"Ilongot" or "Ilungot" comes from "i," a prefix denoting "people" and "gongot/longot" or forest, and means "people of the forest." "Ngot/ngut" also suggests fierceness. A Spanish version is "Egongot." Ilongot is more commonly used than "Bungkalut," a self-designation, which applies to the entire ethnic group. Other terms refer to Ilongot subgroups: "Abaca," to the Qabeik river settlers, and "Italon," to the Talon river settlers; and the "Ibilao" or "Ivilao", coined by lowland converts, particularly the Isanay.

Although there is a large concentration of villages at the source of the Cagayan River, Ilongot communities are generally scattered in the southern Sierra Madre and Caraballo mountains. Numerous rivers and dense tropical rainforests define Ilongot territory, covering Nueva Vizcaya, and parts of Nueva Ecija and Quirino. In 1989 the tribal population was 28,730, about half that of Nueva Vizcaya.

The Ilongot language is Proto-Malay, close to the Ibanag in Cagayan. Dialects can vary in words, grammar, intonation, and speed of delivery. For example, in the Bua River dialect, the plural is achieved by prefixing the numerals or the word "adulang" (many); the possessive by suffixing "-co" (first person), "-mo" (second person), and "-da" (third person) to the noun; and the gender by adding "-a becog" (female) or "-a gaki" (male) to the noun.

**History**

Spanish colonization barely penetrated the Ilongot domain. Instead some natives were lured to the lowland missions. These converts, like the Ilongot of Baler, were exempted from tribute. The non-Christians raided the missions and attempted to dissuade their brothers from assimilation; thus the settlement of Guinayongongan was abandoned in 1747. Such raids would often precede Spanish counterexpeditions. Toward the close of the Spanish era, Christian communities established along the Magat significantly curtailed Ilongot contact with other non-Christian tribes.

All these tribes were subsumed under the American-sponsored Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes during the turn of the century. Later, through the provincial government of Nueva Vizcaya, education and pacification were introduced as tools of civilization. The execution of colonial policies became less threatening in the 1930s when the depression reduced government funding. However, at the time, the Ilocano were pushing into Ilongot territory. During World War II, Japanese incursions necessitated further retreat into the hinterlands. While the Japanese themselves were escaping American aggression in June 1945, their invasion of the Ilongot killed a third of the tribal population.

Rosaldo (1980) notes that Ilongot history during peacetime was marked by shifts in population movement (between concentration and dispersal) and in the practice of headtaking (between peaks and cessations). Increases in headtaking were not merely instigated by intertribal feuds but by lowland disorders, such as the revolution in the

1890s and early 1900s and the Huk insurgency in the 1950s.

By the 1960s, the Ilongot were surrounded by uplanders such as the Ibaloy and Ifugao who had been dislocated by a public works project. Neither could they escape the growing presence of the Protestant New Tribe Mission. Martial Law in the 1970s occasioned remarkable changes in traditional Ilongot society. An elementary school was built, an Ilongot political federation organized, and headtaking ceased—for fear of the repercussions under the New Order. Modernization has been taking place by way of new settlers, logging companies, and churches. Today a majority of the Ilongot have already been Christianized.

**Economy**

The Ilongot are sustained mainly by fishing and hunting. They fish with nets and traps (e.g., poisonous berries), and sometimes dive to shoot larger fish with bow and arrow. Groups of men are led by dogs to hunt for boar and deer. Food production is a secondary occupation. Using the kaingin (swidden) method, the Ilongot plant sugarcane, coconuts, rice, sweet potatoes, cucumbers, squash, and other vegetables. They also gather food such as shellfish from the streams and roots, palms, fruits, honey, and beeswax from the forests. Food is prepared by boiling, roasting, or smoking and preserved by smoking, salting, and sunning, e.g., *pindang* or sun-dried meat.

Minerals are scarce and trade limited. Tobacco and surplus meat are bartered for metal weapons, salt, pots, clothes, and other necessities from the lowlands. However, the Ilongot craft many of their goods, such as the *ilayao*, a multipurpose tool, and arms like the *gayang* (barbed spear) and *sinamongan* (a larger and blunter ilayao). Sun-cured fawn skins make waterproof bags. Baskets and nets are woven from *tubeng*. A local yeast is used to concoct *basi* (sugarcane wine).

