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DISTRIBUTION OF THE NON-CHRISTIAN TRIBES OF NORTHWESTERN LUZON¹

By FAY COOPER COLE

THE mountain region of northwestern Luzon, included in the provinces of Ilocos Sur and Ilocos Norte, the sub-provinces of Abra, Apayao, and that part of Kalinga bordering on them, is inhabited by some 35,000 non-Christian people. Owing to the broken nature of the country, the lack of trails, and especially to the enmity existing between the various villages, numerous dialect groups have sprung up. Loose unions imposed by necessity, advantage, or marriage have held certain towns together, while others, because of their size and the greater daring of their warriors, have gained a certain supremacy in their territory. The Spaniards and early American travelers gave to these various divisions the designation of tribes, regardless of the fact that many were in the same culture and linguistic groups, and varied not at all in physique. Thus in the region outlined we find the following tribes enumerated: Negritos, Aetas, Adangs, Igorrotes, Apayaos, Kalanasans, Nagbayuganes, Calauas, Dadayags, Banaos, Guinaanes, Burics, Itnegs, and Tinguianes. The terms *Alzado* and *Kasamento* were often applied to the mountain people. The former designated any of the wilder head-hunting tribes, the latter those somewhat under the influence of civilization. In his article "The Non-Christian Tribes of Northern Luzon" Commissioner Worcester showed the fallacy of such classification and gave in general the territory occupied by the

¹ This paper embodies some results of an extended investigation amongst certain tribes of Luzon, undertaken for the Field Museum of Natural History, the investigation having been made possible through the generosity of Mr Robert F. Cummings of Chicago.

tribes recognized by him. For this classification he used the word "tribe" as follows: "A division of a race composed of an aggregate of individuals of a kind and a common origin, agreeing among themselves in, and distinguished from their congeners by physical characteristics, dress and ornaments; the nature of the communities which they form; peculiarities of house architecture; methods of hunting, fishing, and carrying on agriculture; character and importance of manufactures; practices relative to war and the taking of heads of enemies; arms used in warfare; music and dancing; and marriage and burial customs; but not constituting a political unit subject to the control of a single individual nor necessarily speaking the same dialect." Accepting this definition, for the present, this article will endeavor to show under which tribes the people enumerated above should fall, and to note a few of the more important features which distinguish them one from the other.

In the northwestern part of Luzon the writer recognizes the following tribes:

- I. Negritos (*Aetas*, *Agtas*, *Adangs*).
- II. Igorots (*Igorrotes*).
- III. (*a*) *Tinguians* (*Tinguanes*, *Tinggians*, *Tingians*, *Itneg*, *Burics*). (*b*) *Apayaos* (*Ishneg*, *Kalanasans*).
- IV. *Kalingas* (*Dadayag*, *Banaos*,¹ *Nagbayuganes*, *Guinaanes*,¹ *Calauas*).

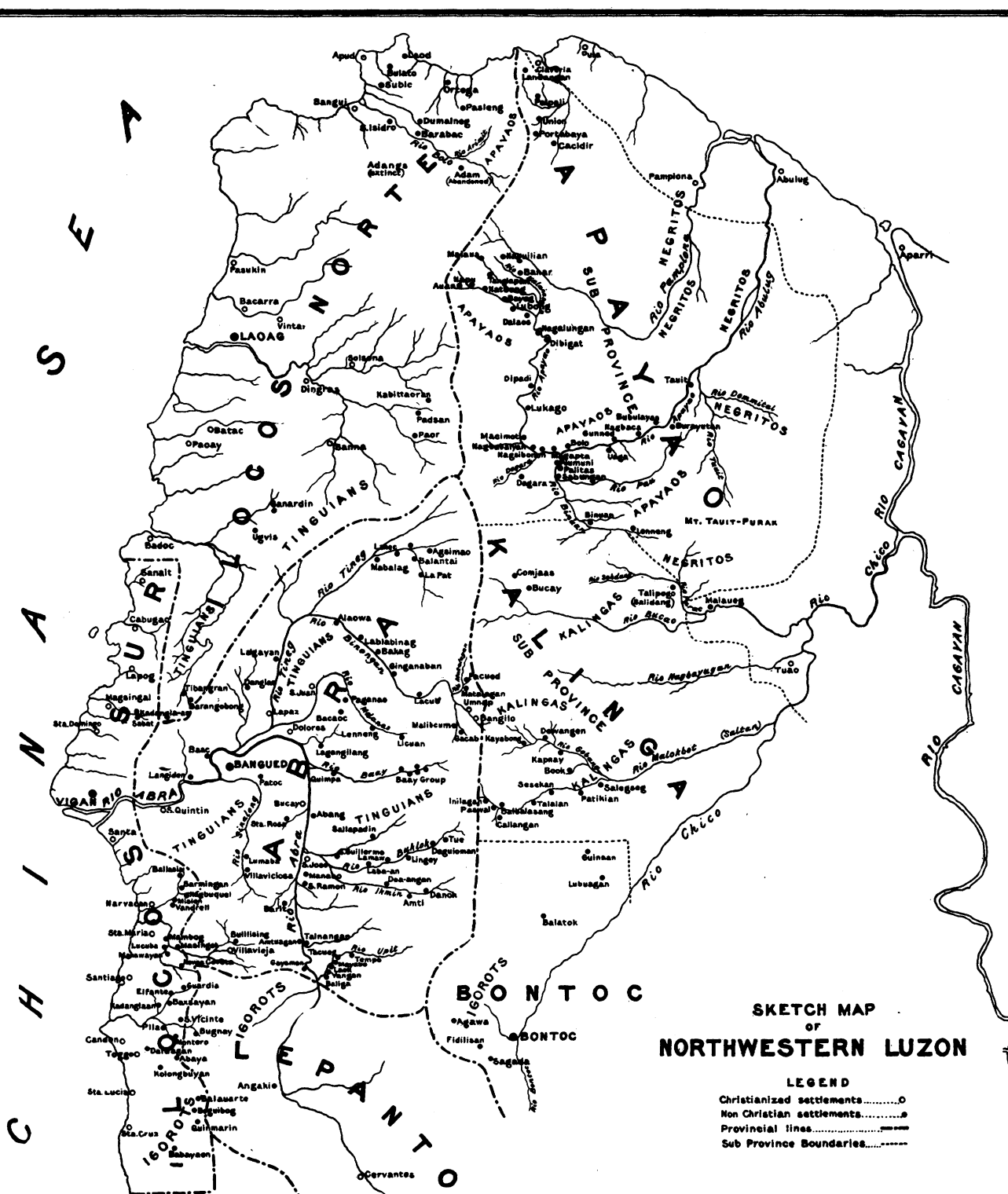
In general the names in parenthesis are synonyms, but the following refer to special groups:

