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From the Philippines to The Field Museum: A Study of Ilongot (Bugkalot) Personal Adornment

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Abstract: The Philippine Collection at The Field Museum contains over 10,000 objects, including hundreds of objects of personal adornment. As an intern at The Field Museum in the summer of 2012, I got to experience the collection first-hand and began examining six ornaments from the Ilongot peoples of the Philippines. At the beginning of the 20th century, the Ilongot wore ornaments to visually communicate social meaning about themselves, their villages, and their relationships. The Ilongot were a headhunting society with fearsome warriors who beheaded their enemies. These hunters wore delicately crafted earrings and headdresses to mark their masculinity and skill. Ornaments further marked the strength and importance of alliances and trading agreements and visibly demonstrated their wearers' social standing, wealth, and cultural power at ceremonies. When collectors carried the objects from the Philippines to The Field Museum, they unavoidably projected their own cultural constructions onto the objects. In this way, the historical context and racial climate of the collecting culture is an important component in understanding the stories these objects have to tell. In addition, the ways museums choose to use and display the objects places further constructions upon them. Museums must practice active engagement both with members of the culture that produced the objects and with museum visitors to display the meaning that objects can communicate.

Introduction

When I turned on the lights in the Philippines collections room at The Field Museum for the first time, thousands of intricately decorated objects stared back at me. As the weeks progressed, and I continued to work with artifacts from the collection, I grew increasingly curious about the significance held by those objects glinting in the dim light. I was working as the Regenstein Collections Intern in the summer of 2012 part of my duties involved direct interaction with the artifacts in the collection. Many of the most elaborate of them are not only beautiful pieces of art resting in their enclosures in the museum setting, but also were worn as adornments in their original cultural context, allowing people to display the meanings they embody. Far from merely representing beauty, these objects are indicative of broad and intricate symbolic systems pertaining to politics, kinship, and spirituality (Rodgers, 1985, p. 238-239; Villeges, 1983, p. 1). Some of these strikingly beautiful items of personal adornment were created by the Ilongot peoples the Philippines. I chose six such objects on which to focus further study and analysis (See Figure 1).



Figure 1: I decided to analyze the six objects from the Philippine Collection pictured above based on their aesthetic appeal, craftsmanship, cultural significance and potential for further research.
Photo by Sarah Carlson

Methodology

With the help of my supervisor, Jamie Kelly, I chose a selection of objects to examine. I then narrowed my original choices by studying the objects' origins and functions, and determining basic facts about them through information found in The Field Museum Records Room and Library. It is important to note that the small assemblage I chose to study should not be understood as comprehensive, or metonymic of Ilongot personal adornment as a whole—stiff rattan circular necklaces, hairnets, belts and many other objects were also worn frequently, but timing and logistics did not allow me to include analysis of them in this study. In examining my selection, I soon realized that I would find few direct

answers by looking up objects in books, as most ethnographies do not comment explicitly on ornamentation. The answers to many of my research questions would usually rely on direct observation and interviews, resources not available to me, so I utilized a methodology outlined by Jane Fearer Safer and Frances McLaughlin Gill (1982). They recommended starting with direct analysis of artifacts, then proceeding to information available in object documentation and field notes before progressing to published books and articles and consultation with specialists (p. 11-13).

I began by working directly with the objects in my collection for several weeks to ascertain their form, condition, and construction techniques. Extensive measurements supplemented my initial analysis of the objects. I also utilized Field Museum accession records, catalog information, photographs, and library materials to develop an introduction to the Ilongot and to the study of adornment objects. I further utilized these sources to compile information regarding the collection and accession of the objects, and brief biographies of those who collected them. Before the end of my time at The Field Museum, I chronicled my findings in a preliminary report now housed in the Records Room. Throughout my internship and the months that followed, I consulted extensively with Jamie Kelly, The Field Museum's manager of ethnographic and archaeological collections from North America, Asia, Europe, the Near East, and Africa, who provided significant and invaluable guidance regarding the methods, practice, and techniques of object study. I also utilized his teachings to update the storage of the objects in my study by housing them in trays of archival foam and blue board, and photographing the objects, both updating the information available on them in The Field Museum's computerized collections database and providing visual context for my research.

Upon my return to Illinois Wesleyan University, I focused my research methodology much more heavily on textual resources. I worked with the Ames Library and online library databases to locate research publications on the function, form, use, and changing meaning of Ilongot personal adornment items. In consultation with my Thesis Advisor, Dr. Rebecca Gearhart, I further explored the theory of object study and the multiple perspectives that make up the histories of these objects. I focused my study on widely accepted Ilongot viewpoints, those of object collectors in the Philippines in the early 1900s, and those of museums and museum visitors. I used textual sources to investigate these themes, but became concerned about the obvious shortcoming of my methodology, a lack of ethnographic fieldwork. Much, if not all of my research may have been improved, supplemented, or altered had I been able to spend time in an Ilongot community in the Philippines. Commitments to my university, and a lack of time and funding, however, made fieldwork logistically impossible. For this reason, I extensively

utilized the ethnographic writings of Drs. Renato and Michelle Rosaldo in forming my understanding of the Ilongot and their use of personal adornment. With the help of internet sources, I was able to locate Dr. Renato Rosaldo's contact information at New York University. Via email, he answered many of my questions regarding both his work and the Ilongot. He was able to confirm many of my findings and act as an expert source of information and analysis. In January 2013, I re-visited The Field Museum where I was able to re-establish physical contact with the objects under study and resolve several incongruities I had discovered throughout my research.

Literature Review

Preliminary examination of the six objects under study and their accompanying documentation led me to an understanding of ethnographic objects as culturally significant symbols, fundamentally embodying social meaning. Susan Rodger's (1985) *Power and Gold: Jewelry from Indonesia, Malaysia, and the Philippines* analyzed objects of personal adornment from the Barbier-Mueller Museum collections and created a paradigmatic framework for this object study. She suggested that personal adornment items can be read as texts, and that study of such items requires understanding of the society as a whole (Rodgers, 1985, p. 46-49). She further hypothesized that study of these objects' shape, manufacture, and origin can be a source of local social history. Often, this social history reveals information surrounding the art traditions, economy, politics, and kin relations of a society, as well as that of their surrounding areas and trade networks. Furthermore, Susan M. Pearce's (1993) *Museums, Objects, and Collections: A Cultural Study* explored the historical context of museums, their collections, and the objects they house. Pearce discussed collecting objects as souvenirs, fetishistic manifestations, and the systematic formation of collections as well as the psychological and social motivations for collection. She considered the ways that museum professionals protect objects and people with guidelines for the acquisition and care of objects, as well as maintain relationships between those who provide objects, other institutions, and the public. The text provided a structural framework of the ways museums can communicate cultural meaning through their collection, preservation, and exhibition policies.

Scholars became fascinated by the Ilongot and their headhunting traditions when Euro-Americans established contact in the Philippines in the 1500s, and several ethnographies regarding the Ilongot were written during and immediately after the colonial era. In the 1980s, however, anthropology was drastically restructured as a discipline and its goals transformed by the critical analyses of scholars

like James Clifford, George Marcus, and Michael Fischer who aimed to confront the ethics of ethnography. These critiques moved ethnographic attempts in a more culturally sensitive and reflexive direction, encouraging anthropologists to acknowledge their own inherent cultural bias and practice more cultural relativism. For this reason, many of the ethnographic writings about the Ilongot composed before this transformation were less detailed and less culturally sensitive than more modern writings, and failed to offer much insight into the Ilongot worldview beyond basic facts. While they provided me with background context of both Ilongot social life and Euro-American attitudes towards Philippine natives at this time, they required more socially sensitive and thorough research. The ethnographic research conducted by Drs. Michelle and Renato Rosaldo in the 1970s and 1980s provided the most comprehensive ethnographic analysis of the Ilongot available. Much of Renato Rosaldo's research offered insight on headhunting practices, including its historical and ritual context, and discussions of symbolic meaning, as well as broad background information on Ilongot villages. Michelle Rosaldo's research (1980) discussed that ideas concerning shame and guilt are not universal or even necessarily cross-cultural. She examined the Ilongot desire for equivalence with peers, and the expectations and abilities symbolized by a boy's first taking of a head. The emotions entangled in this rite of passage also involved the creation of group identities, the division of labor, and trust in a society lacking traditional hierarchical structures, which Michelle Rosaldo described extensively in her book, *Knowledge and Passion: Ilongot Notions of Self and Social Life* (1980). Both these scholars provided thorough ethnographic information on the Ilongot that I used to examine the cultural roles of personal adornment objects in Ilongot societies.

After the Rosaldos' research, few scholars conducted fieldwork or wrote ethnographies on the Ilongot. Only a handful of academic material regarding the Ilongot was written between the late 1980s and early 2000s. Shu-Yuan Yang, however, published articles in both 2011 and 2012 that provided this study with a more modern perspective of the Ilongot. Her "Headhunting, Christianity and History among the Bugkalot (Ilongot) of Northern Luzon" analyzed the changes in headhunting traditions through different hegemonic presences as indicative of shifting patterns of dominance and subordination, and especially addressed headhunting in the context of Christianity and missionary presence. Anthropologists, missionaries, and converts viewed headhunting and Christianity in mutually exclusive terms, but this article suggested that their relationship is far more ambiguous.