Travelling through the forest requires walking or running on rattan, some 12 meters long, looped over one tree and hooked onto another. When transferring settlement, the women carry the heavier load while the men protect the family.

**Political System**

An *alipian*, a community of several families, is headed by a *beganganat* who is assisted by a *macotay*. Ilongot leadership is based on ability and age, and at the highest level remains absolute and valid until death. When the chief dies, he is replaced by his assistant; a new assistant is selected. The ceremonial powers of the local shaman, the *nigudu*, can sometimes extend to sociopolitical matters. The elders settle conflicts between beganganat and nigudu should they arise. Ilongot common law prohibits murder, adultery, deceit, theft, work on each fifth day, wives' disobedience of their husbands, and nonpayment of debts. Crimes are usually punished by fines and

beatings. The families of offenders are partly accountable for the offenses; thus they are involved in the settlement of both civil and criminal cases.

Territorial boundaries of Ilongot communities are strictly observed, encroachment permitted only during intercommunity weddings, illness, or feudal revenge. Peace pacts between communities are negotiated by prominent representatives of the feuding parties, formalized by human sacrifice and blood compact, and marked by lining trails with bloodstained arrows.

Ilongot communities are presently administered by the provincial governments of Nueva Vizcaya and Quirino, and subject to national laws.**Social Onganization and Customs**

The Ilongot belong to social groups of expanding size and scope: families, households, local clusters, and *bertan* (ambiguous large groups, coresidential and dispersed). While the more complex Ilongot communities are socially stratified into the affluent, the middle class, and the slaves, the Ilongot believe in inherent social equality. Thus important activities are accomplished in groups as in raiding, celebrating, negotiating, and hunting. Feuds reinforce affinities. These usually progress in four stages though not necessarily in succession: first, the recognition of an insult or a wrong such as when one's manhood is taunted or when a suitor feels he is being unfairly overtaken in courtship; second, the beheading, during which raiding parties of 4 to 40 men, both kith and kin, wreak their vengeance upon any member of the offender's bertan; third, the covenant, settled a considerable period thereafter, when amends are ready to be made and manifested in social celebration; and fourth, the intermarriage or truce, or the resumption of the feud, during which the alliance is either affirmed or severed. By far the most celebrated of such feuds was that between the Rumyad and Butag, which began in the 1940s for various reasons (mainly treachery), erupted in open battle in 1952, and concluded by covenant in 1969.

Ilongot social etiquette dictates moderate and cautious behaviour to show respect and good intent; abrupt actions indicate anger and hostility. This code applies to casual greetings, covenants, and courtship. The latter transpires in stages gradually developing in social purview: initially, a private understanding between man and woman, expressed through an exchange of betel and founded on the notion of *tugde* ("to grow fond of" and "to become accustomed to"); next, a revelation to the woman's family, wherein the woman caters to her suitor's requests, and he in turn undergoes several tests including working for the woman's family; and finally, a public acknowledgement of the engagement after which the woman can be courted by no other. The man's family pays its respects to the woman's family; in extreme cases as in arranged marriages of convenience (to end a feud, for instance), bridewealth payment is offered; otherwise, gifts of cloth, food, and drink suffice. The man remains in the woman's house and so does his father on the first night, to ease the pain of parting. The wedding often takes place only after a child has been born from the union. During the wedding festivities, basi is served in large quantities to heighten the merriment. With their fingers, the guests eat out of anahaw leaves which they throw out of the window after the meal. The remaining food is taken home after the feast.

Apart from providing wood, meat, and a new house if needed, building fences, and starting the kaingin, the wife performs the bulk of the household work. The Ilongot woman's independence is tested during childbearing. She alone delivers her child in the forest. The next day she washes herself and the child, returns home, and resumes her chores. For a week she nurses the child, after which she feeds the child food she masticates herself. She carries the child on her back while working. When the child is a little older, she ties the child to a post at the center of the house to afford her more flexibility at work.