The *Adangs* were a small group of *Negritos* who formerly inhabited the western slopes of *Mt Adang*, *Ilocos Norte*.

The *Burics* never existed as a group. The word means "tattooed" and might be applied to any person so decorated.

Group III (*b*)—the *Apayaos*—present many features in common with the *Tinguians* and are classed with them by Commissioner Worcester. The points of similarity and divergence will be noted later. The *Kalanasans* are those *Apayaos* who live along the river of that name. Because of their many hostile raids on the northern coast of Luzon, they have been designated as a distinct people.

¹ Mixed with *Igorots* and *Tinguians*.



SKETCH MAP
OF
NORTHWESTERN LUZON

LEGEND
 Christianized settlements
 Non Christian settlements
 Provincial lines
 Sub Province Boundaries

In the fourth division, the name Dadayag is given to a dialect group of Kalingas who live on the lower Saltan (Malokbot) river. The Banaos, who inhabit the headwaters of the same river, are related to the Dadayag, but are much mixed with Igorots and Tinguians. The Nagbayuganes occupy the region west of Malaueg. They claim to be related to the people of the Saltan river and of Bucay (Bīcay) and Comjaas; there has also been some intermarriage with the Apayaos of the north. Guinaan is a powerful village made up of Kalingas, Igorots, and a few Tinguians. During the Spanish regime this place proved itself so troublesome that the Spanish overestimated its numbers and came to regard the inhabitants as a tribe.

THE NEGRITOS

The Negritos at one time were doubtless distributed over the entire northwest of Luzon. Today one small band is found near the southern border of Ilocos Sur and Abra; a second is reported in the mountains south of Bangui in Ilocos Norte. Considerable numbers are found along the Abulug river and its tributary, the Rio Dommital; also bordering the Pamplona river, and to the southwest of Mt Taut-Purak.

Unmistakable evidences of Negrito blood are met with among individuals of the other tribes, while all the Negritos seen by the writer in this region were mixed-bloods. With the exception of those in the vicinity of the Abulug river they have adopted the dress and many of the customs of their neighbors, and in every case their language.

THE IGOROTS

Various writers have stated that Igorots are to be found in Ilocos Norte, and the most recent map¹ gives them as the mountain inhabitants of that province. This is quite erroneous, as no Igorot settlements exist in that district. In Ilocos Sur, south of Vigan, all the non-Christian towns, except those later designated as Tinguian, are Igorot colonies mostly from the vicinity of Agawa, Sagada, and Fidilisan, but five villages near the Amburayan border are made up largely of emigrants from that district. Kadanglaan, Pila, Kolongbuyan (Sapang), and Montero are mixed Igorot and

¹ World Book Company, 1908.

Tinguian. Villaviciosa, Mayabo, Tacueg, Laok, Yangan, Baliga, and Gayaman in southern Abra are Igorot colonies from the neighborhood of Sagada.

Amtuagan, Talnangan, and Barit are made up of Igorots and Tinguians. The towns along the Ikmin and Buklok rivers also have a considerable amount of Kalinga and Igorot blood brought in by migrations from Balatok and the towns of the upper Saltan valley.

These Igorots have been much influenced by their neighbors — the Ilocanos, Tinguians, and the Lepanto-Benguet Igorots, who live just to the south. They have adopted the housebuilding, costumes, and methods of dressing the hair of the surrounding people. The men no longer circumcise, and only a few have the elaborate tattooing seen in Bontoc. Physically they are quite readily distinguished from the people to the north. They are darker in color, the face is broader, the nose wider and the ridge usually concave, and the eyes less widely open (plate XIII). The legs are shorter and the whole body is more heavily set.

