"Kalinga" comes from the common noun "kalinga" which means "enemy," "fighter," or "headtaker" in the Ibanag and Gaddang languages. The inhabitants of Cagayan and Isabela considered the Kalinga as enemies since they conducted headtaking attacks on Ibanag and Gaddang territories. As such, the name is considered a misnomer since it has no geographic or ethnic basis. Yet the term has become the official ethnic name accepted even by the natives themselves (Billiet and Lambrecht 1970).

The Kalinga are one of the major ethnolinguistic groups inhabiting northern Luzon. Edward Dozier (1966) reports that the Kalinga divide themselves into the southern Kalinga who reside in Lubuagan, Pasil, and Tinglayan; the eastern Kalinga living in Tanudan; and the northern Kalinga who live in Balbalan, Pinukpok, and Tabuk. Llamzon (1978:50) differentiates the Kalinga according to six dialects: Guinaang, Lubuagan, Pinukpuk, Tabuk, Tinglayan, and Tanudan.

The territory of the Kalinga is the southern half of the province of Kalinga-Apayao, in the Cordillera Administrative Region. The area is bounded on the east by the Cagayan Valley, the west by Abra, the south by Mountain Province. Total land area of Kalinga-Apayao is 704,764 hectares with the Kalinga subprovince having 311,970 hectares. The eight municipalities of Kalinga are Balbalan, Lubuagan, Pasil, Pinukpuk, Rizal, Tabuk, Tanudan, and Tinglayan. Tabuk is now the capital of the province of Kalinga-Apayao.

The climate varies within the subprovince. The upper western half of Kalinga has a dry season from January to April and a wet season from May to September. March and April are the hot months. The eastern half of Kalinga has three months of dry season, May and June being the hottest, and a rainy season for the rest of the year.

The topography of the Kalinga province is rugged and mountainous, cut through by the Chico River coming from Mount Data and emptying into the Cagayan River. The Chico River has several tributaries: the Tinglayan in the south, the Pacil in the middle, the Mabaka and Saltan in the north. Several small lakes can also be found in the Kalinga. There are wide plateaus and floodplains in Tabuk and Rizal.

A larger portion of the subprovince is open grassland suitable for pasture, but the higher elevation in the west is forested by rich pine trees. Rizal and Tabuk with their flatlands are the biggest rice producers. Next in rice production are the mountainous areas—the terraces of Pinukpuk, Tinglayan, and Lubuagan.

In 1988 the NCCP-PACT Ethnographic Map placed their population at 106,000. The languages spoken in the Kalinga subprovince are Kalinga and Ilocano.

History

The Kalinga and other Cordillera peoples are believed to have arrived in separate migrations from southeastern or eastern Asia. The original migrants of northern Luzon

might have had a common culture; but due to particular conditions of economy, water supply, population density, and ecology, cultural differences began to appear among the northern Luzon mountain peoples, resulting in the various ethnolinguistic tribes: Ibaloy, Bontoc, Ifugao, Kalinga, and Sagada.

The original mountain peoples may have progressed from primary dependence on root crops until they developed swidden farming, then wet rice cultivation, and finally, irrigated terraced farming. But as the age of the rice terraces in the area is hard to ascertain, it is difficult to establish exactly how long these peoples have lived in their mountain habitats.

The precious heirloom pieces of the Kalinga, such as Chinese plates, jars, brass gongs, and agate beads were handed down from generation to generation. They are good indications of fairly extensive pre-Spanish trade between Chinese traders and the Kalinga, and between lowlanders and the Kalinga. But such trading apparently stopped with the coming of the Spaniards. Antonio de Morga, a Spanish chronicler, noted in 1607 that the Ilocano refined and distributed the gold mined by the mountain peoples (Scott 1975:186).

The Cordillera peoples fought and successfully repulsed Spanish control during the three centuries of colonial rule. Spanish attempts to subjugate and control the mountain peoples had the following objectives: to exploit the rich gold deposits of northern Luzon; to extend or protect conquered territory; to convert the "pagans" to Christianity; and to discover exotic products (Scott 1975:184).

Gold was the main objective of Spanish incursions into Igorot land. The Spanish monarchy under King Philip III was desperately in need of gold when Spain waged the "Thirty Years' War" in 1618 against the Protestants and the Dutch. The king instructed Philippine Governor General Alonzo Fajardo to befriend the Igorot to enable the Spaniards to exploit their gold mines. The Dominicans and the Jesuits rationalized military expeditions in 1620 as a mandate from God. But these and the gold explorations failed. The Spaniards were not able to occupy the Igorot gold mines for two centuries more (Scott 1975:7).

The Kalinga area remained isolated and untouched by Christianity and Western European domination, and had become the refuge of lowlanders from Cagayan Valley, Abra, and Ilocos who resisted Spanish rule. The Dominicans who worked from the eastern side of the Cagayan Valley along the lower Chico River, first attempted to Christianize the Kalinga. But there was no evidence that the Spaniards ever got closer to the mountain peoples other than through Santa Cruz and Tuga. In 1718, the Spaniards suffered a major setback when newly converted Christians of the Cagayan Valley revolted. People of the missions sought refuge in the mountains. The Spaniards abandoned Tuao, Tuga, and Santa Cruz, and the entire missionary program declined after the revolt.

During the latter half of the 19th century, Spanish authorities created comandancias or

political-military jurisdictions extending into the mountains of northern Luzon. Their purpose was to control tribal revolts and to protect Christianized lowland communities adjacent to hostile areas. The Kalinga were governed by the "Comandancia of Saltan" (1859) under the newly created Isabela province. In 1889, jurisdiction over Kalinga was transferred to the Comandancia of Itaves in Cagayan Province. However, the Spaniards failed to subjugate the Kalinga despite the undetermined number of military posts established within Kalinga territory (Scott 1975).

Spanish influence was greater on the people of northern Kalinga than southern Kalinga. Geographically, the main entry into the mountainous interior had been from the north until the American period, when trails and roads from the south were constructed. Thus trade and Spanish activities in the mid-1850s resulted in the acculturation of northern Kalinga.

