"Itawes" comes from the prefix "i" meaning "people of" and the word "tawid" or "across the river," and means "the people from across the river." The Itawes have been variously called "Itawit," "Itawiq," "Tawish," "Itawi," "Itaves," and "Itabes." The names "Kaluas" and "Kalauas," which refer to the Kalinga, have also been applied to the Itawes as they are sometimes mistaken for the people who live in the northeastern part of Kalinga (Llamzon 1978:46). The early natives of Cagayan did not use such names as Ybanag or Itawes but referred to themselves as "Y-Sigiran" or "the men downstream;" "Y-Rita" or "those from the south;" and "Y-Raya" or "the upstream people." The Itawes occupy the territory drained by the Chico and Matalag Rivers, as well as all of southern Cagayan from Nasiping to the village of Cavug, now the town of Enrile (Rocero 1982:25). They are concentrated in the following towns of Cagayan province, here presented in terms of the percentage of their Itawes inhabitants (from highest to lowest): Enrile, Iguig, Peñablanca, Tuao, Piat, Tuguegarao, Amulung, Sto. Niño, Solana, Rizal, Alcala, and Baggao. In many of these towns, the Itawes live with the Ibanag, and often speak Ibanag which has become a standard language. The Itawes population rose from 59,242 in 1948 to 87,529 in 1960.

History

The Spaniards came to Cagayan Valley a year after the capture of Manila in 1571. As a strategic base from which to launch attacks on China and Japan, Cagayan Valley was of considerable importance to the Spaniards who, accordingly, established the Nueva Segovia bishopric in Lal-lo (Casiño 1982:141).

Among the Cagayan communities, the colonizers found a flourishing economy characterized by the domestication of animals, hunting, and fishing, and the presence of small native industries such as wine making, and cotton and linen cloth weaving. Those who occupied the coastal areas were skilled in boat making and traded with neighboring communities.

The Spanish encounter with the Itawes came after the colonizers made contact with the Isneg who occupied the northwest part of the valley. Missionary attempts to convert the Itawes and the neighboring Kalinga were always met with resistance. Those who were converted were settled in *rancherias* or settlements or in larger pueblos in order to separate them from the unconverted and to facilitate colonial rule. By law, Spanish administrative officials were supposed to protect the natives by maintaining peace and order, support missionary efforts to convert the people, and help in the defense of the colony (Constantino 1975: 45-46). In return, Spanish officials were authorized to collect a tribute payable in money or its equivalent in the form of poultry products and other foodstuff. Although safeguards were instituted to discourage or prevent abuses, the collection of tribute and draft labor were marked by the colonizer's greed and cruelty. The Itawes who could no longer stand colonial abuses returned to the mountains, while others fought against the encomienda system.

The Spaniards responded harshly to native rebellion. Some of the Itawes chiefs were

beheaded; others were exiled to Mexico, and still others were sentenced to forced labor (Casiño 1982:140). By 1600, with the allocation of 50 encomiendas to the Spaniards, it was clear that the colonizers had prevailed.

Continued exploitation by the Spaniards in the succeeding centuries resulted in uprisings. In 1718 the natives of Tuao, together with the people from Malaueg, revolted against the missionaries. The revolt was under the leadership of Matatangan and Sinanguinga and was joined by the Kalinga, the Irraya, and the Itawes. The uprising was crushed by Spanish troops led by Captain Pablo Orduna (Malumbres, *Cagayan* 1918: 55-57).

These uprisings did not seem to have bothered the Spaniards. The fertile soil of Cagayan Valley made it the first choice of the Spaniards for the tobacco monopoly, which was set up in 1781 and lasted for nearly a century. The compulsory cultivation of tobacco, which gave considerable revenue to the government, caused tremendous hardships for the natives. The production and sale of tobacco was supervised by the government through its agents. Farmers were given quotas and were fined if they failed to meet these quotas. Their entire crop was sold to the government which paid the farmers in vouchers encashed at a discount to government officials and merchants. The tobacco monopoly was abolished by the Spanish authorities in 1883, in response to the concepts of laissez-faire and free trade. However, the people's hardships had already paved the way for Itawes participation in the revolution in 1898.

In 1898, churches in Itawes communities, especially Enrile, offered refuge to Spanish priests, nuns, and officials from different parts of Cagayan province who attempted to elude capture by the revolutionary movement. Nonetheless, they were all captured but were spared from harm through the intercession of Don Vicente de Guzman who was a respected nationalist (Castillet 1960:151).