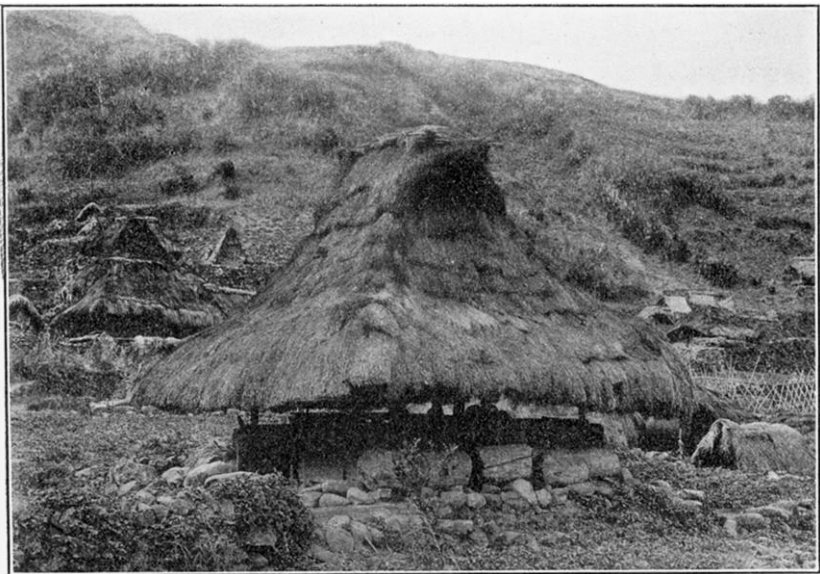


FIG 68. — Igorot house. (Photograph by Philippine Bureau of Science.)

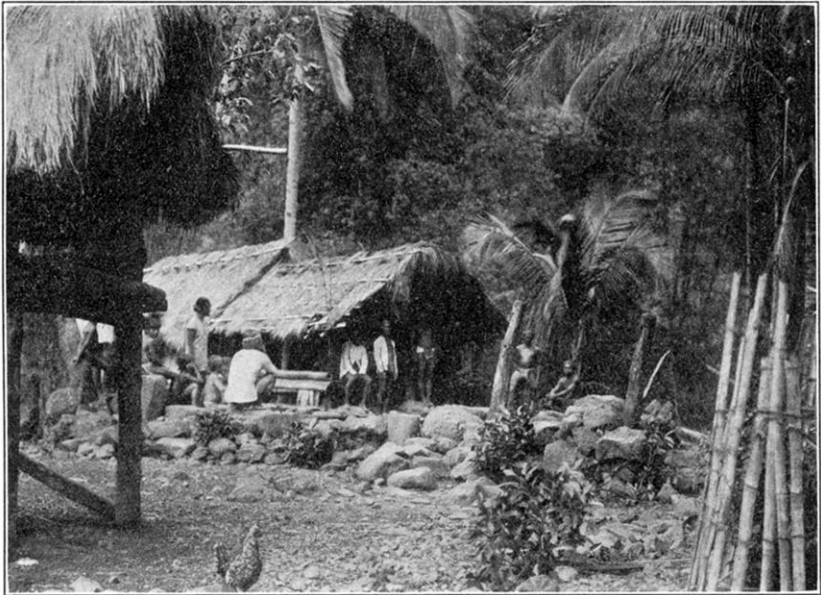


FIG. 69. — The men's house — Igorot.

Most of the migrations into this region occurred in comparatively recent times, the quest of better land being given as the reason. It is probable that a whole *ato*,¹ or *dapai* moved at one time and formed a separate village, for we find the new settlement known as *dapai*. It has a men's house, in which unmarried men and boys sleep, general councils are held, and which also serves as a store-house for ceremonial paraphernalia, drums, and the like.

There is no women's house corresponding to the *olag* of Bontoc, but the people know of the institution and say it existed in earlier times. As there are no *atos*, or divisions of the village, the system of exogamy has broken down and the only restriction placed on marriage is that of blood relationship. Trial marriage has been supplanted, but divorce is easily obtained and any cause of disagreement may result in a new mating.

Ancestor worship, the belief in *anitos*, and the ceremonies connected with their religious life are almost identical with those of

¹ A political and exogamic division of an Igorot village.

their relatives in Bontoc; but the supreme being *Lumawig* is here known as *Kabonīyan*.

