semper's interpretation of the anito being 'divided' can perhaps be explained by reformulating it in the following way: we found that different women, often (but not necessarily) of the same family, are usually trained to perform a ritual for the same anito. While still in training, they will dance in the ritual led by the most accomplished woman. It is a way of keeping the knowledge safe, making sure that there will always be someone who knows how to appease the anito's.

To be really able to perform the whole ritual, a woman usually had to be married, because the men (although 'accessories'!) were important for preparing the food and the kalamig. The offerings have to be prepared very carefully, using only the best ingredients, with a special kind of rice. So when the father dies, the daughters can only take over the responsibility for performing the ritual if they have already formed their own households and are able to provide the right kinds of food. Of course, this usually means that they have children as well. Since there is usually more than one woman who has been trained to perform the rituals, they might all decide to perform those rituals for their own household: the more you appease the anito's, the better. So yes, it does seem like the anito is 'divided'. But, again, this is just speculation: who knows what might have changed between Semper's time and the present, and who knows what kind of confusion was generated in the communication between a German traveller, his Filipino translator and the Catalangan shifting cultivators suddenly confronted by a white man and his entourage of thirty lowland Filipinos.



Tersing wearing the beads of three generations of maganito's

3.2 Community rituals among the Kalinga

All the Kalinga we spoke to remember vividly a cycle of rituals we will here call 'community rituals'. Especially Patunnuk is often mentioned, the longest of these rituals. These community rituals form a sequence of 7, which means they have to be performed in the order listed here. Most, but not all, involve possession. Again, it is women who lead these rituals. They learn to perform them from an early age onwards, until they know all of them. It is only after they have become competent at performing these 7 rituals that they can perform the rituals of the agricultural cycle listed above. Tersing's mother, the wife of Baliwag, went to Macayucayu to learn these rituals, and Tersing would often be taken by one of her aunts or her mother to join them in performing these rituals, in order for her to learn. She has almost completed her training, but because her mother died suddenly a few years ago, she is still 'incomplete'. Garatiyo is the only one we spoke to who has completed her training, although Tersing was for us a better informant: she talked easily, she was motivated to explain the details to us and she had an excellent memory. Baliwag, her father, was the first one to mention and describe these rituals to us.

It took us awhile to find out what they are for, because they do not seem to be linked to a particular calendar, like the planting rituals. According to Baliwag, these rituals are for the health of the

community. According to Tersing, you can perform them as a precaution against getting sick, or if someone in your family got sick already. There is also some social pressure and prestige involved: if in a settlement, most families would have performed Patunnuk (the second ritual), your family would be pressured to perform it as soon as possible, because otherwise the anger of the anitos might strike the child of one of the other families.

Many rituals of this cycle involve several families, some involve the whole community, and some involve several 'maganitos', accomplished ritual practitioners. In the many interviews we conducted with Tersing, we got the impression that not only the 'maganito's but also many other women would 'dance', that is 'get possessed' during these rituals and those of the planting cycle. For example one time, a group of women was walking past us while we were talking with Tersing, coming back from their work as day labourers harvesting a cornfield, and she pointed them out: she knows how to dance, and she, she... the women just laughed shyly and walked on. Some of them, according to Tersing, could also do bugey or alalat, forms of healing involving possession (discussed in paragraph 3.3.1). But they are not confident enough to practice, according to Tersing.

So it seems that although the anito's would possess many women, there were only some who would finish their training to become accomplished ritual practitioners, credible maganitos with the power to perform rituals for the whole community. Due to the status of a maganito, her whole household would be considered 'maganito', having special ties to the anito's.

Although it is hard to draw any conclusions based on hearsay descriptions without any actual observations, it would not be too much to assume that the rituals described below strengthened social cohesion and the reproduction of culture and traditions: they involved social pressure and prestige, a lot of organisation and preparation, a lot of pigs which had to be eaten afterwards by a lot of people, long training on the part of the maganito's, a lot of fear and a lot of fun.

The seven rituals are: Tagabi, Patunnuk, Kasap, Kayaw, Dahagon, Talipakkat and Karanagan. The descriptions below are mostly based on the stories of Baliwag and Tersing, checked with informants in other barangays.

Tagabi

When a child in a household gets sick, they will call the maganito. She will tell the household to prepare one small basket of grass (ahin) containing one can of rice (salmon), and a small hoe. All these things will be put together in a winnowing basket. One rooster will be plucked, or two if there are a lot of people. They will put the chicken on the fire while still alive, because it is not supposed to lose any blood. The right leg of the chicken is taken home by the maganito, the other one is hung over the fireplace for the anitos.

In order to be able to do this ritual, seven people are needed to play the role of one household. So if the family is smaller, they have to ask other people to join, especially one little boy. They also need someone to play the role of the 'second wife'. All in all, there have to be four females and three males in the household doing the ritual, plus a second wife, plus a man to do the cooking, plus the maganito herself (there can be more than one maganito, but one is enough).

Under the entrance of the house, one coconut is placed before starting the ritual. They will put oil in a porcelain plate and use it, together with a string of shells, to call the anitos. The participants will wear a cloth of bark around their head two fingers wide. The tails of the headbands of the men will reach until their waist. The women and the maganito will also wear white shawls over their heads.

The second wife will start singing. She will start a story of how the child started to be sick and she invites the anitos to look at the child and asks 'whatever I lack (in performing the ritual right), please forgive'. She will show the offerings: 'come and see all our offerings and forgive us for what we lack'. The singing is done in Cagayan, according to Tersing (we could not figure out which language this is supposed to be). Then the maganito will say: if you caused this sickness of the child, may you see the offerings and heal the child.

Adayag is always the first one called; he is the strongest anito of Tagabi, as well as Patunnuk. If the child starts eating again after the ritual, it means it was Adayag who caused it. If he remains sick, you will have to perform the next rituals of the sequence as well, until the proper anito, that is, the one who caused the ailment, has been appeased.

During one interview, Tersing showed us the shells to call the anitos, and her husband jokingly tried to shake them over her head. She told him angrily to stop that, because you shouldn't joke with the anitos. According to her and the people in the audience sitting in on the interview, the anitos of Tagabi and Patunnuk (especially Adayag) are so powerful, they might cause a woman's genitals to grow shut, or a man's genitals to disappear. To illustrate this, she told us the following story:

Before, Tersing said she did not really believe these stories about the power of Adayag to make genitals disappear or grow shut. But then it happened to *baket Maria*, a neighbour. Her vagina was really inflamed; you could not recognize the slit anymore. So they went to call *Garatiyo*, the nearest *maganito*. She performed a possession ritual (*alalat*, see later paragraph) to determine the cause of the anitos' anger. It turned out that he got angry because he did not like the sack of *mais* that was leaning against the wall in *Maria's* house. Tersing had already suspected the cause of the anito's anger, and she had asked her husband to take it out already before *Garatiyo* had performed the *alalat*. After they had removed the bag, *baket Maria* was all right again.

Patunnuk

The next ritual is called *Patunnuk*, and is one of the rituals mentioned most often, with most fear. It is also one of the longest: three days and nights. In the morning of the first day, two *maganitos* will each sit on different side of the house and throw *patupat* (sticky rice delicacies) at each other. Often, the children will be scrambling to get some. The first night they kill a rooster, like in *Tagabi*. This sacrifice will signify to the anitos that they have fulfilled their obligations; they performed *Tagabi* already. The legs of the rooster will be hung over the fireplace. The next day and the day after that, one pig will be killed. One foreleg of each pig will be hung over the fireplace. The second night, the two *maganitos* will cook the meat and eat inside the house, with the people of the house. Everybody has to wait until the *maganitos* give the signal for them to start eating.

As soon as people start arriving to attend the ritual, the drumming will start, and it will continue for three days. The women who are drumming are accomplished *maganitos* as well. They will be chanting in *Yogad*, according to *Baliwag*, in *Cagayan*³⁹ according to Tersing. Seated in front of them, their pupils will be practicing their drumming on a winnowing basket as part of their training to become a *maganito* themselves. During the first night and the last night, it is very important not to fall asleep. The second morning as well, they will throw *patupat*. The women who are drumming and the second wife will talk to the anito's, saying: 'come and see the offerings, forgive us for what we lack, the old people are not here anymore'. They will list the offerings in detail. They will say: 'you supreme being, look at all these viands and rice I prepared which my husband will be eating in preparation to call the one who will cure my child. My husband will be taking a bath.' Then the husband will go and take a bath and when he returns change his clothes and call the *maganito* to lead the ritual.

During the latter stages of the ritual, everything must be peaceful among the people. If the anito's do not like what's happening, the *maganitos* who are drumming will be lying flat on their backs with sightless eyes, according to Tersing (of course, they have been drumming non stop for three days...). Only on the last day of *Patunnuk*, the women will be possessed.

To complete *patunnuk*, a raft will be made out of the nerves of a banana leaf. They put a roasted chick on this raft and then they float downriver. While floating downriver, they try to shoot it with their arrows.

³⁹ We have no idea which language 'Cagayan' is supposed to be



Shells to call the anito's

Kasap

Kasap is almost the same as Awatan, the last ritual of the agricultural cycle described in paragraph 3.1.1. There are also 5 jars, the smallest one containing bassi. The other 4 are empty, but covered with the leaves of samak. The jars will be inside the house. There should be at least two maganito's but sometimes there are as many as six or eight.

Like in Awatan, there is a bundle containing a cake of sticky rice in the shape of a crocodile. The smallest jar will be put near the edge of the house with the bundle of sticky rice next to it. When a maganito is possessed, she will take hold of one of the jars. When she returns to consciousness, she will put the jar down and the next maganito can come and pick up a jar and invite an anito. When the maganito's have been possessed 5 times they can eat the sticky rice and feed the people and the ritual is over.

In Kasap, Abulilelaw and Abungangan are the main anitos. In the rituals after Kasap, all the anitos will be called.

Kayaw

The Kayaw is a sort of contest in which the whole community will participate. It can be held on the advice of the maganito, as part of the sequence performed by a family, but it can also be held simply as a separate occasion. A pig will be butchered and twenty bundles of rice will be prepared. They will also prepare twenty pieces of binallai and tagapulot. This is the prize to be won. One leg of pig will be reserved for the maganito to offer to the anito.

The main activity is a long jump contest held on a sloping area. Someone will draw a line, which the contestants will try to jump over (going downhill). The first one to jump over the line wins the prize. If nobody manages to jump over the line, they will draw it nearer. As soon as a winner is declared, the maganito will jump up and start chewing the side of the pig to be butchered.

Dahagon

Two mature pigs are needed for this ritual. When the household for which the ritual needs to be done have the necessary pigs, they will call the maganito and tell her that all the needed things are ready. She will call at least four other maganito's to participate, but there can also be as many as ten. A kamalig is put up beside the kitchen of the household.

They will butcher the first pig and prepare two bamboo poles from the first branches of the bamboo they can reach. These poles are put up in front of the house. One bettek of rice will be put on each pole. A jar of basi will be put in between the poles. They will also tie one coconut to one of the poles by peeling part of the skin and tying it to the pole. This represents the head of the person who killed their parents, those who are 'oppressive' (maingel⁴⁰). Hanging the coconut from the pole, like the head of an enemy, is meant to show that they can avenge their dead. Puzzled by this detail, we asked Baliwag to explain it further. He told the following story:

Once there was a baby who was orphaned because his father was murdered. Although he was present at his father's murder, miraculously he was not killed. When people went to avenge the death of his father, they were able to kill his murderers because of the special powers of the baby.