Colonial perspectives of the Philippines in the early 1900s were fraught with racial tensions and hegemonic attitudes. Themes of paternalism, fascination, and aversion in these attitudes were explored

in the writings of Daniel P.S. Goh (2007, 2008), Mark D. Van Ells (1995), Dierdre McKay (2006), Thomas McHale (1962), and Anne Paulet (2007). Goh discussed the ways post-colonial Philippine indigenous peoples were suspended between a Filipino interpretation of the American Dream and the hegemony of imperialism. In this understanding, the Philippines acted as a vehicle for ideas about manifest destiny and the American frontier during the Cold War. This concept was expanded by Mark D. Van Ells who explored the idea that it was understood as the “White Man’s Burden” to “improve” and “give salvation” to indigenous or minority peoples; forcing upon them the gift of Euro-American civilization. McKay’s work addressed this idea in terms of identity and assimilation. She discussed Philippine identity as placed into a “tribal slot” by colonizing forces. Because of their indigenous identity, colonizers equated Philippine peoples with Native Americans, and used similar strategies for Americanizing them, aiming to improve Philippine peoples to make them capable of self-government. Anthropometrics played an important role in the attempted systematic study of peoples of “The Other” that aimed to quantify American superiority. Paulet expanded on the similarly imperialistic attitudes which lay beneath Euro-American treatment of both Native Americans and indigenous Filipinos, particularly in similar attempts to Americanize these groups in order to “kill the Indian in him but save the man” (p. 173). As a means of justifying imperialistic motivations, American colonizing forces argued that their presence in the Philippines was for the good of Filipinos. They aimed to educate Philippine native people according to Euro-American standards, in the same ways that education was forced on Native Americans in order to assimilate them into “civilized” society. Cherubim Quizon (2004) and Nancy J. Parezo (2004) explored how these justifications of imperialism and fascination with “the Other” led to the display of live people in the Philippine Village at the St. Louis World’s Fair in 1904. Both authors discussed human rights violations that occurred at the Fair, and the daily lives of inhabitants, as well as the cultural constructions placed on the live exhibitions to reinforce and expand upon stereotypes of the Philippines. These scholars’ discussions of American colonial policy in the Philippines provided historical context for the period and informed my discussion of colonial collection voyages and their motivations.

Museum perspectives of these objects change as community engagement provides new and interesting context and ideas about them. Objects are necessarily tied to a specific time and location, but accrue further meaning in each context into which they are placed, including museum collections and exhibitions. In order to inspire and shape future research, museum objects must be protected from deterioration and damage through collections management practices like those outlined by Konstanze

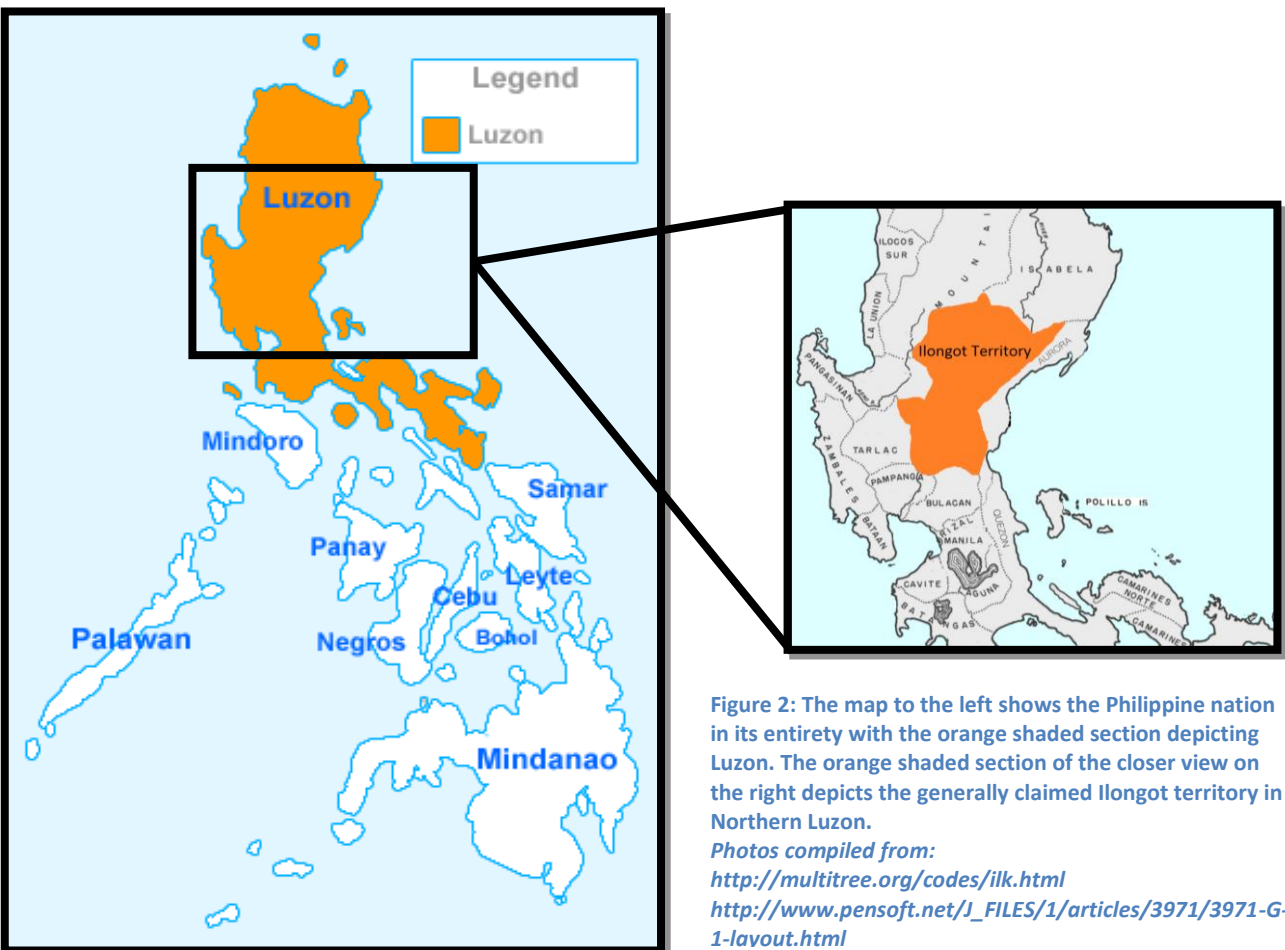
Bachmann, Rebecca Anne Rushfield, Anne Brooke Craddock, and Carolyn L. Rose in *Conservation Concerns: A Guide for Collectors and Curators*. Susan M. Pearce (1993) further discussed how these preserved materials can convey symbolic relationships, and act as objects of mediation between the ideas about them held by their producing culture and the museum that displays them. Ivan Karp (1991, 1993) expanded on this idea of museum work as that of contested terrain, in which control of representation must be shared in order to find truth in what is represented. He and Stephen Lavine (1991) wrote that museum exhibitions should consider the views, beliefs, and biases of the producing culture, the museum visitor, and the exhibition producer in balance, a concept that heavily influenced the discussions in this paper. Barbara Kirschenblatt-Gimblett (1991) cautioned that collections, by nature only a small sample of material culture, can easily be seen as a metonym for the whole culture and that context and discourse are necessary to highlight the limitations of exhibiting. Community engagement and collections management techniques aim to improve the information we can gather and communicate using objects such as the six under study in this paper.

Ilongot Perspectives: Symbolism and Social Views of Adornment

The Philippines recognize over 100 ethnic groups and several hundred languages and dialects. Consisting of over 7000 islands, about 900 of which are inhabited, most of the country's population resides on the island of Luzon, the largest and most mountainous island that contains Manila, the capital of the Philippines (M Rosaldo, 1980; Casal, 1981). Luzon is approximately 200 miles long with an elevation of 6000-9000 feet. Northern Luzon (See Figure 2) recognizes ten primary cultural groups: Ifugao, Igorot, Bontoc, Kankanay, Ibaloi, Kalinga, Tinguian, Isneg, Gaddang, and Ilongot (Casal, 1981). Throughout history, territory battles were frequent and ancestral borders changed as skill in warfare did, leading to contested ethnic as well as geographic borders. Furthermore, members of different groups referred to each other by local names that did not always agree (Rosaldo, 1978). Compounding the confusion, European settlers and military presences referred to all the ethnic groups of Northern Luzon under the collective name of 'Igorot' (Rosaldo, 1978). The Ilongot have also been known as the Abacas, Ibilao, Italons, and Bugkalot. Shu-Yuan Yang (2012) indicated that some consider the term Ilongot pejorative due to semantic ties to wildness and barbarity (p. 82). Furthermore, Yang wrote that most members of this ethnic group, excepting those along the coast, refer to themselves by the term "Bugkalot" and are currently engaged in legal efforts for the Philippine state and census to use this term as well. However, as indicated by Renato Rosaldo (1978) in his "Viewed from the Valley: Five Names

for Ilongots,” most academic literature uses the term “Ilongot,” including the majority of Field Museum documentation. For this reason, I will continue to refer to this group by the name, “Ilongot” in order to avoid confusion.

The Ilongot live in the southern Sierra Madre and Caraballo Mountains on the east side of Luzon, about 90 miles northeast of Manila. They reside primarily in the Nueva Vizcaya and Nueve Ecija provinces, along the mountain border between Quirino and Aurora (R Rosaldo, 1984, p. 2; Yang, 2012, p. 83-84). (See Figure 2) Official Philippine census data placed the Ilongot population around 50,000 in 1990, and databases like People Groups and The Joshua Project place the 2012 Ilongot population somewhere between 30,000 and 80,000 persons, or between 0.08-0.1% of the Philippines’ 90 million person population (Ethnologue, People Group, Joshua Project, World Bank). While researchers like Yang (2011, 2012) have written recently about the contemporary Ilongot, the most seminal work on the Ilongot remains that of Michelle and Renato Rosaldo, who conducted their field work in the 1970s and 1980s. For this reason, much of my writing will focus on the period in which the Rosaldos did their research as they provided the most fundamental sources of my research. During this time, about 3,500 Ilongot people remained in the highland regions of Luzon.



