

## **The Traditional Tattoos of the Philippine Cordillera Region: A Study on their differences in Appearance, Causes and Discursive Strengths**

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### **ABSTRACT**

This paper attempts to investigate the historical culture and practice of traditional tattooing in the Philippine Cordillera region by synoptically looking at them in the context of the eight major ethnolinguistic groups in this said region, namely: 1) the Ibaloy, 2) Kankana-ey, 3) Ifugao, 4) Bontok, 5) Southern Kalinga, 6) Northern Kalinga, 7) Itneg, and 8) Isneg. This paper is premised on a hermeneutic principle that comparisons and contrasts of related phenomena would lead to insights that are otherwise missed if the study were done on a single phenomenon. By looking at the earliest ethnographic materials about tattooing among these eight ethnolinguistic groups, this paper attempts to understand their similarities and differences in appearance, causes and discursive strengths, thereby establishing a historical baseline on tattooing in the said region immediately prior to the massive influx of modern and western influences mediated by the American occupation that started in 1901. The discursive strength of the traditional tattooing of a given ethnolinguistic group is this paper's estimation of the capacity of the given practice to withstand the said influx of modernizing and westernizing forces. This paper's attempt to understand and document the various traditional tattooing of the Philippine Cordillera region may be construed as an initial step in safeguarding and promoting these practices as part of the region and of the country's intangible cultural heritage. The research work undertaken for this paper was funded by the National Commission for Culture and the Arts of the Republic of the Philippines.

**Keywords:** *Batek*, **Philippine Traditional Tattoo, Cordillera Region, Ibaloy, Kankana-ey, Ifugao, Bontok, Southern Kalinga, Northern Kalinga, Itneg, Isneg**

### **1.0 INTRODUCTION**

*Batek* is the generic word that this paper opted to use for the various words for "tattoo" in the Cordillera region of northern Philippines. Traditional tattooing in this mountainous region was generally done by making a design on the skin of a person wishing, or deserving, to have a tattoo, puncturing the skin with a thorn/needle or a bundle of thorns/needles drenched with a mixture of soot collected from burning plant products, and further rubbing the wounds with the same coloring agent. The literature consulted by this paper revealed at least eight major traditional reasons why people from this region desired to have these tattoos (Worcester, 1906: 835, 841, 846 & 853; Salvador-Amores, 2012b: 67; Salvador-Amores, 2002a: 111; De Mello, 2014: 163, 186, 296 & 337-338; Jenks, 1905: 187; Vanoverberg, 1929: 218-219; Cole, 1922: 437; & Keesing 1962a: 189). First, some tattoos were

taken as symbols of valor that were earned by individuals or groups after a successful headhunting. Second, some tattoos increased the sex appeal and desirability of individuals and were taken to be signs of fertility, especially when found among females. Third, some tattoos were taken as markers of economic prestige that were earned after hosting huge community feasts (*canaos*). Fourth, some tattoos were believed to have curative powers, especially against some malevolent ancestral spirits (*anitos*). Sixth, some tattoos were meant to be rites of passage from one stage/status of life to another. Seventh, some tattoos were simply considered aesthetic devices that were there to complement the clothing and jewelry of the people. Eighth, some tattoos were understood as proprietary markers that identified the owners and their marked livestock.

There are a few papers that dealt with the traditional tattoos of the Cordillera region. But these works either did not delve deeper into the culture, practice and history of traditional tattooing or only individually examined traditional tattooing of one particular ethnolinguistic group in the said region. An example of works that dealt with a the traditional tattooing of a good number of Cordillera ethnolinguistic groups would be Dean Worcester's "The Non-Christian Tribes of Northern Luzon" of 1906 that unfortunately presented only snippets about the different tattooing of some seven ethnolinguistic groups that included the Negritos and Ilongots, as Worcester was keen on talking of the general culture of these selected groups. Another example would be Morice Vanoverbergh's *Dress and Adornment in the Mountain Province of Luzon, Philippine Islands* of 1929 that also presented snippets of the different tattooing of some six ethnolinguistic groups, as Vanoverbergh was more concerned on the native costumes of these people. A more recent example would be Lane Wilcken's (2010) *Filipino Tattoos: Ancient to Modern* of 2010 that although more focused on tattooing was not able to explore deeply the traditional tattoos of the Cordillera region, as Wilcken rambled through the Philippine islands, as well as through some of the neighboring Pacific islands.

An example of works that examined rather deeply traditional tattooing of the Cordillera region but on a limited ethnolinguistic scope would be Albert Jenks' *The Bontoc Igorot* of 1905 that allocated a fairly detailed account of tattooing in his chosen group and related this carefully with this same group's headhunting custom. Another example would be the ones surrounding the now iconic figure of Wang-ud, the reputed last tattoo artist of the Kalinga ethnolinguistic group. Comprising these works are Analyn Salvador-Amores' "The Anthropology of Traditional Tattoos in a Kalinga Village" of 2002 and its various derivations and sequels, Lars Krutak's (2009) "The Last Kalinga Tattoo Artist of the Philippines" of 2009, and Tom Kips's (2010) "The Globalization of Kalinga Tattoos" of 2010. Salvador-Amores's (2012a) "The Recontextualization of *Burik* (Traditional Tattoos) of Kabayan Mummies in Benguet to Contemporary Practices" of 2012 ventured into a study of tattooing in another ethnolinguistic group, the Ibalays, but did not attempt at synoptic comparisons. Her "Marking Bodies, Tattooing Identities: Comparative Study on the Traditional Tattoos of the Kalinga, northern Luzon, Philippines and the Atayal of Taiwan" of 2015 indeed ventured into a comparative study of traditional Kalinga tattoos but with a non-Philippine ethnolinguistic group.

This paper therefore did not only investigate deep into the historical culture and practice and of traditional tattooing in the Cordillera region but did so by synoptically looking into and comparing the different traditional tattooing of all of the major ethnolinguistic groups of the said region. The intention of this paper is to understand the similarities and differences in appearance, causes and discursive strengths of traditional tattooing among the selected eight ethnolinguistic groups, thereby establishing a historical baseline on tattooing in the said region immediately prior to the massive influx of modern and western influences mediated by the American occupation that started in 1901. The discursive strength of the traditional tattooing of a given ethnolinguistic group is this paper's estimation of the capacity of the given practice to withstand the said influx of modernizing and westernizing forces. These modernizing and westernizing forces pertain to the processes of Christianization, education, democratization, Filipinization, and other similar processes that the Americans put in place in the said region. This paper's attempt to understand and document the various traditional tattooing of the Philippine Cordillera region may be construed as an initial step in safeguarding and promoting these practices as part of the region and of the country's intangible cultural heritage. The research work undertaken for this paper was funded by the National Commission for Culture and the Arts of the Republic of the Philippines.

### 1.1. The Major Ethnolinguistic Groups of the Philippine Cordillera Region

Establishing the major ethnolinguistic groups of the Cordillera region proved to be a more complex task due to the presence of sub-ethnolinguistic groups within a given ethnolinguistic group, and neighboring ethnolinguistic groups that coalesce without clear boundaries. Worcester (1866-1924), then Secretary of the Interior of the American colonial government in the Philippines, already grappled with this difficulty in 1906 when he tried to figure out the number of the non-Christian tribes of northern Luzon. He started with three divergent lists: 1) that of the Austrian Filipinologist Ferdinand Blumentritt (1853-1913) containing an astonishing 37 items, 2) that of the Jesuits of Manila that was intended for the Philippine Commission and containing 26 items, and 3) that of the Chief of the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes of the American colonial government in the Philippines David

Barrows (1873-1954) containing only two items (Worcester, 1906: 791-796). In trying to determine which of the ethnolinguistic groups should be included in a reasonable and manageable scope, this paper used Worcester's own efforts in establishing a more realistic reckoning for the whole of northern Luzon, but counterchecked with the Belgian missionary Vanoverbergh's (1885-1982) 1929 classification of the Cordillera region's ethnolinguistic groups, as well as with the Cordillera Schools Group, Incorporated's 2003 classification (Vanoverbergh, 1929; Cordillera Schools Group Incorporated, 2003). Table 1 presents Worcester, Vanoverbergh and the Cordillera Schools Group, Incorporated's listings of ethnolinguistic groups, side by side with *Ethnologue's* estimates on the groups' population as of October 2015 (*Ethnologue: Languages of the World*; the estimate for the current Negrito population, however, is based on an article from the National Commission of Culture and the Arts, "Negrito").