Although the story accounts for the particular detail, it still puzzled us: it was the only story about 'warfare' that we found among the Kalinga. Although the Kalinga have a reputation for raiding among the Catalangan, we never found anything to back up that raiding was a common practice to them.

After butchering the pig the maganitos will dance around the poles while the men play the gongs. A boy (7-8 years old) will follow the women around with a bamboo pole to which 60 leaves of tobacco are tied (although sometimes the anito's ask for more). If a boy is not available within the household performing the ritual, they will get a boy of his age as proxy. This boy is the representation of the baby with the special powers. The boy will follow the women around for one round. Then he will put the bamboo stick inside the house.

After dancing outside, the women continue dancing inside the house. After the dancing they will eat. The bassi is drunk inside the house by the maganitos and the people of the household. When the maganitos leave, they will give the bassi that is left over to the men playing the gongs and the audience.

Then the second pig is butchered. They will take out only the intestines to cook. The sick child is held over the corresponding parts of the pig (head to head, feet to feet) for some time, as if to put the child inside the pig. After this, they will finish butchering the pig. They will cut the skin of the neck in such a way that it will be like a round collar. The tail will be cut starting at the back going up to the neck including a strip of the skin 2 inches wide.

The next day, before breakfast, they will cook the meat of the pig. The fat will be made into lard by frying it. Then the maganitos will start getting possessed again, picking up an item of the pig as they get possessed. One will wear the skin of the neck, one will be swinging the tail, and one will be carrying the bile of the pig put in between a stick of split bamboo. While they are dancing, someone from the audience will be teasing, commenting on the smell of the bile. Often the reaction of the person carrying the bile is that she will playfully poke the eye of the person who said that. They will go three rounds like this.

Breakfast will be served after this dance and in the course of eating; they will also try to determine who is going to prepare the upland rice for the fifth day, necessary to complete the cycle. So after five days (or are after four?), the cooked rice will be put into a narra container, and the lard of the pig will be mixed in. According to the informants, people usually only take a few mouthfuls when they serve

⁴⁰ "maingel". This word can also mean 'brave'. It simply depends on whether you're on the receiving end of someone's 'maingel' whether it is used positively or negatively.

this because it is so greasy. After the maganitos eat this for dinner, they get possessed again and dance inside the house again.

Talipakkat

Talipakkat is almost the same as Dahagon. However the number of the pigs that will be butchered is increased: a minimum of three pigs and a maximum of five pigs. We forgot to ask if it takes longer as well.

The difference with Dahagon is that the feet of the smallest pig will be put behind the house.

Karanagan

This is the last ritual of the sequence. Both Garatiyo and Tersing had never performed this ritual, but people up and down the big stream area remember how it was done, either from stories or because they witnessed it. It takes place along the riverbank and it has to be performed early in the morning. The maganito will be possessed but they have to be very careful because they believe that if she will dive into the river she will turn into a crocodile. There are several versions of this story. According to Baliwag, this belief originates in an incident with a woman who was so mean, she would hack other people's children with a bolo. The people got so upset with her, they cursed: 'may she turn into a crocodile'. Because according to the stories, a crocodile eats its own hatchlings. In the end, she did turn into a crocodile. So when they are doing karanagan, they are afraid that the maganito will follow this bad example, because she is not conscious of her actions while possessed. That is the reason why they have to keep her from diving into the river.

In Balagan, they confirmed this danger, and told us the following story to illustrate it:

During their father's time, they were doing Karanagan. The father of our informants (Soliven and Aurora) was one of those responsible for keeping the maganito from diving into the water. People shouted to him: 'grab the woman!' because she was possessed. But according to Soliven's sister, his father thought: 'let's see if the stories are true'. So he did not hold her. She dived into the river and when she came out she had already turned into a crocodile. She scolded him: 'you did not hold me, and now I have turned into a crocodile. I ask you therefore to honour me every time you do the ritual. I'll be part of the things you offer, the sacrifices'. According to Soliven, that's why they make rice cakes in the shape of a crocodile for some rituals.

After the maganito has been possessed, the people will fish in the riverbank using the tabukol (fish trap). Normally, they will stay in the river and fish until after lunch or even the whole day. The fish they caught will be cooked on the riverbank. After lunch they will fish again, until they are satisfied that they caught enough. They will go home, and cook the fish for dinner.



Lakay Simoi, Kalinga magbugay

3.3 Healing rituals

Even when community rituals and agricultural rituals disappear due to socio-economic changes, traditional healing practices for individuals often persist. This is also the case among the Catalangan and the Kalinga.

3.3.1 Bugey/bugay and alalat.

There is one ritual specialisation for healing that seems to be the same in both groups. Among the Catalangan it is called bugey, among the Kalinga it is called bugay. We spoke to five people in both regions who practice this kind of healing or used to practice it. The two in the Catalangan region, Serpida and Tolio, were both former practitioners, the three Kalinga all still practice it (lakay Simoi, Tersing, Garatiyo). Among the Catalangan, there is still one practitioner according to our informants, but unfortunately we were unable to talk to him.

This kind of healing involves a form of possession used to divine the reason for the anito's anger, which is supposed to be causing a person to be sick. Both men and women can be possessed. While they are possessed, the healer is not aware of what she is doing. Therefore, as with the agricultural rituals, it was difficult to find out anything more about the anitos from the women and men who would be possessed by them. Although during one interview, Serpida spontaneously offered the information

that when she was possessed she saw people of all kinds: Ilocano, Agta, Catalangan. According to her, they are spirits.

Serpida, Lakay Simoi and Tersing would often complain that it was hard to be a healer. According to them, you need to have a strong mind otherwise you will go crazy. Another hardship is that you cannot refuse to help if someone comes calling, even when they come in the middle of the night, or you have a lot of work to do. And when people decide to go against the wishes of the anito's as revealed during possession, their anger will strike the magbugey, the healer.

While being possessed, the healer is 'interviewed' by a helper, someone close to the healer like a family member or a trusted neighbour. The helper is actually interviewing the spirit possessing the healer. In bugay/bugay this spirit is called 'bunug' and is considered to be a good spirit. It is committed to helping people get better again. It will tell the reason for the anger of the anito's that caused the sickness, and what has to be done to make it right again. In alalat, the spirit can be a distant and vaguely identified anito, or some deceased relative. Bugey is performed at night, since the bunug cannot bear light, and alalat is performed during the day. In Cadsalan, we witnessed Tersing performing alalat for a sick baby. The Catalangans said they never heard of alalat.

It seemed to us that this form of healing used to be relatively common; one community would have several people able to get possessed and contact the anitos in this way. But there were always healers who were considered 'stronger' than others. Especially the healers who would combine several kinds of healing would be considered 'strong'. Many are also bonesetters, and are called to deliver babies. Among the Kalinga, Tersing and her mother combined these forms of healing with their role as maganito, although Tersing has not completed her training. According to our informants, the Agta also consult these healers when they are sick, as well as immigrants. In Cadsalan, Tersing told us that there were only four houses in the whole community where she did not 'sit' yet, i.e. where she did not perform a possession ritual to find out the cause for someone's illness. In Minanga, lakay Simoi is also often consulted by immigrants. We heard of some cases where an Ilocano traditional healer identified the anito causing her patients illness as Kalinga, and referred them to a Kalinga healer.

In Dicamay however, it seems even the Kalinga do not know where to find a healer like this anymore. Among the Catalangan, there seems to be one magbugey left, after Tolio stopped. However, people still refer mostly to Tolio as the person to go to, Catalangan as well as immigrants. One of our hosts told the story of how his son once got sick, and they asked Tolio for a remedy. When he was possessed, the bunug told him that they had to perform a ritual involving a pig and a chicken in the uma, because it was a spirit of the uma (balet) who had made the person sick. After performing the ritual, according to our host, his son got better again.

3.3.2 Alalag

We only encountered this kind of healing among the Kalinga. It has to be done by a person who has a lot of 'experience', someone who has had a hard life but became stronger because of it. It is performed to cure 'nabaros', the sickness that results from your soul being 'bitten' because you have offended or killed something or someone that is 'stronger' than you (stronger in spirit). This can be an anito, another person, or a crocodile, as in the story when we first heard about it.

During this ritual food is offered to the anitos and the magbalalag leads the people in purging their fears by shouting what they have done: I have killed a Japanese! Or: I have killed a crocodile!

Depending on the occasion.

Tersing told us that one magbalalag once got sick himself because he was overconfident while possessed and complained about the food and the offerings. Because he pretended to be stronger than he actually was, his stomach swelled, and nothing could be done for him, he is still sick.



Serpida with the matted lock of hair caused by the aran

3.4 Cosmology

In researching worldview through ritual, we tried to get insight into the cosmology and the relationships between humans and the supernatural. In the interviews, we heard of many kinds of spirits: the anito's, the balet, the aran. Generally, God was considered to be stronger than all these spirits, and Christian practices provided welcome solutions on how to deal with these spirits. There is no rivalry between Christianity and traditional cosmology. The competition is more between these spirits and traditional healing practices as an explanation and cure for illness, and biomedicine. People often commented that doctors cannot cure illnesses caused by the spirits or witchcraft. On the other hand, the knowledge of the old people on how to cure these diseases is not being passed on. Luckily, God is more powerful than any spirits, so that one can always turn to the faith-healing of popular Catholicism involving miraculous saints and healing oils.

As we already mentioned, it was very hard to ask questions about the anito's, or rather, our questions would be met with confusion. People did not know if the anito's were the same as the ancestors, they did not seem to order them in a particular hierarchy or relationships with each other. Although one anito is stronger than the other, this strength is measured by what he can do to people, not what he might be able to do to other anito's. It seems the unseen world is a vague collection of spirits of the deceased, anito's and other kinds of entities such as the aran and the balet. Probably, there are more kinds of creatures that populate this unseen world that we did not hear about yet. In general, when

people feel the presence of a spirit, they will try to take precautions by placing some offerings and inviting the spirit: come, unseen and take these offerings.

The anito's do not seem to be good or bad. At least, when we asked this question directly, the answers would be contradictory: on the one hand they are good, because they make your harvest bigger, on the other hand they are bad because they make you sick. It seems the most important and compelling characteristic of the anito's is that they are so unpredictable, powerful, and their motives hard to fathom to people. Incidentally, nobody mentioned that the spirits had anything to do with the weather; although some anito's of the cycle of community rituals are associated with lightning.

To get to know more about the way people see the anito's, we tried to find out what kind of things would make the anito's angry, and what kind of things would appease their anger. However, among the Kalinga as well as among the Catalangan, nobody could tell us in a general way what caused their anger. And in the examples of the stories, it seems it would always be little, apparently insignificant things.

According to baket Maria in Dibuluan, the anitos would get angry when they used bamboo instead of panaw as roofing. Poldo and Serpida mentioned many different examples such as: building a shelter in a ricefield before the rice has attained a certain degree of ripeness, planting before the bawang has been performed, performing a ritual improperly, or not performing it at all.

Along the big stream, people mentioned similar causes: storing rice in the wrong way, mixing rice with corn, putting corn inside the house instead of in storage, planting before the appropriate ritual is performed or performing a ritual wrongly.

Generalising for both groups, we could say that offending against the rules of the way things should be done, traditions, the way of the ancestors, would make the anitos angry. Illness is often, if not always, attributed to a sanction for not following the ways of the ancestors. And the ways of the ancestors, apparently, are very particular about little details.