The Ilongot sustained themselves, in large part, through hunting and horticulture. They hunted deer and wild pig, and supplemented their diet with mainly fish, eels, frogs, and birds as many other types of game were considered taboo or distasteful (R Rosaldo, 1980, 1984, 1993; M Rosaldo, 1980, p. 100; Yang, 2012, p. 85). They also cultivated vegetables like sweet potatoes, and manioc. Rice, a staple of the Ilongot diet, was grown in rain-fed dry swiddens (R Rosaldo, 1980, p. 9; R Rosaldo, 1984, Yang, 2012, p. 85). Most highland groups preferred this method, while lowlanders favored a wet-rice cultivation system (M Rosaldo, 1980, p. 107; R Rosaldo, 1980, p. 63; Yang, 2011). Part of the highlander identity was rooted in this dry swidden system because it fundamentally differentiated them from lowlanders. Yang (2011) indicated that the relationship between highlanders and lowlanders was largely ambivalent in that they depended on each other for trade of subsistence goods, but often looked upon each other with scorn, or even extreme violence (Yang, 2011, p. 169; Tugby, 1966, p. 253). Intertribal warfare often took place between the highlanders of the mountain regions and the lowlanders of the coasts, although neighboring groups battled as well (Tugby, 1966, p. 253; R Rosaldo, 1980, p. 161).

Introduction to Headhunting

Until the mid-1970s, headhunting characterized warfare in Northern Luzon (See Figure 2). One of the most recognized practices of the Ilongot, much of their reputations, social structure and interactions with others were intertwined with headhunting, earning them a particularly widespread notoriety, tinged with both respect and fear (Yang, 2011, p. 156). When a man took his first head, he announced to his community and others that he was a fully mature member of Ilongot society, ready to marry and participate in adult conversations and responsibility (M Rosaldo, 1980, p. 163-164; R Rosaldo, 1980, p. 175-219). As the male life cycle of the Ilongot was largely vague and ambiguous, headhunting advanced boys into states of maturity in concrete and recognizable ways. Headhunting also provided an outlet for the release and renewal of *liget*, cyclical focused energy and strong emotion, discussed in greater detail below (see *Liget* and *Bēya*), which motivated Ilongot social relationships, subsistence practices, and life cycles (M Rosaldo, 1980, p. 217; Yang, 2011). Furthermore, headhunting fortified alliances and publicly addressed conflicts between feuding villages (Rodgers, 1985; 57-61; Safer and Gill, 1982). Due to headhunting's great importance to the Ilongot social structure, Ilongot people emphatically resisted suppression of the practice by European settlers, who were horrified,

morally appalled, and just a little bit fascinated with the practice, and declared it heathenish and barbaric, calling for its complete cessation (Yang, 2011, p. 161).

In Renato Rosaldo's *Ilongot Headhunting, 1883-1974: A Study in Society and History* (1980), Rosaldo situated his analysis of headhunting in a historical and regional context, exploring the effect of social forces and events on the practice. Rosaldo argued that by 1928, European presence had successfully forced a near cessation of headhunting (1980, p. 175-219). At this time, many men married without taking a head, a rarity before European arrival. As European missionaries and soldiers flocked to the Philippines, they forced indigenous peoples away from the coasts and into the highlands (R Rosaldo, 1980, p. 35). Trade blossomed as Europeans carved roads into the mountainsides and pushed formally distant groups of people into contact with one another, but this concentration also facilitated a sharp increase in warfare as territory disputes merged with ancient rivalries and feuds (R Rosaldo, 1980, p. 221-250; Rodgers, 1985, p. 31). The ensuing unrest in the late 1930s and early 1940s led to the widespread resurgence of headhunting raids. Japanese occupation of the Philippines during World War II further exacerbated these tensions leading to the death of nearly a third of the Ilongot population in only about a month (R Rosaldo, 1980, p. 48-54). According to Rosaldo, a relative peace followed the war, but headhunting persisted in many places, including most Ilongot territories, until 1974 when President Ferdinand Marcos imposed martial law, and threatened headhunters with firing squads (1980, p. 48-54).

During Rosaldo's time in the Philippines, it seemed that headhunting had been permanently suppressed, but Shu Yuan Yang (2011) discovered that extremely rare headhunting excursions continue to occur. These raids, however, are remarkably different from those studied by Rosaldo, as they represent attempts to mediate practices of Ilongot heritage with the presence and teachings of, and often conversion to, Evangelical Christianity. As of the early 2000s, many Ilongot people had converted to Evangelical Christianity, which aimed to replace many of the motivations of headhunting with a fervor for the Christian God (R Rosaldo, 1984). However, tensions regarding a loss of autochthonous identity coupled with territorial disputes often frustrated Ilongot converts, and occasionally led to retaliatory headhunting (Yang, 2011, p. 56). Yang described this contemporary headhunting as a means of empowerment against state domination rather than as a desire for renewal of overwhelmingly strong emotions, known as *liget* (Yang, 2011, p. 280). While Yang's research suggested that headhunting persists in some form, its motivations and symbolic meanings are decidedly different from those of the 1970s and 1980s. For Rosaldo's Ilongots, ornaments remained visual indicators of economic, political,

and social relations that changed dramatically as European presence and force increased. The objects under study in this paper were collected between 1900-1910, so while certain meanings they represented were undoubtedly different by the time the Rosaldos wrote, they were not as influenced by Evangelical teachings as the persisting modern headhunting Yang described.

Headhunting, Social Status, and Kinship

Ilongot headhunters wore ornaments that announced their status as fearsome hunters, members of an elite team. I originally assumed that this display indicated pride in and boasting of individual hunting prowess, but upon exploration of both Michelle and Renato Rosaldo's research, I discovered that the Ilongot did not recognize men's houses, segmentary lineages, ranked age grades, or any other standard hierarchical institutions (R Rosaldo, 1980, p. 144-159; R Rosaldo, 1988). Additionally, they worked to ensure that men did not assume superiority over or command one another, believing that successful communal work could not be accomplished by men who felt unequal (M Rosaldo, 1980, p. 3; R Rosaldo, 1980, p. 143). The households of a village shared surplus meat, goods, and responsibilities and considered the withholding any of these for private use a great insult (M Rosaldo, 1980, p. 3, 117). Headhunting raids were endeavors undertaken by groups in which every participating man played a vital role. Moreover, a man's ability as a hunter varied greatly throughout his life, as did his luck. Thus, the Ilongot rejected the view that men could possess hunting prowess on an individual level (M Rosaldo, 1980, p. 3, 117; R Rosaldo, 1980, p. 144-159). This lack of institutionalized hierarchies, however, should not miscast the Ilongot as unaware of rank. Envy and strong desires not to be outdone were hugely important motivators for many areas of Ilongot subsistence, most notably headhunting. Hunters aspired to gain acceptance as competent and mature men, with skills as finely honed as other men in his village (R Rosaldo, 1984). Group endeavors like headhunting raids required each man to pull his own weight, or suffer the jeers and taunts of both peers and elders. In this way, men did not wear headhunting ornaments to boast that they took many heads, but rather to assert recognition as headhunters, initiated adult men, members of the elite, and respected warriors (M Rosaldo, 1980, p. 128-135; R Rosaldo, 1980, p. 144-159). Those who remained novices much longer than their peers often punished themselves through pain or asceticism, practices echoed by men who were unable to headhunt due to Euro-American suppression (M Rosaldo, 1980, p. 139).

The greatest delineations of rank among the Ilongot were those between men and women, and between young and old. Men, especially elders, commanded the most societal respect, and sharp delineations existed between the economic roles of men and women (Tugby, 1966, p. 254; R Rosaldo, 1980, p. 137; M Rosaldo, 1980, p. 203). Michelle Rosaldo (1980) indicated that the Ilongot understood men to control greater amounts of both passion and cultural knowledge, thereby according them more respect (p. 203). As social wisdom was seen to increase with age and experience, older men commanded more respect than younger men did, although elders often envied the unbridled passion of youth (R Rosaldo, 1980, p. 135-175). In spite of this envy, boys longed to take a head and become men in order to gain the communal respect of their village, and throw off their shameful novice status. Skill in headhunting, crafting, and oratory demonstrated command of cultural knowledge, and allowed a boy to remain on par with his peers, one of the only ways men could further their societal respect (Tugby, 1966, p. 258; M Rosaldo, 1980, p. 80, 180; R Rosaldo, 1980, p. 143). Without attaining these requisite markers of adulthood, it was difficult for a man to attract or prove himself worthy of a wife (R Rosaldo, 1980, 1993; M Rosaldo, 1980, p. 163-164). While the male economic role was mainly concerned with hunting and preparing meat, the chief component of the female economic role was rice production (Tugby, 1966, p. 254). One way that a family could announce its success and stability was by providing guests with a seemingly endless supply of surplus rice, the production and serving of which was a female responsibility (M Rosaldo, 1980, p. 216; R Rosaldo, 1993). In this way, although women commanded less respect than men did, women played an integral role in determining the status of her family.