Meanwhile, southern Kalinga, Bontoc, and Ifugao were uninfluenced by both Spaniards and Christianized lowlanders. The culture of the southern Kalinga thus became similar to "cultures at the south of it" like the Ifugao and Bontoc. Southern Kalinga apparently borrowed irrigated rice cultivation and other sociocultural traits from the Ifugao and Bontoc.

Throughout Spanish rule, the local government system as headed by the appointed *presidente, concejal*, and teniente was not implemented. The most significant changes brought about by Spanish activities during the late 19th century was the improvement of trade and friendly relations among the Ilocano, Tinguian, and Kalinga. This was promoted through the existing trails that had been created to maintain military posts. Old interregional hostilities diminished, bringing about peace pacts and intermarriages among them.

During the 1896 Revolution, the mountain peoples spontaneously retaliated against the Spanish garrisons. They initially supported the *Katipunero* (revolutionaries) since both lowlanders and uplanders suffered the same abuse and maltreatment by the colonizers. Although a civil government was established in the mountainous areas, the revolutionary government neglected the highlands, since efforts were concentrated in setting up a strong and effective leadership in the lowlands. Soon, the mountain peoples discovered that the conduct of the revolutionary troops stationed in the main centers was no different from that of the Spanish forces. Also, during the revolutionary period, social and economic conditions further deteriorated. Roads and trails were neglected, thus halting trade. Headtaking was resumed, internal warfare broke out among the mountain tribes, and agricultural activities were abandoned. As the Catholic missions withdrew, Christianized natives returned to their original religious practices (Dozier 1966).

The Americans, who were subtler in their colonial subjugation, were able to pacify the mountain peoples by allowing them to practice their tribal lifeways and government. The Americans set up a separate form of government for the northern Luzon mountain

region as embodied in US President William McKinley's instructions to the Philippine Commission in 1900. Dean C. Worcester, Secretary of Interior for the Philippines, was in charge of all non-Christian tribes except the Muslims. In 1901, the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes under the Philippine Commission, which became a division of the education bureau in 1905, took the task of acculturizing the mountain people.

The initial task of the local colonial government was to establish law and order and build roads and trails. For example, the construction of a road into Baguio in 1905 opened the land of the mountain peoples to lowlanders.

In 1912 the Philippine Commission created the old Mountain Province composed of seven subprovinces divided along ethnic lines: Amburayan, Apayao, Benguet, Bontoc, Ifugao, Kalinga, and Lepanto. In the 1920s, Amburayan and large areas of Lepanto and Benguet became part of La Union and Ilocos Sur, and other portions added to Bontoc. Thus, such territorial change resulted in the five subprovinces: Benguet, Bontoc, Ifugao, Kalinga, and Apayao (Scott 1975:1). The Mountain Province was administered by a governor and each subprovince by a lieutenant governor.

During the second decade of the American colonization, education, health, and sanitation became the focus. The main objective of colonial educational policy was to teach English. Particularly for the mountain peoples, the Bureau of Education formulated another objective: to provide vocational training to meet the special needs of the people. Health measures like vaccinations and medicines were enforced during this time. Schools took up the issue of hygiene. Hospitals were established in Kiangan (Ifugao), Bontoc, and Lubuagan (Kalinga). The Kalinga traditional belief that illness was caused by bad spirits was changed by the American schoolteachers and missionaries in their education and conversion work. Three missionary groups pioneered in the missionary work in the Mountain Province: the Roman Catholic Church, the American Episcopalian (Protestant), and the United Brethren (Protestant).

During the Japanese Occupation, the mountain tribes remained loyal to the Americans. The Kalinga served as guerrilla warriors and provided refuge for the Americans. Missionary work and education came to a standstill.

When Philippine independence was recognized on 4 July 1946, there was little change in the conditions of the Mountain Province. Kalinga, meanwhile, became increasingly neglected, as evidenced by the poor maintenance and declining construction of roads and trails.

The old Mountain Province was abolished by Republic Act 4695 in June 1966. The Act also created the new provinces of Benguet, Ifugao, and Kalinga-Apayao (Scott 1975:1-2).

One important turning point in Kalinga recent history was the struggle against the Chico River Basin Development Project, a project of the Marcos administration funded by the World Bank. On 13 May 1975, 150 papangat (peacemakers) from

Kalinga and Bontoc forged the Bodong Federation Incorporated uniting themselves against the construction of four hydroelectric dams which would inundate their villages and rice fields. For the first time, the Kalinga and Bontoc forged intertribal solidarity and declared their preparedness to resort to armed resistance to defend their ancestral domain. They sent petitions and delegations to Malacañang but President Marcos dismissed their appeal as sentimental and urged them to make sacrifices for the sake of the nation's progress. Marcos then sent military forces to the area. The escalation of military operations in the area became a national and international issue, especially after tribal chief Macli-ing Dulag was killed by soldiers under Lieutenant Leodegario Adalem of the 44th Infantry Battalion on 24 April 1980. The slaying of Macli-ing Dulag further united the northern peoples. On 13-14 February 1982, another bodong (peace treaty) was held involving leaders of four provinces: Mountain Province, Kalinga-Apayao, Abra, and Ilocos Sur.

Adalem was convicted to 14 years imprisonment in November 1983 but militarization continued. The popular resistance of the Kalinga and other Cordillera peoples succeeded when the World Bank withdrew from the project in the early 1980s (De los Reyes and De los Reyes 1987:188-190).

Economy

The Kalinga subprovince has agricultural, mineral, forest, and wildlife resources. The main agricultural product is rice. Principally rice growers, the Kalinga were once famous for producing and exporting large-grained rice (Barton 1949). Other products are cacao, coffee, corn, sugar, bananas, and vegetables. Minerals found in the area are gold, iron, copper, and silver. Forest products include timber, rattan, and bamboo.

The southern Kalinga are predominantly wet-rice cultivators while the northern Kalinga are dry rice farmers. The former cultivate two crops of rice in the payao or rice terrace. The first crop planted during December consists of large-grained rice called oloy or onoy planted along with a glutinous rice called daykot or dikit. By June, the second crop called oyak are planted in house gardens and transplanted in the rice fields by July.