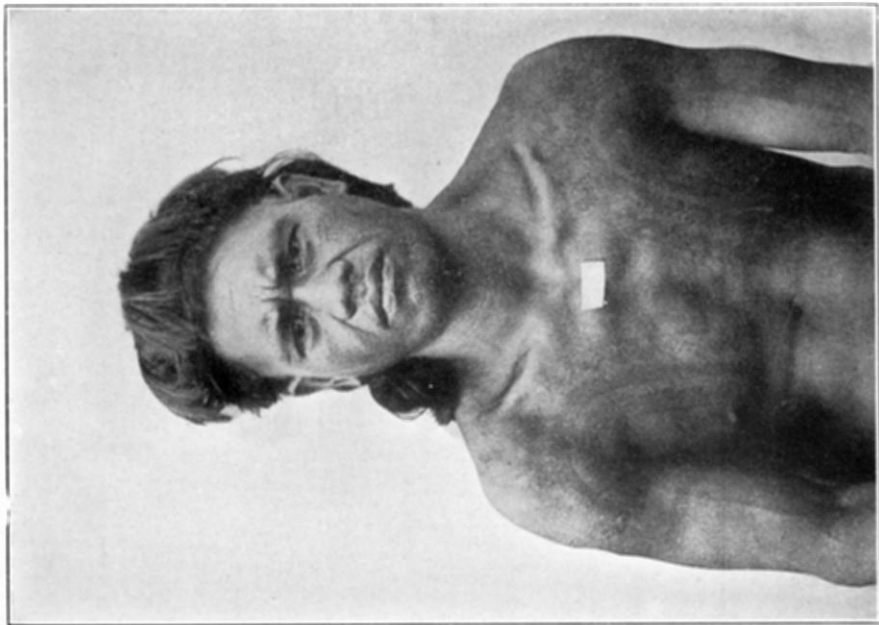
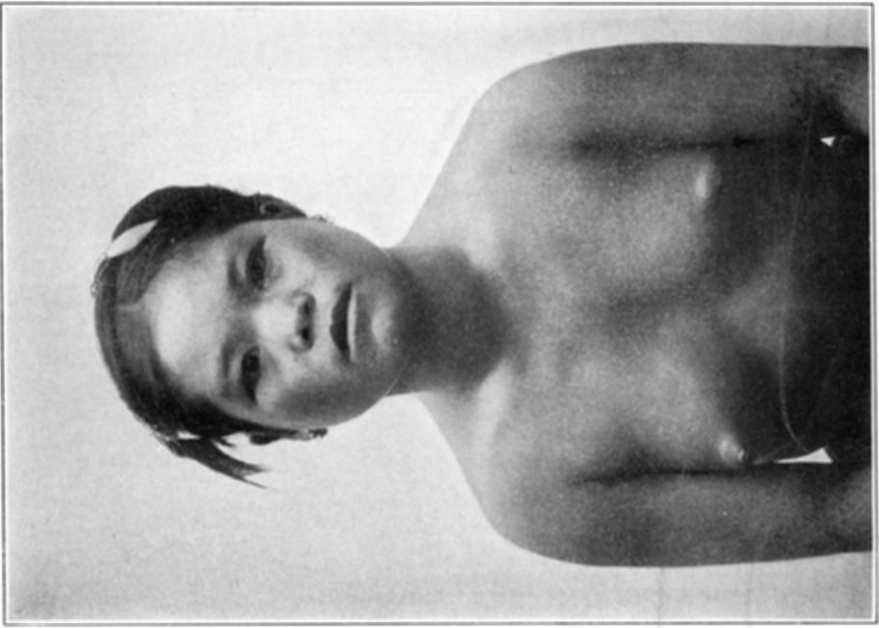
The typical dance is that seen by the writer among the Benguet-Lepanto Igorots. A line of male dancers stand abreast with their arms on each others' shoulders. Behind them are the women. The leaders of each line hold sticks at arms-length in their free hands and point them to the ground as they dance. One of the men sings a few words addressed to the women, and the others join in, repeating what he has chanted; in turn they are answered by the women. Meanwhile a slow step to the side or forward, or an occasional stamping of the feet is kept up. A drum and *gansas* (copper gongs) furnish the music.

THE TINGUIANS

To the north of these Igorots is the great Tinguian belt. In Ilocos Sur, south of Vigan, are the mixed Tinguian and Igorot towns already noted, and the following true Tinguian settlements: Ballasio, Nagbuquel, Vandrell, Rizal, Mision, Mambog, and Masinget. In Ilocos Norte the entire non-Christian population as far north as Kabittaoran belongs to this people. The same condition prevails in Abra, except for the Igorot settlements already mentioned, and certain migrations from the Cagayan side. The towns of the Ikmin valley are made up of emigrants from Balatok. Tue, near the headwaters of the Buklok river, is a colony from Balbalasang. The other towns on that stream are principally Tinguian, but all have received additions from the Saltan river region, Lubuagan and Guinaan.

Sallapadin and the Baay river villages are Tinguian mixed with the Saltan river people, including the Gobang group. Licuan, Lenneng, Buneg, Ginganaban, Bakag, Lablabinag, and Lacub have received many emigrants from the Gobang group, and the people of the last four have many relatives in the towns along the headwaters of the Rio Tineg. Agsimao and the surrounding villages are Tinguian, with a considerable mixture of Apayao and Kalinga blood.

It has already been noted that there is some Tinguian influence along the Saltan river, in Lubuagan, Guinaan, and Balatok, but it is



MAN AND WOMAN OF THE IGOROTS
(Photographs by the Philippine Bureau of Science)

more in culture than in actual relationship. A few towns in Lepanto are much influenced by this people, and Commissioner Worcester reports a Christianized Tinguian settlement in Pangasanan. This tribe, consisting of about 20,000 individuals, is quite sharply marked from the Igorots to the south and southeast. Both men and women are slighter and more lithe than the Igorots. In color they are somewhat lighter, but the greatest difference is observable in the face, which is longer and narrower. The cheek-bones are more prominent; the root of the nose is higher, and the ridge usually straight; the eyes are set farther apart, are more widely open, and the Mongolian fold is less prevalent (plate xiv).

The men wear their hair long, and comb it into two strands which are twisted and crossed in the back, then carried forward where they are intertwined on each side of the head. A bark headband holds the strands in place. The women's hair is also long; it is parted in the middle, but is combed in one strand which is caught up at the back by a string of beads; it is then twisted and formed into a loop which is fastened under the beads near the left ear (plate xv).

The typical dress of the men consists of a breech-clout and a belt, and for special occasions a long-sleeved jacket which extends below the waist. The women wear a short-sleeved jacket, and a narrow white shirt reaching from the waist to the knees. A finely plaited girdle fits about the hips, and to this a clout is attached. Beads are worn on the arms, about the neck, and in the hair. Beneath the beads of the forearm the women are elaborately tattooed; but the men seldom have more than a small design on hand, arm, or thigh.

The type of house building differs radically from that of the Igorot (compare figures 68 and 70), as does the arrangement and government of the town.

A Tinguian village is not divided into *atos*. There are no exogamous groups, neither are there separate houses for unmarried men or girls. Marriages are contracted by the parents while the children are very young, and the union not infrequently takes place before either of the couple reaches puberty. Circumcision is not practised, nor are there any observances connected with puberty.