Worcester's Categories	Vanoverbergh's Categories	Cordillera Schools Group' Categories	Ethnologue's Estimated Population as of October 2015	Included / Excluded in this Paper's Scope	Reason for Exclusion
Negritos			1,677	Excluded	Outside the Cordillera Region
Ilongots			50,800	Excluded	Outside the Cordillera Region
Kalingas	Northern Kalingas	Kalingas	83,400	Included	
	Southern Kalingas				
Ifugaos	Ifugaws	Ifugaos	130,100	Included	
Bontoc Igorots	Bontok Igorots	Bontoks	40,700	Included	
Lepanto-Benguet Igorots	Ibaloy / Benguet Igorots	Ibaloy	111,000	Included	
	Kankana-ys / Lepanto Igorot	Northern Kankana-ys Southern Kankana-ys	218,000	Included	
Tingians		Tinguian / Itnegs	46,400	Included	
	Isnags / Apayaws	Isnags	30,000	Included	
		Ikalahans	23,000	Excluded	Too Small Population that Mostly Exists Outside the Cordillera Region

Table 1: Determination of the Ethnolinguistic Groups of the Cordillera Region that are Included in the Scope of this Paper

Table 1 lists a total of 12 ethnolinguistic groups and shows this paper's decision whether to include or exclude each of these groups in the scope of this paper, as well as the reasons why some had to be excluded. This paper will therefore focus on eight ethnolinguistic groups of the Cordillera region: 1) the Bontoks, 2) Ibaloy, 3) Ifugaos, 4) Isnags, 5) Northern Kalingas, 6) Southern Kalingas, 7) Kankana-ys, and 8) Tinguian/Itnegs. Figure 1 superimposes the territories of these eight ethnolinguistic groups, as drawn by the American anthropologist Roy Franklin Barton (1883-1947), on the current political map of the provinces of northern Luzon.

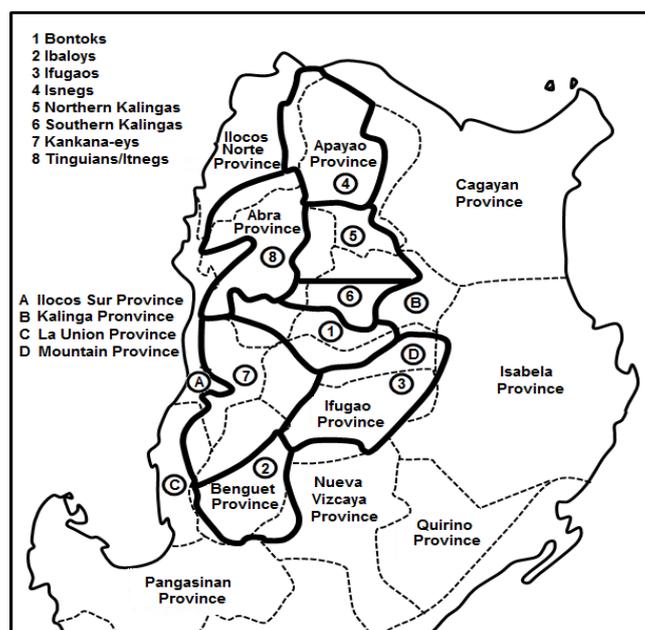


Figure 1: Superimposition of the Ethnolinguistic Map of Cordillera Region on the Current Political Map of Northern Luzon

## 2.0 METHODOLOGY

This study was based on an archival work that examined 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century Spanish, German and American ethnographic materials about the Philippine Cordillera region as well as the eight ethnolinguistic groups included in the scope of this paper. The information gleaned from this archival research was supplemented with a thorough library research for documents that dealt with the same phenomena from more or less the same time frame. It is premised on a hermeneutic principle that comparisons and contrasts of related phenomena would lead to insights that are otherwise missed if the study were done on a single phenomenon. The images that are used in this paper are over 75 years old and are already therefore part of the public domain.

### 2.1 Tattooing among the Ibalays

As shown in figure 1, the Ibalays occupied a huge portion of the current province of Benguet and some areas of the current province of Nueva Vizcaya. The Ibalays therefore were landlocked by the provinces of La Union in the west, Pangasinan in the south, and Nueva Vizcaya in the east, and by the territory occupied by the Kankana-eyes in the north. Ethnolinguistically, the Ibalays were surrounded by Ilocanos in the west, Pangasinans in the south, Ikalahans in the east, and Kankana-eyes in the north. This made the Ibalays one of the groups in the Cordillera region that were most exposed to lowland culture, in particular those of the Ilocanos and Pangasinans who were pacified, Christianized and civilized according to Spaniard standards centuries earlier. The upland Ibalays became the minorities in an increasingly lowland Christianized and Hispanized Filipino majorities. Hence, such minorities were subjected to some sort of pressure to socio-culturally negotiate, if not conform, with the majorities (Kabir, 2010). The territory of the Ibalays is rich in mineral deposits, such as copper, gold, pyrite and limestone. Its soil and climate are conducive to agriculture, earning the province of Benguet the reputation of being the “salad bowl” of the Philippines.

Traditional Ibaloy society was stratified into the wealthy (*baknang*) and the poor (*abitug*) folks, with the poor folks further stratified into animal herders (*pastols*), farm workers (*silbis*), and non-Ibaloy slaves (*bagaens*) (Cordillera Schools Group, Incorporated, 2003: 30). The *baknangs* attained their status by hosting a series of feasts (*canaos*), and it was from their ranks where the headman came, as well as the council (*tongtong*) members, who ruled the whole village (Eggan, 1954: 9). Traditional Ibaloy government was therefore a mixture of plutocracy and gerontocracy. It must be noted that the social classes in the Philippine Cordillera region were generally not rigid and allowed movement of individuals from one class to another. Thus, in general, tattooing in this region was not something that is restricted by social status.

After several attempts of controlling Benguet, the Spaniards finally succeeded in pacifying the area in between 1829 and 1846. The historian of the Philippine Cordillera, William Henry Scott (1921-1993) noted that Spain was only able to effectively penetrate the Cordillera region after the Remington repeating rifle was invented as the Spanish muskets and canons proved to be inadequate and cumbersome against the agile and determined people of the said region as well as against the rugged terrain of the same region (Scott,

1971: 7). With this Spanish pacification came the suppression of Ibaloy headhunting and the pressure for this ethnolinguistic group to dress more in accordance to western ideals of modesty. Spanish law did not allow the Ibaloy take justice in their own hands and practice headhunting, and Christian morality dictated that the natives approximate the western standards of dressing. Hence, when the Americans came to Benguet the Ibaloy were already setting aside the practice of tattooing, which in the Cordillera region was generally intertwined with headhunting and minimalist clothing. Consequently, Worcester and Vanoverbergh only observed the vestiges of Ibaloy tattooing in 1906 and 1929 respectively. Fortunately, the German geologist Hans Meyer (1858-1929), published in 1885 his eyewitness' drawings of Ibaloy tattoos that covered practically the whole body, figure 2, which are consistent with the tattoos that remained legible on some skins of the centuries-old Kabayan mummies (Meyer, 1885: 212-213). Meyer's drawings and the Kabayan mummies are the testaments of the heydays of Ibaloy tattoos.