The people of northern Kalinga grow rice in swiddens or *oma* (also *uma*). They select a plot according to ideal conditions of the soil, observe good or bad omens, then clear the swidden before *manosok* (planting). Generally, planting starts with the prayer of old women. In one planting method, the men dig holes with a stick and the women drop rice into the holes. In another, both men and women dig holes and plant. Irrigated rice farming is a more recent development in Kalinga agriculture since there are less rituals associated with irrigated rice compared to swidden-grown rice (Dozier 1966:144).

The Kalinga domesticate animals which include the carabao (used mainly for food), pigs, and chickens (used in sacrifices and food for feasts).

Other economic activities of the Kalinga are weaving, blacksmithing, and pottery. The main material used for weaving is the bark of a variety of mulberry called *sopot*, manufactured into blankets and short jackets for men and women. The cloth produced by the Kalinga is rather coarse compared to the Bontoc, and weaving is done on a simple backloom. They have knowledge of blacksmithing. Banao in northern Kalinga produces spears, head axes, and knives. Pottery is another cottage industry. Pots are used for cooking as well as fetching water. For the latter, pots in graduated sizes are placed on top of each other and carried on the head by Kalinga women.

The most valued property is the rice field, followed by house sites. Other wealth indicators are livestock used in sacrifice and heirlooms like Chinese jars, plates, gongs, and beads.

Political System

Traditionally, the Kalinga acquired leadership through a formidable headtaking record, oratorical ability, and power to influence opinions. Courageous warriors were known as *maalmot* (brave warrior) or *mingol* (one who has killed many). The warriors believed that failure to avenge the killing of a tribe member by an enemy tribe is a disgrace. At present, the war record no longer is a requisite, but leadership remains based on sex, economic influence, wide kinship connections, wise interpretation of custom law, oratorical ability, and a record of having settled disputes.

The elders are the same people who get elected to public office at the provincial level, but some elders who are not qualified for municipal offices due to illiteracy may hold barrio positions. These elders are important in maintaining interregional peace since they are usually peace-pact holders.

The papangat or *pangat* are powerful men who act as peacemakers during strife. As chief creators and interpreters of Kalinga custom law, they act as counselors and function as chief negotiators in dealing with other tribes. Ironically in the past, a pangat must first be a mingol but this prerequisite has changed. The pangat are not elected into their position but merely "grow" into their social and political role as the people "just know" who has finally become one.

A village may have several papangat but no central authority is designated. In such meetings called the *amon de papangat*, they meet to discuss intertribal problems and peace treaties. To resolve conflicts or disputes within a village, several pangat may act as negotiators or intermediaries. They try to resolve contradictions amicably and no action or penalties are imposed which have not been agreed on. This absolute consensus, once reached, is expected to be carried out by everyone. Such is Kalinga tribal democracy (De los Reyes and De los Reyes 1987).

In southern Kalinga the pangat settle disputes involving killings over water distribution.

The rice terraces are irrigated by a common stream or spring. If disputes arise due to scant water supply during the dry months, the pangat settle the problem by distributing the water equitably among the people (Dozier 1966:151-152). Thus, in southern Kalinga, the pangat are more influential than government or military officials.

The Kalinga legal system is based on Kalinga custom law, a body of regulations verbally transmitted from generation to generation. The pangat have extensive knowledge of these laws and pass judgments according to precedents. The complexity of Kalinga custom law illustrates their legal mindedness (Dozier 1966:157).

The bodong (*pudon, vochong,* and *pechen* in Bontoc; *kalon* in Tinguian) or the peace treaty forges peace among tribes. It is instituted to end a tribal war, to establish peace and security for trade, travel, and commerce, to ensure justice when crime is committed, and to establish alliances. The *pagta ti bodong* are the laws governing the bodong that have been deliberated upon by the leaders of the two warring tribes; they become operational once they are announced. After two or three years, the *mangdon si bodong* or treaty holders renew the bodong. The mangdon si bodong may be a male or a female tasked to preserve the treaty by enforcing the bodong terms. The treaty holder must be able to settle disputes amicably once bodong terms are violated or when tribal war arises. They must also be ready to kill a fellow tribe member who kills a *kabodong* (a member from a friendly tribe), to collect indemnities from the kinship circle of a thief who is likewise a member of the tribe, and to deliver the indemnity in the form of money, heirloom, cattle, rice, and so forth, to the offended party. If the offended party's demands are not met, the peace treaty is jeopardized.

Kalinga-Apayao province was created on 11 March 1966 by Republic Act 4695, combining the two subprovinces of Kalinga and Apayao. It is classified as a fourth-class province according to income. A governor, vice-governor, and a provincial board administer the province. Kalinga-Apayao is represented in the House of Representatives by one representative (*RR's Philippine Almanac 1990:110-111*).**Social Organization and Customs**

The household, the extended household, the kinship circle, and the territorial region are the significant units of Kalinga society. The *bololoy* or Kalinga region is the largest geographical unit synonymous with "tribe" or "barrio" (Dozier 1966: 55, 60). The classes in their society are *kapus* (lowest class), *baknang* (propertied middle class), and *kadangyan* (upper class or aristocrats) where leaders of kinship groups and the pangat belong.

The Kalinga kinship circle or kindred consists of a person's siblings, cousins up to the third degree, and ascendants up to the great grandparents and descendants down to the great grandchildren, including marriage partners. The kinship circle takes responsibility for the actions of its members.

The Kalinga household consists of a nuclear family which may include an old parent or grandparent of one of the spouses. Rich families may also have a *poyong* or servant.

The extended family consists of two nuclear families living in separate households which share the same economic tasks such as planting rice.