During the Philippine-American War, Enrile figured prominently as the place to which General Emilio Aguinaldo, head of the Philippine revolutionary government, retreated to consolidate his army's strength. He was later captured by the Americans in Palanan, Isabela on 23 March 1901.

American occupation of the Cagayan province began on 12 December 1899, when 300 US troops led by Captain Bacheler seized Tuguegarao. They confiscated the ammunition kept by Aguinaldo's soldiers in the convent and occupied San Jacinto College. Colonel Charles Hood, on orders from Washington, assumed the post of military governor of Cagayan and dispatched soldiers to reinforce Bacheler's troops (Castillet 1960:326).

By 1902, the Americans had full control of the province of Cagayan. The principal instrument of pacification and Americanization was the public school system which encouraged Filipinos to peacefully accept colonial rule. Small schoolhouses painted red were built throughout Cagayan. In 1938, the Cagayan Valley Athenaeum was founded in Tuguegarao by Father Constance Jurgens CICM. During the schoolyear 1949-1950, Jurgens turned over complete jurisdiction of the Athenaeum to the Jesuits,

who renamed the school the Ateneo de Tuguegarao (Castillet 1960:354).

On 7 May 1907, five missionary sisters of Saint Paul de Chartres (four French and one Chinese) came to Tuguegarao upon the invitation of Monsignor Denis Dougherty, then bishop of Nueva Segovia. The sisters established the Colegio de San Pablo, which opened in June 1907 under Mother Ephrem Marie. The school would later be renamed Colegio de San Pablo, Colegio del Sagrado Corazon, Sacred Heart of Jesus Institution (SHOJI), and finally Saint Paul's College of Tuguegarao (Castillet 1960:356).

The Japanese forces landed in Luzon on 8 December 1941. Tuguegarao was bombed by Japanese planes on that day. After the bombing, families vacated their homes and fled to the mountains. The evacuation continued for three days. Four days after, Tuguegarao was occupied by the Japanese who stayed in public buildings and private houses. Soon after, the resistance movement headed by Governor Marcelo Adurru consolidated its strength in the mountains and launched attacks on the Japanese until the arrival of the Americans. The seat vacated by Adurru was filled by ex-representative Nicanor Carag, who was forced by the Japanese to assume office as governor of the province.

With the institution of the provincial government under the Japanese colonial administration, many evacuees returned to their homes. Public schools were opened with Nihongo as the core of the curriculum. The barter system was widely practiced although Japanese war notes were circulated.

In December 1944, American forces landed in Luzon and Tuguegarao was practically leveled to the ground by US war planes. The Japanese transferred their headquarters to barrio Capatan across the Pinacanauan River. On 9 May 1945, American planes returned and demolished Japanese installations in Cagayan.

Today, with its favorable climate and scenic topography, Cagayan province has become a haven for nature lovers and adventure seekers. There are a number of places which make Cagayan a tourist attraction—Callao National Park in Peñablanca, noted for its seven-chambered limestone caves; the overhanging rock canopy called Mororan, with its crystal clear waters flowing down to the Pinacanauan River; the Seven Steps Waterfalls of Baggao; and the famous Shrine of Our Lady of Piat in the heart of the Itawes area, where thousands of Cagayano faithful gather every year to celebrate the feast day of the Patroness of Cagayan (Rocero 1982:20).**Economy**

Since pre-Spanish times, the Itawes economy had been characterized by wet and dry rice cultures. But the institution of the tobacco monopoly in the 18th century turned the Itawes into commercial agriculturists planting cash crops, mainly tobacco. Corn production was also introduced and became a secondary staple. Protein was provided by the meat obtained from wild and domesticated animals, and from the fish which abounded in the rivers and streams.

Cagayan has rich natural resources—marine, fresh water, agricultural, wildlife, and

mineral. A large part (63.7 percent) of the province is forested, so Cagayan has the largest volume of standing timber in Region II, which makes the province a major log exporter of the country. Cagayan's fertile soil has made agriculture the base of the provincial economy. The province leads in the Luzon region in the production of corn, peanuts, and native tobacco. Other important agricultural products include rice, coffee, and ginger. Nonmetallic minerals abound such as gravel and sand, crushed and coral rocks, and sulfur. The potential for fishing is maximized by long shorelines, with sufficient brackish and fresh water for fishpond development. Livestock includes poultry, carabaos, hogs, and cattle. The rich natural resources have given rise to manufacturing enterprises such as cigar and cigarette factories, food processing firms, wood, textile, leather and footwear companies, printing and chemical establishments (Rocero 1982:18).