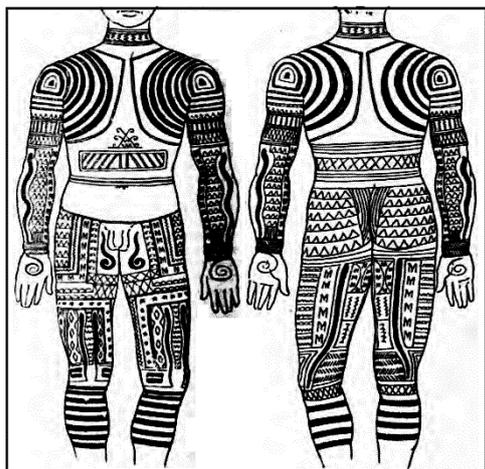


Figure 2 Meyer's Drawings of the Front and Back Views of an Ibaloy Male Full Body Tattoo

Both Worcester and Vanoverbergh noted that what remained of Ibaloy tattooing was pursued more by women than by men and these marks often appear on the ladies' hands and arms (Worcester, 1906: 846; & Vanoverbergh, 1929: 194-195). A common design for male tattoos was the figure of the sun printed on the back of the hand. Figure 3 is a drawing by Vanoverbergh showing a typical design on the hand and arm of an Ibaloy woman (Vanoverbergh, 1929: 222):

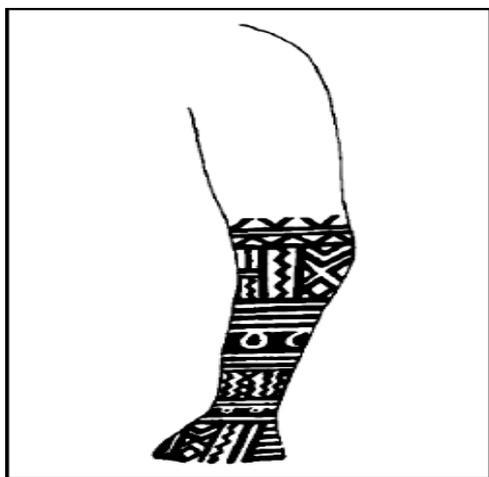


Figure 3: Vanoverbergh's Drawing of a Typical Tattoo

With the decline of tattooing as sign of successful headhunting, the apparent reasons remaining for the Ibaloy to pursue the practice of tattooing at the early part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century were as follows: for both men and women, some tattoos were prestige markers that commemorate their hosting of *canaos*, other tattoos were meant as medicinal treatment against goiter and other deformities, still other tattoos served as spiritual protection from evil *anitos*, while other tattoos were simply intended for aesthetic adornment (Worcester, 1906: 846; Salvador-Amores, 2012b: 67 & DeMello, 2014: 163). For women, other tattoos were made to increase their sexual desirability and symbolize their fertility.

## 2.2 Tattooing among the Kankana-Eys

As shown in figure 1, the Kankana-eyes occupied the remaining part of the current province of Benguet, a small part of the current provinces of La Union, Ilocos Sur, Abra, Mountain Province, and Ifugao. The Kankana-eyes therefore were also landlocked by the provinces of La Union and Ilocos Sur in the west, Abra in the north, Mountain Province and Ifugao in the east, and by the territory occupied by the Ibaloy in the south. Ethnolinguistically, the Kankana-eyes were surrounded by Ilocanos in the west, Ibaloy in the south, Ifugaos and Bontoks in the east and Tinguians/Itnegs in the north. This location made the Kankana-eyes less exposed to the lowland culture when compared with the Ibaloy, as the former had only to deal with the lowland Ilocanos who, as already mentioned, were pacified, Christianized and civilized by the Spaniards centuries earlier. The territory of the Kankana-eyes has a smaller share of the mineral deposits of Benguet.

Its soil that is conducive to agriculture is fully exploited and its steep slopes were terraced for the cultivation of wet rice.

Traditional Kankana-ey society was stratified into the wealthy (*kadangyan* or *baknang*), the middle (*komidwa*), and the poor (*kodo*) folks (Keesing, 1962a: 29). The *kadangyans* or *baknangs* attained their status through heredity and affirmed through periodic hosting of feasts (*canaos*). The Kankana-ey village was subdivided into wards (*atoks*) that were headed either by a warrior or a priest and assisted by a council of elders (*lalakay*) (Keesing, 1962a: 12). The presence of these wards pointed towards a clearer history of headhunting, as it was these wards that mobilized for this gory practice. Traditional Kankana-ey government was therefore a mixture of hierocracy and gerontocracy.

The Spaniards succeeded in pacifying the Kankana-ey area in between 1831 and 1852. Again with this Spanish pacification came the suppression of Kankana-ey headhunting and the pressure for this ethnolinguistic group to dress more modestly in accordance to Spanish standards. But with the loosening of the Spanish grip during the Philippine revolution, the Kankana-eyes regressed to warfare and headhunting against the Bontoks and their traditional enemies. Apparently, this short resurgence of wars and headhunting did not last long enough to trigger the return of traditional tattooing. Worcester and Vanoverbergh admitted that what they saw in 1906 and 1929 were just the vestiges of Kankana-ey tattooing (Worcester, 1906: 846; & Vanoverbergh, 1929: 189). Both Worcester and Vanoverbergh did not see much difference between Kankana-ey and Ibaloy tattooing (Worcester, 1906: 846; & Vanoverbergh, 1929: 196 & 200). The American historian James Robertson published in 1914 a picture of a Kankana-ey woman with tattooed arms, figure 4, which looks consistent with the drawing of a tattooed arm of an Ibaloy woman made by Vanoverbergh, figure 3 (Robertson, 1914: 530).



Figure 4: Robertson's Picture of a Tattooed Kankana-ey Woman

With the decline of tattooing as sign of successful headhunting, the reasons remaining for the Kankana-eyes to pursue the practice of tattooing at the early part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century were as follows: for both men and women, some tattoos were simply intended for aesthetic adornment. For women, other tattoos were made to increase their sexual desirability and symbolize their fertility (DeMello, 2014: 186).

### 2.3 Tattooing among the Ifugaos

As shown in figure 1, the Ifugaos occupied the current Ifugao province, and portion of Mountain Province, and they were therefore landlocked by the provinces of Benguet in the west, Nueva Vizcaya in the south, Isabela in the east, and Mountain Province in the north. Ethnolinguistically, the Ifugaos were surrounded by Kankana-eyes in the west, Ibaloy and the Ikalahans in the south, Gaddangs in the east, and Bontoks in the north. This location made the Ifugaos less exposed to the lowland culture when compared with the Ibaloy and Kankana-eyes. The territory of the Ifugaos may not be endowed with as much mineral deposits as those of the Ibaloy and Kankana-eyes, but the Ifugaos can boast of the most magnificent rice terraces and rich woodlands in the Cordillera region.

Traditional Ifugao society was stratified into the wealthy (*kadangyan*), the middle (*tagu*), and the poor (*nawotwot*) folks (Villaverde, 1909: 242). Similar to the Ibaloy tradition, the *kadangyan* status was attained by the Ifugaos through hosting a series of feasts, particularly those that involve the production of the *hagabi*, their prestigious wooden bench carved out from a single log and conspicuously displayed in front of their homes. Like the Kankana-ey village, the Ifugao village was also subdivided into wards (*atoks*) that were headed by certain *kadangyans* who were able to further strengthen their reputations through some successful headhunting, and assisted by councils of elders (*intugtukan*) (Villaverde, 1909: 242). These wards indeed functioned as headhunting teams, which in the Cordillera region was one of the significant roles of these smaller societal units. Traditional Ifugao government was therefore primarily plutocratic and secondarily timocratic, both of which were mixed with gerontocracy.

The Spaniards succeeded in pacifying the Ifugao area in between 1832 and 1891. But this rather late pacification was not able to totally suppress Ifugao headhunting and change the way this ethnolinguistic group dressed (Worcester, 1906: 827). Thus, when the Americans came to their area, the Ifugaos were still practicing their traditional tattooing. For this reason, Vanoverberg was able to make drawings of some Ifugao chest and arm tattoos, figure 5 (Vanoverberg, 1929: 203):

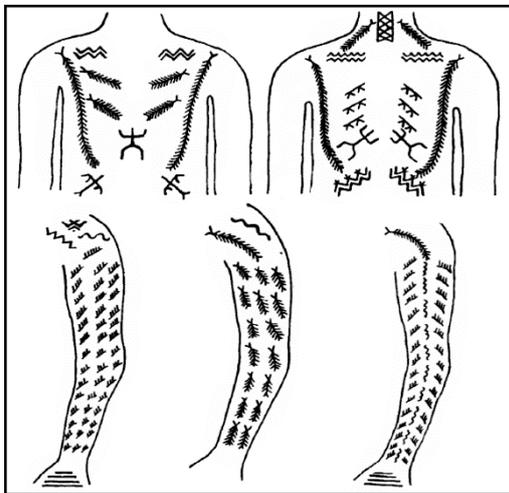


Figure 5: Vanoverbergh's Drawings of Ifugao Chest and Arm Tattoos

For this same reason, Vanoverbergh was also able to record some of the terms used by the Ifugaos in relation with their traditional tattooing: such as *chaklag*, or their warrior's chest tattoo; *ardan*, or their ladder design that was supposed to record the number of heads taken by a given warrior; *kinahu*, or dog design; *ginayaman*, or centipede design; *ginawang* or eagle design; and *kinilat*, or lightning design (Vanoverbergh, 1929: 204). Ifugao men usually tattooed their necks, chest, arms, and sometimes the face, buttocks and legs, while women usually tattooed their arms and shoulders. Compared to the Ibaloy and Kankanaey tattoo, the Ifugao tattoo was less solid and less interconnected.