Their life cycle has four important stages: birth, marriage, sickness, and death. Pregnancy is marked by intricate rituals and observances which aim to protect the mother and the unborn child, and to facilitate easy childbirth. For example, during pregnancy, both husband and wife must avoid places like pools and waterfalls where Ngilin, the malevolent pygmylike water spirit, resides. Ngilin, which devours the unborn child, is said to be attracted by the smell of a pregnant woman. Objects like a piece of the *sugaga* tree bark and the tooth of a dog, crocodile, or ferret fox prevent Ngilin from smelling the fetus. Likewise, a pregnant woman must not eat eggs which may cause infant blindness. She must not use a cup made of taro leaves because the child will easily be dominated by other children. To prevent breach delivery, other children must not sit by doors or windows. A father must not play the flute because this will produce a crybaby.

Delivery takes place within the house and the extended family attends to the expectant mother. When the baby is born, it is not yet safe from Ngilin until observances are followed strictly. As soon as the baby is born, an adult member of the household places four knotted *runo* shoots outside every corner of the house indicating visitation restrictions. The family observes these food taboos: beef, cow's milk, eel, frogs, gabi, and dog meat. The father must not wander outside the perimeter of the village during the restriction period. When the baby is a month old, a medium comes to sweep the house with anahaw leaves, pronounces that the baby is already safe, and lifts the restrictions.

The Kalinga believe that babies attract malevolent spirits. Thus, the first 18 months of life are marked by a complex set of rituals known as *kontad* (northern Kalinga) or *kontid* (southern Kalinga) which protect young children from evil spirits (Dozier 1966: 84--92).

Having too many children is undesirable since all children are entitled to share in the property of the parents and/or grandparents. Thus abortion is a concern of the wife, the husband, and the kin whose share of inheritance might diminish because of too many offsprings (Dozier 1966:88).

Grandparents play a major role in child rearing while parents work in the fields. During the first four years of childhood, there is no gender differentiation regarding the activities of boys and girls. Although boys and girls are treated equally, sons are still considered important since in the past, men fought against the enemy tribes. Adults teach children about the kinship group's history, its disputes with other groups, its vengeance and enmities. Also to be learned are the geography of their surroundings, names of the fields, folktales, legends, myths, chants, and heirlooms owned by every household in the village, the process of crafts and arts, and the Kalinga custom law (De los Reyes and De los Reyes 1987).

In southern Kalinga, particularly Lubuagan, boys are circumcised at about age seven. The man who performs the surgery must not eat taro until the wound is healed. Circumcision is not practiced in northern Kalinga (Dozier 1966:97).

Traditionally, marriages were arranged but this is rarely practiced today except among wealthy families in southern Kalinga. The children are engaged by the parents as soon as they are born. Through *mangiyugod* or *mangbaga* (go-betweens), the parents discuss proposals and arrangements. If omens are positive, close relations of the two families remain until the children mature. They exchange gifts and hold a premarriage feast in which the barat or ballong (dowry) in the south and the *kiling* or *kalon* in the north is given by the boy's parents to the girl's. When the boy grows to age 12 to 14, he is taken to the girl's house by his relatives who observe the omens and taboos. In the girl's home the boy fulfills the custom of *magngotogaw* or bride service. When the boy reaches the age of 17, he is formally escorted to the girl's house by relatives other than his parents. This formal escort preceding marriage is known as *tolod*. A series of gift giving may take place between the two families. After two weeks, boy and girl may sleep together as husband and wife. Wedding feasts are competitive affairs in which the kinship groups display their wealth. During this time, the parents of the couple also give their share of the family inheritance which may consist of rice fields, carabaos, Chinese jars, plates, and beads.

The Kalinga now choose their own marriage partners. Courtship begins when the boy tries to get the attention of a girl. The girl may give vague positive signs like a smile or a sudden lowering of the eyes. The emboldened boy then goes to the girl's home in the evening to serenade her with songs like the *ullalim* or *balagoyas*. When the couple decides to marry, they simply announce it to their parents and set two dates for feasting—one hosted by the girl's family and the other, by the boy's (Dozier 1966).

Dagdagas or mistresses are accepted in Kalinga society but parental permission is usually necessary. Mistresses come from poor families while men belong to the wealthy class. Usually, the wife who is old or barren does not object if her husband takes a mistress. Children of mistresses are entitled to a lesser amount of inheritance. If the man has no children from his legal wife, then children from his mistress will enjoy the same privileges of inheritance as would his legitimate children.

The main reason for divorce is lack of children but there are rare cases when a man divorces a wife because of her rude behavior to his guests. Kalinga culture places a high value on hospitality.

Traditionally, a man would kill or severely punish his adulteress wife. But if a man commits adultery, the case is taken up by regional leaders who impose heavy fines and require him to support the child from an illicit relationship.

During illness, the *mangaslig* (medium and healer) in the south, *mandadawak* or *mang-anito* in the north appease spirits of the dead or malevolent entities through the sacrifice of animals. The vigil over the dead, which was traditionally 10 days, now

lasts for three days. The widow or widower sits beside the corpse. The spouse drives off flies with a *wasiwas* or fly swatter as he/she wails and sobs, asking the deceased not to send illness and to pity the living. Other relatives also sob and wail but do not sit near the corpse (Dozier 1966:112). The dead is buried near the house, the granary or rice fields. Concrete tombs containing several deceased family members are common.

They observe a yearlong mourning which restrains the closest relatives of the deceased from eating certain kinds of foods. Widows and widowers must not marry within this period. A feast complete with butchered animals, wine, music, and *kolias* or song, marks the end of the mourning period (De Los Reyes and De Los Reyes 1987).

Religious Beliefs and Practices

The traditional Kalinga universe consists of five cosmic regions: *luta*, the cosmic name of the Earth which is the central region of this universe; the *ngato* is the skyworld where their supreme being, Kabunyan, lives; the *dola*, the underworld which is also inhabited by supernatural beings; the daya, the upstream region which is the junction of the earth and the sky or the heavens; and the *lagud*, the downstream region of the Kalinga cosmic universe, and most inaccessible to man. The souls of the dead are said to enter the skyworld where a special zone is reserved for them. The soul passes through the farthest region of the lagud when they leave the earth after days of being buried. Once in the Lagud, they ascend to their place in the skyworld (Billiet and Lambrecht 1970:11-20).