The Ilongot recognized cognatic or bilateral descent, meaning they recognized and claimed the lineages of both parents (Rosaldo, 1984, p. 2). Individuals, however, especially identified with their same-sex parent, and used the familial name of their same-sex parent (Tugby, 1966, p. 256; M Rosaldo, 1980, p. 78). Men typically married women from their own or a neighboring settlement, often their first cousins (Tugby, 1966, p. 256). Men typically initiated and conducted courtships and provided some kind of bridewealth payment, negotiated with the bride's male relatives (M Rosaldo, 1980, p. 94; R Rosaldo, 1980, p. 177; Personal Communication: Renato Rosaldo). Upon marriage, most couples moved in with the bride's family in extended clan households for at least a few years (M Rosaldo, 1980, p. 9; R Rosaldo, 1980, p. 143; Tugby, 1966, p. 256). Three or four generations often lived in a household at a time, and between four and fifteen households combined to form local groups of sixty to eighty persons (R Rosaldo, 1993; Tugby, 1966, p. 254). According to Ilongot tradition, a man could have as many as

three wives at a time, but usually lived with his first wife's family (Tugby, 1966, p. 256; R Rosaldo, 1980, 105). While household and sibling sets were important kin relationships, they fell secondary to *bērtan*, discrete collections of people who originated from unknown common ancestors (R Rosaldo, 1980, p. 14, 177). While clan ancestors commanded a certain spiritual reverence, this loose collection of living relations was seen as more relevant (Rodgers, 1985, p. 30). *Bērtan* consisted of persons sharing common territory or descent groups, so while they began as co-residential, endogamous groups, *bērtan* often extended to residentially dispersed people (M Rosaldo, 1980, p. 14). *Bērtan* helped to negotiate trade relationships and peace alliances, often fortified through the exchange of surplus goods like tools or objects of ornamentation.

Ilongot artisans created ornaments of elaborate detail and beauty that not only appealed aesthetically but also served as important cultural mediums of meaning and power (Casal, 1981, p. 248; Maramba, 1998, p. 139). Women typically wore ornately dyed cloth skirts while men wore shorts or loincloths (Field Museum Catalog Information, Accession #1096; R Rosaldo, 1980, p. 177). Both genders wore intricately decorated jackets, bags, and belts and adorned their heads, necks, waists, ears, arms, and legs (Field Museum Catalog Information, Accession #1096). The manner in which objects were created, decorated, worn and assembled reflected the prevailing styles of particular localities. Designs or insignia marking the wearer as a hunter, elder, shaman or other rank visually displayed the wearer's social standing. Similarly, personal adornment objects given as gifts signaled interpersonal relationships such as kinship, political alliances, and trade agreements, while possession of certain ornaments indicated prowess in hunting or oratory (Rodgers, 1985, p. 238-239). For example, as the Philippines is one of ten major gold producing countries, most gold objects were made of locally produced materials and indicated prowess, wealth and prestige, while glass beads were often indicative of foreign trade, strong alliances, and personal wealth (Casal, 1981). Headhunting ornaments, in particular, symbolically indicated the maturity and manhood of their wearers.

Looking at a Raid

The day before a headhunting raid, men gathered to give offerings of betel nuts, sugar cane, sweet potatoes, or even sometimes ornaments to the spirits of the forest to ask for a successful raid (R Rosaldo, 1980, p. 156-164). During this gathering, they wore ornaments associated with headhunting and performed chants with high-pitched sounds intended to attract a victim's soul, or *amet*, a concept I will discuss further below (see Ceremonies, *Amet* and *Batling*) (R Rosaldo, 1980, p. 159). If a victim's



Figure 3: Hunting raids were group endeavors that often lasted days in grueling conditions persevered in extreme stealth.
 Photo from: <http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Category:Ilongot>

soul did not consent to decapitation by appearing at this ritual, hunters could not find the victim, and therefore could not behead the victim (R Rosaldo, 1986, p. 310-315; M Rosaldo, 1980, p. 56). If an *amet* appeared and omen birds gave favorable signs for the safety of the hunters, they departed for the raid the next morning (R Rosaldo, 1980, p. 156-164)(See Figure 3). Several women accompanied them to lend inspirational beauty to the proceedings, and provide a supply of rice to sustain the men on their journey (R Rosaldo, 1980, p. 156-164). Some distance from the victims' village, so their cooking fires would not betray the hunters' position, the women set up camp and prepared food while the men fished. After a large feast, the women gave betel quids—betel leaves or areca nuts with powdered lime and sometimes tobacco that acted as a mild stimulant when chewed—to their husbands, fathers, brothers, and lovers and then departed (Field Museum Catalog Information, Accession #1096; R Rosaldo, 1980, p. 156-164). The men often traveled a great distance further to reach enemy territory, where they camped in the forests and practiced extreme stealth to avoid detection. The hunters dressed to distinguish themselves from their victims by wearing G-string loincloths with white kerchiefs in their hair and lay in wait for an

ambush of the first member of an enemy *bērtan* to happen by their hiding spot (R Rosaldo, 1980, p. 156-164; Tugby, 1966, p. 258).

Both during the ceremonies and while awaiting ambush, young men who had not taken a head (*siap*) became anxious and excited. They were under great pressure to discard their shameful novice statuses and become men by discarding the head of a victim (see *Liget* and *Bēya*) for the first time (R Rosaldo, 1980, p. 138-152; R Rosaldo, 1986; M Rosaldo, 1980, p. 163-164; Tugby, 1966; Yang, 2011). Doing so earned them the right to wear *batling* or red hornbill earrings with dangling shell pendants that marked him as a fearsome hunter for the rest of his life (See Object # 242592.A-.B)(See Figure 4). These earrings displayed that a man had taken a head and was a mature man of skill and worthy of pride; they embodied his accomplishment. Those who had previously taken heads wore feather and hornbill headdresses and *batling* to ceremonies and raids, announcing their headhunter status and further enflaming novices' feelings of shame and envy (M Rosaldo, 1980, p. 47; R Rosaldo, 1980, p. 159-161). One major motivation of headhunting was to provide opportunities for novices to rid themselves of their junior statuses, and announce themselves as men equal to their peers and mark that accomplishment with *batling* earrings(R Rosaldo, 1980, p. 159-161; Yang, 2011, p. 165).

Older men played an instructive role in a boy's first raid (R Rosaldo, 1980, p. 136-143). If older, more experienced hunters reached a victim first, they often performed the actual decapitation but allowed a younger hunter to cast away the head (M Rosaldo, 1980, p. 139). For the Ilongot, the important distinction was not who reached a victim first, who took his life or even who removed his head, but rather who threw the victim's head on the ground, thereby freeing the thrower of his



Figure 4: After men took their first heads they wore red hornbill *batling* dangling from their ears. Headhunters wore *batling* to ceremonies, covenants, rituals, celebrations, and social visits. Photo from www.nationalgeographicstock.com/ngsimages/explore/explorecomp.jsf?xsys=SE&id=602785

burdens and rage (R Rosaldo, 1980, p. 156-164; R Rosaldo, 1984, p. 16). While many headhunting societies preserved their victims' heads as trophies, the Ilongot did not. Ilongot headhunters discarded the heads of victims on the ground in the forests, simultaneously discarding strong and painful emotions. While young men discarded heads to attain acceptance and respect, older men did so to mediate extreme and powerful grief, often motivated by an attack on a family member or other causes of painful loss (R Rosaldo, 1984, p. 15-21)(See *Liget* and *Bēya*). Coupled with Ilongot beliefs that all men retained equal rank, these views dictated that a man's goal was not to take a prodigious amount of heads, but to enable every male to take at least one and become a fully recognized adult man (M Rosaldo, 1980, p. 137-148; R Rosaldo, 1980, p. 135-175, 277-278; R Rosaldo, 1988). Michelle Rosaldo (1980) described the traditional passage of headhunting traditions as, "the process by which children realize their turn in life and energy once achieved by elders, renewing, through their show of 'passion', the experience and vitality of adults" (p. 217). Views that all kinfolk shared a common 'body' tended to minimize extreme claims of hunting prowess, but the desire not to be outdone was powerful and important (M Rosaldo, 1980, p. 217). Men did not compete to greatly exceed the accomplishments of others, but were powerfully motivated to achieve recognition as members of a lethal and respected group and thereafter to discard painful burdens of loss.

Liget and *Bēya*

An intersection between emotions called *liget* and *bēya* motivated the cyclical assumption of adult responsibility, including headhunting (M Rosaldo, 1980). A major topic of Michelle Rosaldo's research (1980), the Ilongot understood *liget* as a confluence of strong emotions associated with youth including rage, envy, creative energy, and focused passion that inspired action, while *bēya* referred to mature display of cultural knowledge (p. 44, 80). As a man's *bēya* (knowledge) grew, his *liget* (passion) subsided. When a man discarded his first head, he experienced *liget* and *bēya* in perfect balance, the peak experience of a man's life (M Rosaldo, 1980). A balance of well-executed cultural knowledge and heightened rage, envy, and passion were necessary to achieve this feat. After it, *bēya* advanced, pulling the man toward quieted adulthood and responsibility as *liget* subsided, ignited only in moments of rage, grief, and loss (R Rosaldo, 1984). Male youth was a celebration of unbridled *liget* that society did not wish to quell. The passion, strength, and renown of a village was directly tied to the number of established warriors that village could boast (M Rosaldo, 1980; R Rosaldo, 1980; 1984). As a man's life cycle progressed according to his mastery of these emotions, both were extremely important (M

Rosaldo, 1980, p. 229; R Rosaldo, 1980, p. 136-143). *Liget* created the competition, rivalry, and creative energy that gave cyclical momentum to Ilongot social institutions mediated by *bēya*, the display of cultural knowledge that announced and allowed the advancement of the life cycle.