Ilongot marriages are generally monogamous and enduring. Divorce is brought about by crucial financial problems, the commitment of a crime, or broader divisions between groups. For instance, relatively more divorces were recorded during the period of altering political alliances between 1952 and 1954, when the Rumyad-Butag feud weakened the ties between the Kakadugen and Benate folk. The divorce is arranged by the parents of the estranged couple. The couple's children are divided: the daughters with the father, the sons with the mother. If the woman commits the offense, she returns the wedding presents to the man's parents.

The stages of the male life cycle are characterized by the cultivation of certain skills. Thus the male learns how to move, as a child; how to work, as a youth; and how to speak, as an adult. From the beginning the boy, with bow and arrow in hand, is initiated into gender-specific activities like hunting and foraging. Upon reaching puberty, he selects a name, usually derived from an object of nature, which he retains until he moves residence or when an evil spirit causing illness and misfortune needs to be exorcised. Manhood is attained through various ordeals, most importantly teeth filing, headtaking, and marriage. Teeth are shortened for increased strength and sanitation. The excruciating pain experienced during the ritual is remedied by the application of a warmed guava twig or a *batac* stem. The art of headtaking elevates a male youth from the station of a novice to that of a full-fledged adult. Its goal is not to collect heads but to take at least one head, for the "throwing away" of a body symbolizes purgation and an unburdening of a grievance from an insult, or of the grief over the death of a relative. Although a status symbol, headtaking is not a prerequisite to marriage.

A foray requires the chief's consent, initiation by feasting, and the participation of a *nyayio,* a party usually of even-numbered male relatives. Victims are ambushed in various ways, as by encircling a person on a trail or by burning a house and killing its fleeing occupants. The warriors cut those body parts believed to contain the essence of the person's strength, i.e., the head and some toes and fingers. (The head is sacred, and even rubbing another person's head is considered derogatory). The severed parts are cured, then stored for consumption during illness or at a consecration. Another feast concludes the ritual after which the prized head is buried. The skull is later hung from the rafters of the victor's house.

Once married, the man lives with or near his wife's parents whom he is forbidden to

call by their personal names. When his wife's parents grow old, they live with a younger married couple, customarily their youngest daughter and her husband. At this point the husband takes the lead. An Ilongot male is thus at his prime between the ages of 35 to 44. He starts to master his culture, and immerses himself in activities like singing, crafting, instrument playing, and orating. The Ilongot man of advanced years is addressed as *apu* (parent's parent/spouse's parent), except by his children. However, much he is venerated for his memory and his position in the family, the aging Ilongot is relegated to the margins of society.

The Ilongot mourn their dead for a week. During mourning, work ceases, and eating salt is tabooed (only rice is allowed). A wake is held while the blanket-shrouded corpse lies in a house. It is left to decay on a bamboo table in the house which is later burned; the neighbors abandon the near surroundings theareafter marked with a fire tree. Sometimes the corpse is buried in a sitting position. Personal weapons, utensils, and ornaments are laid beside the corpse. Village life returns to normal after a celebration, wherein only fish and rice are served. A man's eldest son inherits his property. A woman leaves no material legacy. Solemn vows are made by the deceased's nearest kin (parents or spouse), to abstain from a certain food, abandon a piece of land, or refrain from fishing in a designated area.**Religious Beliefs and Practices**

The traditional Ilongot believe in Kain and Abel, benevolent gods and creators of the universe who live in heavenly bodies. As they are invisible, their mobility is marked by *keat* (lightning) and *kidu* (thunder). The stronger Abel created the lowlands: Kain, a headhunter, created the mountains and brought about the Ilongot people and culture. Together with their emissaries, Binangunan or Kabuligian, both are worshipped during feasts. Food and wine are set on a small bamboo table covered with red cloth. The priest shouts the invitation to them that they may be pleased to bless the people with good health and harvest.