Comparing this to the Christian notion of sin, there is a world of difference: it is not the breaking of one of the ten commandments is punished, but the lack of respect implied in doing things different from the ancestors. Nevertheless, the anito's are not necessarily equated with the ancestors, as we saw. There are various ways of finding out about the cause of the anito's anger. Bugey and alat involve possession which means that the medium is unconscious of what is happening to her or him, but it is one way of communicating directly with the spirit world. Sometimes healers also use divination techniques, such as spitting on the palm of the hand and reading the shape appearing there, or, more elaborate, the talado. For the Talado, a one-peso coin is placed in a plate, and gin is poured onto it until it just covers the peso coin. One foot of a yellow-legged chicken is then cut off, and the blood is dripped onto the coin. The healer will read in the plate what is the cause of the illness and how to cure it.

Sometimes it is not the anger of the anito's that caused someone to be sick, but seeing a ghost, cutting a tree near a balet tree or in some other way 'invading' the territory of the spirit world. Or, as we saw, killing or harming something that is stronger than you. Both in the big stream region and among the Catalangan, people mentioned getting sick because of the balet. The balet is a spirit that makes you sick when you go to the uma.

Both groups also mentioned the aran. A person who is possessed by the aran will always have a very good harvest, and good luck in hunting and fishing. However, this is a mixed blessing, because the aran will eat you after having fattened you.... The person possessed by the aran will grow a lock of matted hair. Serpida showed us the lock she grew when the aran tried to possess her. She resisted the aran.

If the sickness is caused by something from the spirit world, a medical doctor cannot cure it. In each case, the solution will be slightly different, but it will always involve some offering, sometimes a show of strength, like in alatag, and sometimes a threat, in an attempt to bargain: you have to help me now, otherwise there will be no one to perform the rituals to you!

This 'bargaining' with the anito's by threatening or challenging them was mentioned by both Serpida and Tersing. Tersing told us she once challenged Adayag, the anito of Patunnuk, to heal a skin infection on her buttock. Her infection was so bad, she could not sit anymore. She was called to Macayucayu to drum in Patunnuk. Before the ritual started, she was washing herself in the river. Some people passed by and made fun of her because of her infection. Angry, she called after them: 'may you experience the same kind of misfortune!' Then she pleaded with Adayag: 'if you are really so powerful, heal my infection so that I will be able to participate in the ritual and continue the tradition of the rituals and offerings for you'. The next day, her infection was already getting better. In the case of Serpida, she threatened her anito because her daughter got sick. According to her, this was because her daughter had helped to chase away the birds in the fields of a family with a different anito. So she took some rice and burned it, saying: 'if you do not heal my daughter I will not offer to you anymore!' As we mentioned before, Serpida was very uncomfortable with talking about the anito's. According to her, she prefers having no anito and harvesting less, than having to appease an anito and harvesting a lot. For this reason, she had her connection with the anito's removed by a Christian healer.

3.5 Comparison

Comparing the two groups, there are several differences in the way they see the anito's. Among the Kalinga, people would sometimes refer to someone's anito as 'bigger' or 'weaker', but there was no particular sequence of who should start the planting rituals. And the anito's seemed less personally connected to a particular family, because a maganito might also decide not to perform the bawang herself, but simply dance at the one organized by another maganito. Among the Catalangans, it would be unthinkable to dance at someone else's bawang, and it would be courting disaster not to perform the bawang if your family had some connection to an anito.

The most obvious difference, however, is that the Kalinga had separate community rituals that required cooperation between ritual specialists scattered throughout the whole of the big stream region. Based on our research, it is difficult to say what this difference implied for social organisation. All we can say is that it probably implies that the ritual practices of the Kalinga were more standardized, less 'particular' than among the Catalangan. Again: as long as there is someone to appease the anito's, everything is fine. With the Catalangan, it seems each anito required something different: for one, you had to dance with a chicken on your back, for another you had to make a statue, for yet another you had to make a statue and a crocodile shaped rice cake. Each family connected to an anito had reason to worry about its temper.

4 CONTINUITY AND CHANGE

Among the Kalinga, it seemed nobody was really worried that the rituals were not performed anymore. Although they said they would get sick when they stopped doing the agricultural rituals, they would just go to a healer to be told what to offer to the anito's. Tersing said that she wants to complete her training and do the rituals for the agricultural cycle as well as the community rituals to ensure the health of her children, but she cannot find anybody to do Patunnuk with her, the ritual she still needs to do to complete her training. Of the younger generation, the older people say that they do not 'feel' it anymore if they do not do things according to the way of the ancestors, meaning they do not get sick. Among the Catalangan, the discontinuation of the rituals was seen to have caused more problems. We spend a lot of time trying to find out who stopped performing the rituals when, because in the first few interviews we would get confusing and conflicting answers about it. To some, it is still a subject of dispute whether it was a good thing they stopped performing it, or not. At first, everybody we spoke to distanced themselves from the rituals: that was only a long time ago, but they 'buried the beads' and the gongs are lost⁴¹. They did not like to talk about it.

During the first interview with the three women in Dibuluan they told us that the bawang stopped when the loggers entered the area. On the one hand, they saw the logging as a good thing, because it provided the road. On the other hand, according to them, many people died, because they stopped performing the bawang. There was a lot of illness, malaria. Although the elders taught their children how to perform it, they did not continue the tradition.

We were puzzled that on the one hand, they attributed all this misfortune to the discontinuation of the bawang, but on the other hand they did not take up the practice again in response to this misfortune. Normally, attributing illness to the anger of the ancestors at not following tradition would ensure the smooth reproduction of culture. Among the Kalinga and Catalangan however, the 'traditional ways' have already lost a lot of ground to the 'Ilocano/ Christiano' ways.

So it was clear things changed, but it was not clear how this was mediated in terms of worldview. How did they deal with the anger of the ancestors? It was hard to inquire further into this, because this would lead to a line of thinking in which certain persons responsible for performing the rituals would be 'blamed' for the misfortune attributed to the discontinuation of the rituals.

To solve this puzzle, we tried to get more insight into the historical circumstances surrounding the discontinuation of the agricultural rituals and the fragmented reproduction of healing practices. These circumstances were presented in the historical section: devaluation of their own culture due to the increasing dominance of immigrants, reinforced through baptism and a discourse that classified the Catalangan as 'not yet Christian', the disruption of agricultural practices caused by the presence of the NPA. In the following we want to point out something in the way our informants remember the changes that might throw further light on the discontinuation of the rituals among both groups.

4.1 Collective memory

In the historical section we already explained how baptisms were part of a process by which the Kalinga and Catalangan integrate into the network of power relationships of the emerging immigrant community of San Mariano. But when we asked what changed after they were baptised, people would always say: 'nothing changed'. This confused us, because it seemed that in historically, there was a strong connection between the introduction of Christianity and the loss of traditions.

⁴¹ The beads are the indicator that a woman is able to perform the bawang. We did not press about the gongs, because it seemed to make people suspicious that we were goldiggers (!)

When we asked our informants when the first baptisms took place, we would invariably get the answer: ‘during the time of mayor Simoi Baua⁴²’. And we would get the same answer when we asked when they last performed the rituals of the agricultural cycle. This seems to imply that becoming Christian meant abandoning traditional ritual practices.

However, when we would question more closely (using lifespan and the number of children as indicators), these first statements turned out to be incorrect: often the agricultural rituals were performed until the late eighties or early nineties, when a whole list of other mayors had already replaced Baua. And the mass baptisms took place from before WWII until the eighties.

Why do people remember it this way? We think it has something to do with the way the changes in the area became anchored in collective memory: the time of Simoi Baua was the time when most agents of change took root in the local communities for the first time. He sent people to baptise the Catalangan and the Kalinga, he established schools, promoted the annual fiesta in San Mariano very strongly and started the process of establishing fiestas in the remoter barangays. The logging companies entered the area towards the end of his last term. Although not every single distinctively Catalangan or Kalinga tradition has disappeared completely even now, with hindsight people might see the ‘time of Simoi Baua’ as the starting point of all the changes, the moment when doing things ‘the way the ancestors did them’ became one option among several others, the time when change became inevitable and even necessary.

4.2 Actual discontinuation

Unfortunately, the informants who were most knowledgeable about the rituals and traditions were also the least exact about time. Probably our questions were sometimes ‘off the mark’ as well, because it took us a long time to understand the way the bawang is passed on from one generation to the next. Coming back to the main informants again and again, we pieced together the following history: Aleo, Esmenia, Misoha and Lawigan in Dilumi, and Tabiat in Dibuluan were still going strong performing the bawang during the height of the logging period. Some time in the middle of the seventies, baket Maria took over the responsibility for performing the bawang from Tabiat, but stopped when her husband died because it became harder to prepare the appropriate offerings and the kalamig. Alejandra, who should have taken over from Ikek, already stopped before that, because it was a burden to her to perform the bawang, it was hard to get the proper offerings. It was probably the early eighties that the women in Dilumi stopped performing the rituals. This ties in with Scott’s article, where he reported that they had just performed the planting ritual when he visited them.

The discontinuation of the planting rituals in Dilumi seems to coincide with the time when the encounters between the NPA and the Army were most frequent, it was hard to work in the fields, and people evacuated. Poldo and Serpida told us they stayed in Disulap for a few years. One of our hosts in Villa Miranda said that he believed that a lot of traditional practices of the Catalangan were discontinued because of the disruption caused by the NPA presence. In the years they had to flee, they did not perform the rituals.

Although this should not be considered the only explanation, there is probably some truth in it. The evacuations and the hardship of life, where people were constantly caught between the NPA and the army, would make it hard to continue such practices as ritual feasting, because they require a lot of preparation and organisation. The frequent encounters made both going out into the field or visiting other sitio's hazardous, and in this way probably also put a lot of pressure on the practices of mutual cooperation associated with the rituals of the agricultural cycle. It would have been harder to get the things needed for the offerings, such as fine white sticky rice.

On the other hand, the hardship of these years was also partly attributed to the anger of the anito’s, creating a vicious circle of cause and effect: they were not able to perform the rituals because of the hardship, and this caused the anito’s to heap even more hardship on them. In Dibuluan, baket Maria

⁴² He was mayor of San Mariano from 1947 to 1963.

told us that she wanted to continue performing the rituals, but her sons would complain about the work involved after her first husband died. However, she did not start again when she married her second husband a few years later, and could not explain why she did not.

As we mentioned earlier, Serpida often complained that it was a burden to perform the rituals. Not only because it was hard to get the appropriate offerings together, but also because sometimes the harvest would really be too much, they would 'get tired of harvesting'. As she and her husband were getting older, she felt that she was forgetting the appropriate way to perform the rituals, and her daughters were not interested in taking over from her. Rather than risking the anger of the anitos, she went to a Christian healer to have her anito removed. However, her husband Poldo still offers to the anitos when he gets sick, he had a little kalamig in front of their house and a little pot on a shelf tied just beneath the rafters because his health was bad.

It is likely that local social cohesion came under heavy pressure due to the turmoil in those years, turning the rituals into a burden that became too heavy to bear.

Among the Kalinga, the rituals were performed until the early nineties. Apart from Tersing, there seems to be no one interested in continuing the rituals. Our impression was that among the Kalinga in the big stream region, the introduction of cash-economy through logging, illegal logging and yellow corn has had a stronger impact on the reproduction of culture by tying up many Kalinga in a spiral of debts and diverting energy away from traditional practices. The exception would be Minanga, where Bayoyang apparently foresaw the importance of landownership.

4.3 The role of Christianity in the religious imagination

In the cultural changes described in this report, the embarrassment and shame that are often mentioned as being a part of the confrontation between Catalangan, Kalinga and incoming migrants, has probably played a big role. However, while embarrassment might motivate people to change their outward behaviour, it still remains to be seen how Christianity was accommodated in terms of worldview. As we already mentioned, there seems to be no rivalry between 'traditional' worldviews and Christian beliefs and practices from the point of view of the Kalinga and Catalangan.