Political System

In accordance with the structure of the national government as defined by the 1986 Constitution, Cagayan Province is divided into municipalities, which are in turn divided into barangays—all supervised by the Department of Interior and Local Government. These local government units support the national government in the delivery of basic services to communities and the effective enforcement of laws.

The barangay is the basic unit and consists of no fewer than 1,000 inhabitants residing within the territorial limits of a municipality. Primarily, the barangay serves as the primary planning and implementing unit of government programs, projects, and activities. The barangay is administered by a set of elective officials headed by a barangay chairman.

The municipality is a conglomeration of barangays and a subsidiary of the province. The elective officials of the municipality are the municipal mayor, vice-mayor and Sangguniang Bayan or Municipal Council members.

The province is the largest political unit. Its functions are generally to coordinate and supervise the affairs of its municipalities. Elective officials of the provincial government are the governor, vice-governor, and members of Sangguniang Panlalawigan or Provincial Council, while the appointed officials include the provincial secretary, treasurer, assessor, budget officer, engineer, agriculturist, and planning and development coordinator.

Social Organization and Customs

In traditional Itawes society, marriage was contracted through parental arrangement (Llamzon 1978:46). As an initial step, the boy writes and delivers a *carta formal* (formal letter) to the girl's parents which signals his serious intention to marry their daughter. Usually, the boy's family employs the services of a go-between known for

his skill in matchmaking and who can best express the boy's intentions. If the girl's family and immediate relatives agree on the contents of the carta formal, the wedding date, the *dote* (dowry), and the kind of celebration are set.

The wedding ceremonies go through four phases: the *pasingaan*, the *vesperas,* the *kalgawan na boda*, and the *mangitolo kang luqdug.* Three weeks prior to the wedding day, the pasingaan, which means "to show" or "present," commences the series of events which lead to the wedding. During this stage, the couple goes to their parish church for confession and present themselves to the priest for his advice. The wedding ceremony can be either *sibil*, a civil ceremony officiated by a *hues* (justice of the peace); or *misa*, a church ceremony administered by a priest.

Wedding preparations culminate in the *kalgawan na boda* or day of the wedding. At the start of the ceremony, the bride usually becomes fastidious and refuses to make a move from her house and will require a fee known as the *cuarta ta pamottaran* (money to go down) to be paid by the groom's mother (Llamzon 1978:46-47).

The settlement pattern observed among the Itawes is initially matrilocal. This means that after the wedding, the couple resides in the girl's household for at least one year before they establish their own household.

The Itawes practices on pregnancy and childbirth reflect traditional animistic beliefs (Llamzon 1978:47). To forestall any difficulty in childbirth, the Itawes make sure that visitors do not stand in doorways and that no one sits on the stairway if a pregnant woman is in the house.

During labor, hardwood is used to kindle all cooking fires to ensure that the child will be strong. The afterbirth is usually buried under the drinking jar so that the child can always contain his emotions.

Aside from the usual church rites for the wake and burial, certain traditional practices during the wake are observed. Members of the immediate family are prohibited from bathing, combing their hair, and sweeping the floor. They are also prevented from cooking and from dipping into jars and pots. Friends and neighbors of the bereaved sympathize by observing these prohibitions themselves.

During the wake, all the mirrors in the house are covered. A saucer is placed near the corpse where callers at the wake can leave their *limus* or cash offerings. At the burial site, family members turn their backs to the grave as the coffin is lowered. Mourners throw a handful of soil onto the coffin in the belief that the *malas* (evil) which may have caused the death will also be buried. Afterwards, people in attendance at the burial ceremony step over the fresh grave or walk around the *panchon* (tomb) without looking back as they go directly home.

When death occurs in a family, the first meal is taken beside or near the corpse. Those who have taken the meal are whipped by an old woman with an *attang* (gabi or taro)

stalk in the belief that this will prevent skin rashes.