Some Ilongot pay homage to nature, as personified by Oden (rain), Elag (sun), and Delan (moon), whom Elag covers with a *baga-o* basket during quarrels (thus the moon has several phases). Fire also occupies a significant place in the Ilongot belief system. Before a hunt, the dogs and weapons are passed through the smoke of a fire. The leader of the pack, i.e., the last dog to be passed, is rubbed with its owner's saliva while prayers are sent to Gemang, the guardian of wild beasts. Deadly reptiles are also shown respect; thus a piece of chicken may be left by the river for crocodiles to eat.

The spirit world is inhabited by good and bad *anito* (spirits). The *ayeg* oversee the larger scheme of things, righteously giving rewards and punishments. The *palasekan* (dwarfs) play a part in individual lives. Wilful and whimsical, they must not be displeased lest sickness befall the offender. One should always carry a light to avoid encroaching on these creatures of the dark. However, they can be very helpful in bridging the known and the unknown, e.g., conveying messages from the dead and advising priests on the treatment of the sick. They are well informed about human affairs, enjoy worldly pleasures like drinking basi, and play favorites among earthlings.

The use of charms, amulets, and magic acknowledge the spirits. Balete trees, where they are said to lie, stand undisturbed. Caves are likewise revered for they house the *agimong* and *betang*, the spirits of ancestors.

Omens guide daily life, especially in important activities. Animals are key figures. For instance, a bird on a dead tree indicates misfortune; bathing a cat brings rain; and a snake in a traveler's path portends his murder.

The *magnigput* (priest), a hereditary position carried down to the eldest son or nearest male relative, supervises religious education, advises the community on related matters, and sanctifies feasts and social occasions from birth to death. Among the Ilongot feasts are the *burni*, for births and sickness; *dumiti* for postharvest thanksgiving; and *baleleong*, for the ritual of anointing young children. The baleleong is an extravagant affair hosted by affluent families. Wreaths of leaves, each with a dish for every child, are hung on the beams. The priest carries the male child who wears the wreath on his head. After praying to Abel, the priest makes a cross on the child's forehead with pig's blood. Both the child's ears are pierced. Separate rituals are held secretly for boys and girls. An elderly woman performs the anointing of the girls using boiled spring water instead of blood. The girls can only eat rice and fish immediately after the ritual. It is beheved that an error in the execution of the ritual will shorten the child's life

**Architecture and Community Planning**

An Ilongot settlement, dense or dispersed, is composed of some 4 to 11 houses. In the past the Ilongot built their houses either on trees or on poles raised 2-3 meters from the ground for protection. Floors and platforms were of bamboo or rattan-bound sapling stems; walls were of palm, rattan, or grass. The thatched roof inclined towards the apex, which was ornamented with a wood fixture curved like horns, an Ilongot trademark. Houses were fenced in by dead trees and foliage, and approached by way of a secret entrance barricaded with puas or bamboos with pointed tips, the opposite ends of which were dug into the earth.

The modern Ilongot house is about 4 X 5 meters large, and elevated some 5 meters above the ground by wooden posts. The basic framework is of bamboo, rattan, anahaw leaves, and runo stalks. The house may shelter several families. Each family reserves a corner of the slightly raised sides of the room for its own fireplace and storage area. All sleep on the unpartitioned sunken floor at the center of the room. The interior of the house is often decorated with animal skulls. Dogs guard the single door, both an entrance and exit. A platform may be constructed outside, and the bottom of the house used for domesticated animals.

Further distinctions may be drawn between the *kamari*, the boxlike domestic house, and the *gaun*, the smaller temporary field house.

**Visual Arts and Crafts**

Ilongot men wear a loincloth held around the waist by a *cagit* of either brass wire or rattan. *Gabed,* a piece of bark cloth, is wrapped around the legs and tied at the front and back with a string belt. Metal bands clasp the left arm, and several rings adorn the fingers. A handy bag containing arrowheads, flint, crocodile teeth, betel nut, and other articles usually complete the male apparel. The boys are set apart from the men by a *bosiet* band around one of their leg calves.

Ilongot women use bark cloth for their *agde,* which are drawn about their bodies like above-theknee length skirts. These are matched with blouses which expose the midriffs. Although the Ilongot do not weave cloth, the women embroider skillfully and make cotton tassels which they tie on their horsehair ornaments. They also wear *panglao* (beaded necklaces), *kalipan* (earrings), brass arm bands, and small bell accessories.