Traditional healing practices still continue, although most of our informants said that these healing practices used to be more common before, they still occupy a strong niche because people from other ethnic groups also consult the Kalinga and Catalangan healers. The healers we spoke to all to some extent included Christian elements in their practices.

According to Tolio, the effect of Christianisation is not so strong. They just include appeals to God (Apo Dios) in healing. The bunug came to him when he was already baptised. He thinks they go well together, because both the bunug and God are helpful. Tersing also incorporates Christian beliefs in her healing practices now.

She told us in the first interview that she had a dream, about fifteen years ago, where an old man showed her a woman who was holding some earth in her hand. When one hand would get tired, she would transfer it to the other hand. According to the old man in her dream, this is the reason for the occasional earthquakes. The old man told her: 'now you know what to do. If there's an earthquake, do not go to the second floor of a building, and pray to God'. Ever since that dream she can predict earthquakes. He also told her to look for a statue of Santo Nino (representing Jesus as a child, a very popular Catholic image in the Philippines).

One time, she went with some women from Cadsalan to Guibang, a church with a miraculous statue near Ilagan. She brought back a statue of Maria, and uses it to cure pains and headaches. Her daughter also uses it. She is still looking for a statue of Santo Nino, but she does not have the money to go out now. According to Tersing, it was only since 1995, when she first attended mass (when the fiesta was first established in Cadsalan) that she really came to know God, and to realize his power.

Everywhere, both in the big stream and in the small stream region, we were told that praying for the dead was taken over from the immigrants, as something helpful to make the dead be at peace, instead of coming back to bother the living. Even before praying was introduced, they would talk to the

deceased person: please be at peace, please leave us now and do not cause us to be ashamed. So again, it seems that Christianity was at first mostly accommodated as an addition to traditional ways of dealing with the world that cannot be seen but is considered to influence people's lives.

One remarkable instance where the Kalinga actively incorporated Christian elements into their own practices and ways of interpreting the world took place in Dibiguen, where the miraculous stone of 'Ina Baket' was found. As mentioned in the historical part, events started unfolding just after WWII. From several informants, we composed the following narrative:

4.3.1 The story of Ina Baket⁴³:

One day, some members of Bayoyang's household were doing some chores near the river. Scholastica, his daughter and Esmenia, her friend, were getting some water to cook rice for lunch. At some point, they come across a strangely shaped stone: it looked like a woman and the material was unlike anything they ever saw. Scholastica decided to keep it to give to the children to play with. Soon however, it became clear that this was not just an ordinary stone. Everybody who told us this story mentioned that it suddenly started to rain and pour when they found the stone, and that it took a long time to stop. Then the woman of the stone appeared in a dream to Scholastica's father Bayoyang, or in another version told by his son, she possessed him while he was chewing betel nut after dinner. In any case, she told Bayoyang that she was not an ordinary stone and that they had to build a special shelter (ermita) for her and then she would help them. She also encouraged them not to mind the ridicule of other people who would try to prove her false.

Lakay Simoi says that at one point, the priest of San Mariano tried to have the miraculous stone transferred to the church in San Mariano proper, but Bayoyang resisted this move, and made the priest come to them to celebrate mass.

There are some stories about a man from Tuguegarao who tried to hack the figurine with his bolo to prove that it was just a block of cement, left over from the Japanese times. However, he did not manage to break it. The next day, the bones in his leg were crushed on a river bend trying to manoeuvre while water logging.

We went to see the figurine in Dibiguen. It is now housed in a shelter with a GI roof and walls of hollow blocks. There are two benches along the walls. The figurine is placed in a wooden niche, fixed to the hind wall. Underneath the statue an ordinary table is placed with some other statues of Mary and Jesus. The figurine is dressed up in a little white skirt. When we picked it up, we could see that it indeed looks a lot like porcelain, but more solid and hard. The shape is also remarkable, if you would assume that it is just a natural stone, especially because it has some parallel lines along one side that are so regular that it is hard to believe they are an accident of nature.

Passing by another time, just before Holy Week, we saw that they were improving the ermita, replacing the roof, hanging curtains and decorating it with paint. According to lakay Simoi, an Ybanag lady from San Mariano who had been working in Hong Kong as a domestic helper, put up the money for it. According to lakay Simoi they walk around with the figurine from late in the afternoon until sundown on Good Friday. A layperson will lead the prayers.

Although the family who found the figurine and created the cult around her are big stream Kalinga, it seems she is mostly known in the small stream. During WWII, some Catalangan fled to Minanga and several of Bayoyang's children married Catalangan from Dibuluan and Villa Miranda and settled there. They would visit the 'ermita' every year, until some were converted by SIL in 1997.

In this case, it is clear that the incorporation of Christian elements into the religious imagination boosted the confidence of the Kalinga.

⁴³ Ina Baket means 'old lady'

4.3.2 Conversions

Both praying for the dead and the belief in miraculous statues can be seen as ‘additions’ to traditional cosmologies. Actual ‘conversion’, where one worldview is abandoned and replaced by another, is more rare, but they did occur, and will probably occur more and more frequently as more and more actively evangelising churches enter the area.

We first heard about the conversions by SIL during our first fieldwork interview in Dibuluan, with three Catalangan women. In this interview, they downplayed their Catalangan background and emphasized their conversion by SIL as an important event, especially the youngest woman at the interview, Clarita. According to her, their conversion changed a lot. They feel ‘lighter’ now, and the work becomes lighter because they pray several times a day and they can always ask God for help. When we asked her why they cannot ask the anito’s for help, she answered that you cannot really ask them for help because you do not know who the anito’s are. They only realised this after talking to the pastor of SIL. Because of their conversion, they do not visit the church in Minanga anymore.

According to them, and most other people, becoming a Christian through baptism did not really mean anything to them. It was only SIL that made them realise the power of God. Alejandra, another convert, added during a later interview that everything changed for them because they stopped drinking and using bad words; they have become more peaceful.

During this first interview with the three women it was noticeable that Clarita seemed to exude the kind of self-assurance that goes with being a true convert. She was the only one of the Catalangan who ever shook our hand, even took the initiative to introduce herself. She talked easily, without embarrassment. Although she is a convert to a different church, her behaviour most resembled the behaviour of the Rizalistas in Balagan, a barangay in the big stream region.

In this barangay, there is a small group of Kalinga who seem to have been converted to the Rizalista church as a group in 1985. They also greeted us ‘western style’ by shaking our hand, sometimes even hugging, and welcoming us easily, without shyness. A logger converted them. They observed him praying at regular intervals, and asked him what he was doing. When he explained, they decided that he was convincing. They went to Laguna in 1991, because they believed Rizal would appear there. When he did not, they eventually came back to Balagan.

4.4 Discussion.

One of the questions with which we started our research was: what can we reconstruct about the worldview of the Kalinga and Catalangan. It is hard to generalize about this, since the subject is very ‘particular’ to our informants. There is no ‘catechism of rules’ or ‘bible’ stating how things are or should be, only experience and stories passed on from one generation to the next. The religious imagination could only be understood through understanding the practicalities of daily life, upland farming, and the local political situation. Asking general questions or explanations would not yield any good answers.

Nevertheless, with all the data presented above, we can draw some conclusions. In assessing cultural change however, we have to realise that many changes did not come so much as ‘change’, they came as ‘additions’. To be baptised does not automatically mean that one does not follow the traditional ways anymore. To plant bananas as a cash crop and start using ploughs does not mean that people also stopped farming their uma’s, performing the planting rituals and producing the proper kind of sticky rice to offer to the ancestors.

The new influences were dealt with on the practical level. Baptism was necessary to get a last name, and to strengthen the relationship with people who have connections with the world outside the local community and the opportunities that world might offer.

Invariably, people did not see baptism in terms of a change in outlook on life and their beliefs. Torn between the anger of the ancestors and their embarrassment towards the newcomers, both the Kalinga and the Catalangan seem to have adopted a strategy where they at first tried to appease both. In the end

however, the ancestors seem to be losing to the desire to become part of mainstream culture. The younger generation is not interested in continuing the traditions and does not fear the anito's so much. Traditional upland agriculture is disappearing, making it unnecessary to perform the agricultural rituals connected to the cycle of upland agriculture. Both among the Catalangan and the Kalinga, the most important reason for discontinuing the rituals of the agricultural cycle is probably the disinterest of the younger generation, and the fact that the people who still know how to perform the rituals are getting old. However, among the Catalangan, the demise of this practice was probably hastened by the disruption caused by the encounters between NPA and AFP. Even when we might find isolated cases where the agricultural rituals are still performed, without the context of a community all involved in the same planting cycle, their significance is lessened.

Nevertheless, the anitos did not give way without a struggle. Both among the Catalangan and the Kalinga, people mention getting sick when they stopped performing the rituals of the agricultural cycle. Although among the Kalinga, this seems to have been less problematic: they would just visit a healer or a doctor.

It is difficult to say, based on our conversations, what kind of notion of God people have. The description most often used is that he is powerful. And, unlike the anito's, he does not seem to get angry and make people sick but is expected to always work to the good of people.

In the story of Ina Baket, we can recognize a mixture of elements: Christian and 'traditional'. First of all, there is the fact that it is about an old lady. Although a priest later identified her with a Catholic saint, the most popular Catholic saints are usually not identified with old women, but with young women, usually claimed to be 'virgin', indicating their purity and innocence. 'Old' for the Kalinga signifies wise, and a strong personality through all the experience and hardship an old person has gone through in life. Second, she 'possessed' Bayoyang, while chewing betel nut after dinner, something Catholic saints are usually not supposed to do. In other versions she 'appeared to him in a dream', 'civilising' the story, but not in the version told by Bayoyang's son. Third, she showed her power by harming the person who had tried to harm her, vindicating the claims of the Kalinga but showing behaviour the Catholic Church would normally not consider appropriate to a saint.

Especially the last behaviour ties in with the stories around the killing or hurting of something that is stronger than yourself: relations between people and between spirits are seen in terms of 'relative strengths' rather than 'moral superiority'. This is further illustrated by our experience that every time we asked about whether the anitos were good or bad, we would get contradictory answers, but the issue of their strength and power would often be discussed and illustrated by examples. Moreover, the same word signifies 'bravery' and 'oppressiveness'. Rather than symbolising an ideal of pure goodness and martyrdom, Ina Baket symbolises that the Kalinga were not born yesterday and can defend their own claims to coveted religious resources, not allowing her to be taken away to the church of San Mariano when she had proven her powers but building their own ermita and religious practices around her. Bayoyang must have been some old man.

5 CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION

Most of the research questions posed in chapter have been answered during our research. To summarise:

- How did the influence of a christianised way of life make itself felt among the Kalinga? Was it mainly through trading with other groups, were they visited by missionaries?

Although there were contacts between Christians and the Kalinga and Catalangan for a long time through trading and missionary activities of the Spanish, it was only after WWII that lowland discourses devalued local traditions. Baptism was part of a process of political incorporation.

- In what way are the two groups of Kalinga different, do they descend from the Kalinga first described by Semper or should they be considered to be two different peoples?

There are two different groups in terms of language/dialect, traditional practices and self-identification: the Kalinga, originating in the big stream region, and the Catalangan, originating in the small stream region and focused on Dibuluan. There is no reason to assume that they do not descend from the groups described by Semper. According to themselves, they have lived there since time immemorial. In the big stream region, a barangay of Yogad was integrated into their society in the late nineteenth century. Other immigrants remained more distinctly different.

- When did people start converting, how long did this process take, was there any resistance, is it complete or are there still ‘unconverted’ people?