Religious Beliefs and Practices

A yearly pilgrimage is observed by devotees of Our Lady of Piat. The Piat Shrine was built in 1623 by the Dominican friar Juan de Santa Ana. Many miracles have been attributed to the Lady of Piat which has endeared her to many devotees all over the country. One legend involves the niece of Doña Ines Maguilabbun, one of the wealthiest and most active civic workers in Cagayan. After prayers were offered to the Lady of Piat, the girl suffering from an acute swelling of her left shoulder recovered. Another story tells of the miraculous rain that came after many long dry months.

The image of the Lady of Piat was done by an unknown sculptor in Portuguese Macao. When it was brought to the Philippines, it was first enshrined in Piat with the name Santa Maria del Rosario. A missionary visiting Piat noticed the dark image of the Virgin Mary. He took such a liking to the dark image that he commissioned a sculptor in Manila to fashion a replica of the image. Thinking that the Piateños would appreciate a fair-complexioned image, the missionary brought the original image to Tuguegarao with the approval of Fr. Juan de Santa Ana. This angered the Piateños who pressured Fr. Santa Ana to return the image immediately to Piat.

To make the devotion to the Virgin Mary more accessible to as many inhabitants as possible, the parish priest ordered the construction of a chapel on a spot between Tuao and Piat. The first Mass in this shrine was celebrated on 26 December 1623. But word spread that the statue had manifested its desire, through an old woman's dream, to be enshrined in Piat proper. The people of Tuao, who also wanted the image for their town, reportedly sent a group of men to bring it to Tuao, but the image became very heavy and immovable. To the surprise of everyone, a six-man delegation from Piat was able to carry the image easily to Piat, where the Image was then permanently enshrined (Castillet 1960:254).

The Itawes believe in saints who serve as their guardians and intercessors. These saints are represented by religious images called *santo*, which occupy a revered place in every Itawes home (Caldez 1970:108). Locally made santo are usually first taken to church to be blessed before they are enshrined in improvised altars. Sometimes, the santo is brought home after the blessing accompanied by a band.

Many religious beliefs are associated with the santo. Neglecting a santo, letting it decay or gather dust would cause sickness to a family member. Sickness or epidemic, a long journey, graduation from school, poor or bountiful harvests are occasions which call for the repainting and reblessing of the santo.

Antique santo, especially those brought by Spanish missionaries and merchants from Spain, are attractive to buyers willing to pay high prices. However, the Cagayano

abhor the selling of these images as this is considered a betrayal similar to that of Judas who sold Christ for 30 pieces of silver.**Architecture and Community Planning**

Architectural structures that reveal a rich historical background and the ingenuity of the Cagayano abound in places where the Itawes live. The church and convent in barrio Teja, Tuao, for example, built by the Dominican friar Gabriel Serrano in the 17th century, was prominent for its four-columned Gothic structure. A popular legend among the people of Tuao narrates that the construction of the church was impeded by a bird which came hovering and touched the cross to mark the site of the proposed church. The bird yelled "batullao" and then flew northward and perched on a big tree which stood on the site of the present church. The missionaries heeded the sign and built the church on the place where the bird perched. The church was destroyed by an earthquake on 29 December 1949 (Castillet 1960:310).

Also in the poblacion of Tuao, one can still see the ruins of a fortress, called *cota* by the natives, which the Spaniards and their native allies used to defend the town from the invasions of the Kalinga.

In Iguig, a mildew-coated rectory well is located east of the Catholic church. Constructed in August 1768, the well was for a long time the only source of drinking water. It was abandoned after the advent of artesian wells (Castillet 1960:194).

On the west side of the church, there is a brick stairway which leads down to the Cagayan River. Accounts from the early people of Iguig say that the stairway served as the town's red carpet for visiting Spanish officials who came by boat on the Cagayan River.

Old Spanish kilns, called *hornos*, abound in Cagayan towns, specifically in the sitios of Salamagui, Ajat, and Nattangan—all in Iguig. These horno-baked bricks which were used as building materials for many hispanic structures like the *bahay na bato* (stone house) and the cathedrals. From the hornos, the bricks were relayed by hand from one native to another, until it reached the masons who then piled them together to form the foundation and walls of the church.

Visual Arts

The Itawes belief in saints is made concrete in religious images which they call santo. Their collections of santo include the works of unknown Filipino sculptors as well as imported images that are centuries old. Local santo come in different sizes and faces, even if they depict the same saint. This shows that their sculptors had varying ideas of how the saints looked like. Nevertheless, symbols associated with these saints remain identical (Caldez 1970:108).