The supreme being of the Kalinga is Kabunyan who is said to have once lived with them. He is also believed to have taught survival to them. Prayers are seldom addressed to Kabunyan because he is believed to have withdrawn his dominion over his creation. The Kalinga pray to nature deities called *pinading*. Nature deities protect and inhabit nature—forests, wild animals, birds, rivers, waters, and mountains. Everyone must ask permission from these spirits before taking anything from nature. He/she must also thank these spirits afterwards, lest the person be stricken with illness or death.

The *alan* are deities from other tribes which attack at night and are considered evil enemies. The Kalinga also pray to dead ancestors and relatives called *kakkalading* and *anani*, who protect them from the alan.

They also pray to mythological culture heroes who have individual names. The culture deities are those who assist the mediums or priestesses in the performance of rituals to drive away misfortune and evil spirits (De los Reyes and De los Reyes 1987).

Traditional Kalinga rituals include chanting and sometimes require the playing of instrumental ensembles led by mediums—the mang-anito in the north and the mandadawak in the south. These rituals range from the simple hour-long rice rituals

to elaborate ones which last for three days, participated by several mediums who chant together or alternately. Much preparation is needed for rituals related to *kayaw* (headtaking) and *pasingan* (wedding). Grave illnesses for which the *anito* ritual is performed require three mang-anito and the sacrifice of a large pig. These rituals have four forms: the *dawak* which is the most important, the *alisag*, the *sis-siwa*, and the *sapoy*. During the dawak ritual, mediums, usually women, beat on a Chinese bowl while dancing and singing incantations. Upon entering into a trance, their movements become frenzied, until they collapse (Orosa-Goquingco 1980).

Architecture and Community Planning

The Kalinga settle on leveled or terraced areas on the slopes of steep mountains situated near waterways. Because of the prevalence of tribal wars in the past, the *ili* or village were located in strategic areas surrounded by difficult terrain where villagers can easily be forewarned against invaders or intruders (De los Reyes and De los Reyes 1987).

There are three kinds of settlements: one with 3 to 4 houses, a hamlet of 20 or more, and villages of 50. In the early decades of the 20th century, there were tree houses built 12-16 meters above the ground. A rope ladder, which could be pulled up at night, hung from the house and protected the occupants from enemy attacks. These houses have disappeared with the decline of headhunting and the prevalence of peace pacts (Orosa-Goquingco 1980).

The square-shaped Kalinga house is known as *foruy* in Bangad, *buloy* in Mabaca, *fuloy* in Bugnay, *phoyoy* in Balbalasang, or *biloy* in Lubuagan. It is a house elevated by posts, square or rectangular in shape, with a single room and split-bamboo flooring which can be rolled up or detached for washing. In the past, the space underneath the house is enclosed by bamboo walling for protection against attackers.

Some houses also use pinewood for flooring, which oftentimes has three sections: the *kansauwan* is the middle section with two sides called *sipi* which are the slightly elevated sleeping areas. At one end of the kansauwan is the cooking area consisting of a box of sand and ashes with three large stones to hold pots. Above this cooking area is a drying and smoking rack. The only opening is opposite the cooking area, a small sliding door leading to a *kalanga* or small veranda. Walls are made of pinewood. *Otop* or roofs are made of cogon and bamboo but galvanized iron sheets are also used.

The simpler *kullub* is described as a “square bamboo shed with an entrance at ground level and a partial floor at two slightly different floor levels on an independent set of posts” (Scott 1969:216).

Wealthy families in the past lived in octagonally shaped houses called *binayon* or *finaryon*. The wealthy Kalinga of today build non-Kalinga type modern houses. Scott (1969:196-197) describes the octagonal house of the Kalinga in Bangad:

> …the three floor joists, two girders, and four posts, which form the foundation of the house are called *fat-ang*, *oling* and ***tuod*** respectively, and riding on top of the joists are two beams or stringers that run from front to back called *anisil* or *fuchis*. Just beyond each end of these stringers, but not mortised into them, is another post set in the ground, and at equivalent distance from the center of the house four more off to each side of the central four, giving a total of eight for the support of the wall. Across the tops of these outer (and lighter posts), and connecting them, are eight short sills (*pisipis*) grooved to receive the wall-boards (*okong*), the front and back ones being parallel, the two side ones being parallel, and the four-corner ones joining them at 45∞ angle—producing that eight-sided plan for which the house is famous. The logs outside below the level of the floor are backed up against a sawali matting (*dingding*) which encloses the area beneath the house.
>
> The reed-mat floor (*tatagon*) is laid down in the center section on laths (*chosar*) set into the top of the three joists parallel to the stringers, and in the two side sections on laths which run transversely from the outer edges of the stringers to the inner edges of the sills. Mortised into the upper faces of the stringers are four sturdy posts (*paratok*), two of which carry a crossbeam (*fatangan*) which, in turn, carries two light queenposts (*ta'ray*) supporting four crossbeams or purlins (*ati-atig*) in the form of a square. The rafters (*pongo*), fastened below the upper pisipis-beam of the outside wall, are bowed over these purlins and drawn together over three small ridgepoles which carry little actual weight but form the ridging (*panabfongan*). Despite the central square foundations and the octagonal floor plan however, the roof with its ridgepole presents a different profile from the side…the bowed pongo rafters are not duplicated on the front or back of the house; instead, straight rafters (***pakantod***) run up only as far as the ***ati-atig*** crossbeams…

Upon entering the binayon, one senses the protective feel of the dome and the warmth emanating from the fireplace towards the rear, elevated slightly above floor level. Over this fireplace is a storage rack (Dacanay 1988; *Folk Architecture 1989*).

Inside wealthy Kalinga houses are shelves or racks where heirloom pieces like Chinese plates and jars are displayed. Such display of family heirlooms is a status symbol among the Kalinga.

Other Kalinga structures are the *alang* or granary and the *sigay* or resting shed in the fields.

Visual Arts and Crafts

The Kalinga are famous for their handwoven textiles, jewelry made of colored beads and shells, and metalwork like spears and knives. They also make household articles like wooden containers, bowls, dishes, ladles, and a variety of baskets and pots.