Filed and blackened teeth are considered aesthetically pleasing, and long hair preferred by both sexes. Prepubescent children are often unclothed.

Fancy headgear identifies a successful headhunter. A rattan frame is decorated with brass wire, and red yarn and shells. On the projected front part of this frame is placed the large red bill of a *kalaw* bird (see logo of this article). An ear pendant represents a man's first kill. Notches are added either on the bill or the earlobes to indicate subsequent successes.**Literary Arts**

Although many Ilongot *dimolat* (folktales) derive from practical jokes, some reveal fragments of Hindu epics. These tales represent the Ilongot world perspective and value system, e.g., courage and strength as manifested in physical exploits. They also suggest that to the Ilongot, cruelty is justifiable while, paradoxically, kindness is always a virtue.

The dimolat have no fixed classifications; genres are often vague and fluid. A few can be identified as origin myths, legends, animal tales, marchen, and occupational tales. The dimolat can be told in two ways, i.e., briefly, during moments of respite from work or whenever an expert folklorist is unavailable, or comprehensively, when time permits or during idle evenings. A master storyteller, usually an old man or woman, chants in a generally monotonous tones; lively tunes are rare. The narration follows the measure of the tune; hence for this purpose various literary and rhetorical devices can be employed. For example, meaningless syllables are added or meaningful ones deleted. The plot being secondary, the pleasure of listening to a dimolat comes mainly from its narration.

Dreams enter Ilongot tales as portents of the future. They offer a deus ex-machina solution to one part of the conflict and provide a scenario for the resolution of the next.

A memorable tale is that of a young archer named Pana, who loved Anang, a beautiful daughter of the chief of a neighboring community. One day, Pana went on a headtaking expedition. Upon chancing on a lone maiden, he killed her, severed her head, and cut off her fingers. Then he threw her body into a river, and removed the brains and hair from her head. These he presented to Anang's father as proof of his courage. The wedding followed, during which the head was used as a wine bowl. Finally the village folk took turns dancing around the head in joyous celebration.

The origin myth, "Na Nanggapuan Min Ilongot" (How We Became Ilongot) is a tale of Ilongot ancestry. The god, Kain, created a man and a woman. They married and lived in a hut in the mountains. There the woman conceived and bore a son. Later she bore a daughter. When the two children grew, their parents asked them to marry. This process continued until the mountains were populated. The descendants have since pursued the economic activities of their forebears.

Legends are the Ilongot's prescientific explanations for worldly phenomena. The tale, "Nempangngon Ma Bantog Duag Ma Lemot To" (Why the Lizard Has Two Tongues) is an interesting example. It recounts a contest between a lizard and a crocodile who agreed that whoever could stay longer underwater would have the tongue of the other. The competition went on for several days, the lizard cheating the crocodile by coming up for air. Unaware that he was cheated, the crocodile eventually surfaced and acknowledged defeat. So the lizard got the crocodile's tongue.

Some Ilongot animal tales are also origin myths. Note the tale, "Sayma Nang-gapuan Ma Bulangna" (The Origin of the Monkey). A rich but selfish man owned a large farm and many properties. His laborers were always hungry for they were barely fed. One day the master decided to start a kaingin. To make the clearing, the laborers felled the trees, then proceeded to the forest to collect rattan to make *tabigoc*. By midday, when they had already completed their tasks, they felt great hunger. They climbed the trees, and cut down branches and twigs. They grew weary and dazed, and placed the rattan between their legs. These turned into tails, and the men themselves transformed into monkeys. Thus the master later discovered his hungry laborers.

One Ilongot animal tale, "Kalabin Tan Saima Kolugo" (The Bat and the Owl), basically a conversation between these two animals, reveals how the Ilongot classify some sections of'the animal kingdom, e.g., birds are different from animals. The conversation may be paraphrased as follows (Wilson 1967:76-78):

> Bat:Owl, you look like a cat.
> Owl:And you, a dog
> Bat:You're mistaken, I am a bird; wings are my gifts, and trees, my home.
> Owl:But feathers you have not.
> Bat:I fly. But you look like a cat.
> Owl:What do you eat?
> Bat:Fruits and nothing else. And you?
> Owl:I eat rats and little birds.