Locally carved santo are usually made of wood such as santol, nangka, and guava, which are preferred for their texture, durability, and resistance to termites. Popular

among the santo makers are the figures of San Jacinto, San Jose, San Vicente Ferrer, San Isidro Labrador (patron of farmers), San Pedro, and San Roque (patron of the sick). These santos are repainted from time to time and are taken to the church for reblessing.

Today, santo making is a thriving craft and is considered a profitable industry, these being preferred to images made of ceramics and plaster of Paris.

Literary Arts

During the Spanish period, the Ibanag language became the ecclesiastical language of the Spanish missionaries in Cagayan. It came to be considered a prestigious language, and non-Ibanag speakers, like the Itawes, aspired to learn and speak Ibanag. This process of linguistic adaptation made the Ibanag and Itawes literature indistinguishable.

Literary pieces in Itawes have survived through oral transmission. One such piece is a legend which relates the battle between Biuag and Malana, believed to have happened in Nangalawatan, a barrio near Il-luru, Rizal. Here, two mountains stand opposite each other as proof of the battle for the love of a very beautiful woman (*Cagayan Almanac* 1970:106).

The legend recounts how the baby Biuag, born in Enrile, the southernmost town of Cagayan, is visited by a beautiful woman who hands him three stones that will give him protection and supernatural powers. When he is older, he remains troubled and unhappy despite these powers. He falls in love with a beautiful woman whose origin the people do not know. Meanwhile, there is another young man from Malaueg (now Rizal) named Malana. Like Biuag, he also possesses powers which he uses to help his people, thus gaining their admiration. One day, Biuag is visited by the beautiful woman. Biuag takes this opportunity to propose to her, but the woman turns him down as she is already betrothed to Malana. Biuag challenges Malana to a fight to prove who is more worthy of the woman's love. But Malana turns him down saying that his powers are not meant for such fights. Soon after, Biuag prepares to leave the town with the woman. The people from Malaueg stop him, and Malana has no choice but to accept the challenge. The two protagonists prepare for the big fight, as the people build the two mountains on the opposite banks of Matalag River. On the day of the fight, Biuag, accompanied by the people of Enrile, brings with him a big coconut tree and a sharp spear and proceeds to the mountain on the eastern bank of the river. Malana, on the other hand, goes up to the opposite mountain. The fight begins. Biuag hurls his weapons one at a time but fails to hurt Malana. Running out of weapons, Biuag leaps into the river and emerges with a big crocodile in his arms. Biuag then shakes the mountain where Malana stands. Malana leaps from the mountain and suddenly the beautiful woman is in midair to meet him. She looks down at Biuag and castigates him for being a coward and getting the help of a crocodile. The woman turns out to be the daughter of the goddess who gave them their powers. In the end, she takes Malana to the "kingdom in the air."

Performing Arts

There are three dances which are performed in Itawes and Ibanag communities. *Annafunan* derives its name from the barrio of Annafunan, in Tuguegarao, where this dance is very popular. It is a reconciliation dance in which the man tries to win back the love of his woman by singing the following verses (*Cagayan Almanac* 1970:109):

Asitaw y nadianam mu
Nga bagu la masingacku?
Nadiacka tamma ta aw-away
Nga catayauan nat tolay.

Gari ta aya mu nio-c
Gammam ma nga ygacayo-c
Sangaw ta lubbe y lurac-c,
Ay cunna cuerdas nga nagatta-c.

Where did you stay
That I see you only today?
Might you have been in the wilderness
Where people are lost in the darkness?

That time when you loved me,
You always clung to me,
But now that came the havoc,
You cut the love as a string that broke.

The *kilingkingan* is a dance that derives its name from a small bird that lives in caves and has a call which resembles the sound of bamboo castanets. Featured in social gatherings, kilingkingan is performed to the accompaniment of a five-stringed guitar called *sinco-sinco.* The rhythm created by the guitar is joined by the beat coming from the pair of wooden castanets held by the woman and a pair of *buho* or bamboo castanets held by the man while dancing (*Cagayan Almanac* 1970:110).

A Spanish dance which has generated numerous versions in various parts of the Philippines is the *jota*. In the municipality of Enrile, their version is called *la jota Cagayana* which bears the energy, gaiety, and liveliness of the original Spanish jota (*Cagayan Almanac* 1970:110) • G. Zafra/Reviewed by F. Hornedo

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