There are two types of basketry used for daily work which showcase fine craftsmanship and careful attention to detail. The *labba* is a bowl-shaped basket which exemplifies the fine wickerwork of the Kalinga. It varies in size from 20-150 centimeters in diameter. It has an evenly structured form with a square base and a round rim. The very fine split rattan weavers forming the weft uniformly rise up the sides. The round rim is carefully wrapped in split rattan or nito. Sometimes, this wrapping has a different color to serve as decorative contrast.

A Kalinga burden basket similar to the *kayabang* (Benguet) and the *balyag* (Ifugao) is used with shoulder straps and worn as backpack. This burden basket has a much deeper foot below the actual container of the basket; the Kalinga are taller than other mountain peoples and this structure facilitates the raising of the basket on their backs when they squat. Its square frame exhibits fine precision, the space between its splayed feet reinforced by a flat wooden brace making it sturdy even under heavy load (Lane 1986:90-91).

Examples of typical household items are the grain container made from hardwood, the rice stalk harvester made of carabao horn and iron, and the digging stick designed for planting rice (*Monpaot* 1991).

An exceptional Kalinga pottery is simple and globular in shape with a geometric design on the body. This geometric pottery is sold commercially and is not found in early collections nor mentioned in early literature. Thus there have been doubts on the authenticity of the designs which have appeared in the market (Casal et al. 1981:60-61, 208).

The southern Kalinga differ in traditional wear from their northern Kalinga counterparts. The southern Kalinga men wear G-strings, a long narrow strip of cotton cloth called *baag* which is commonly red in color with yellow strips running lengthwise at equal distance from one another. The G-string is worn between the legs, wound high and tight around the waist. The rich wear G-strings with broad patches of yellow designs at both ends which may also have fringes, tassels, or round white shells. They have no upper garments except the blanket which is rarely worn. The blankets reach the knees and are designed with multicolored checkered or cross-barred bands with blue as the dominant color.

Tattooing is more popular in the south than in the north, the tattoo designs depending on a man's bravery accomplished during tribal wars. The men also tattoo their arms, chest, and upper part of the back and face. Ornaments worn by the men include C-shaped ear pendants similar to the Ifugao and Bontoc, a broad collar necklace called *kulkul* made of small beads of different sizes for special occasions, big copper bracelets, armlets, and necklaces of trapezoidal shells. During special occasions, they also wear ostentatious head ornaments using large feathers projecting upwards at both sides of the head.

The southern Kalinga women wear the wraparound skirt or *tapis* called *kain*, which

reaches below the knees, and is worn below the abdomen in such a way that one of the thighs is exposed as she walks. But the hemline of the tapis used for working barely reaches the knees. The tapis colors are predominantly red and yellow although other colors are also used. For special occasions, the kain is adorned with rows of oval shells intermingled with short strings of small beads. Traditionally, women wore no upper garments but today, blouses and T-shirts are commonly used. The hair hangs loose or is gathered in a string of beads called *apungot* worn around the head. They tattoo their arms up to the shoulders and collarbone. A few dots are tattoed on the throat. The women wear earrings similar to the men. Other earrings are made of strings of small beads, large pieces of copper wires, and large pieces of shells. For necklaces, large beads hanging loosely over the breast sometimes reach the waist. Like the men, they may also wear the broad collar kulkul. They wear bracelets made of strings of beads. Traditionally, women were also fond of painting their faces red.

Like the men of the south, the northern Kalinga men wear the G-string, but with a multicolored upper garment called *silup*. This garment reaches about halfway between the neck and the waist and has long, narrow sleeves that reach down to the wrist. Very often, they use the blanket as upper garment. These blankets generally reach the knees and are woven with various colors and designs, with red as dominant color. They carry a pouch of red cloth hanging from the neck. On special occasions, they wear a turbanlike headcloth sometimes ornamented with feathers like those in southern Kalinga. They do not tattoo their bodies but when they do, they tattoo only a part of the forearm. For earrings, they embed the earlobes with rings made of black horn. They also wear the kulkul.

The northern Kalinga women wear the *saya*, an ordinary woman's skirt covering the body from waist to feet made from a cloth of bright colors predominantly red. They wear the same blankets worn by the men. The same kind of pouch hangs from the neck or is tucked at a strip of cloth at their waist. On special occasions, they wear a kerchief shaped like a triangle pointing to the waist ornamented with coins and pieces of metal. They wear their hair long, usually knotted in chignon or tresses which may be intertwined with a narrow piece of cloth. Sometimes, a string of beads in place of the headband is used. They also tattoo their forearms and a part of their upper arms. For earrings, they wear the same types used by the southern Kalinga. They are fond of necklaces over their breasts and also use the kulkul on special occasions. They sometimes cover one or both forearms with strings of small beads. The women in the north also paint their faces red (Vanoverbergh 1929:218-225).

At present, loincloths are worn only by the elders since the new generation of Kalinga men prefer to use trousers and reserve the G-string for festive occasions. The same is true for the women who now wear contemporary clothing.

Among weapons and implements of the Kalinga are the *sinawit sawit* or *gaman* (head ax) and the bolo. *Say-ang* or *tubay* (spears) have various shapes. The *kalasag* or shield is similar to the shield of the Bontoc and the Tinguian: three points project from the top and two points from the bottom of a sloping rectangular body. These shields

supposedly represent the human body. The two prongs at the bottom are the legs, the middle section is the torso, and the top three prongs are the raised arms flanking the neck and head.