The old men of the village constitute its ruling class. One of these, because of his better fitness, is called *lakay*, and is really the head of the community. All matters of dispute of whatever nature come to his attention, and if he deems it necessary he summons the other old men in council. Young men have little or no influence in the government. The standing of women is much higher than with the neighboring tribes. While the woman's husband pays a price for her, she is not considered in any sense a slave. She has equal rights to take her grievances to the *lakay* ;



FIG. 70. — Tinguian houses.

any property she may possess belongs to her in her own right, and upon her death it passes to her children or relatives. Polygyny is not practised, but many men keep concubines. Children of such a union are considered legitimate, but the woman has none of the rights of a wife. The division of labor is about equal.

In his religious life the Tinguian is again easily distinguished from his neighbors. He recognizes one supreme spirit — Kadaklan — and more than a hundred and fifty subservient spirits, for whom elaborate ceremonies are conducted and spirit structures erected.



A sharply marked though unorganized priesthood forms the medium through which the higher beings communicate with the people.

These spirits are not the souls of the deceased. The latter go to a place midway between earth and sky, where they live much the same life as they did on earth. When the period of taboo following a funeral is past, the spirit goes to its final home and no longer influences the living. They are not worshipped, and, aside from one ceremony made "to take away the sorrow," no offerings are made to them.

The Tinguians have extensive and well cultivated fields, mostly devoted to the growing of rice, corn, and tobacco, though considerable quantities of vegetables are raised. Horses, cattle, and other domestic animals known to the Ilocano are quite numerous.

The man is an ardent hunter, and even in the more peaceful valleys spears are common. Bolos (long knives) are carried fastened to the belt, and serve both as implements and weapons. The mountain man still clings to his spear, shield, and headaxe. The latter comes from the towns along the headwaters of the Saltan river, and has a wide distribution over the Tinguian and Kalinga belts.

THE APAYAOS

The Apayaos are found along the Apayao river from its headwaters to its junction with the Abulug. The Cordillera Central forms their western limit, except for a recent migration from Dagara Sabungan (Babangan), and vicinity, to the towns along the Rio Tineg. To the south their influence predominates as far as Lenneng, and considerable intermarriage has taken place with the inhabitants of the towns about Talipogo and the west.

In the north, at the end of the island, they make up the entire non-Christian population, with the exception of the Negritos. Padsan, in Ilocos Norte, is a colony from the vicinity of Auan, a village near the source of the Apayao river.

In color, features, and measurements, the men resemble closely the Tinguians of Abra; but two exceptions should be noted: The zygomatic arches of the latter people increase in breadth nearly up to the tragus, while those of the Apayaos reach their maximum breadth about midway between the outer eye angle and the tragus.

The distance between the inner eye angles of the Apayaos is greater than in the Tinguians. The women are of shorter stature and are broader in face and features.

In clothing and manner of dressing the hair there is considerable difference. The men allow the hair to grow long, except over the forehead where it is banged in a line with the eyebrows. It is combed out and the long strand looped over the fingers on the right side of the head; it is then carried over the crown to the other side and turned back. A cloth band, usually red, lavender, and yellow, retains it in place. Strings of beads, colored flowers, scented grasses, and the like are often added for ornamentation. The women do not bang the hair, and headbands of darker colors are worn, but in other respects they dress it like the men. (Plate XVI.)

A band of cloth, generally of light blue and with the ends fringed or embroidered, serves for the man's clout. A short jacket, reaching to or just below the navel, completes the costume. These jackets are made low in the neck and have colored bands of fringe added to the sleeves and lower edge. Those worn by the women are made higher in the neck and reach two or three inches below the breasts, but seldom to the skirt, so that a portion of the skin is always observable. Short skirts, extending from the waist to the knees, are worn by the women, and below these are bark clouts; but they do not possess the girdles which are in universal use in Abra. Both men and women wear neck-dresses of beads and round sections of carabao horn. From these are suspended pendants of mother-of-pearl. The typical arm beads of the Tinguians are not seen, nor do many of the women tattoo the forearms. The men have a sort of cuff tattooed on the back of the wrist and hand.

The man's weapons are a spear, headaxe, and shield, all of peculiar form, though the latter has some distribution in the Kalinga field. Bows and arrows are used to a limited extent, but have doubtless been borrowed from the Negritos.

The houses, while not presenting such a sharp line as exists between those of the Tinguians and Igorots, still possess certain features which distinguish them from either of those people. The common type is the elevated one-room structure, made of bamboo, with floor of *runo* or rattan. The bamboo roof is covered with



nipa palm or grass. The door is a series of bamboo slats tied together; it is fastened above the opening and is allowed to fall full length during the absence of the owner. There are no large windows, and the room is lighted almost entirely by the doorway and such light as can enter through the floor. Small peep-holes are cut in the walls (figure 71). One or more structures of carefully hewn



FIG. 71. — Apayao house.

wood are to be found in each town. They are longer than the average dwellings and have roofs of a peculiar type. From within the roof has the appearance of an inverted boat. The lower layer is of runo, and above this is a layer of nipa palm or bamboo halved and laid in the manner of tiles. A low seat extends along the walls of the room, and at the end opposite the door it becomes higher and wider, forming a sort of bed on which two or three men can sleep. Drums and ceremonial paraphernalia are kept in such houses, and in them dances and festivals are held, but they also serve as regular dwellings.

Agriculture is in a much lower stage than with the Tinguians.

There are no irrigated fields, but considerable rice and some vegetables are raised on the dry land. Their domestic animals are dogs, pigs, chickens, and cats; all except the latter are eaten, though dogs are generally reserved for ceremonial or festival occasions.