Baptisms took place since before WWII in the big stream region and are related to the establishment of schools, fiesta’s and individual client-patron relationships with immigrants. However, baptism is not the same as conversion. Although Christian images play a role in healing practices, it is only the Rizalistas in Balagan and some Catalangan in Dibuluan converted by SIL who can be said to be ‘converts’.

- What reasons do they give for their conversion (emic)

In the case of the conversions by SIL, a clear comparison between the anito’s and God was made, in which God seemed to be a better option because he can be known. In the case of the Rizalistas in Balagan, the reasons did not really become clear; they simply said that the person who converted them seemed sincere and convincing.

- Why did people convert (ethic)

Becoming a ‘true’ Christian removes the stigma of being ‘uncivilised’ and pagan, and provides entry into a world of possibilities that would otherwise be closed. It teaches a set of cultural and language skills that give people the confidence to go around outside their own community. Besides this empowerment, the motivating power of spiritual discipline, in the case of SIL (regular daily prayer) should not be underestimated.

In the case of the Rizalistas, it is probably more the millenarian expectations that accounts for their special glow and self-confidence.

- How can the present-day worldview of the Kalinga and Catalangan be described (e.g. syncretistic, completely Christian, or a shallow Christianity grafted onto traditional ways)?

We can only draw conclusions in terms of worldview for the older generation. Among them, Christian images play a limited role in an otherwise ‘traditional’ cosmology. Ina baket is an example of how ‘Christian’ religious resources (a miraculous healing statue) was used to command respect from other ethnic groups. Christianity solves some of the problems generated by this cosmology, similar to what Rafael described for the Tagalogs.

- Is it different from that of their immigrant neighbours?

Probably it is a bit more connected to the localised tradition. Their neighbours also consult Kalinga and Catalangan healers, so it would seem that the spirits of the Kalinga and Catalangan spirit world are merging with the diverse pantheon of spirits and supernatural beings pervading mainstream Filipino culture.

- How do their neighbours see them and how do they see themselves?

To most immigrants, the Kalinga and Catalangan occupy a position on the lowest rung in terms of ‘civilisation’, with perhaps only the Agta below them. This perception has been taken over by most Kalinga and Catalangan since the balance of power in most local communities has shifted to the ‘Christianos’ (immigrants). The knowledge and experience of the elders is devalued. There seem to be no ‘cultural resources’ by which the Kalinga and Catalangan are able to perceive themselves as equal to, or higher in status than the ‘Christianos’, except in the case of the stories surrounding ‘ina baket’.

- How do they use their status as an ‘ethnic minority’ nowadays and what role do they assign to religion in this representation?

Awareness of indigenous people's rights and use of them seemed low. However, this might easily change. We only met one person who seemed to be aware of IPRA. In local land-disputes, it is recognized that the Kalinga and Catalangan are the oldest inhabitants. However, when they have not consolidated their claims, the later claim by immigrants is recognised.

- Can we reconstruct something of the cultural predispositions they brought to their encounter with Christianity?

This question has been answered at length in Chapters 3 and 4. Below, we will discuss this question by putting it into the larger theoretical perspective introduced in paragraphs 1.4 and 1.5.

5.1 Cultural and religious change

How can we approach the processes of religious change from a theoretical point of view? The crucial distinction between so called 'world religions' and local cosmologies according to Hefner, is the fact that world religions have managed to propagate themselves over time and space (Hefner 1993:4), while local cosmologies are often very particular, bound to the characteristics of a particular place and way of life. Even though it can be argued that in each part of the world Christianity has taken very different and sometimes contradictory forms, these forms all identify themselves as Christian.

According to Hefner, a central question in the study of conversion processes is this: 'wherein originates the capacity of these religions to challenge the received life ways and moral imagination of people incorporating into the civilized social order?' (Hefner 1993: 5).

We can see clearly that in this case, as in other cases described in anthropology and history, it is not a matter of simply replacing one worldview with another. In the case of the Kalinga and Catalangan, it is clear they took over the elements that seemed to be additions or improvements to their traditional practices. Both the appeal of praying for the dead and miraculous statues can be observed nation wide in the Philippines as elements of Christianity that are easily incorporated into existing local practices. In this case as well, we found that it is especially the praying for the dead and miraculous healing that appeals to the 'religious imagination' of the Kalinga and the Catalangan without fundamentally changing the principle rules by which this imagination functions: there is no notion that the find of the miraculous stone will 'save' the Kalinga, she only promises to help them and supports them against the ridicule from people belonging to other ethnic groups.

In the actual history of how people decided to get baptised, we can recognize the changing local power configurations at work, adding force to Woods' statement that: 'in all actual circumstance, the epistemological and the pragmatic considerations [to convert] are virtually inseparable' (Woods in Hefner 1993:320). This means the 'choice' to be baptised is, on the part of the Kalinga and Catalangan themselves, clearly dominated by considerations external to Christianity as a persuasive intellectual and theological discourse.

Furthermore, it is clear that Christianity and strongly moralizing discourses of 'civilization' are irrevocably intertwined in the way the different ethnicities see each other. In the introduction we already mentioned that throughout colonial history, being 'Christian' has become inextricably bound up with the dividing line between 'civilised' and 'savage', highlanders and lowlanders, indigenous peoples and 'mainstream' Filipinos. It is this dividing line that the Kalinga and Catalangan attempted to negotiate by being baptised. Becoming 'Christian' is equivalent to becoming 'civilised', knowing your way around, learning how to deal with strangers. Being baptised for the Kalinga and Catalangan at first meant establishing a relationship with someone who is civilised and therefore knows his way around the world, so they could profit and learn from it. By now, they are themselves 'already civilised' according to the immigrants. Generally, however, they are still less knowledgeable and comfortable around town than most immigrants. But this is probably only a matter of time, as access to education increases.

On the part of the immigrants, it seems they saw themselves as offering something good to their new neighbours by encouraging them to be baptised and become Christian. For the same reasons: it is a ticket to the outside world and the benefits of 'civilisation', mainstream society. It was a bond between

a 'pagan', someone 'outside' civilisation, and someone 'inside' this civilisation. Immigrants would also profit from it, cementing their relations with their tenants, trade partners and voting public. The bond established through baptism is couched in terms of friendship and affinity, but is essentially unequal. Through baptism, the Kalinga and Catalangan went from being outsiders of mainstream society, to being 'at the bottom' of mainstream Filipino society.

Most people seem pretty resigned to the changes, although some of the healers we spoke to are indignant about the devaluation of their traditional customs. Lakay Baliwag would also sometimes make statements that implicitly criticised the changes. Due to their status, and the consequent loss it implies when people start following the 'Ilocano ways', they are perhaps less susceptible to embarrassment. Besides, a healer has to be a strong personality, because possession and communion with the ancestors can easily tip over into madness if not controlled. And of course, their status is dependent on whether the anito's still command fear and respect and their wisdom is still respected. Although in general, 'becoming a Christian' was a practical choice, in the case of SIL and the Rizalistas, clearly the 'moral imagination' of the people was challenged, and led them to abandon the anitos for a bigger and better God: both stronger *and* morally superior because always good, unlike the unpredictable anitos.

It could be argued that in some ways, Christianity and colonial and integration into cash economy reinforce each other: they both introduce people into a macrocosm greater than what they knew before. Proponents of Christianity would argue that it is therefore better suited to a world in which globalising economic forces increasingly dominate people's lives. In some cases, people have been known to convert to escape from suffocating traditional obligations. Interestingly, in other areas (Benguet) of the Philippines this is countered by developments in traditional religion, adapting itself to the reality of becoming incorporated into a wide network of economic relations and reacting to converts to Christianity who explicitly agitate against the obligations placed on people by traditional religion (Lewis 1992 chapter ten). This case shows that traditional religion should not be conceived as necessarily static, a qualification easily conferred on local religions when contrasting them with world religions.

Can the changes in worldview among the Kalinga and Catalangan be seen as a process of demystification and rationalisation? Perhaps their rituals should be seen primarily as mechanisms of coping with the things that are outside their control. Illnesses and bad harvests are caused by the anger of the anito's, so keeping the anito's happy is the best way to deal with those unpredictable occurrences. It is significant that healing practices continue, while agricultural rituals and community rituals were discontinued. This implies that we should not see this discontinuation as a process of demystification or rationalisation per se. Among the Catalangan especially, people are afraid to 'remind' the anito's that they have not been doing their offerings anymore.

During the last fifty years, other forces have entered their world, that perhaps sideline those forces that they tried to control with their rituals: logging companies, politics, cash economy, landownership, NGO's. Each actor represents both a threat to livelihood and an opportunity, once people learned how to deal with it. The companies provided roads to trade, politicians, the army and the NPA provide protection against each other, and a means to get your way with anyone making trouble for you if you know how to manipulate them. The environmentalists provide opportunities to get international aid and funding. And in the immediate future perhaps, 'identity-protectors' will provide new threats and opportunities influencing the livelihoods of people.

However, are their strategies for dealing with these forces influencing their life any better than the rituals to appease the anito's, which even if they could not control storms, illness and bad harvests, at least strengthened social cohesion, important to overcome adversity? It may seem a little farfetched to compare it, but it is intended as a critical question. Misfortune and illness are still a regular occurrence, and is aggravated by spiralling debts, locking people into patron-client relationships and leading to loss of land.

One might argue that the strategy for dealing with those forces that impact on their lives is similar to their strategy for dealing with the anito's: they have to establish a relationship of reciprocity with someone representing these forces, like the traders and financiers, like government officials, environmentalists and other NGO's. Do they actually know more about these 'forces' than they do about the anito's? Or are these forces as unpredictable and unknowable as the anito's, not measured by their 'goodness' but by their relative strength? Do they actually have the means and the skills to know more about these forces? In other words, is it their strategy to gather information and use it strategically, or can their strategy in dealing with these force be considered similar to the strategy employed to appeal to the anito's: bargain, plead, offer, pay homage and ask for pity with the people that dominate their fate?

To us, it seem that being poor goes together with a scarcity of information and lack of resources to defend ones interests that make it hard to use any other strategy.

5.2 Environment

Although it was not the main focus of our research, there are some things that can be said about the attitude towards the environment based on the interviews. In general, the attitude towards the natural surroundings seems to have changed along with the natural surroundings themselves: from wooded to grassy, from kaingin to cash crop, from abundant to scarce, from only farming as much as you need and complaining when you harvested more, to a scramble for every little piece of available land to put corn on it. The sustainability of their 'traditional' livelihood depended on the abundance of land, but since the large scale immigration of lowland farmers traditional practices can no longer be called sustainable. Illegal logging is used as a quick way to get cash, diverting energy away from farming. Cash crop farming also severely burdens the environment.

It would be safe to say that now, the Kalinga and Catalangan would be no different from immigrants in their use of land and attitude towards the natural environment. They might be a little later in picking up on new developments, because they have less contacts, but as they say themselves: 'they just go along'. Nevertheless, something might be gained by promoting a greater reliance on the traditional products of the uma, combined with 'new' vegetables, and techniques of organic fertilizing and fallowing preventing soil exhaustion. It would lessen the dependence on cash, thereby lessening the pressure on land caused by cash crop farming, and diversify their diet. On the other hand, it is more and more necessary for people to find ways of earning cash to finance the education of their children, buy durable consumer goods now easily available and to pay the fees for their children to be able to go to Manila or abroad to earn more money.

Without cash, and with few possibilities for trade, subsistence agriculture seemed fine and there was no need to cultivate a lot of land, or cut a lot of trees, rattan or bamboo. But with the opportunities of cash crop and trade in forest products for cash, the possibilities for accumulation expand, and natural resources will be exploited. There do not seem to be any beliefs that go against this tendency.