In addition to successful headhunting for men, the other reasons for the Ifugaos to pursue the practice of tattooing at the early part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century were as follows: for both men and women, some tattoos were meant to increase their sexual desirability and symbolize their fertility, other tattoos offered spiritual protection from evil *anitos*, and still other tattoos were simply intended as aesthetic adornment (DeMello, 2014: 296).

#### 2.4 Tattooing among the Bontoks

As shown in figure 1, the Bontoks occupied part of the current Mountain Province, and part of the current provinces of Abra and Kalinga, and they were therefore landlocked by the territory of the Kankana-eyes in the west, by the provinces of Ifugao in the south, Isabela in the east, and Kalinga in the north. Ethnolinguistically, the Bontoks were surrounded by Tinguians/Isnegs in the west, Kankana-eyes and Ifugaos in the south, Gaddangs in the east and Southern Kalingas in the north. This location made the Bontoks even less exposed to the lowland culture when compared with the Ibaloy and Kankana-eyes, but not necessarily with the Ifugaos. The territory of the Bontoks is rich in mineral deposits such as gold, copper, gypsum and limestone. Its soil and climate are conducive to agriculture, in particular rice, abaca and coffee farming.

Traditional Bontok society was stratified into the traditionally wealthy (*kachangyan*), the middle (*waday ngachanna*), and the poor (*pusillawa*) folks. Similar to the Kankana-eyes, the *kachangyan* status was attained through heredity and affirmed through periodic hosting of feasts (*canaos*). The recently rich wage earners and entrepreneurs were distinguished from the *kachangyans* with the Ilocano term *baknangs*. Like the Kankana-ey and Ifugao villages, the Bontok village was also subdivided into wards (*atoks*). But unlike the Kankana-ey and Ifugao *atoks*, the Bontok *atok* was more democratically managed by a council of elders (*intugtukan*). These Bontok *atoks* indeed functioned as headhunting teams and it was in their *atok* structures/houses where the heads and skulls of their victims were kept (Worcester, 1906: 837). Traditional Bontok government was therefore gerontocratic.

The Spaniards succeeded in controlling the Bontok area in between 1831 and 1857. But even with this rather early occupation, at least in comparison with that of the Ifugao territory, the Spaniards were still unable to suppress Bontok headhunting and impose much of their culture. Jenks (1869-1953), an American anthropologist who stayed in the Philippines from 1902 to 1905 and who was involved with the exhibition of some Bontoks at the Saint Louis' World Fair, attested that the Spaniards, on the contrary, caused the intensification of headhunting in the Bontok territory (Jenks, 1905: 39) and therefore, the Americans indeed saw the Bontoks practicing their traditional tattooing. Jenks published, in 1905, a picture of a Bontok man with tattooed chest and arms and of a Bontok woman with tattooed arms, figure 6 (Jenks, 1905: 224-225):

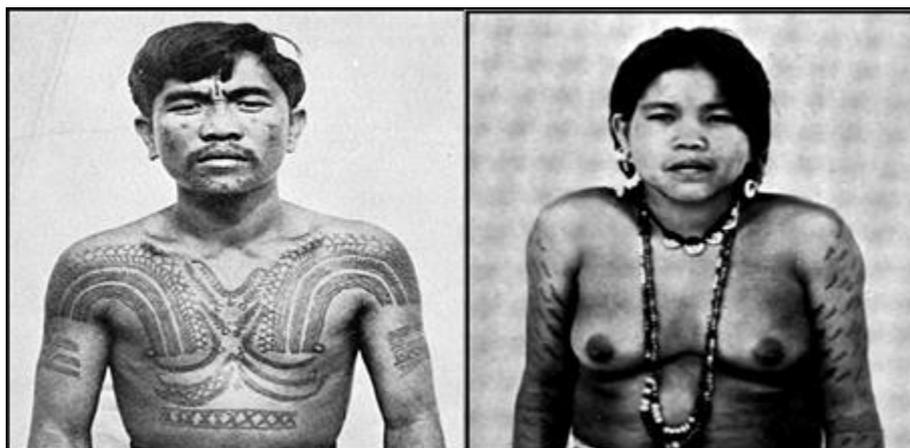


Figure 6: Jenks' Pictures of Tattooed Bontok Man and Woman

For this same reason, many Cordillera scholars were able to record a number of terms used by the Bontoks in relation with their traditional tattooing: such as *chaklag*, or their warrior's chest tattoo; *pongo*, or armband design that were used for both men and women; *agdan*, or their ladder design; *alalam-am*, or their fern design; *binakuwa*, or their horizontal lines; and *fab-alatong*, or their bean design (DeMello, 2014: 69-70). Bontok men usually tattooed their upper arms, chest and face, while women usually tattooed only their arms (Jenks, 1905: 188-189). The male Bontok tattoo was more solid than the male Ifugao tattoo, although less solid than the Ibaloy and Kankana-ey male tattoos. The Bontok male tattoo was further different from the Ibaloy and Kankana-ey male tattoos in the sense that it did not reach the lower arms and hands. The female Bontok tattoo was closer to the female Ifugao tattoo than to those of the female Ibaloy and Kankana-ey.

For the Bontoks the success of a headhunting was symbolically shared by all the members of an *atok* by giving each member, whether male or female, the right to have a tattoo (Jenks, 1905: 187). In addition to successful headhunting, the other reasons for the Bontoks to pursue the practice of tattooing at the early part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century were as follows: for both men and women, some tattoos were meant to increase their sexual desirability and symbolize their fertility, other tattoos were made as medicinal treatment against goiter and other deformities, and still other tattoos were simply intended as aesthetic adornment (Worcester, 1906: 835 & 841).

### 2.5 Tattooing among the Southern Kalingas

As shown in figure 1, the Southern Kalingas occupied the southern half of the current province of Kalinga and some portions of the current province of Abra, and they were therefore landlocked by the provinces of Abra in the west, Mountain Province in the south, Isabela in the east, and the territory occupied by the Northern Kalingas in the north. Vanoverbergh determined the Southern Kalinga territory as: "south of a line that runs above Balbalan and west of a line that runs west of Tabuk" (Vanoverbergh, 1929: 182). Ethnolinguistically, the Southern Kalingas are surrounded by the Tinguians/Itnegs in the west, Bontoks in the south, Gaddangs in the west, and Northern Kalingas in the north. This location made the Southern Kalingas even less exposed to the lowland culture when compared the first four mentioned ethnolinguistic groups, as access to their region was only possible then from the north. The territory of the Southern Kalingas is rich in mineral deposits such as gold and copper. Its soil and climate support abundant agricultural, forest and wildlife resources. Cornelis de Witt Willcox (1861-1938), an officer of the United States Army and professor at the United States Military Academy, hypothesized in his 1912 book *The Headhunters of Northern Luzon* that it was the bounty of the Southern Kalinga territory that caused the Southern Kalingas' bigger physical stature when compared to the other Cordillera people south of their territory (Willcox, 1912: 225).

Traditional Southern Kalinga society as stratified into the wealthy (*kadangyan*), the propertied middle (*baknang*), and poor (*kapus*) folks. It is from the ranks of the *kadangyans* where the village leaders emerged, the *mingols* or *maalmots* who in addition to their record in headhunting had the additional skill of declaiming their exploits during their feasts that follow successful headhunts. Like those of the Ibaloy, the Southern Kalinga village was also not divided into *atoks*. Traditional Southern Kalinga government was therefore primarily plutocratic and secondarily timocratic.