The men are skilful hunters and fishermen. They also do the heavy work in constructing houses and clearing the land. Beyond these duties they seldom exert themselves except in their favorite sport — head-hunting. After a death the family of the deceased may not eat any food except corn until the men of the village go to fight. The warriors don white headbands and go to some hostile town. If they meet their enemies, they must fight, but failing to find them in the way, they can return home without having attacked the village. Other head-hunting raids are purely for revenge or to pay “the debt of blood,” for a head must be redeemed by taking another from the victors. Heads are not taken to aid in the recovery of the sick, or to secure better crops, nor are the trophies exhibited in the head-baskets offered to the spirits. The display of a head at the town gate is meant as an insult to the dead and his relatives. If it is broken up and distributed to the men of the village, it is done that the recipients may remember the valor of the taker.

Only six towns of Apayao take the whole head. The others cut away the skull-cap, leaving the remainder, “because it is very dirty.” A head having been obtained, the men hurry home and hold a celebration. The skull-cap is placed on a rice mortar, and the women dance about it. The men do not dance there, but may do so in the house. A dog, a pig, and a chicken are killed, *basi* is furnished, and the town makes merry for several days, after which the skull-cap is placed in a head-basket at the entrance to the village.

The Tinguians of Abra have been head-hunters until recent years, but most of the towns have now given up the sport and have settled their differences by the exchange of gifts. The custom of going out to fight after a death was identical with that of the Apayaos, but the procedure after a head was secured was somewhat different. The entire head was carried to the village and put by the town gate.



APAYAO GROUP—GOVERNOR VILLAMOR ON THE RIGHT

A great celebration was soon made, for which animals and liquor were prepared in abundance. The brain, lobes of the ears, and joints of the little fingers of the victim were put in the liquor and the whole thoroughly stirred before it was passed to the guests. The dance following was the *Daéng*, which is unknown to the Apayaos. Before the close of the celebration the skulls were cut into small pieces and distributed among the guests.

In government certain differences appear. Each town is a pure democracy. The boy who is able to stand the trips, to hunt and fight, is on an equality with the oldest, and he joins the councils of the men without reserve or restraint. The man who, by his prowess in battle and by his wisdom, has won the respect of his fellows, may become a sort of headman called *mana-ém*, but he has no real authority.

Disputes are settled by a general meeting of the people. All discuss the differences and usually the opinion of the majority prevails. Payment of presents is the usual method of ending difficulties. The woman, while not taking an active part in the management of the town, is very independent. Her property is distinct from that of her husband, and she has equal rights in presenting her troubles to the general council. Ownership and inheritance of property are the same as in Abra.

Marriage is not contracted by the parents. The youth chooses his mate and usually presents her parents with a headaxe, some plates, and beads, but there is no purchase price. Polygyny is common, many of the men having two or three wives. In some cases the wives live in different houses or towns, but not infrequently they all reside in the same house. Their children are all on the same plane and share equally in their father's property. There are no exogamous-groups, but marriage between near relatives is prohibited.

The highly developed ceremonial life of the Tinguian is but feebly represented. The most simple ceremony for the cure of sickness is identical with both groups. The function following the rice harvest is here known as *Sayám*, and during its progress a peculiar instrument known as *tong-tong* is played. The greatest of the Tinguian ceremonies is *Sayáng*, and the identical instrument is

called *tong-á-tong*. However, the celebration does not follow the rice harvest, and in most other features is radically different. The many spirit structures found in Abra are here unknown.

A great number of spirits, some of them the spirits of the dead, are always near at hand to aid or injure the living, but only a few are known by name. A class of mediums, much the same as those already described, are reputed to call the spirits into their bodies and to procure advice from them, but they seldom talk with the people when so possessed.