Bat:If I were a dog, I would be eating flesh as you do.
Owl:I see your point. I suppose we are half bird and half animal.

Other animal tales illustrate the value of practical intelligence. One such tale, "Deama Bulangan Nima Ambobocal" (The Monkey and the Turtle), was borrowed by the Ilongot from other groups. It is about a monkey and a turtle who once were friends. One day they came upon a banana plant. To avoid a fight, they decided to divide the plant. The monkey got the leaves, and the turtle, the roots; these they planted. The turtle's share grew into a banana plant. The envious monkey ate all the fruits of the turtle's tree.

Furious, the turtle stuck horns on the tree trunk. As the monkey descended, he was hurt and enraged. He threatened to throw the turtle into the river. The turtle feigned fear and implored the monkey's mercy. When the monkey threw the turtle into the river, the turtle surfaced from the water and jeered at the monkey's stupidity. The monkey dove into the water and perished.

Ilongot occupation tales highlight the virtues of industry and kindness. Some of these tales indicate how dreams are used to predict the unknown. For example, in the settlement of Tamsi lived an industrious couple, Tunggi and his wife, Luddi. They hunted and planted camote or sweet potato. One day Luddi dreamed of a famine. In that dream, she was advised to plant many sweet potatoes and sugarcane. Luddi and Tunggi followed the dream. In a month the sugarcane grew, and the couple dug up the potatoes and filled one corner of their house with the harvest. Then famine struck. The couple shared their bounty with those who came to beg for food. After the famine, Tunggi was made chief of the settlement and Luddi continued to be popular among the folk.

A more sophisticated way of using the dream-device is treating it as an oracle, e.g., dreams foretelling the future metaphorically. This is portrayed in the tale of a hunter who lived in the Ipango forest. One night, after an unsuccessful hunt, the hunter returned home to sleep. He dreamed he fell into a pit trap, so dark and deep that his breath almost escaped him. When he woke in the morning, he put thoughts of the dream aside and went hunting. He sighted a deer and trailed it until darkness covered him. He found breathing difficult and recalled his father's stories. He realized, as if jolted by a premonition, that he had been swallowed by a snake. With his knife he cut himself free from the snake's stomach. He ran to the village and informed the others of the creature. They seized their weapons, returned to the site, and killed the snake, the meat of which was shared and eaten.**Performing Arts**

Ilongot rituals and feasts, marked by song and dance, are performed to solicit the blessings and prosection of the gods. Moreover, daily livelihood tasks as well as the life cycle-courtship, marriage, parenthood, and death-present other venues for the Ilongot performing arts.

Ilongot musical instruments produce unusual sounds. Such instruments can be classified into two: those played only to provide rhythm for dances, and those for other purposes. The only recorded example of the first type is the *ganza* or brass gong ensemble, which is probably not native to the group. Examples of the second type include the bamboo or brass jew's harp, the *kuliteng* or bamboo guitar, the bamboo zither (which can be either plucked or tapped), the bamboo or bark-and-skin violin, and the nose flute.

Ilongot vocal music is often shouted or sung during ritual dances. Other types are performed on their own, like the *baliwayway* (lullabies), cradle songs, and love songs. Here is a baliwayway, song of a mother to her son (Wilson 1967:108-110):

*Ay os'song bukod nito ta uc'kit capa,*
*Taan ca pa no be'dac*
*Du bucud si'gudu no simican capo'*
*Sigudu agcapo andan'ge;*
*Do an'gen isipel con lagem*
*Ta alim'bawa we maduken bilay mo*
*Sicapo ma manalima di'ke.*
*I say ma ibigec dimo ay nongo capo,'*
*Ta inki'taac pud uma antala'baco,*
*Ta we pañga'gaan ta no biayta,*
*Ta camuem pon sumi'can*
*Atembawa sumican capo Ossong,*
*Sica ma mañgoma*
*Ancayab'ca mad kio*
*Tan de gan moy di.*
*Ta we poy paguean co,*
*Pañgagaan ta no canan'ta*