Young bachelors were glamorous and restless with a strong sense of pride, potency, and self-worth (M Rosaldo, 1980, p. 148, 217). Adornment was a visible indicator of the cultural knowledge needed to progress to this stage of maturity, so youth wore many ornaments (M Rosaldo, 1980, p. 80). Boar's tusk armlets (See Object #114910)(See Figure 13) were among the ornaments that young men, and sometimes women, wore to demonstrate their command of *liget* and *bēya*, and their youthful beauty. These armbands were worn on the left arm, often below a brass and copper armband called a *binitur* (Yale Peabody Museum Collection Information, Object #235101; Casal, 1981, p. 244). Such specific cultural parameters for wearing these ornaments required that a wearer possess social understanding of protocols and comportments. In this way, wearing boar's tusk armlets communicated to others that the wearer was mature, attractive and in command of *bēya*. While the Ilongot often wore arm ornamentation like boar's tusk armlets in ceremonial settings, they also wore armbands on a daily basis and to commemorate social occasions. As Michelle Rosaldo explained, "Aspiring headhunters, as they appear in story, myth, and casual talk, are almost always cast as bachelors and killers, proud with earrings, ornaments, and strength are recognized in recollection and in song, as well equipped to tempt unmarried teenage girls" (M Rosaldo, 1980, p. 149). Along with boar's tusk armlets, they wore bright red kerchiefs, tight metal armbands, and elaborate calflets, belts, necklaces and earrings to publicize their youthful beauty (M Rosaldo, 1980, p. 79). Michelle Rosaldo wrote "dressed up in earrings, beads, and delicately embroidered skirts and loincloths, they bring with them an aura of enthusiasm and communicate a will to be admired" (M Rosaldo, 1980, p. 82). *Liget* fueled this quest for admiration, as a bachelor's inability to take a head defined him as well. He longed for the admiration of women, and for the ability to answer back when elders taunted, giving him a voice in adult situations. After taking a head, a man gained control of *bēya*, which offered social grace in delicate practices of politics, trade, and performance such as oratory (M Rosaldo, 1980, p. 61-92; R Rosaldo, 1980, p. 136).

The shame and envy that novices felt did not arise from an inherent desire to kill, but from a desire for acceptance as mature adults. Taking a head marked a boy as a fully adult member of the Ilongot community, with appropriate levels of *liget* and *bēya*, and proud with *batling* earrings. These ornaments were powerful symbols of his potency, skill, and maturity as well as his connection to the *amet*, or soul of his victim (See Figure 4) (Casal, 1981, p. 248; R Rosaldo, 1986). When older men wore

these symbols and taunted younger boys, they fostered feelings of envy that stirred *liget* and fostered raids, during which novices beheaded enemies and discarded heads. Novices-turned-men then paraded their new adornments of manhood, their *batling*, and taunted their less experienced peers alongside their elders, and the cycle continued (R Rosaldo, 1980, p. 161). They boasted of their success with the established goal of creating envy in younger boys, to inspire them to discard their own novice statuses (M Rosaldo, 1980, p. 166). Proving their manhood in this way further announced readiness for marriage and made them attractive to young women (Tugby, 1966, p. 258). The Ilongot did not forbid marrying before or without claiming a head, but doing so incurred a certain amount of ridicule. Renato Rosaldo (1980) wrote that onlookers claimed wives of novices should take care to ensure her husband would not behead her, since he could not behead anyone else (p. 140-142)!

Taking his first head marked the beginning of the time in a man's life in which *bēya* overtook *liget* (M Rosaldo, 1980, p. 166-167). When a man was able to control *bēya* he could perform tasks requiring cultural knowledge such as oratory, a high display of skill (R Rosaldo, 1980, p. 136-143). The Ilongot held oratories for almost any cause, for celebration or for the mediation of arguments. Men wore elaborate ornaments to mark the formality of these occasions. Ilongot adults were in their prime when displaying skill in oratory, crafts, and music, as such skills demonstrate control of one's passion and command of *bēya* (M Rosaldo, 1980, p. 180). *Bēya* quieted the energetic and envious passions of youth, and provided the Ilongot with capable and calm men who could perform more mature community tasks (M Rosaldo, 1980, p. 61-92).

Both Michelle and Renato Rosaldo wrote about Ilongot emotions of *liget* and *bēya* in the early 1980s, but a later work of Renato Rosaldo's demonstrated his full understanding of it. He wrote *Grief and a Headhunter's Rage* (1984) in response to the tragic death of his brother, followed by that of his beloved wife, Michelle. He wrote that mourning for them demonstrated to him the close association of rage with grief, often ignored in Euro-American cultures (R Rosaldo, 1984, p. 1-5). While younger men were motivated to headhunt by a desire for manhood, older men described their motivations for headhunting as mediation of extreme feelings of pain associated with loss. During his early fieldwork experiences, Rosaldo's Ilongot participants told him that "the act of severing and tossing away the victim's head enables him...to vent and, he hopes, throw away the anger of his bereavement" (R Rosaldo, 1984, p. 1). Rosaldo said that he searched for verbal elaboration or a deeper analytical level to explain the motivations of headhunting until he experienced the rage in grief firsthand (p. 9). Following Michelle's death, however, he wrote, "Immediately upon finding her body I became enraged... This

anger, in a number of forms, has swept over me on many occasions. Such feelings can be aroused by rituals, but more often they emerge from unexpected reminders” (R Rosaldo, 1984, p. 9). Rosaldo emphasized, however, that anger is not the only emotion contained within grief and that a compound of powerful and visceral emotions characterized his mourning process. Through this horrific loss, Rosaldo came to understand that the Ilongot negotiated rage, loss, envy and a confluence of other strong emotions they associated with *liget*, by channeling that rage into headhunting as a means of relieving it (R Rosaldo, 1984, p. 9). Rosaldo’s personal experiences with grief led him to view the Ilongot view of rage and bereavement as a primary motivation of headhunting, especially among mature men (R Rosaldo, 1984, p. 16-21).

Adult men were motivated to headhunt by a longing to vent the rage and despair associated with the loss of a loved one (R Rosaldo, 1984, p. 16-21; Yang, 2011, p. 172-180). As men conducted headhunting raids on enemy *bērtan*, oftentimes against those who had killed their kin, this concept is easily misunderstood as a desire for revenge or a sense of balance (Rosaldo, 1984, p. 3-4). While headhunting raids often reciprocated an attack against a loved one, Ilongot headhunters also organized raids to manage grief after loss by disease, old age, or accident (R Rosaldo, 1984, p. 5). Their intention was not to inflict painful feelings of loss on enemy groups, but to manage their own overwhelming pain. The Ilongot believed that the victim’s head offered a place to carry their anger, and that their anger dissipated as they discarded the head (R Rosaldo, 1984, p. 1). While younger men felt compelled to headhunt by constant adolescent emotions of envy and desire to prove themselves, older men hunted when inspired by a forceful need to vent rage and bereavement (R Rosaldo, 1984, p. 18). Devastating loss instigated these feelings, whether in the form of death, infidelity, or any other kind of great pain (R Rosaldo, 1984, p. 18). Older men, endowed with *bēya* and knowledge of social factors relating to the auspiciousness of a raid, and suffering from the weight of their emotional burdens, organized raids that simultaneously relieved older men’s rage and younger men’s youthful anger (R Rosaldo, 1984, p. 19).

Ceremonies, *Amet* and *Batling*

When a youth finally had the chance to discard his first head, his *batling*, served as a marker of his first procurement of an *amet* (See Figure 4, Figure 19) (Field Museum Catalog Card 242592; Rodgers, 1985; R Rosaldo, 1986). Renato Rosaldo’s “Red Hornbill Earrings: Ilongot Ideas of Self, Beauty, and Health” (1986) discusses the concept of the *amet*, its connection to headhunters and their *batling* earrings in detail (R Rosaldo, 1986). When an Ilongot person died of natural causes, his or her heart,

understood as their life-force or soul, was believed to remain in the human world as a *beteng*, a spiritual entity that caused affliction and illness to humans it encountered (R Rosaldo, 1986, p. 312). The hearts of victims of headhunting, however, became *amet*, or souls that remained bound to their beheader for life, and were so contained and unable to produce afflictions among the living (R Rosaldo, 1986, p. 313). A hunter obtained an *amet* by killing its body and disposing of its head. Ever after, the hunter wore *batling* earrings to display his connection to an *amet*, the attainment of which marked the hunter as a man (R Rosaldo, 1986, p. 313).