The Spaniards succeeded in pacifying the Kalinga area in 1859. But even with this rather early occupation, at least in comparison with that of the Ifugao territory, the Spaniards were still unable to suppress Southern Kalinga headhunting and impose much of their culture. Thus, when the Americans came to their area, the Southern Kalingas were still practicing their traditional tattooing (Worcester, 1906: 820; & Vanoverbergh, 1929: 218 & 220). Meyer published three drawings of Southern Kalinga arm and body tattoos, figure 7 (Meyer, 1885: 299-301). These designs were certainly seen by the Americans at the early part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, as these can still be seen even at present.

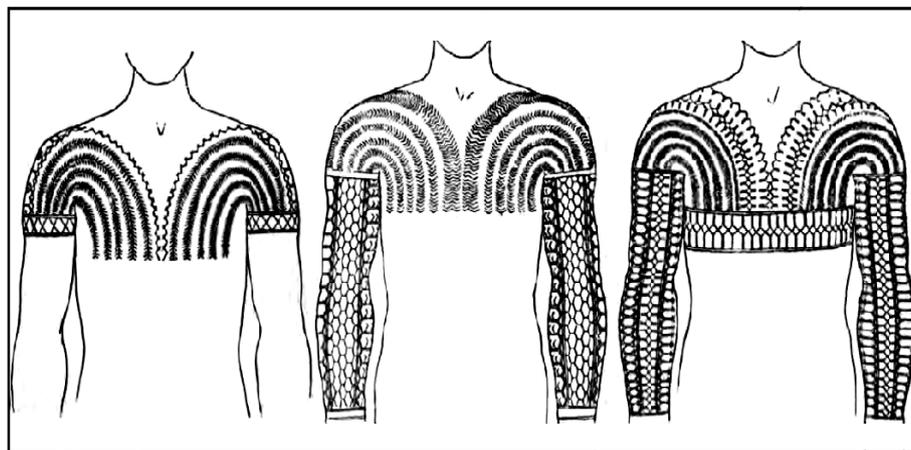


Figure 7: Meyer's Drawings of Front Tattoo Designs of Male Southern Kalingas

For this same reason, many Cordillera scholars were able to record a number of terms used by the Southern Kalingas in relation with their traditional tattooing: such as *gulot*, or the head cutter's design placed at the back of the hand or wrist; *whiing*, or their warrior's chest tattoo; *bikking*, or the marks placed on the face, arms, torso, back and chest; *sinokray*, or their female collar tattoo; and *liliknog*, or their composition that covered the whole body (DeMello, 2014: 337-339). Southern Kalinga men usually tattooed their arms, chest, upper back and even their face, while women usually tattooed their arms, shoulders and collar (Scott, 1958: 332). The male Southern Kalinga tattoo was similar to the Bontok male tattoo in terms of solidity, but the former was different from the latter in the sense that the former reached to the lower arms and hands areas. The female Southern Kalinga tattoo was also as solid as the Bontok male tattoo.

For the Southern Kalingas the success of a headhunting was symbolically shared by the husband with his wife by giving her the right to have a specific tattoo (DeMello. 2014: 337-338). In addition to successful headhunting, the other reasons for the Southern Kalingas to pursue the practice of tattooing at the early part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century were as follows: for both men and women, some tattoos were meant to increase their sexual desirability and symbolize their fertility, other tattoos were made as medicinal treatment against goiter and other deformities, still other tattoos were intended to provide spiritual protection from evil *anitos*, still other tattoos were given as rites of passage as one moved from childhood to adulthood, and still other tattoos were simply intended as aesthetic adornment (DeMello, 2014: 337-339; Salvador-Amores, 2002b: 111; & Vanoverberg, 1929: 218-219).

### 2.6 Tattooing among the Northern Kalingas

As shown in figure 1, the Northern Kalingas occupied the northern half of the current province of Kalinga and some portions of the current provinces of Abra and Apayao, and they were therefore landlocked by the provinces of Abra in the west, the territory occupied by the Southern Kalinga in the south, Cagayan in the east, and Apayao in the north. Ethnolinguistically, the Northern Kalingas were surrounded by the Tinguians/Itnegs in the west, Southern Kalingas in the south, Gaddangs in the west, and Isnegs in the north. This location made the Northern Kalingas more exposed to the lowland culture when compared to the Southern Kalingas. The natural riches of the territory of the Northern Kalingas is more or less the same with those of the territory of the Southern Kalingas, except for the cultural difference that Southern Kalingas were known as wet rice farmers while the Northern Kalingas as dry rice farmers. One crucial implication of this difference in agricultural practice was that Southern Kalingas were bound to their terraced and irrigated rice fields, while the Northern Kalingas had to move from an exhausted dry rice field to the next newly cleared one (Eggan, 1963: 351).

Traditional Northern Kalinga society was also stratified into the wealthy (*kadangyan*), the propertied middle (*baknang*), and poor (*kapus*) folks. It is from the ranks as well of the *kadangyans* where the village

leaders emerged. The American anthropologist Fred Eggan, however, noted that the traditional leaders of Southern Kalinga are more powerful and influential than their counterparts in Northern Kalinga (Eggan, 1963: 351). Like those of the Ibaloy and the Southern Kalingas, the Northern Kalinga village was also not divided into *atoks*. Traditional Northern Kalinga government was also primarily plutocratic and secondarily timocratic.

As already mentioned, the Spaniards succeeded in pacifying the Kalinga area in 1859, but they failed to suppress Northern Kalinga headhunting and impose much of their culture. But probably due to the fact that the Northern Kalingas were more exposed to lowland culture than the Southern Kalingas, the Americans witnessed a more subdued tattooing practice among the Northern group as compared with the Southern group (Worcester, 1906: 820; & Vanoverbergh, 1929: 223 & 224). Vanoverbergh was able to make drawings of some Northern Kalinga arm tattoos for both male and female, figure 8 (Vanoverbergh, 1929: 222):

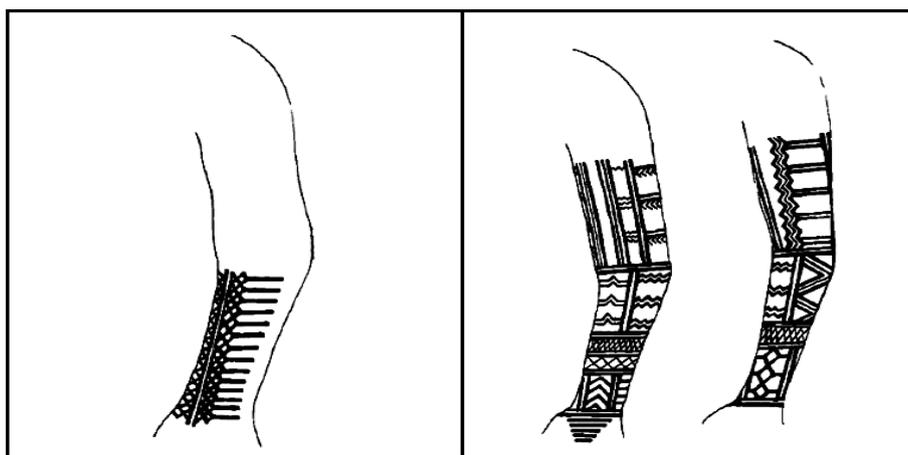


Figure 8: Vanoverbergh's Drawings of Arm Tattoo Designs of Male and Female Northern Kalingas

It is reasonable to assume that the tattooing terminology of Northern Kalinga was similar to that of Southern Kalinga, aside from the fact the former would definitely have fewer terms due to the reality that its tattooing was restricted to a smaller area of the body. Northern Kalinga men usually tattooed only their forearms with designs more or less similar with those of the Southern Kalinga women, while Northern Kalinga women usually tattooed both their forearms and upper arms (Vanoverbergh, 1929: 223 & 224). Thus, the *whiing*, *bikking*, *sinokray*, and *liliknog* of Southern Kalinga, as some examples, were rendered meaningless or useless in Northern Kalinga. The Northern Kalinga tattoo was less solid compared to both the Ibaloy and Kankana-ey tattoos.