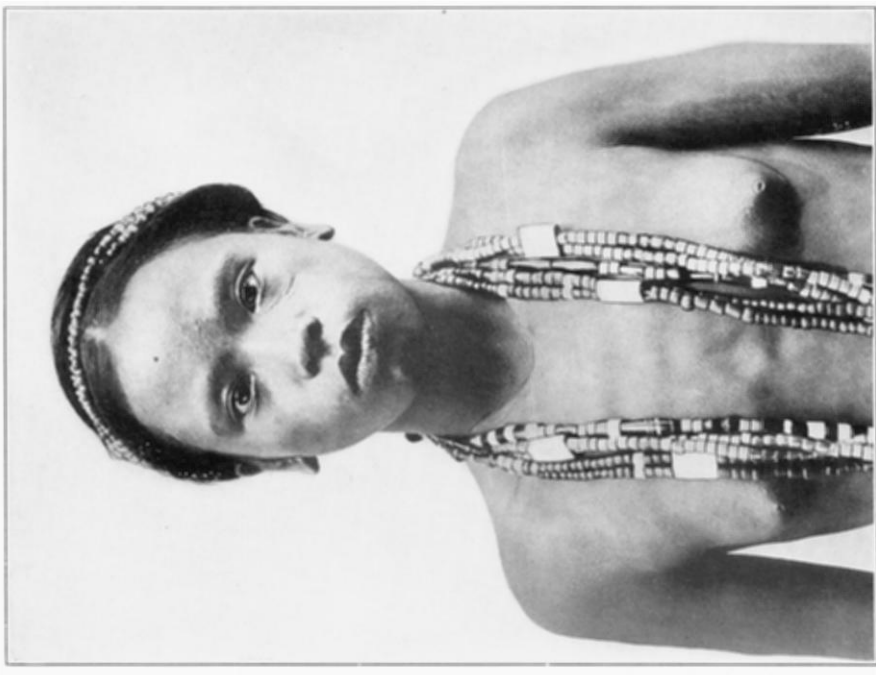
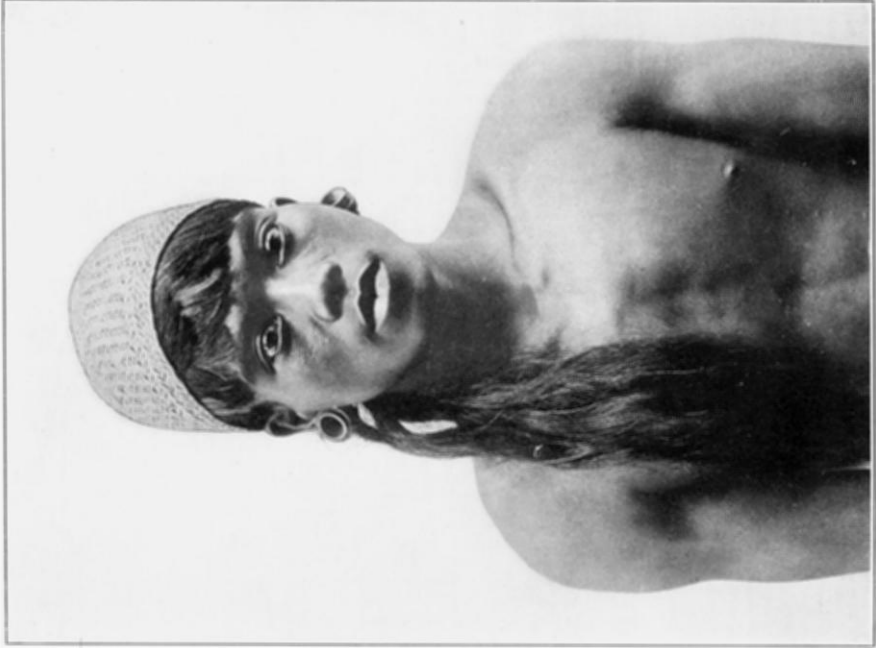
The dance music is the same as that of the Abra people, except that it is much faster, and the long drum replaces the short one. The typical dance is much like the *Tadek* of the Tinguians, but is faster, and there is more violent motion and more movement of the hands and arms. *Daéng*, the ceremonial dance of the western mountain slopes, is unknown, as are most of the typical songs of that region.

The language, like that of the Tinguians, gives many evidences of being primitive Ilocano, but the grammatical forms are much less developed than in the dialects of the west and southwest. About thirty-five per cent. of the words in common use are traceable to the same roots as those of Abra.

THE KALINGAS

The writer has not followed out the limits of the Kalinga territory toward the east and south, so for the purposes of this paper only that portion bordering the sections already mentioned will be described. To the north the Kalingas extend almost to Dagara and Lenneng, though Apayao influence extends south of those points. To the west the Cordillera Central is the general boundary, but they have mixed to a considerable extent with the people of Agsimao and vicinity. The towns on the Malibcum and Matalagan rivers are all made up of emigrants from the Gobang group, Bucay (Bicay), and Comjaas. They are influenced by Tinguian culture, but there has been little, if any, intermarriage.

Kalingas predominate along the upper Saltan river, where they have married with the Igorots and Tinguians. South of this region their influence is strong in Lubuagan and Balatok, but the Igorots



MAN AND WOMAN OF THE KALINGAS
(Photographs by the Philippine Bureau of Science)

predominate as Bontoc is approached. The towns of the upper Saltan river have drawn much from the three tribes which have contributed to their population, but the Tinguian material culture is the most pronounced. The typical costumes, method of hair-dressing, and the arm beads of the women, in vogue in Abra, are all found here. Agriculture is extensive, and the terraced fields compare favorably with those of Bontoc. All kinds of domestic animals known to the natives of the coast are possessed by these people. The best ironwork of northern Luzon comes from this section, and their headaxes and spears have a wide distribution over the whole Tinguian and Kalinga territory.

The *lakay* gives way to the headman, whose wealth or influence gives him considerable real power.

Marriages are arranged by the boy and the girl. The youth carries wood to the house of the maid he desires, and if she favors the suit, she will go to his house to pound rice or perform some similar duty. On an appointed day the friends assemble to celebrate the event, but no ceremony is performed. No price is paid for the girl, though a small present is usually made to her parents.

The *Tadek* dance of Abra is known, but the circle dance of the Bontoc Igorots is the more common.

North of these towns, along the Gobang river, is a section which, because of the almost impassable trails and the poverty of the people, has seldom been visited. Here we find the least influenced people of the region.

In height and color the men resemble the people of Abra. The hair, which is brown black, is banged across the forehead and behind the ears, where it is allowed to fall freely or is gathered up, twisted, and held in place by a sort of skull-cap of rattan. Wavy hair is not uncommon. The cheek-bones are high, but the manner of hair-dressing accentuates this feature. The eyes are more widely open, and set farther apart than with their western neighbors, while a peculiar startled expression is always observable in them. Ear-plugs of bamboo rings or cotton are worn by many of the men; the ring presses the lobe forward so that it lies in a plane with the jaw. (Plate XVII.) The clout and belt form the typical dress of the men, though a few have obtained jackets in trade.