Rosaldo (1986) compared the relationship between beheader and victim to that of lovers whose courtship lasted the entirety of the headhunting raid. The night before a raid, the hunters sang in high-pitched tones to call the *amet* to fly through the trees to attend the ceremony. The imagery of flight and piercing shrieks symbolically linked the *amet* with the red hornbill, which was often symbolically associated with headhunting in important ways (R Rosaldo, 1986, p. 312-314). Red hornbills were understood to act as spirit birds, guiding and protecting the hunters as well as their *amet*. In addition to *batling* earrings, skilled headhunters often wore elaborate headdresses featuring the entire beak and crest of a red hornbill (See Object #115218)(See Figure 5, Figure 17). These headdresses both strikingly displayed skill in headhunting and symbolized a connection to the protective power of the red hornbill. The hornbill ornaments that initiated men wore to these ceremonies embodied the soul of the spirit-bird and procured future magical protection from the forest deities and curses (R Rosaldo, 1986, p. 312-314). The likening of the cry of the hornbill and the screams of victims as they receive their deathblows displayed further hornbill imagery (R Rosaldo, 1986, p. 312-314). The consent of the victim's *amet*, displayed by its presence at these rituals, was necessary for the successful killing of its body. After headhunters killed the body, its *amet*, in further bird-like imagery, perched upon the ears of the hunter

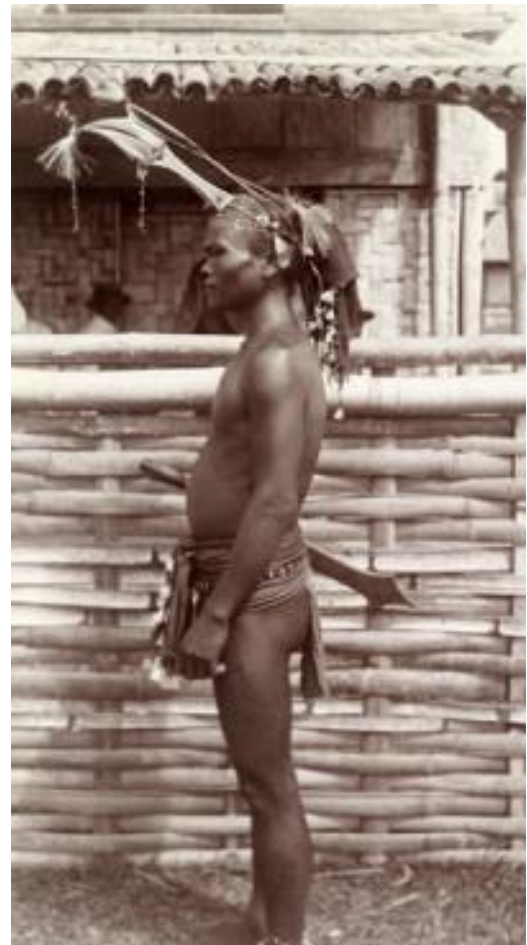


Figure 5: Mature, skilled headhunters wore headdresses created using the beaks of red hornbills and lightweight wood that symbolically expressed their power and connected them to spirit birds.

Photo from:
<http://www.nationalgeographicstock.com/ngsimages/welcome.jsf>

who killed it, and from then on, the *amet* and hunter remained lifelong companions (R Rosaldo, 1986, p. 312-314). *Batling* earrings not only announced the presence of an *amet*, but also provided it with beautiful playthings to help it become accustomed to its new home (R Rosaldo, 1986, p. 312-314; M Rosaldo, 1980, p. 174-175). This connection between *batling* and *amet* further represented the hunter's powerful *liget* and marked him as a glorified and respected hunter. The earrings announced to enemies, to allies, to family, to friends, that the person they saw before them was a formidable headhunter (R Rosaldo, 1980, p. 156; Safer and Gill, 1982). Hunters wore their *batling* for the rest of their lives and upon their death, the earrings were buried with them, thrown away, or given to an initiated relative (Personal Communication: Renato Rosaldo).



Figure 6: Ilongot persons wore multi-stranded necklaces, like the one worn by this young girl, to ceremonies and special occasions to demonstrate formality and personal success and to embody ceremonial energy.

Photo from:

<http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Category:Ilongot>

When the raid was complete and the victims dead, headhunters fled through the mountain forests, stopping to sing songs of celebration called *buayat* (R Rosaldo, 1980, p. 105-136; M Rosaldo, 1980, p. 54-55). Upon reaching their village, the whole community danced and celebrated, wearing their finest ornaments to revel in the success of the raid, the erasure of painful burdens, and the safety of hunters (M Rosaldo, 1980, p. 139; R Rosaldo, 1980, p. 105-136). Ornaments displayed hunters' sense of belonging to an elite warrior force, as well as the prosperity and strength of the village as a whole. Even ornaments lacking a direct symbolic link to headhunting, like *panlaw nun pinalunpunan*, long beaded neck and waist ornaments embellished with horsehair (See Object #115065)(See Figure 6, Figure 15), demonstrated excitement in ceremonial contexts through the constant energetic movement of the beaded strands (Yale Peabody Museum of Natural History Online Collections). Ornaments like these accompanied *buayat* in lending beauty to

celebrations that embodied the focused energy of the seemingly chaotic ceremonies (M Rosaldo, 1980,

p. 56). Similarly, the village offered a bloody sacrifice of a pig or chicken, sometimes wrapped in beaded strands both to appease forest spirits and the victim's *amet*, letting it know that the death of its body was properly compensated (R Rosaldo, 1986, p. 314-316).

In addition to the strong emotions that *liget* embodied, the Ilongot associated it with health and creative passion; strong and successful young men were expected to abound with it (M Rosaldo, 1980, p. 49). These qualities often displayed themselves through hardness and redness, characteristics also taken on by the body and complexion of enraged hunters (R Rosaldo, 1986, p. 314; M Rosaldo, 1980, p. 47). Hunters' bodies acquired redness by consuming meat, taking heads, experiencing *liget*, and wearing red ornaments, and acquired hardness through physical exertion and tension of high stress situations (M Rosaldo, 1980, p. 146). Hardening the body provided protection against damaging curses from aggrieved kin of victims (R Rosaldo, 1986, p. 80). In addition to magical protection, hardening rituals encouraged strength and physical fitness, logical attributes of skilled hunters. The rituals and celebrations that followed a successful raid aimed to make hunters' bodies both hard and red; their steps both quick and light. These rituals included exaggerated boasting, focused and athletic dancing, sniffing ginger, and taunting younger men to kill a chicken, all of which reddened men's skin and hardened their muscles from exertion, emotion, and physical reaction (R Rosaldo, 1980, p. 80-107)(See Figure 7). The blood of victims and of the sacrificial pigs after a raid further represented redness (R Rosaldo, 1986, p. 314). *Batling* earrings, both hard and red, also embodied these characteristics. Michelle Rosaldo (1980) described this connection when she wrote, "As most red ornaments are associated with headhunting and youthful vitality, it appears that the things that promote 'redness' are themselves the products of the energy and anger that the color is said to reflect" (p. 146-147). Furthermore, *batling* embodied the focused energy and concentration to which headhunters aspired, another strong emotion associated with *liget*. The 130° angles at the elbow of the hornbill slices symbolized the "narrowed" or "focused" nature of headhunting passion and mimicked the ideal physical body type of a man with his body bent in anticipation of dance or battle (M Rosaldo 1980; 49; R Rosaldo 1986: 315).

After these rituals, hunters expected to feel quick and light-footed, other important characteristics of stealth hunters. *Batling* (See Objects 242592.A.-.B.), and the shell pendants that dangled from the hornbill slices, embodied this energetic movement. When worn, the pendants were in constant motion, symbolizing the constant movement of a hunter, and reminding Ilongot onlookers of quickness, laughter, health and happiness (R Rosaldo, 1986, p. 315). The ceremonies as well as the headhunting ornaments worn to them had, as Michelle Rosaldo wrote (1980) "less to do with mystery and sacred power than



Figure 7: Ilongot persons danced at ceremonies like the *buayat* celebrations that followed successful headhunting raids and wore elaborate ornaments that embodied quickness and movement of skilled hunters.
 Photo from: <http://www.nationalgeographicstock.com/ngsimages/welcome.jsf>

with the display and celebration of accomplishment—a name that is bruited widely and aura that creates new *liget* and makes more men want to kill” (M Rosaldo, 1980, p. 56).

Targets of headhunting raids were often determined based on feuds lasting several years or even generations (M Rosaldo, 1980, p. 10, 94). These feuds began with insults or slights, which begat rage and grew into violence through reciprocating hostilities (R Rosaldo, 1980, p. 63). Tugby (1966) indicated that any member of an enemy *bērtan* walking or travelling alone represented an appropriate and likely target (p. 258). After the first fatal confrontation, the rage of bereavement that Rosaldo described (1984) prompted retaliation after retaliation until both parties called for peace through a covenant (R Rosaldo, 1980, p. 64; 1984). Lasting three days, covenants created fledgling alliances through ceremonies of song, feasting, animal sacrifice, and gift exchanges from both factions (M Rosaldo, 1980, p. 211; R Rosaldo, 1980, p. 64; Yang, 2011, p. 164). These alliances were tenuous and

called for strengthening through inter-village marriage within a few years or they often disintegrated into further violence (M Rosaldo, 1980, p. 211).

Those attending covenants dressed in their finest ornaments, including objects associated with headhunting and those made of rare or expensive materials like shell, glass, brass, and gold (Rodgers, 1985; M Rosaldo, 1980, p. 142, 180; R Rosaldo, 1980, p. 81-89; Yang, 2011, p. 164). Skilled hunters wore red hornbill headdresses (See Object #115218) to demonstrate their prowess, strength, masculinity, and *liget*, as well as the might of their village (See Figure 7, Figure 17). The creation of peace remained the goal of covenants, but displays of strength and prosperity ensured both pride in one's own village and respect for that of the former enemy. Along with these displays, previously hostile villages exchanged gifts and organized trade alliances in reciprocating shows of unity (M Rosaldo, 1980, p. 180; Yang, 2011, p. 164). In this way, objects themselves, including items of ornamentation, acted as physical manifestations of peace negotiations when both traded and worn, allowing the Ilongot to cease killings and spare lives. Renato Rosaldo spoke with one Ilongot man who said, "We call a halt to the killing and we hold covenants so we don't finish each other off" (R Rosaldo, 1980, p. 64). Covenant celebrations often lasted all night or until they disintegrated in trivial drunken brawling (R Rosaldo, 1980, p. 81).