Even though headhunting persisted among the Northern Kalingas during the American period, there appears to be no connection between this gory practice and tattooing, as the *gulot* and *whiing* of the Southern Kalingas, or the headhunter's marks, were not used in the Northern Kalinga territory. Based on the literature covered by this paper it looks like for the most well-dressed ethnolinguistic group in the Cordillera region tattooing was pursued for the sole reason of aesthetic adornment.

### 2.7 Tattooing among the Tinguians/Itnegs

As shown in figure 1, the Tinguians/Itnegs occupied the current province of Abra, and some portion of the current Ilocos Norte. Ethnolinguistically, the Itnegs were surrounded by Ilocanos in the west, Kankana-eyes and Bontoks in the south, Southern and Northern Kalingas in the east, and Isnegs and Ilocanos again in the north. This location made the Itnegs as exposed to the lowland culture as the Ibaloy, in particular those of the Ilocanos who, as already mentioned, were pacified, Christianized and civilized by the Spaniards centuries earlier. The territory of the Itnegs is rich in mineral deposits such as gold, phosphate and limestone. Its soil and climate are conducive to agriculture, specifically dry and wet rice, sweet potato, corn, sugarcane and tobacco farming.

Traditional Itneg society was simpler compared to those of the other Cordillera ethnolinguistic groups in the sense that they distinguish only between the rich (*baknang*) and the poor folks. In addition, the dividing line between these two classes were not as rigid as those the other Cordillera ethnolinguistic groups, and Itnegs treated the rich and the poor almost similarly. It was from the ranks of the *baknangs*, however, where the village head (*lakay*) emerged. Aside from wealth, an elder must exhibit extensive knowledge of Itneg customs and traditions for him to be recognized as a *lakay*. Like those of the Ibaloy, Southern and

Northern Kalingas, the Itneg village was also not divided into *atoks*. Traditional Itneg government was therefore primarily gerontocratic and secondarily aristocratic.

The Spaniards succeeded in pacifying the Itneg area in 1846. But even with this early occupation, the Spaniards were still unable to suppress Itneg headhunting and impose much of their culture. But probably due to the fact that the Itnegs were as exposed to the lowland culture as the Ibaloyos, the Americans witnessed a more subdued tattooing practice among the Itnegs (Worcester, 1906: 853; & Cole, 1922: 431). Worcester was able to publish in 1906 a picture of subtly tattooed Itneg woman and of another woman with bead bracelets that usually hid such tattoos, figure 9 (Worcester, 1906: 876):



Figure 9: Worcester's Pictures of an Itneg Woman with Tattooed Arms and another Itneg Woman with Bead Bracelets

Due to the subdued character of Itneg tattooing and to the fact that this was restricted to an even smaller area of the body, the literature covered by this paper did not yield any Itneg tattooing terminology. Itneg men tattooed only their arms and thighs with small patterns that are identical to the brands that they use on their respective animals; while women tattooed their forearms with bluish frets and for most the time kept these hidden underneath their bead bracelets (Cole, 1922: 437-438).

Even though headhunting persisted among the Itnegs during the American period, the literature covered by this paper suggest no connection between this gory practice and tattooing (Cole, 1922: 437). Hence, in addition to using tattoo as a proprietary mark for men and aesthetic adornment for both men and women, the other reason for the Itnegs to pursue the practice of tattooing at the early part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century was for the women to have medicinal treatment for goiters and other deformities (Worcester, 1906: 853).

### 2.8 *Tattooing among the Isnegs*

As shown in figure 1, the Isnegs occupied a huge portion of the current province of Apayao and some portion of the current province of Ilocos Norte, and they are therefore landlocked by the provinces of Ilocos Norte and Abra in the, Kalinga in the south, and Cagayan in the east and north. Ethnolinguistically, the Isnegs is surrounded by the Ilocanos and Itnegs in the east, Northern Kalingas in the south, Negritos in the east, and Ilocanos and Ibanags in the north. This location, even if considerably lower than those of the other Cordillera ethnolinguistic groups, proved to be isolated from lowland culture due to its dense forests and geologic barriers of mountains, swamps and the sparsely populated northern boundary with the province of Cagayan (Scheerer, 1928: 410). The territory of the Isnegs is rich in mineral deposits such as gold, copper and sulfur. Its soil and climate are conducive to agriculture, in particular dry rice, corn, root crop, sugarcane and tobacco farming.

Like that of the Itnegs, traditional Isneg society is also simpler compared to those of the other Cordillera ethnolinguistic groups, in the sense that the Isnegs distinguished only between the rich and the poor folks (Keesing, 1962b: 7). The social status of being rich was attained if an Isneg possessed ceremonial wealth in the form of old Asian jars, plates and beads (Keesing, 1962b: 7). The New Zealander-American anthropologist Felix Keesing explained: "such jars and beads are important among all the Cordillera peoples, but their place in the scale of worth as compared, say, with rice fields, carabao . . . , or pigs, rarely seems to have approached that characteristic of the Isneg. Ownership of precious jars and beads tends to march with ability to assemble foodstuff, cloth, and other wealth, to hold respect, and to command services which are also marks of being 'rich'" (Keesing, 1962b: 7). The Isneg village was led by a successful warrior

(*mengal*). Aside from martial prowess, the *mengal* was also expected to be knowledgeable of the Isneg customs and traditions because he was the main arbiter and adjudicator in his village. A brave Isneg warrior cannot attain the status of the *mengal* if he cannot host a series of *sayams* or the feasts that mark his victories where he was expected to declaim his exploits. Like those of the Ibaloyos, Southern and Northern Kalingas, and Itnegs, the Isneg village as also not divided into *atoks*. Traditional Isneg government was therefore primarily plutocratic, secondarily timocratic and thirdly aristocratic.

The Spaniards were only able to partially pacify the Isneg area in 1891. Consequently, they were not able to suppress Isneg headhunting and impose much of their culture. The Isnegs, in fact, were known as the most dedicated headhunters in the Cordillera region (Keesing, 1962b: 2). Thus, the Americans, who eventually succeeded in pacifying the said region, were able to witness the tattooing practice among the Isnegs. Vanoverbergh was able to make drawings of some Isneg arm and hand tattoos, figure 10 (Vanoverbergh, 1929: 229):

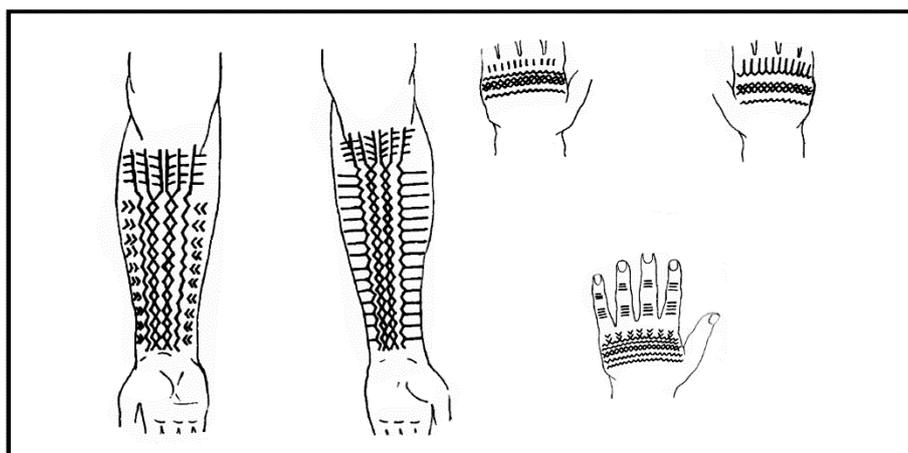


Figure 10: Vanoverbergh's Drawings of Arm and Hand Tattoo Designs of Isnegs

For this same reason, many Cordillera scholars were able to record a number of terms used by the Isnegs in relation with their traditional tattooing: such as *andori*, or the headhunter's wrist and arm tattoo, which may be shared with their daughters; *babalakay*, or the spider design placed on the thighs of men and throats of women; and *tutungrat*, or a series of broken lines placed at the back of the hands and fingers (Vanoverbergh, 1929: 227-228 & 230-232). Isneg men usually tattooed their hands, forearms and thighs, while women usually tattooed their hands, forearms, thighs and throats (Vanoverbergh, 1929: 227-228 & 230-232). The Isneg tattoo was similar to that of the Northern Kalinga, except that the latter did not reach to the hands and occupy only the outer side of the arms.