To prevent splitting, they are lashed horizontally to its vertical plane. Shields are painted with geometric designs similar to tattoo motifs which may be related to death, burial, social position, or headhunting. These same designs also appear on lime containers and textiles (Casal et al. 1981).**Literary Arts**

Kalinga literature consists of riddles, legends, chanted or sung myths, and epics or ballads. The following are examples of Kalinga riddles (Eugenio 1982:378, 386):

> *Appukedt sumacheg cha mangili, laligli.*
> (Sagedt)
>
> Guess, when visitors arrive, it dances.
> (Broom)
>
> *Appukedt umamuy kedt anchu sumikedt kedt chapillu.*(Asu)
>
> Guess, tall when sitting, short when standing.
> (Dog)
>
> *Appukedt ulas kun bilass leng misansancheg si pinchong.* (Tiyang)
>
> Guess, my sugarcane like the pine tree,
> leaning on the side. (Rain)

One Kalinga legend explains why sacrifices must be offered to Kabunyan: Long ago, a handsome stranger and two dogs arrived at Dacalan. Wherever he went he emanated light which astounded the whole village. The people discovered he was Kabunyan who came down to earth. Kabunyan then went hunting with his dogs in a mountain called Binaratan where he caught and killed a deer with a full set of antlers. He singed its hair, gutted it, and cooked the heart and liver. Then he performed a ceremony called *awad* in which he offered to the mountain spirits a share of the meal. The next morning, Kabunyan told the people of Dacalan that whenever they go hunting, they must perform the awad for the spirits who own the wild game. A share must also be given to Kabunyan (Demetrio et al. 1991:146).

The "Myth of Lubting" is considered the primary explanation of the peculiar shape of Mount Patokan. The uppermost slope of the mountain resembles a girl's face when viewed from Tonglayan Village or from the road to Lubuagan. Some Kalinga also associate the myth of Lubting with the origin of the *Ullalim*, the ancient ballads chanted by bards.

Lubting was a beautiful maiden with a heavenly voice who started uttering ullalim-like

melodies almost as soon as she was born. She rejected all her suitors except Mawangga from Tonglayan village, who became her husband. After six months of marriage, Mawangga decided to visit Tonglayan, promising Lubting that he would be back in five days. He told her to meet him on Mount Patokan, midway between Dakalan and Tonglayan. On the day of the meeting, the Tonglayan people had to fight Butbut warriors. Mawangga was beheaded by the enemy. His companions carried his headless corpse to Tonglayan and then informed Lubting who was still waiting patiently on Mount Patokan. Lubting, in her grief, decided to die in the place where she was supposed to meet Mawangga. She cried unceasingly, her tears causing landslides which buried her alive. Her face, as legend goes, has not been covered by the soil to this day, and is said to be the peculiar shape of Mount Patokan's peak (Billiet and Lambrecht 1970:50-53).

The *Ullalim* are ballads that narrate the heroic exploits of culture heroes which also emphasize the bravery and pride of the Kalinga people. The ballad is also considered an epic since they reconstruct the perils faced by the hero as he sets forth to lead a kayaw or headhunting raid. The hero's valor is contrasted to the rival's cowardice. The hero also has superhuman powers and mysterious skills aided by a magical head ax. The *Ullalim* is also a romantic tale in which the hero fights for the maiden of his choice (Billiet and Lambrecht 1970:2).

The ballads are chanted by male or female bards at night during casual gatherings or peace-pact assemblies. The most celebrated *Ullalim* hero is a fearless warrior named Banna. The first song of the *Ullalim* epic tells of the hero's magical birth. The second song tackles his heroic exploits: Banna of Dulawon village sets out for the village of a wealthy maiden Laggunawa to make love to her although the latter is betrothed to Dungdungan of Manila. She sleeps with Banna but in the middle of the night Dungdungan arrives at Laggunawa's house to assert his rights over Laggunawa since he has paid the bride-price. But Laggunawa prefers Banna. She tries to break the betrothal with Dungdungan by asking both warriors to go on a headhunting expedition in a hostile village, Bibbila. He who survives the expedition will win her. Banna goes to Bibbila and slaughters all its inhabitants. This becomes the first of his many exploits. Many bloody and heroic battles happen until the end when the whole village of Dulawon is burned to the ground because of Dungdungan's wrath. The event paves the way for a peaceful settlement. Banna wins Laggunawa's hand. Dungdungan is repaid the bride-price and subsequently marries Dinayaw, Banna's sister. Peaceful relations are restored (Billiet and Lambrecht 1970: 147-149).

This excerpt describes Laggunnawa's challenge (Billiet and Lambrecht 1970:169-171):

Nipun, kanu lummawa
si bubai'n mandiga.
Andi'n binalugnusna
duwa'n kabislan suga
Andi'n manbuwaanda,
da Bannay Dulawona
kan Dungdungan of Manila.

"Dungdunga a kapidwa,
anna manbuawaanta,
duwa'n kabisla'n suga,
ta inta mangalinga,
man-ilata midolpa
si kuliwog a pita."

Thereupon, kanu, came out
the lady dignified
There! she drew out
two sharpened canes
There! they get their share
Banna of Dulawon
and Dungdungan of Manila.

Banna says, "Dungdunga my second cousin
here is now the share for us both,
two sharpened canes.
For we are to go headhunting,
that we may see who will be dumped
into the pit of the earth."

The northern Kalinga people call their *Ullalim* counterpart *Gassumbi*. The name of their hero is Gawan. In western Kalinga, the epic is called *Dangdang-ay* and the hero is Magliya or Gono. The melodies vary in each region (Billiet and Lambrecht 1970:48).

Performing Arts

The Kalinga continue to actively preserve their musical heritage despite social changes. Traditional principles continue to underlie their music making as seen in the technique of utilizing interlocking patterns in the various bamboo ensembles composed of leg xylophones called *patatag* or *patteteg*; stamping tubes called *tongatong* or *dongadong*; buzzers like the *balimbing*, *bungkaka*, *ubbeng*; quill-shaped tubes called *patanggok, patang-ug, taggitag*; parallel zithers called *kambu-u*t, *tabbatab, tambi*; and pipes in a row called *sagay-op*, *sageypo*, *saysay-op*. These ensembles which generally consist of five or six instruments have varying functions and are heard on different occasions depending on the particular area within Kalinga. In northern Kalinga, the patteteg, ubeng, and saysay-op are played by children as toys while in other areas these are played by men in a manner in which the patatag simulates the flat-gong ensemble. The taggitag is heard in big ritual celebrations played exclusively by men, while the tongatong is played by women in smaller rites for harvest and curing. In southern Kalinga, the bungkaka are sounded to drive evil spirits away as people travel in the mountains. The tambi ensemble is used in festive gatherings for entertainment.