My son, now that you are still young,
I compare you to a blooming flower;
But, when you grow to be a big man,
Maybe you will be a naughty youth;
But, though my suspicions are like that,
I just bear them all
Because, if you will grow, and
have a long life,
You shall take care of me when I grow old.
I am then urging you to sleep,
So that I can go out to the field and work,
To plant; so we may have something to reap, to sustain our life:
So that you will grow easily.
And, if you will grow to be a man, my son,
You shall take my place on the farm.
You shall climb the tall trees in my stead;
Cut the branches and the trunk.
So that we shall have some place
to plant rice
To sustain us, while we are still alive.

When the child has grown bigger, he/she may be put to sleep with a cradle song, such as this one (Wilson 1967:107-108):

*Otoyo nappalindo walaan canman*
*Tay asimpogong noy kinnolayab noy lambong.*
*Imepat a nakigeb. Noy saguet.*
*Ipipian nong-o*
*Mam'bintan ka ñgomka manibil*
*no umuwit inam*
*Gimat'amam nanganBekeg ma talabacon inam*
*Ta kagamakan de no unka muka sumikan'*
*Tano we kadedege ma Apo sin Diot,*
*Ta iya'dan na ka no madukem biay'mo*
*Ta bukod no sumikan ka*
*Sika po, manalima mad bugan'gat ta.*

A small boy who plays with flowers
With his small cloth he climbs
the yellow bell-flower.
It bends over and breaks. He falls.
So, you had better sleep soundly;,
Then cry when mother comes.
Father went out to hunt deer for you,
In addition to mother's work;
With the purpose of making you grow.
And if our Sire grants his help to you,
And permits you to have a long life,
When you grow old,
It's then your duty to support your parents.

Love songs are sung among the youth who have reached adolescence. Following is the love song of a girl to her suitor (Wilson 1967:110-111):

*Talumpacdet, talumpacdet,*
*Papan ginsolaney.*
*Tumacla ginlamonyao,*
*Kadiapot otog bilao,*
*Bilao dipo alandeden.*
*Gapuca ñgo upad longot,*
*Aduan toy sulimpat;*
*Admo deken weningweng.*

Wait for me, wait for me,
There where you cut trees.
And let's go and gather oranges.
We will eat them on the grass,
The grass where our houses are.
You have been in the forest,
And you didn't get any bean-shooter;
You didn't bring anything for me.

Ilongot dances are relatively free from foreign influences. Their headtaking dances, for instance, are emotionally powerful in a way that is typically Ilongot. The movements are strenuous and betray internal stress. As in many headtaking societies, several heads were prized possessions, and were presented as gifts during courtship. Actual heads are no longer used today.

The *tagem* or postheadtaking dance is still executed according to custom. While the women play the *kolesing* or bamboo zithers counterpointed by the sticks and the *litlit* or guitar with human hair strings, the men dance with their weapons, moving in a vigorous and trancelike manner. They may mock and tease the head that they have cut, even as they engage in a friendly battle to show their prowess in battle. The women later join the men and dance with equal intensity.

In 1917, the anthropologist L. Wilson observed that a similar dance took place on a cleared hilltop after the successful headtaking expedition. Severed heads and jars of rice wine were placed on a mat that had been centered on the clearing. The heads served as wine bowls after the scalp and the surrounding top portions had been cut off and the brains removed. Only the men danced around the mat while the rest moved, shouted, and sang to the beat of the brass gongs. The members of the expedition chanted their adventures, and demonstrated how they made the kill.

Another war dance has two warriors armed with bolo (knives have now been replaced by sticks) and shield, simulating a combat with agile steps and fluid arm and body movements and smooth steps.

The Ilongot also perform dances unrelated to war. Most noted of these are the *dallong tayo*, the *kullon*, and the *ditak*, which are all economic danc-rituals celebrated by the entire village. • M.P. Consing/Reviewed by Florentino Homedo**References**


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