With regard to attitudes to animal life, it is hard to say anything conclusive. Although we found some stories where people got sick because they killed a crocodile, which seems to be connected to a belief that you will get sick when you kill something that is stronger than you, it is hard to say how common this attitude is and if it will be passed on.

People usually say they are afraid of the crocodile, they do not believe there is anyone who would dare to kill a crocodile, even though they know that for example, 'the Moros' did. If it is true that people believe that the spirit of the crocodile is no match for the human spirit, then that would be a restraint on killing crocodiles on the part of the Kalinga.

5.3 IPRA and ethnic identity

For more practical concerns, the history of land might be of relevance to study although it would be a sensitive issue. Since both groups were shifting cultivators, and especially the Kalinga were heavily involved in water logging, they did not value land a lot. This has resulted in a disadvantageous

position for them in terms of land because they were careless about consolidating their claims. At the same time, the attitude that land can always be found somewhere else led to income generating schemes where they would see the land they claimed and then go further into the forest to find new land. Their 'traditional' relationship with the environment was premised on abundance, whereas the land is now too crowded. Claims based on indigenous people's rights were not being actively pursued yet at the time of our research, but they might further complicate the picture in future.

Unless the NCIP or other NGO's will have a budget to spend on surveying, pursuing the process of applying for a land title can only be done by people with the means to pay a geodetic engineer and the ability to make sense of the bureaucratic procedures. To the people with the means, it might be one strategy among several others already open to them. It would not mean much in terms of addressing historical injustices or better environmental management, unless the Kalinga and Catalangan organize themselves to define common interests and strategies. However, it should be borne in mind that the Kalinga and Catalangan are part of multi-ethnic communities that all face the same problems, where the division between rich and poor, advantaged and disadvantaged does not strictly follow ethnic boundaries.

Right now, the Kalinga and Catalangan of San Mariano do not seem to be recognized as 'indigenous peoples', but it might be to their advantage in the long term to press for recognition. One question is then, what will be the role of the label 'Christian'? Will it still indicate: 'already civilised', i.e. 'mainstream' and therefore not 'indigenous' or can it be combined with a distinct identity as 'indigenous'? The history of other indigenous people such as the Ifugao and the Igorot would suggest that a conscious choice for Christianity is combined with an emphasis on ethnic distinctiveness. Another question is what the use of IPRA will do to the relationships between the different ethnic groups locally. The process by which the Kalinga and Catalangan are 'disappearing' through intermarriage with the Ilocanos might be reversed if the IPRA law comes in handy to claim land: Mixed marriages will produce Kalinga and Catalangan instead of Ilocanos, like the barangay-captain's son with an Ilocano mother and a half Ybanag father who was the 'only Kalinga recognized by the NCIP'.

In general, a greater focus on the way the younger generation perceive (d) the tensions between the traditional and the modern would be very interesting. In our research we noticed that the first reaction of the younger generation was usually to refer us to the old people, the 'real' Kalinga and Catalangan, since they themselves did not like to identify themselves as such. They seem to have opted for integration into the mainstream and forgetting about their cultural background, although they would consult their elders for traditional solutions to illness and bad luck.

Although the Kalinga and Catalangan fit into the stereo-type of indigenous peoples as poor and disadvantaged, something more is needed to turn this disadvantage into an advantage and address the injustices of history: pride of their cultural background and organisation to protect common interests and devise strategies.

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7 Appendixes:

7.1 Stories

Crocodile stories in the big stream:

Apart from chickens and pigs, which have the role of being sacrificial animals, the crocodile is the only animal with a role in the rituals among the Kalinga and Catalangan described in this report.

Mr Baliwag told us that lakay Palason (an old Kalinga, deaf now but used to be an important old man in Lumalog, a healer and made ritual implements) would catch crocodiles. They would catch the crocodile to prevent it from eating fish when they did dynamite fishing. He would dive under the crocodile and tie a rope around one of its legs and then tie the crocodile to a post under his house. Afterwards, he would release it again.

Why did he not kill it? We did not have the chance to answer this question. One reason might be that killing a crocodile can cause ‘barros’. A sort of shock, your soul gets bitten. It happened to some people in Balagan. The cure for it is (‘bal)alag’, described in the report.

The first time we heard about ‘nabarros’ was like this:

‘The capitana [of Balagan] invites us over for a drink and a chat. Her daughter is a teacher of English in high school. One story she tells us is very interesting: in 1979, some people had killed a crocodile, a female. This crocodile had followed them around when they went fishing at night, so they used a spear and hit it on the head. When they butchered her they found eggs inside her. They ate the meat and the eggs but after awhile, they got very sick. They found a healer to perform a ritual for them. [It remains unclear whether this healer was a Kalinga or an Ybanag, but it puts us on the track of nabarros and the balalag, which according to the Kalinga ritual specialists is certainly Kalinga]. According to the capitana, the man who performed the ritual was a male maganito from Buyasan, who is still alive as far as she knows. They first got in touch with Andrea Lagat, a Kalinga woman from Balagan who transferred to Ueg when her children got married there. She was the one who said the sick people had ‘allag’ [barros, or nabarros, in Ilocano. It means your soul is bitten, because you have killed something that is stronger than you]. They looked for a person who knew how to play the gong. The woman who they went to first saw the cause by spitting into her palm after chewing betel nut. When she had identified the cause, she made the sign of the cuross on their foreheads, and told them whom to look for.

The ritual itself involved dancing on a bench to the beat of the gongs and the healer shouting: ‘I have seen the crocodile, I have killed the crocodile’. Then everybody else had to shout it after him, and then they ate the food that was prepared as an offering’ (fr20040324).

Later, we asked Baliwag about it but he said it was a ‘Christian’ [meaning not Kalinga in this context] practice. However, the other Kalinga rituals specialists we spoke to know it and said it was a Kalinga ritual specialisation.

Crocodiles and ritual in the big stream.

For awatan and kasap, a rice cake is made in the shape of a crocodile (see description in the report): *Why is the rice cake in the shape of a crocodile?* Because of a man who was really mean. He would hack at people with his bolo and drink their blood. The people wished he would turn into a crocodile. So he became a crocodile. That’s why they make the cake into that shape, so no other Kalinga will take him). (fr20040224)

The last ritual of the sequence is Karanagan [this is the account of lakay Baliwag]. The other ritual specialists we spoke to had never witnessed it because it was not performed anymore already. They will go to the river and cook the rice and fish, using 'tabukol'- a fishnet that is circular, usually with 2-3 meters diameter with lead sinkers around it and the mesh and eye of the net varies according to the type of fish that they catch. No meat will be used, only fish. It is performed early in the morning. The maganito will be possessed, but they have to be very careful because if the woman will dive into the river she will become a crocodile. He refers again to the story, but now it is a woman: she was very mean person that she hits children and other people with her bolo. Her neighbours cursed her saying, 'we wish she'll turn into a crocodile'. Because according to the people, the crocodile eats its' own hatchlings. That's why they cursed her like that, because she hacked her own children with the bolo. So she turned into a crocodile. This is the reason why they have to guard the woman who is possessed so that she will not turn into a crocodile.

Because the anitos want to turn her into a crocodile? No, the belief is that the maganito is in danger of being convinced by the bad example of the woman who turned into a crocodile to become a crocodile also. Also, the family leading the ritual is held responsible to whatever happens to the maganito while she is possessed.

(fr20040224)

In Balagan, Soliven Sanchez:

The story behind this [the crocodile shaped rice cake] is, that the crocodile was once a person. This woman who was possessed dived into the river because they forgot to restrain her, and she turned into a crocodile. So the rice cake that is shaped into a crocodile is a reminder that you should not to stop doing the bawang, in memory of the woman who turned into a crocodile. They will dance around the offerings.

I try to ask if it is good or bad that this woman turned into a crocodile, but the question is misunderstood. They are afraid of the crocodile. Then comes a story that his [Soliven's] father can talk to the crocodile. They would not harm him. He could swim right past them without fear.

When the maganito is being possessed, they will always guard her when she is near the river, so she won't turn into a crocodile also.

(fr20040323).

Observation:

In the afternoon we take a break [from interviewing lakay Baliwag] and go to the swip (small water impounding project), looking for crocodiles. We do not find any, but witness something curious. We were sitting between the banana plants, practically invisible it seems to the people passing through the swip coming back from the fields. The last couple of people who passed with their carabao said something like: for the crocodile, and then a man appears, walking quickly, holding a stick and something green in his hand. The stick is long and thin, a little longer than a drinking straw, the green thing is a little bit bigger than a calamansi (which I thought it was at first). He started digging in the mud with the stick, making a little hole, and then put in the green thing, after which he walked back quickly and joined the one who was waiting with the carabao. By the look of his colour and long thin frame, we thought he was Kalinga. He was wearing a red and white striped shirt. I do not know which direction he went after crossing the swip. When we asked Boy Robles and Lakay Baliwag about it, they had no idea what it could have been. Dominique speculated that it was poison or dynamite, we thought of witchcraft or an offering. It did not seem to be for catching anything, although he did leave the stick.

There are also stories about people being able to talk to crocodiles so they can swim past them unharmed. It is only some people though, exceptions. The story gathered by Jan before also tells about a girl who turned into a crocodile. In that case, it did not upset or threaten the social order. She appeared in a dream to tell her parents that she was ok.

From lakay Poldo Velazco, Dilumi (small stream):

Lakay Poldo would often interrupt our line of questioning to tell us a story, about crocodiles or the origin of the bawang, the origin of certain landmarks.

Two crocodile stories

It is a story from the old people, according to Poldo. A woman gave birth to twins, one was a girl, and the other one was a crocodile. They grew up together, although the crocodile was mostly in the water. His sister talked to him and said: 'please do not eat dogs or humans. Otherwise I will kill you'. But one day, a dog went missing, and she suspected it was her sibling who did this. She went to the river and called: 'all of you crocodile, related to my sibling, come to me!' and many crocodile came, really a lot, the river was full of them. But then she said: 'there is still one missing!' So she asked them to look for her sister crocodile. So they returned to look for her. A few moments later, her sister crocodile came. 'So you were the one who ate the dog!' she said. And she killed her sister crocodile.

2 men went hunting with a bating (hunting net). They were very lucky, because they caught many pigs. However, it took them a long time to butcher and roast them. And it started raining really hard, so when they were returning, the river was swollen already and they could not cross anymore. One of them said: 'look, the river is swollen, and it is getting dark'. But then the other man said, 'We will just wait for our ride'. And he started calling and shouting. There was no response. So he called and shouted again. Still no response. After the third time, they waited. The other man was getting nervous and curious of the loud noise of the water coming upriver towards them. Suddenly he saw a big thing, dark thing in the water moving upstream. The first man was really worried then, but the other one calmly said: 'ahhh, here comes our ride'. The big dark thing that was noisily coming upriver turned out to be a very big crocodile. Then the man who had been calling and shouting for him took a very big piece of rattan and started tying it to the neck of the crocodile. Meanwhile, he talked to the crocodile: please ferry us to the other side, because we cannot cross the river by ourselves. And he put all the meat on its back, and held onto the rattan. He called to the other man to come and be ferried across as well, but the man was trembling with fear of the crocodile. On the other hand, he did not want to be left alone. So he had no choice but to join the man on the back of the crocodile across the river. They rode on the back of the crocodile, and crossed the river. Suddenly the man holding the rattan said: please, bring us to the foot of the path leading to our houses. So they went downstream and the crocodile stopped right where the path started. They unloaded the meat and said goodbye.