Covenants created an experimental truce that required reinforcement through inter-village marriage (M Rosaldo, 1980, p. 211; R Rosaldo, 1980, p. 92). Without this reinforcement, alliances often fell apart and violence ensued again. While marriages between members of the same or friendly villages tended to be relatively informal, a first marriage between previously hostile groups was often prolonged over several occasions involving celebrations and exchange of goods (M Rosaldo, 1980, p. 142, 211). Young men initiated courtships and a bride's family, usually her father or brother, negotiated marriages (M Rosaldo, 1980, p. 166). A prospective groom approaching a former enemy typically gave a loincloth to his bride's father or brother to dissipate any residual anger from their feud. Then, possibly at a different meeting, he presented them with food and liquor to demonstrate his abilities as a provider (R Rosaldo, 1980, p. 177). Following this, negotiations regarding bridewealth began. If an Ilongot bride and groom decided to live with her family, as was the norm, then the bride's family sometimes decided to forgo claims of bridewealth in favor of two young workers in their household (R Rosaldo, 1980, p. 177). If, however, the couple moved in with the groom's family, thereby denying the bride's family both their daughter and the skills of her husband, they were placated and recompensed with bridewealth. Suitors

also sometimes gave gifts to his bride's unsuccessful suitors to quiet the anger they felt at losing her, or the competition for her (M Rosaldo, 1980, p. 94)

Bridewealth was determined through negotiation between the groom and the bride's family, so the objects exchanged varied greatly, often by region (M Rosaldo, 1980, p. 180). The bride's family might have demanded livestock, metal pots, ornaments, or any number of other items (Personal Communication: Renato Rosaldo).

Items of adornment, such as *kalēpān* (See Object #115015)(See Figure 8, Figure 14), disc-shaped shell earrings with incised designs, represented one type of item that might have been included in bridewealth payments (Field Museum Catalog Information: Accession Number 1096). This provision of goods not only compensated the gift of a daughter, but also displayed the groom's capacity to care for her. Ornaments demonstrated this ability especially well, as only those who could produce a surplus of subsistence goods could



Figure 8: This Ilongot man wore his shell *kalēpān* from his helixes, in daily activities like ground clearing for rice production.

Photo from:<http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Category:Ilongot>

either create or trade for luxury items like ornaments to give to their in-laws. Along with this, husbands-to-be usually demonstrated *liget* through headhunting or other feats of skill in order to be deemed suitable by the families and *bērtan* of prospective brides (M Rosaldo, 1980, p. 166-167). When men delivered bridewealth items, all parties wore grand ornamentation that signaled the formality of the event and displayed their personal wealth and grandness (M Rosaldo, 1980, p. 171).

Social visits between friendly groups represented another ceremonial occasion marked by elaborate ornamentation. Hosts gave gifts, or *'ising*, of money, pots, or ornaments as a way of announcing their kinship or alliance (M Rosaldo, 1980, p. 94). During such visits, guests wore their finest ornaments to impress and honor their hosts (R Rosaldo, 1993, p. 263; M Rosaldo, 1980, p. 94, 172)(See Figure 9). Before formal visits, Ilongot guests often stopped at a nearby stream to rest, wash

up, and adorn themselves. An Ilongot man with whom Renato Rosaldo spoke recalled the adornments of one memorable visitor in detail.

[The hosts] commented on the admirable elegance of Kania's dress; he wore a beautiful bolo (sword) and scabbard on his hip; bands of thin brass wire and cowrie shells adorned his calves; a large clasp made from boar's fangs and white horsehair stood above his metal armband; a long comb, a bright red sweatband and a tall black feather decorated his head (R Rosaldo, 1980, p. 105).

By attending to his dress so carefully, Kania indicated great respect for his host and the formality of his visit. Along with this, displays of ornamentation indicated the wealth and elegance of the guest, as well as his or her social grace and mastery of *bēya*, indicated by artful application of adornment (R Rosaldo,

1993; R Rosaldo, 1980, p. 105; M Rosaldo,

1980, p. 80).



Figure 9: Ilongot families like this one wore elaborate ornaments when visiting friends and allies in other villages as a sign of respect to their hosts and pride in their appearances.

Photo from: <http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Category:Ilongot>

Trade, Alliance, and Ornaments

—A Discussion of Surplus

Headhunting societies and peace pacts necessarily coincided, and were reinforced through extensive trade networks of both practical and prestige goods (Rodgers, 1985, p. 240). In her discussion of the ornamentation of Indonesia, Malaysia, and the Philippines, Susan Rodgers (1985) explored the idea that trade allowed for the circulation of goods and wealth within and among villages and ethnic groups (p. 57-61). She further argued that differential access to resources required exogamous exchange to ensure that all needs were met. For the Ilongot, trade with lowland peoples, as well as with traders from China, India, and neighboring islands provided access to goods

they could not procure from their mountain home (Rodgers, 1985, p. 238-239). In this way, groups

involved in trading alliances depended on each other for goods they could not otherwise obtain. Trade often created or reaffirmed covenant peace pacts, or the need to abandon hostilities (Safer and Gill, 1982).

The Ilongot visibly announced and celebrated these alliances by wearing objects acquired through trade or gifting (Rodgers, 1985, p. 53-61; Safer and Gill, 1982, p. 18). The materials to create ornaments like *panglao*, beaded choker necklaces with dangling shell and brass pendants, (See Object #242590)(See Figure 18) might have required trade with several allies. These ornaments were made of glass beads, cordage, worked shell, and brass wire. As there is no conclusive evidence of indigenous Philippine glassmaking, glass beads found in the Philippines are usually expected to be of foreign manufacture, most likely by means of West Asian or Indian trading spheres (Villeges, 1983, p. 24). While brass could have been locally produced, shell usually required exchange with coastal peoples. Therefore, by wearing a *panglao*, Ilongot women demonstrated connection to local artisans as well as several trading partners, and the surplus necessary to engage in multiple exchange alliances. As only those persons who could produce surplus goods were capable of engaging in foreign trade, exotic jewelry acted as a physical manifestation, and therefore a marker of wealth (Rodgers, 1985, p. 57-61). In particular, the ability to trade subsistence goods for non-practical items like ornaments indicated that an individual or group had amassed surplus subsistence goods. Alongside this idea of surplus, Rodgers indicated that the beauty and social importance of ornaments made them attractive objects for trade, and thereby promoted a passion for exotic objects. This passion encouraged trade of practical or subsistence goods such as food, tool-making material, and fishing supplies that often accompanied adornment items (Rodgers, 1985, p. 57-61). By this, I do not mean to indicate that the Ilongot would not have engaged in foreign trade without the presence of ornamentation objects. I am suggesting that passion for such objects encouraged broader interest in trade, which often resulted in a broader pool of subsistence resources.

Furthermore, the Ilongot mediated endogamous social relationships through exchange and gifting of goods (M Rosaldo, 1980, p. 78; R Rosaldo, 1980, p. 280). Ilongot persons were expected to bestow gifts upon arriving visitors, and to give frequent gifts to kin (M Rosaldo, 1980, p. 78). The non-hierarchical and communal nature of Ilongot society dictated that what a person had, he or she shared. While gifts marked important social ties, denial or refusal of these gifting patterns, as well as concealment of personal surplus amounted to a grave insult that could be purposefully directed to confront social tensions (M Rosaldo, 1980, p. 78). The social messages that accompanied gifts or a

withholding of gifts helped the Ilongot to realize and address feuds, arguments, and slights (M Rosaldo, 1980, p. 94; R Rosaldo, 1980, p. 280). Michelle Rosaldo (1980) described this object-based mediation in her book, when she wrote,

It is through gifts to victims (*bēyaw*) that enemies ‘discover’ kinship, ‘dissolve’ past insults and beheadings, forge covenants and terminate old feuds, whereas acceptance of a gift implies a willingness to forget the *liget* that was its occasion, the absence of exchanges (especially after killings) indicates that tensions remain vital between quotidian surfaces and external calm (M Rosaldo, 1980, p. 94).

Wearing ornaments given as gifts announced one’s connection to the giver in ways that allowed the Ilongot to recognize and strengthen their relationships through gifts. Similarly, gifts of indemnity, or ‘*aked*, permitted the Ilongot to acknowledge and therefore move to resolve a breach in social ties. The offending party gave an ‘*aked* to whoever he or she angered in order to address issues and create or reaffirm positive future relations with the recipient (M Rosaldo, 1980, p. 94).

Colonial Perspectives of Collection

The next phase of these objects’ histories afforded them another set of symbolic understandings and cultural constructions, those of the collectors who brought from the Philippines to the United States. All of the objects examined in this paper were collected from Luzon between 1900 and 1910. While the Ilongot communities of this period undoubtedly differed in many respects from those studied by the Rosaldos and other scholars in the 1970s and 1980s, the anthropological work conducted in the Philippines around the turn of the century did not inquire deeply into the motivations and social structures of the Ilongot. Instead, a fascination with the exotic “Other” and a desire to establish academic and scientific hegemony over indigenous peoples motivated most anthropological scholarship of this time (Van Ells, 1995, p. 608; Goh, 2008; Quizon, 2004; McHale, 1962). For this reason, the work of the Rosaldos and their contemporaries provided a more thorough discussion of the Ilongot and the symbolic meanings they attached to objects. The motivations behind the collection of objects are crucial to understanding to their story. Those under focus in this paper were collected from Luzon in the early 1900s when control of the Philippines had passed from Spain to the United States. To understand this American presence, one must examine the historical, cultural, and racial climate of the early 1900s.