Physically the women differ little from those of Abra. Their hair is allowed to grow long, and is coiled and held in place by strings of beads. Similar strings, with sections of bone attached, are worn about the neck. Beads are not worn on the arms, but elaborate tattooing, often extending to the shoulders, takes their place. Heavy earrings of brass or gold or mother-of-pearl stretch the ear-lobes to a considerable extent. None of the women weave, so all cloth for their clothes comes in through trade. Their skirts



FIG. 72 — Kalinga dwellings.

are about the same in shape and size as those of the Tinguian women, and like them they wear the clout and girdle. Any kind of cloth serves for clothes, and not infrequently beaten bark is used. Most of the women leave the upper part of the body exposed, but a well-made jacket of bark cloth, reaching just below the breasts and open in front, is frequently worn. Both men and women are fond of brass wire, which is worn about the neck or on the fore-arms. When used as an arm ornament it is cut into separate rings, the smallest coming at the center of the arm, the others ranging larger toward the wrist and elbow, giving it an hour-glass form.

The teeth of most of the adults are blackened in the manner employed in Abra.

The villages consist of small clusters of houses, placed in almost inaccessible spots on the mountain side. Protection may have played a large part in the selection of a site, but in the whole region there is no level ground on which a town might be erected. The houses are mostly of pine, with an inner roofing of runo and an outer topping of cogon grass (figure 72). The typical dwelling has two rooms, the side boards of which extend to the ground, but the floor is raised about three feet. As one enters he is on the ground in a small rectangular space. It is here that rice is pounded, or corn husked, in rainy weather. The remainder of this room has a raised floor. Heavy articles are stored here, and it is sometimes used to sleep in. The inner room is reached by a ladder from the rectangular space, and is separated from the outer room by a pine partition and a movable door. No provision is made for ventilation, other than a small window in the end of the room, and as that is usually closed and the fire burning, the room soon becomes filled with smoke, blinding the eyes of a person standing erect and giving a rich shiny black surface to everything inside. This is the true living-room. At night the occupants gather close about the fire, and, spreading their mats, they talk and sing a low wailing song, quite different from the *daleng* of the Tinguians; or perhaps they play on short bamboo mouth flutes. One by one they fall asleep: all is quiet until the fire dies and the chill mountain air rouses one of the sleepers, when his noisy attempts at fire kindling again waken the company. Then the singing and playing are resumed.

The nature of the country prevents extensive agriculture. The steep mountain sides, largely of a clay formation, and the long rainy season, which continually cuts away the soil, make rice fields impossible. Only mountain rice can be raised, and that in limited quantities, for the wild pigs and birds get most of the crop. Plots of grass are burned off, and, with a planting stick, the woman makes a few holes in the ground, drops in the seed, and awaits the harvest. Weeding or care of the crop seems never to be thought of. Camotes and aba are grown close to the village, where the dogs can protect

them from the wild pigs. Sugar cane requires less care than rice or camotes, and one often sees good stands of it on the mountain side. The chief product of the region is tobacco. Wild tomatoes and various greens help to furnish variety for the table, while small peppers furnish a condiment. Salt is obtained from the Igorots. Horses, cattle, and carabao are, of course, unknown in this region. Pigs are raised in considerable numbers, as are chickens and dogs. The latter are usually kept for hunting, but are eaten if no pig is to be had.

No ironwork is done in this section. Most of the spears are fitted with bamboo points, but those of metal, as well as the head-axes, come from the vicinity of the Saltan river. The long tapering shield, with three prongs above and two below, is typical of this and the greater part of the Tinguian belt.

The typical dance is the same as in the Saltan river towns, but the *gansa* players squat on the ground with the coppers against their thighs as in Abra. *Da-eng*, the ceremonial dance of the west, is not known here by that name, but the part in which the participants dance in a circle while singing is used.

The headman possesses almost supreme power in his own village; aside from this the government, ownership of property, and inheritance are the same as in Abra. Polygyny is common.

Kabonián is the only one of the Tinguian spirits known to this people. *Lakwít*, a female spirit, is considered the most powerful, while *Bum-mabakal*, *Gum-mabal*, and *Saó'd* keep close watch over the lives of men. Lightning and thunder also are spirits. A class of mediums, similar to those found in Abra, directs the ceremonies and makes known the wishes of the superior beings. The spirits of the dead (*kadi'dak*) live in the sky, and sometimes join those of the living, in dreams. They are not worshipped. Three of the shorter Tinguian ceremonies are found here, but their elaborate rites are not practised.

The writer did not witness the celebration of a successful head-hunt, but the disposal of a head and the preparation of the liquor, as described by Commissioner Worcester, seem to be identical with the Tinguian's practice. However, the latter part of the function, in which the victors act out and recount their success, is quite dis-

tinct. The annual ceremony of exhibiting the heads, meanwhile consulting the spirits as to whether or not more are needed to insure abundant crops, seems to indicate a greater religious motive for the sport than exists among their neighbors to the north and west.

Commissioner Worcester describes the Kalingas to the east and south as being much better dressed, possessing more ornaments, and having irrigated fields.

The structure of their language is similar to that of the Tinguians, but is not so complex. Many words are in common use among both people, but the Kalinga pronounces with sharp staccato tones, which makes his dialect difficult for strangers to understand.

CONCLUSION

The intermarriages, which have been noted, indicate that these tribes flow into one another, so that sharp lines separating their habitats cannot be drawn. However, certain traits distinguish them one from another. The Negrito stands as representative of a different race from the other three divisions. These latter fall into two classes, with the Igorots as the representatives of one. The Tinguians, Apayaos, and Kalingas, while having certain distinctive features, still present no such radical differences among themselves as are met with in the Igorot. This applies not only to physique, but to social organization, government, religion, and housebuilding.

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