The ensemble instruments highly valued by the Kalinga are the *gangsa* or flat gongs which are played in two styles: *gangsa pattung* (also called *gangsa palook*) and

gangsa topayya. In gangsa pattung style, the players each carry a gong and use a rounded stick to strike rhythmic patterns of ringing and dampened sounds. As they play their gongs they move in circular formations with a group of female dancers. In the gangsa topayya each player uses his bare palms to play corresponding combinations of accented, dampened and sliding strokes. A six-gong topayya ensemble consists of *baba* or *balbal* referring to the largest and lowest-pitched gong, *sobat* or *solbat*, *katlu* (meaning "third"), *kapat* ("fourth"), *umut*, and *anungus* which is the highest-pitched gong. In a five-gong gangsa topayya, the fourth gong is the umut while the fifth is the anungus. The *tadok* is danced by a pair of male and female dancers to the music of the gangsa topayya at festive gatherings particularly peace pacts and wedding celebrations. Flat-gong ensembles like those made of bamboo have patterns that interlock and the varying accents produce consecutive ringing tones or resultant melodies.

Kalinga musical instruments which are usually played solo by men are the *tungali* or nose flute; notched flute called *beldong*, *paldong*, *padong*; whistle flute called *ullimong*; bamboo jew's harp called *ullibaw* or *giwong* (while its metal counterpart is called *onat*). The nose and notched flutes have an average length of 60 centimeters. Both have fingerholes and a thumbhole. Another solo instrument is the bamboo *kullitong* or zither which has five to nine strings made by lifting up thin strips from the hard skin of the bamboo tube itself. Small individual wooden bridges are inserted at both ends of each string. However, a more recent type uses metal strings and small stones as bridges. To accompany songs, some Kalinga youth today use the kullitong which is played by plucking the strings. The kullitong has a repertoire of solo pieces in addition to its popular use in imitating the sounds of the flat-gong ensemble. Lastly, a musical instrument which is only found in the northeastern region is a small mouth bow with two strings called *giwong de malong-ag*.

Kalinga vocal music is usually heard in social gatherings. They identify songs according to the melodies with the corresponding texts determined by the occasion, varying with each rendition. Wedding and peace-pact celebrations are opportunities for hearing solo renditions of the *ading*, *dango*, and *oggayam* as these are the vehicles for conveying greetings and expressing feelings and opinions related to the event. The *salidummay*, also *dangsang-ay* or *dewas*, is metrical and most often sung in two-part harmony. A rare occurrence today is the singing of the epic *Ullalim* (south) or *Gassumbi* (north). Kalinga songs for the dead are the *ibi* ("to cry") and the *dandannag*, a song in praise of the dead in southern Kalinga. The rest of their vocal repertoire include children's songs, lullabies called *wiyawi* or *wig-uwi*, and various rice-pounding songs called *mambayu* sung singly by a group.

Other types of Kalinga songs include: the *egam*, songs about the rite of passage from boyhood to manhood; and the *koggong*, a song to awaken the child's senses. The *tubag* is a song requesting tribal spirits to bring the child prosperity and protection against disease; and the *dopdopit*, sung at the child's first bath outside the house (Pfeiffer 1975:54).

The Kalinga have always been a dancing people. *Tadok* or *tacheck* is the Kalinga word for dance.

Of the same name, the tadok is mainly performed in a marriage ceremony. Sometimes it is referred to as a courtship dance, where a line of men and a line of women dance to the beating of the gongs. The *pattong salip* is a festival dance in which men and women dance in two circular formations, the women staying in the inner circle. The pattong salip is also performed during wedding feasts with all the wedding guests participating in blessing the newlyweds with happiness. During the wedding dance, a ring of men encloses the inner circle of women who simply turn in their places (Orosa-Goquingco 1980).

The *among* is danced during an ordinary feast where a group of dancers, led by the gong beater, dances in semicircular formation.

The tradition of fighting is likewise evident in Kalinga dance. The Kalinga *pattong* is a war dance where the dancers vow revenge for the death of a warrior. During the violent death of a warrior, all the males in the community get sounding sticks called *bangibang* which they beat together as they jig towards a spot where future action might be decided upon (Orosa-Goquingco 1980).

The *palok* or *paluk* is another festival dance performed during social gatherings in which each male dancer beats on the gong to make the female dance.

Courting is done in a dance called *salip*. Both male and female flap their arms simulating the movements of a rooster and a hen. The men flourish their blankets toward their partners. The dance ends with the offering of the blankets to the female partner. The *salidsid* is the dance where a Kalinga maiden expresses her choice between two men. The *banga* or pot dance is a work dance of Kalinga maidens who are famous for balancing on their heads several clay pots filled with water as they come home from the river where they have bathed and cleaned their wares. The steps exhibit the skill of hopping and stepping on the stones along the stream or river while singing “Intaku Masasakdu” (Let’s Take a Bath).

Aside from the mimetic dances, one ritual of the Buwaya region in northwestern Kalinga may be called dramatic. The kayaw, which has two acts, is a narrative which relates how Bulla-ig goes to a suicidal headhunt at the edge of their cosmos after a quarrel with his wife over a woman; he dies. His wife and sister refuse to come near his decomposing corpse, as represented by the lower hind leg of a pig tied to a stick. The ritual also depicts the lowest class of demons which is said to be the cause of disharmony between the husband and wife. The dramatic action also depicts how disharmony in marriage caused by these demons can lead to separation and death. In the second act, the mediums then call the *alupag* or spirits that speak through mediums during seances. The spirits arrive, ask where the corpse is, and carry it off with little respect—with buttocks toward the corpse to avoid its odor. They dump the corpse as they arrive near the place where the sacrificial elements are piled (De Raedt 1989:185-

188). • R. Matilac with F. Prudente and R. Obusan/Reviewed by F. Hornedo.

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