A story about the start of the bawang:

Once upon a time, when the world was just created, the people here kept harvesting rice. It would just grow back again and again. They did not know what to do with all that rice, they got tired of harvesting all the time and they did not even transfer to another uma anymore. So they put the beads in a piece of hollow bamboo, and floated it downriver. The people in Alanguigan found the beads. They saw that they were the beads from the small stream, and they knew they were used to get a good harvest. So they tried using them, and it really worked! There is a stone in the river there where you can see the marks of the kalamig they built and the oil they used for the ritual. But the people here had no harvest anymore, so they went in search for the beads. They found the beads and took them back with them, but ever since that time the harvest was not that abundant and continuous anymore.

Stories of the Aran:

The lowland is almost the same as the upland rice, but because you can plant wider plots [because of the plow?] the harvest is bigger. The upland rice you only plant in small plots. They would have a lot of harvest before because the uma was just newly opened. Now it is less. [they bring out the hair:] that's the reason why they had plenty of harvest before, because the Aran helped them. It came to her, perhaps because she can do bugey, according to Poldo.

What about Poldo's grandmother, was she also a medicine woman?

No. It just depends, if they like you, they go to you.

But how will you know the difference between the bunug and the aran?

The bunug is to cure sickness, the aran helps you with the harvest. And fishing. When they would get mais from the abayaw, newly harvested mais will be there in replacement.

So, are they good or are they bad?

They are good. They have sharp, black teeth. He saw it when his grandmother was winnowing rice. He heard a sound of something sharp falling. It was a black tooth, so that means it was the aran. When they tried to possess Poldo's wife, she did not want to accept it, because she was afraid they would eat her afterwards. But when you have the aran, walking becomes really light.

According to Tersing, her mother also had aran, so this phenomenon is also known in the big stream region.

Another story, from Poldo's great grandfather.

They will make you fat, because they give you all the harvest you want and then they will eat you.

Poldo comments: maybe because my wife can do the bugey the aran did not make her sick, although it did make my grandmother sick.

Once, there were an old man and an old woman, and the aran appeared to them. Every time the wife would say 'I'm hungry', he would ask: 'what would you like to eat?' She would say: 'fish', and so he goes to the river and puts in the tabukul and go home: and it will be really full of fish. Another time, she wanted wild pig. So he went into the mountains and got a whole pig in a very short time. When they went somewhere, they would only bring two grains of rice and a pot. Once they were caught somewhere in a strong storm with some other companions and they had nothing to eat. But he took the grains of rice and cooked it. They thought it would not be enough but when they opened the pot it was full of rice! He started taking out the rice and putting it into a container. When he started dividing it, the rice was not getting less. It was a big pile, enough for everybody. Poldo concluded his story that the deer are tame to anyone who has the aran.

The Aran also tried to possess Serpida. To prove it, she saved a lock of matted hair, which she showed to us. Growing a lock like that is a sign that the aran will try to possess you. She resisted it though.

Once upon a time, when the world was just created, the people here kept harvesting rice. It would just grow back again and again. They did not know what to do with all that rice, they got tired of harvesting all the time and they did not even transfer to another uma anymore. So they put the beads in a piece of hollow bamboo, and floated it downriver. The people in Alanguigan found the beads. They saw that they were the beads from the small stream, and they knew they were used to get a good harvest. So they tried using them, and it really worked! There is a stone in the river there where you can see the marks of the kalamig they built and the oil they used for the ritual. But the people here had no harvest anymore, so they went in search for the beads. They found the beads and took them back with them, but ever since that time the harvesting was not continuous anymore.

Mr. Marciano Butac's Story:

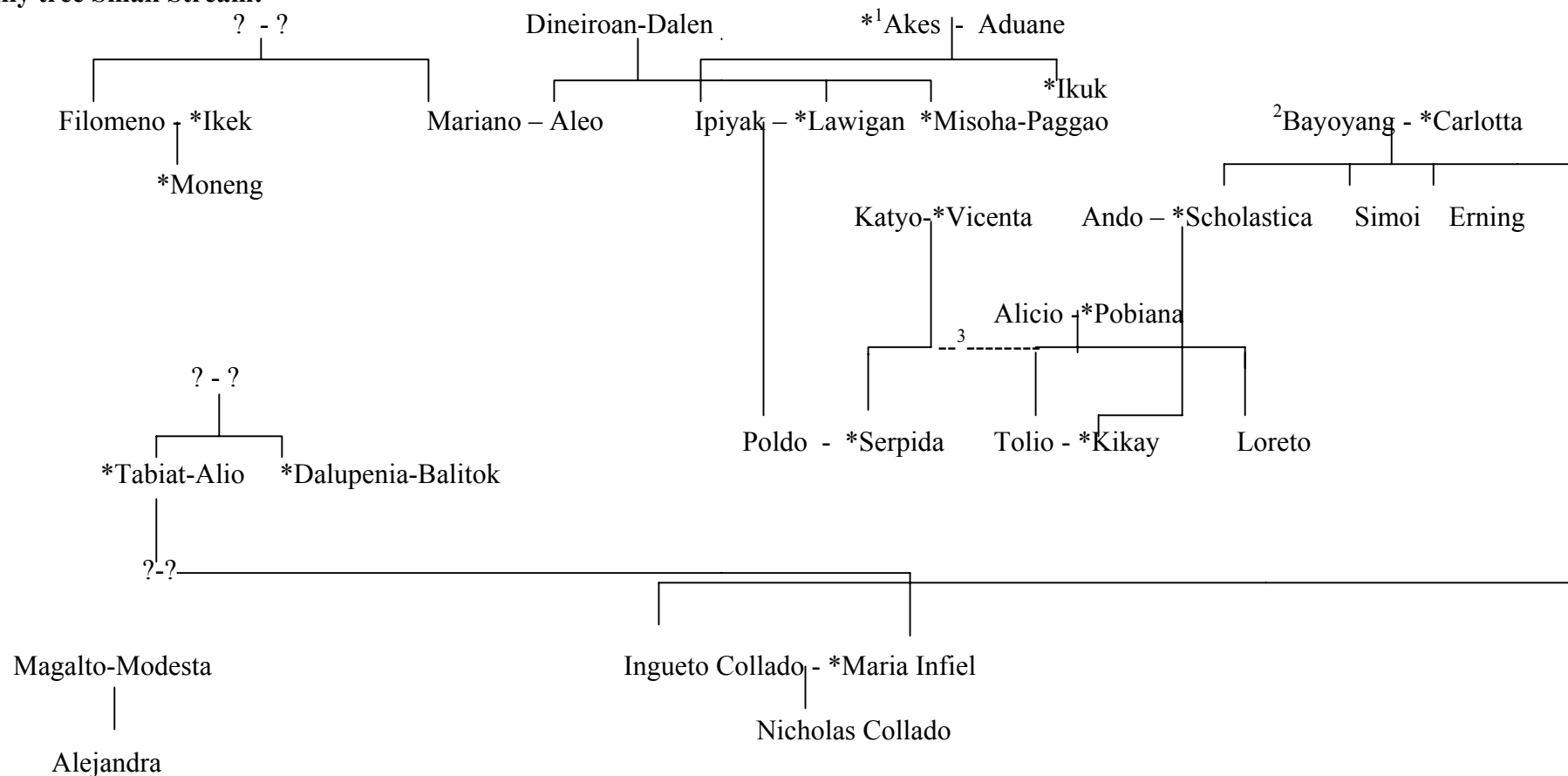
Marciano tells about an instance where his son got chills and fever when he went to his uma. After trying all kinds of medicines, they went to Tolio. He performed a ritual in which he was possessed, and the anito said you have to offer a pig for the field you are tilling. They performed the kapulaklakan. They cut the pig at the throat, without killing it, and let it walk around the uma. Then they butchered it. Before burying the pig, they killed a chicken by cutting off its head. They let it walk around and the spot where it dropped was the spot where they buried the pig [or the head of the chicken? That's what I wrote down, but it would be logical to say it was the pig, no?]. They also used sticky rice and put it in a square-winnowing basket. On each corner, they put a small glass of gin and one peso. In the middle is a plate with the head of the pig and the ingredients for a betelnut chew, gin again and sticky rice. On the ear of the pig they put beads on one side, and on the other they put a red piece of cloth. After performing this ritual, his son got well again. When they build a new house and someone gets sick they have to perform the same kind of ritual. After that, it is only rarely that people will get sick.

7.2 List of names small stream

Name	Ethnicity	Anito	Age	Characteristics	Place
Mariano†	Cat.		Generation of Ipiyak	Was considered most important in Andarayan, has been barangaycap. No children	Andarayan
Aleo†	Cat.	Name of trainer unknown. Biggest anito	Generation of Mariano	Performed bawang, no children, passed bawang to Lawigan	Andarayan
Ipiyak Aggabao†	Cat.		1918	Informant of Scott	Lucban, Andarayan, Dilumi
Lawigan†	Cat.	Aleo trained her. Biggest anito	Generation of Ipiyak	Recognized by the people in Dibuluan as the person who has the strongest anito. Always leads the Bawang before others can follow.	According to Gel Gel, she's from Disulap.
Poldo Velazco	Cat.		Ca.1940	A very good informant; was able to describe in detail what his father and mother did during the Bawang.	Dilumi/Minanga
Serpida	Cat	Small anito	Ca. 1938	Her mother did bawang, but could not train her because she died during WWII. She and her father survived when the Japanese killed her mother and siblings. She was performing Bawang until she had it removed lately. A very good informant and can describe in detail how she did her own bawang.	Dilumi/Minanga

Misoña†	Cat.	Trained by Lawigan and Aleo	Generation of Lawigan	Maganito and the third to perform Bawang after Lawigan	Villa Miranda
Filomeno Imfiel†	Cat.		Generation of Ipiyak		Dibuluan
Ikek Imfiel†	Cat.	Same anito as Tabiat	Generation of Mariano. Died when Moneng had two children	Did bawang, but her granddaughter did not continue	Dibuluan
Moneng Velazco (Priscilla Santos Velazco)	Cat.	Trained by Ikek	Ca. 1944	Did not want to inherit bawang when Ikek died, had two children at that time (early sixties?)	Dibuluan
Tabiat†	Cat	Biggest anito in Dibuluan proper	Generation of Mariano? Died before Ipiyak	Did bawang. Was considered very important wise woman in Dibuluan proper. According to Moneng, visitors go to her 'for courtesy call?'	Dibuluan
Dalupenia†	Cat.	Same anito as Tabiat	Generation of Tabiat	Was the second one to stop, after Ikek	Dibuluan
Alejandra Imfiel	Cat		Born in 1945		
Primitivo Santos†	Ilocano		Adult in 1961	First Ilocano in Dibuluan according to Alejandra	
Esmenia†	Catalangan or Agta?	Small anito	?	Did bawang after Lawigan	Andarayan
Maria Imfiel	Cat.	Trained by Tabiat	Ca 1940	Also did bawang but put her beads in the grave with Tabiat. Married in church.	Dibuluan
Erminia Collado	Kalinga		?	Pressured Kikay to perform bawang again	Dibiguen
Ernesto Collado	Kalinga		Younger brother of Simoi	Also a healer and often a partner of Simoi when he performs healing rituals.	Gangalan
Scholastica Collado†	Kalinga	Kalinga trained	About 12 just after the war?	Performed bawang	Dibiguen, Dibuluan, Villa Miranda
Carlotta Imfiel†	Kalinga	Kalinga trained	?	Performed bawang	Balagan, Dibiguen

7.3 Family tree Small Stream:



¹ * means they were trained to appease their anito, they are aganito.