As already mentioned and similar to the practice among Southern Kalingas, the success of a headhunting among Isnegs was symbolically shared by the father with his daughters by giving them the right to also have the *andori*. In addition to successful headhunting, the other reasons for the Isnegs to pursue the practice of tattooing at the early part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century were as follows: for both men and women, some tattoos were meant to increase their sexual desirability and symbolize their fertility as suggested by the fact that some of these were placed on the thighs, while other tattoos were simply intended as aesthetic adornment. For women, some tattoos were made as medicinal treatment against goiters and other deformities, while other tattoos were taken as spiritual protection based on their lore that the spirits of untattooed women cannot pass through the river leading to their afterworld (Keesing, 1962a: 189).

### 3.0 DISCUSSION

The preceding sections have shown that the traditional tattooing in the Philippine Cordillera region was both similar and different among the eight ethnolinguistic groups. Table 2 summarizes these convergences and divergences in terms of five descriptive markers, namely: 1) the status of traditional tattooing, specifically whether it was already fading or still practiced at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century; 2) the prevalence of traditional tattooing by gender, specifically whether it was men or women who pursue it more, or was it equally pursued by both men and women; 3) the location of the markings on the body and the extent of such markings; 4) the solidity of the lines; and 4) the unity of the whole composition on the body:

Ethno-linguistic Group	Status of Tattooing	Gender and Prevalence	Location on the Body and Extent of Markings	Solidity of Lines	Unity of Composition
Ibaloy	Fading	Men (Less)	Back of the hands (Less Extensive)	Very Solid	Unified
		Women (More)	Arms and hands (Less Extensive)	Very Solid	Unified
Kankana-ey	Fading	Men (Less)	Back of the hands (Less Extensive)	Very Solid	Unified
		Women (More)	Arms and hands (Less Extensive)	Very Solid	Unified
Ifugaos	Practiced	Men (More)	Neck, chest, arms, face, buttocks and legs (Very Extensive)	Less Solid	Scattered
		Women (Less)	Arms and shoulders (Medium Extensive)	Less Solid	Scattered
Bontoks	Practiced	Men (More)	Upper arms, chest and face (Very Extensive)	Less Solid	Unified
		Women (Less)	Arms (Less Extensive)	Less Solid	Scattered
Southern Kalingas	Practiced	Men (More)	Arms, chest, upper back and face (Very Extensive)	Moderately Solid	Unified
		Women (Less)	Arms, shoulders and collar (Very Extensive)	Moderately Solid	Unified
Northern Kalingas	Practiced	Men (Less)	Forearms (Less Extensive)	Moderately Solid	Unified
		Women (More)	Arms (Less Extensive)	Moderately Solid	Unified
Itnegs	Practiced	Men (Less)	Arms and thighs (Less Extensive)	Less Solid	Scattered
		Women (More)	Forearms (Less Extensive)	Less Solid	Unified
Isnags	Practiced	Men (Same)	Hands, forearms and thighs (Less Extensive)	Less Solid	Unified
		Women (Same)	Hands, forearms, thighs and throat (Less Extensive)	Less Solid	Unified

Table 2: Summary of the Convergences and Divergences of Traditional Tattooing Practices among the Eight Ethnolinguistic Groups Studied by this Paper

Aside from the close resemblance between the Ibaloy and the Kankana-ey traditional tattooing, Table 2 shows that it is possible to distinguish the traditional tattooing of each of the other ethnolinguistic groups, based on the aforementioned five descriptive markers. Table 2 also shows that majority of the traditional tattooing was still practiced in the Philippine Cordillera region during the early part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and that only the Ibaloy and Kankana-ey tattooing were noted as fading then. Table 2 further shows that the most common combination of prevalence among gender was for more women than men to pursue traditional tattooing, while the least common combination was for traditional tattooing to be equally pursued by both men and women. Table 2 still further shows that the most common combination of the extent of markings among gender was for both men and women to have less extensive tattoos on their bodies. Table 2 still further shows that the use of less solid lines rendered in a more unified composition was the more common mode of traditional tattooing in the said mountain region.

In terms of reasons for pursuing traditional tattooing, each of the eight ethnolinguistic groups had its own profile of reasons that is distinct from the other groups. Table 3 summarizes these profiles for each of these groups:

Ethno-linguistic Group	Tattooing by Gender	Reasons for Tattooing								Total Number of Reasons by Gender	Average Number of Reasons for Men and Women	Interpretation of Average Number of Reasons for Men and Women (0.00-2.67=few; 2.68-5.35=moderate; & 5.36-8.00=several)	
		Symbol of Valor	Sex Appeal & Sign of Fertility	Prestige Marker	Medicinal Treatment	Spiritual Protection	Rite of Passage	Aesthetic	Proprietary				
Ibalays	Men	✓	×	×	✓	✓	✓	×	✓	×	4.0	4.5	Moderate number of reasons
	Women	✓	×	✓	✓	✓	✓	×	✓	×	5.0		
Kankana-eyes	Men	✓	×	×	×	×	×	×	✓	×	1.0	1.5	Few number of reasons
	Women	✓	×	✓	×	×	×	×	✓	×	2.0		
Ifugaos	Men	✓	✓	✓	×	×	✓	×	✓	×	4.0	3.5	Moderate number of reasons
	Women	✓	×	✓	×	×	✓	×	✓	×	3.0		
Bontoks	Men	✓	✓	✓	×	✓	×	×	✓	×	4.0	4.0	Moderate number of reasons
	Women	✓	✓	✓	×	✓	×	×	✓	×	4.0		
Southern Kalingas	Men	✓	✓	✓	×	✓	✓	✓	✓	×	6.0	6.0	Several number of reasons
	Women	✓	✓	✓	×	✓	✓	✓	✓	×	6.0		
Northern Kalingas	Men	✓	×	×	×	×	×	×	✓	×	1.0	1.0	Few number of reasons
	Women	✓	×	×	×	×	×	×	✓	×	1.0		
Itnegs	Men	✓	×	×	×	×	×	×	✓	✓	2.0	2.0	Few number of reasons
	Women	✓	×	×	×	✓	×	×	✓	×	2.0		
Isnags	Men	✓	✓	✓	×	×	×	×	✓	×	3.0	4.0	Moderate number of reasons
	Women	✓	✓	✓	×	✓	✓	×	✓	×	5.0		
<b>Occurrence of Reason among Men (Rank)</b>		4.0 (2.5)	4.0 (2.5)	1.0 (7.0)	3.0 (4.5)	3.0 (4.5)	1.0 (7.0)	8.0 (1.0)	1.0 (7.0)				
<b>Occurrence of Reason among Women (Rank)</b>		3.0 (5.0)	6.0 (2.0)	1.0 (6.5)	5.0 (3.0)	4.0 (4.0)	1.0 (6.5)	8.0 (1.0)	0.0 (8.0)				
<b>Average Occurrence of Reason among Men and Women (Rank)</b>		3.5 (4.5)	5.0 (2.0)	1.0 (6.5)	4.0 (3.0)	3.5 (4.5)	1.0 (6.5)	8.0 (1.0)	0.5 (8.0)				

Table 3: Reasons for Pursuing Traditional Tattoos among the Eight Ethnolinguistic Groups of the Philippine Cordillera Region

Table 3 shows that the Southern Kalingas had the most number of reasons for pursuing traditional tattoos, while the Northern Kalingas had the least number of reasons. Table 3 further shows that among men in the Cordillera region the most recurrent reason for pursuing traditional tattoo was aesthetic adornment (rank 1.0), followed by symbolizing valor (rank 2.5) and increasing sex appeal (rank 2.5); while the least recurrent were having it as prestige marker (rank 7.0), considering it as rite of passage (rank 7.0), and having it as proprietary marker (rank 7.0). Table 3 still further shows that among the women in the Cordillera region the most recurrent reason for pursuing traditional tattoo was also aesthetic adornment (rank 1.0), followed by increasing sex appeal and signifying fertility (rank 2.0), and having it as medicinal treatment (rank 3.0); while the least recurrent were having it as proprietary marker (rank 8.0), followed by having as prestige marker (rank 6.5) and considering it as rite of passage (rank 6.5). Table 3 lastly shows that for both men and women of the Cordillera region the most recurrent reason for pursuing traditional tattooing was still aesthetic adornment (rank 1.0), followed by increasing sex appeal and signifying fertility (rank 2.0) and having it as medicinal treatment (rank 3.0); while the least recurrent was having it as proprietary maker (rank 8.0), followed by having it as prestige maker (rank 6.5) and considering it as rite of passage (rank 6.5).