² Baket Ingga, also reported to perform the bawang, was said to be Bayoyangs sister. We didn't follow up on this, because she was deaf.

³ Serpida is Tolio's stepsister.

7.4 List of names Big Stream

Name	Ethnicity	Anito	Age	Relations	Characteristics	Place
Baliwag Simangan	Kal/Yog	?	Ca. 70		Former Barangay Captain in 1970's. Former soldier, midwife. Highly respected by the people especially in Cadsalan for his wit and wisdom.	Lumalog
Ramona †	Kal.	?		Wife of Baliwag	Powerful and most respected Maganito among her peers. According to Tersing she came from Disabungan, so perhaps she was partly Catalangan?	Lumalog
Balunsa †	Kal		Born early 19 th century	Father of Baliwag	Kalinga in Lumalog	Cadsalan
Agapita †	Yogad		Same	Mother of Baliwag	Yogad, was probably very young (or not born yet) when they fled to Cadsalan from Echague.	Echague
Greatgrandfather of Baliwag†	Yogad		Born ca.1864	Father of Baliwag's mother	Would often tell stories about the Spaniards and Katipunan to Baliwag	From Echague
Bahijan/Mariano Imfiel	Kal	?	Born ca. 1938	Husband of Garatiyo	Led agricultural rituals with his wife Garatiyo	Pudok, from Buyasan originally
Garatiyo Imfiel	Kal	?	Same	'Aunt' of Bacello (is she related to Baliwag or his wife?).	Maganito, still has a gong, drum and big bottle vase for sugarcane wine. The oldest maganito alive in Cadsalan. Cannot perform rituals anymore due to old age.	Pudok
Bacello Languido	Kal		Claims to be older than Anacleto ca. 1930	Related to Tersing via mothers? According to her, Baliwag and Bacello are cousins. The	Baptised before the war. Was adopted by Franceso Languido, one of the first Ilocano's living in Cadsalan	Outside pudok

				mothers of Bacello and Baliwag are sisters.		
Anacleto Labuguen	Il		Ca. 1934		One of the first Ilocano immigrants in Cadsalan, first one to have a store in Cadsalan	Pudok
Palason	Kal	?	Very old		According to Baliwag, he could catch crocodiles. Made the drumsticks for Tersing's mother to drum in Patunnuk, and could perform balalag.	Lumalog
Francesco Languido †	Ilocano		Early 20 th century	Uncle of Anacleto's aunt	First Ilocano to settle in Cadsalan proper, adopted Bacello and his brother	Cadsalan
Malitab †	Kal	?			Mentioned by Bacello as performer of bawang	
Tersing Simangan	Kal/ ¼ yogad	?	47	Daughter of Baliwag	Traditional midwife, Healer, both through being trained by her mother and aunts to become maganito, dreams and connection to Guibang miraculous church. Most sought after by the people in Cadsalan for her healing powers.	Pudok
Essang Imfiel	Kal	?	?	Cousin of Tersing?	Catches spirits with her bare hands, healer	Outside Pudok?
Boy Robles	Il		Ca 56	Son- in- law of Baliwag	Important contact. Has a lot of stories and observations about the Kalinga culture. Came here with 114 other Ilocano families (1960), Highly respected by the people in Cadsalan for his wit, wisdom and knowledge, was a	Dinang/Lumalo,

					member of the Philippine Army in the 70's.	
Safarina Imfiel	Kal/Yog		Ca 78		Married with Kalinga from Cadsalan and a Kalinga from Ibulan. Lost 8 children. Has a son who finished University who is currently teaching in elementary.	Pudok
Ventorino Tagaw	Ybanag			Barangaycap of Balagan		Balagan,
? Martinez	Ybanag		1956	1 st kagawad of Balagan	Grandson of one of the first Ybanags who came to Balagan. Brother of the barangay captain's wife. Number 1 Kagawad, assigned to look into the concerns of the Kalinga in Balagan, first one to plant cargil.	Balagan
Aurora Imfiel	Kalinga		Around 74, 15 when the Japs surrendered	Old woman in Balagan	Her family used to perform bawang. Sister of Soliven, Her mother was the sister of Baliwag. Has relatives in Dicamay. (Note: All the Kalinga in Balagan are members of the Rizalista sect)	Balagan
Soliven Sanchez	Kalinga		Youngest		Informal leader of Kalinga in Balagan	Balagan
Evelina Imfiel	Kalinga		Younger than Aurora		Sister of Aurora and Soliven, used to perform agricultural rituals.	Balagan
Feliciano Imfiel	Kalinga		Early 20 th century		Father of Aurora. According to Aurora, Bayoyang was the uncle of her father.	Dibiguen
Tomas Tamang†	Ybanag		Late 19 th century	Grandfather of the 1 st kagawad of Balagan	One of the first Ybanag to settle in Balagan. First to	Originally from Tumauni. Balagan

					establish trading goods in Balagan. Planted the first coconuts in Balagan.	
Tibias†	Kalinga			Relative from who Baliwags wife learned the rituals	According to Tersing, she was also a maganito.	Macayucayu?
Wenceslau Baquiran	Yb/kalinga		About 70		Old man in Dicamay, good memory, family of bawang performers, was an employee of the logging company in Dicamay.	Dicamay
Pura Jimenez			Ca 1925	Mother of the barangaycaptain of Tappa		Tappa
Baket Sario					Would be the one to start performing the bawang in Tappa. According to her, she is about '100 years old'. Cannot perform and lead ritual due to old age.	Tappa
Rayos Jimenez			Ca 1980	Son of barangay captain	Recognized by NCIP as Kalinga	Tappa

7.5 Comparison of the material culture with Semper and Scott

When we look at what Semper describes of their material culture of the Catalangan we can only conclude that many things have been lost. He describes the way they built their houses, the wavy lines and signs characterising their tattoos and other decorations. Furthermore, he noted some wooden panels with mysterious characters on them dedicated to the four gods, curious little pots dedicated to the anitos, and little houses to place the offerings. He also describes their jewelry, which they would buy for too much money from the traders who come there: earrings and their jewellery. For the rituals, they had gongs, which, according to Semper, made for too much noise for far too long.

In 1978, Scott saw some of those earrings. We did not see any specific kind of jewellery. Neither could we find any gongs in the small stream region. According to most people they had been broken, lost or sold⁴⁴. Scott did not see any gongs either, but they were still there according to the people he spoke to. We did see the little pots dedicated to the anitos, sitting on a shelf in a corner of the house of one of our informants, and the little houses for the anitos (kalamig). They were still being used to appease the anitos: the old man had put up the kalamig because his health was troubling him.

The basic housing style is in many cases more or less the same as Semper described: bamboo or wood, with a raised floor where people sleep, and the cooking place down. Sometimes, they are bigger with rooms added. However, nowadays people more often make their roofs out of bamboo or even GI. The Catalangan say that they used to make their roofs only out of pan-aw, because the anitos did not like bamboo or GI roofs. Since they severed their ties to the anito's, this is not a problem anymore and they prefer to make their roofs the easy way. All in all, the houses of the Catalangan are becoming indistinguishable from the houses of the poorer immigrants.

If we look at Semper's description, it seems that a lot of the material culture is now lost, like the wooden panels, and the nicely decorated benches, as well as the distinctive clothes and jewelry and tattoos. We saw one woman with tattoos, and she said that people used to have many tattoos before, diagonal lines going up from the back of the wrist until halfway the lower arms. There was no special significance to it according to her. The tattoos she had, were put there by her aunt.

Semper also mentions 'smithies' in every house, an observation that puzzles Scott. When we asked people if they used to forge their own tools they said no, they would get their tools in Ilagan or San Mariano, but they did repair them using fire. We could not figure out what it is exactly that Semper was referring to, but it may have been simply a special stone used when repairing the tools. The smithies were also dedicated to the ancestors. In the big stream region, we found that the place where they made fire to repair tools was significant in ritual, so perhaps it was the same among the Catalangans where Semper reports seeing the 'smithies'.

He mentions seeing a statue in the Catalangan region, representing one of their gods. We did not see any statues, but we found that in two rituals to appease the anito's before planting, performed more or less only for immediate family by the brother of Ipiyak and a woman from Dibuluan, they would make a statue, roughly in the shape of a human, and dance around this statue.

⁴⁴ We did not want to press too much on this issue because it seemed to make people suspicious. They associated it with gold-diggers. People in San Mariano often think that outsiders come there to look for the gold supposedly left by the Japanese when they fled for the Americans across the Sierra Madre to Palanan.

7.5.1 Kalinga:

Since Semper described the Kalinga only in comparison to the Catalangan, he did not mention specifically any objects. Scott did not visit them, so we only have oral history and our own observations to compare.

2004	Oral history
Gansa (Gongs)	Gansa (Gongs)
Glass jar	Glass jar
Plates (porcelain plates)	Plates (porcelain plates)
	Cups (porcelain)
Manik (beads)	Manik (beads)
	Bow and arrow
	Bating (hunting net)
Winnowing basket	Winnowing basket
	Ritual headdress made of bark
	Shawls worn in ritual
	Ilocano blanket worn in ritual
	Fish trap
	Tabukol 'tabukol'- a fishnet that is circular, usually with 2- 3 meters diameter with lead sinkers around it and the mesh and eye of the net varies according to the type of fish they intend catch.
	Stone corn mill
G-string	G-string
Wooden mortar and pestle	Wooden mortar and pestle
	Takuli (dug out canoe)
Bolo	Bolo
	Axe
Wooden drum (patong)	Wooden drum (patong)
Carved wooden drum stick	Carved wooden drum stick
	Vat (for cooking sugarcane wine)
	'Rakem' (harvesting tool for upland rice)
	Bellows
Sea shell beads	Sea shell beads

7.5.2 Catalangan:

2004	Oral history	Scott (1978)	Semper (1860)
	Gansa (Gongs)		Gansa (Gongs)
	Gusi (porcelain jar)		Gusi (porcelain jar)
	Plates (porcelain plates)		Plates (porcelain plates)
	Cups (porcelain)		Cups (porcelain)
Banga (small pots for anitos)		'blackened pots' assumed the same as what Semper saw	Olla (small pots for anitos)
Manik (beads)	Manik (beads)	Manik (beads)	Manik (beads)
Bow and arrow	Bow and arrow	Bow and arrow	
Bating (hunting net)	Bating (hunting net)	Bating (hunting net)	Bating (hunting net)
Winnowing basket	Winnowing basket	Winnowing basket	Winnowing basket
	Filipiniana dress		
	Ritual head dress (White cloth)		
	Ilocano blanket		
Woven skirt	Woven skirt		
Bobogen (Fish trap)	Bobogen (Fish trap)	Fish trap	Fish trap
	Small fishing arrows		Small fishing arrows
	Stone corn mill	Stone corn mill	Stone corn mill
G-string	G-string	G-string	G-string
Wooden mortar and pestle	Wooden mortar and pestle	Wooden mortar and pestle	Wooden mortar and pestle
Banca (dug out canoe (chainsaw))	Takuli (dug out canoe (chainsaw))	Takuli (dug out canoe)	Takuli (dug out canoe)
Bolo	Bolo	Bolo	Bolo
	Suela (adze - for making dug out canoe)		
			anvil
	Sugar cane squeezer		
Kalamig/ Small anito house	Kalamig/ Small anito house	Kalamig/ small anito house	Kalamig/ Small anito house
			Wooden tablets with 'Chinese signs'
	Earrings	Earrings	Earrings
			Nicely carved wooden benches
	Statues carved for bawang		Statue depicting god
Homemade goggles	Homemade goggles	Homemade goggles	
	Tubong (water container of bamboo)		