This section would end with an attempt to look into the relative strengths of the traditional tattooing of the eight ethnolinguistic groups covered by this study. These relative strengths could be the basis on how such traditional tattooing would fare against the modernizing and westernizing forces that blanketed the region from the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century onwards. There are seven compelling factors that should constitute these relative strengths. First is the initial status of traditional tattooing of each of the eight ethnolinguistic group at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Table 2 already revealed that only Ibaloy and Kankana-ey traditional tattooing were fading, while those of the other six ethnolinguistic groups were practiced at that time. Second is the practice of

headhunting, as this study and the literature used by this study had established the interconnection between headhunting and traditional tattooing. Again, at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, only the Ibaloy and Kankana-eyes did not practice headhunting among the eight ethnolinguistic groups. Third is the direct and actual connection between headhunting and traditional tattooing. This study has shown that whereas there were such connections for the Ifugaos, Bontoks, Southern Kalingas and Isnegs, there were none for the Ibaloy, Kankana-eyes, Northern Kalingas and Itnegs.

Fourth is the presence of the wards (*atoks*) that subdivided the village into smaller units. These *atoks* were significant to tattooing because these units mobilized as headhunting teams and celebrated successful headhunts. This study revealed that *atoks* existed in the Kankana-ey, Ifugao and Bontok villages, but not in the Ibaloy, Southern Kalinga, Northern Kalinga, Itneg and Isneg villages. Fifth is the presence of timocracy in the form of government, in the sense that timocracy recognizes the valor of the warriors who in turn were motivated to flaunt their symbolic headhunter's/warrior's tattoos. Sixth is the insulation of the group from lowland Philippine culture, in the sense that these lowlanders were already persuaded by Spain centuries before to give up the practice of tattooing and its interrelated practices. Any Cordillera ethnolinguistic group that regularly interacts with the lowlanders would be easily swayed to abandon traditional tattooing and its interrelated practices in exchange for cultural progress, modernity and being one with the more progressive lowland culture. Seventh is the number of reasons present to each of these ethnolinguistic groups to pursue traditional tattooing at the start of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Table 3 established that Southern Kalingas had several reasons to do so; while the Ibaloy, Ifugaos, Bontoks and Isnegs had moderate number of reasons; and the Kankana-eyes, Northern Kalingas, and Itnegs had only few reasons to do so. Table 4 shows together these seven compelling factors that constituted the strength of traditional tattooing as cultural practice of each of the eight Cordillera ethnolinguistic groups:

Ethno-linguistic Group	Status of Tattooing	Practice of Headhunting	Connection between Headhunting and Tattooing	Existence of Ward System ( <i>Atok</i> )	Form of Government	Insulation from Lowland Culture	Reason for Tattooing	Strength for Survival of Traditional Tattooing
Ibaloy	Fading	×	×	×	Mixture of plutocracy & gerontocracy	Low	Moderate	Weak
Kankana-eyes	Fading	×	×	✓	Mixture of timocracy & gerontocracy, or mixture of hierocracy & gerontocracy	Low	Few	Weak
Ifugaos	Practiced	✓	✓	✓	Mixture of plutocracy, timocracy & gerontocracy	High	Moderate	Strong
Bontoks	Practiced	✓	✓	✓	Gerontocracy	High	Moderate	Strong
Southern Kalingas	Practiced	✓	✓	×	Mixture of plutocracy & timocracy	High	Several	Strong
Northern Kalingas	Practiced	✓	×	×	Mixture of plutocracy & timocracy	Moderate	Few	Weak
Itnegs	Practiced	✓	×	×	Mixture of gerontocracy & aristocracy	Low	Few	Weak
Isnegs	Practiced	✓	✓	×	Mixture of plutocracy, timocracy & aristocracy	High	Moderate	Moderate

Table 4: The Seven Compelling Factors that Constitute the Strength of Traditional Tattooing to Survive the Influx of Modernity and Westernization in the Cordillera Region

Traditional Ibaloy tattooing had weak chances of surviving the onslaught of modernization and westernization because it was a fading practice to begin with, furthermore the Ibaloy did not practice headhunting anymore, they did not have *atoks*, there was no trace of timocracy in their form of government, and they were not insulated from lowland culture. Traditional Kankana-ey tattooing had also weak chances of surviving the onslaught of modernization and westernization because it was also a fading practice to begin with, furthermore the Kankana-eyes also did not practice headhunting anymore, they were not insulated from lowland culture, and they had only few reasons to pursue traditional tattooing.

Ifugao traditional tattooing had strong chances of surviving the onslaught of modernization and westernization because it was still alive and practiced during the early part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, furthermore the Ifugaos practiced headhunting, there was a connection between headhunting and their traditional tattooing, they had *atoks*, there was a trace of timocracy in their form of government, and they were highly insulated from lowland culture. Bontok traditional tattooing also had strong chances of surviving the onslaught of modernization and westernization because it too was still alive and practiced during the early part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, furthermore the Bontoks practiced headhunting, there was a connection between headhunting and their traditional tattooing, they had *atoks*, and they were highly insulated from lowland culture.

Southern Kalinga traditional tattooing also had strong chances of surviving the onslaught of modernization and westernization because it was also alive and practiced during the early part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, furthermore the Southern Kalingas also practiced headhunting, there was a connection between headhunting and their traditional tattooing, there was a trace of timocracy in their form of government, they were highly insulated from lowland culture, and they had several reasons for pursuing traditional tattooing. Northern Kalinga traditional tattooing, however, had weak chances of surviving the onslaught of modernization and westernization because there was no connection between headhunting and the Northern Kalingas' traditional tattooing, they did not have *atoks*, they were only moderately insulated from lowland culture, and they only had few reasons to pursue traditional tattooing.

Itneg traditional tattooing had weak chances of surviving the onslaught of modernization and westernization because there was no connection between headhunting and the Itnegs' traditional tattooing, they did not have *atoks*, there was no trace of timocracy in their form of government, they were not insulated from lowland culture, and they only had few reasons for pursuing traditional tattooing. Isneg traditional tattooing had moderate chances of surviving the onslaught of modernization and westernization because even though the Isnegs practiced tattooing during the early part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, even though they practiced headhunting, even though there was a connection between headhunting and their traditional tattooing, even though there was a trace of timocracy in their form of government, the Isnegs did not have *atoks*, and they only had moderate number of reasons for pursuing traditional tattooing.

#### 4.0 CONCLUSION

The aim of this paper was to understand the similarities and differences in appearance, the causes and discursive strengths of traditional tattooing among the eight major ethnolinguistic groups of the Philippine Cordillera region. In terms of appearance, aside from the close resemblance between Ibaloy and Kankanaey traditional tattooing, there was the Wittgensteinian family resemblance that networked through these eight ethnolinguistic groups. By using five descriptive markers, this paper, was able to show phenomenal similarities and differences in the practice of tattooing. Furthermore, traditional tattooing of the said ethnolinguistic groups in the said region were also similar and different in terms of each of the said groups' profile of reasons for pursuing such tattooing. This paper was able to establish which among the eight ethnolinguistic groups had the most number and the least number of reasons, as well as which among the eight pre-determined reasons were the most and least recurrent in the Philippine Cordillera region at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Lastly, this paper attempted to look into the relative strengths of the traditional tattooing of the eight ethnolinguistic groups, as these relative strengths can approximate the bases on how such traditional tattooing would fare against the modernizing and westernizing forces that would blanket the region from the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century onwards. Hence this paper was able to identify which among the eight ethnolinguistic groups had strong, moderate or weak traditional tattooing. With these findings, the underlying intention of this paper, which is to establish a baseline knowledge on tattooing in the Philippine Cordillera region prior to the massive influx of modern and western influences mediated by the American occupation, was satisfactorily achieved.

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