History of Colonialism in the Philippines

Europeans first established contact in the Philippines with the arrival of Ferdinand Magellan on Samal Island on March 16, 1521. Formal Spanish colonization began on February 13, 1565 when Miguel López de Legazpi's expedition landed, and settlement lasted for nearly four centuries (Goh, 2008, p. 259). Spanish rule unified the previously independent groups of the archipelago into the first version of the nation now known as the Philippines, and introduced public education, Christianity, and national law in the form of military police. Spanish missionaries and settlers largely occupied coastal lands and attempted to force the conversion of indigenous Philippine peoples to Catholicism, pushing lowland indigenous groups into the inland mountains (Casal, 1981).

Overwhelmingly, and often violently, Philippine indigenous groups resisted Spanish authority and influence. To some extent, they were successful in maintaining a vulnerable autonomy, but did not organize a formal revolution against Spain until 1898, when the Spanish-American War had weakened Spain's influence. The revolution resulted in a brief period of Philippine independence in 1898. At the end of the war, however, Spain and the United States signed the Treaty of Paris, which gave the United States control of the Philippines (Van Ells, 1995, p. 608; McHale, 1962).

American goals of the Spanish-American War most likely did not include the annexation of the Philippines, but the island nation offered a prime military base location and several promising trade pathways in Asia and the Pacific that made it a difficult territory to relinquish (Goh, 2008, p. 263-264;



Figure 10: Public opinion did not favor the imperialistic motives behind American annexation of the Philippines, but expressed a feeling of moral obligation to save the people of the Philippines, both from Spain and their own perceived savagery, with the eyes of the world upon them.

Photo from:

<http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:McKinleyPhilippinesCartoon.jpg>

Paulet, 2007, p. 177; McHale, 1962, p. 31). Furthermore, American leaders and public opinion stipulated that the Philippines could not be returned to Spain, an enemy, nor could it be passed to Germany or France, as they were economic rivals (McHale, 1962, p. 35). Independence for the Philippines seemed out of the question, as racial attitudes at the turn of the century did not recognize Filipinos as capable of self-governance (Goh, 2008, p. 263-264; Paulet, 2007, p. 177; McHale, 1962, p. 31)(See Figure 10). In this way, the Philippines represented what Daniel Goh (2008) called the “accidental conquest in America’s struggle for global democracy” (p. 261). Nevertheless, colonization of the Philippines represented the first concrete imperialistic opportunity to expand the American empire, and established control of the Philippine lasted forty-eight years, despite an organized revolution that became the Philippine-American War, which lasted from 1899 to 1902 and resulted in over 12,000 American military deaths and countless human rights violations. Following this conflict, the Philippines were returned to independence in 1946.

United States leaders, however, wished to cast American imperialism as fundamentally different from that of European world powers that, in their view, imposed rule for the sake of power (Paulet, 2007, p. 174; McHale, 1962, p. 32; Van Ells, 1995, p. 613). Americans wished to convey that they imposed power for the virtuous sake of mercy. Nakedly imperialistic ambitions conflicted with American ideals of equality and freedom and did not inspire positive public opinion. This negative reaction to imperialistic motives in the Philippines seems surprising in light of the blatantly imperialistic attitudes and oppression that had characterized race relations within the United States for centuries. Indeed, tensions between white and non-white Americans in the early 1900s framed perceptions of the dark-skinned indigenes of the Philippines (Paulet, 2007; McHale, 2004; Van Ells, 1995). The inhabitants of the new United States territory were cast as childish, primitive, and in desperate need of salvation in the form of American religion, education, and democracy (McHale, 1962; Parezo, 2004; Van Ells, 1995, p. 607-608). American leaders no doubt believed the rhetoric they preached, but actively constructed an image of Filipinos who needed to be prepared by righteous Americans in order to be capable of self-governance (Van Ells, 1995, p. 616; Cañete, 2008).

The White Man’s Burden and The World’s Fair

In the early 1900’s Rudyard Kipling’s poem, “The White Man’s Burden,” written about the United States’ new acquisition of the Philippines, played an important role in American race relations (Paulet, 2007, p. 173; McHale, 1962, p. 30-32; Van Ells, 1995).

Take up the White Man's burden--
 Send forth the best ye breed--
 Go bind your sons to exile
 To serve your captives' need;
 To wait in heavy harness,
 On fluttered folk and wild--
 Your new-caught, sullen peoples,
 Half-devil and half-child... (Kipling, 1899)



Figure 11: Advertisements like this one expressed an American colonial view that it was their righteous duty to “civilize” the Philippines natives, and teach them American values, like the virtues of cleanliness.

Photo from:

http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:1890sc_Pears_Soap_Ad.jpg

The poem articulated beliefs held by many white Americans that Philippine natives and other racial minorities held a perfectibility that application of and education in Euro-American ideals could achieve (McKay, 2005, p. 296).

Moreover, many Anglo-Americans believed that it was their God-given duty to provide the Philippines with God, democracy, and civilized ways (McHale, 1962). Beliefs of this nature deeply influenced racial attitudes toward the Philippines leading to condescension and bigotry (Van Ells, 1995, p. 607). This racism manifested itself in paternalistic attitudes, forced assimilation into an invading culture, suppression of cultural practices, and often extreme violence (Van Ells, 1995).

At the same time, horror and revulsion at the perceived primitiveness of the Philippine natives created in Americans a fascination and curiosity for their exotic “Otherness” (Goh, 2008; Parezo, 2004; Quizon, 2004). Philippine

natives became what Goh (2008) called the, “Ethnographic object[s] of the masses,” to be gawked at and ogled in their strangeness (p. 266). Most average Americans of this time would never travel outside their own country, let alone half way around the world to the Philippines. The idea of people from so far away and such different cultural circumstances captivated their imaginations. Concepts like headhunting, g-strings, and ceremonial consumption of dog meat shocked, horrified, and fascinated them, leading to an ambivalent moral outrage mixed with curiosity, objectification, and wonder (Parezo, 2004, p. 37-38).

This fascination found manifestation in the Louisiana Purchase Exhibit of 1904, also known as the St. Louis World’s Fair (Cañete, 2008, p. 7-8; Quizon, 2004, p. 526). Moreover, the fair offered an opportunity to educate the American public about their new territory and persuade public opinion in favor of American presence in the Philippines. The World’s Fair opened to the public on June 18, 1904 and raked in roughly \$3000-\$5000 nearly every day of its six-month run (Parezo, 2004, p. 31). This represents an astonishing sum, as the general admission cost for a day at the fair was only \$0.25. The exhibits at the fair displayed thousands of artifacts collected from over sixty countries, including the Philippines. They also, however, included recreated “villages” of living, breathing indigenous peoples imported from around the world, often against their will (Quizon, 2004; Fuentes and Yearian, 1995). While all the displays were framed in a seemingly educational context, they were much more strongly motivated by profit and pleasure than by pedagogy. In self-evident ways, these motivations and the nature of the display of human beings was less than ideal for those on display, converting them to objects and blurring the line between human and mannequin (Fuentes and Yearian, 1995; Parezo, 2004; Quizon 2004). Village inhabitants were expected to hold dance performances and cultural re-enactments several times a day, as well as to interact pleasantly and pose for photographs with visitors (Quizon, 2004). Fair organizers insisted that the inhabitants appear constantly eager to entertain American guests (See Figure 12). They spent part of each day in American style classrooms, which were available for public viewing intended to inspire public knowledge of the positive impact American education could have on the civility of Philippine natives (Parezo, 2004, p. 34; McHale, 1962). In spite of their education in American ways, inhabitants were required to act as “native” as possible to satisfy visitors curiosity about the “Other” (Parezo, 2004, p. 34).

The Philippine Village was arranged in an evolutionary progression from those interpreted as the most wild and uncivilized to the most European-influenced. The Negritos, a racial grouping that included the Ilongot, were viewed as the most primitive and barbarous and were displayed as the lowest

on the evolutionary paradigm. The Visayans, peoples from the southern Philippines who wore European clothing and wove silk were placed at the top (Parezo, 2004, p. 32-33; Quizon, 2004, p. 548). Americans viewed Negritos as the “true” Filipinos because of their bushy hair and short stature. Racist and paternalistic stereotypes about them abounded (Parezo, 2004, p. 35). While all those displayed in villages, including the Visayans were viewed as savage and primitive, the Negritos in particular were seen as technologically simple and of extremely low intellect (Parezo, 2004, p. 32). A reporter named William E. Curtis described his experience viewing them by saying,

The Negritos are the lowest grade of human creatures under the jurisdiction of the President of the United States. They are debased in morals, more feeble in intellect than the Digger Indians of California, yet they are very interesting in many respects, and the intelligence of the children particularly offers encouragement to those who would lift them out of their degradation (Parezo, 2004, p 35-36).



Figure 12: Inhabitants of the Negrito village were expected to demonstrate their “nativeness” at all times to appeal to visitors’ attraction to the “Other” but contact with American culture and education drastically colored this façade. Photo from Parezo, 2004, p. 36

This quote demonstrates the constructed opinion that native Filipinos both required and desired assistance out of a state of savagery, and that it was the “White Man’s” divine burden to provide this assistance. The exhibit was meant to display to visitors an inherent divide between “Us” and “Them,” and in the process demonstrate the need for Christian interference to save Filipino souls, forge a common language, and provide American education (Parezo, 2004).

The Philippine Project as “A Glorified Iowa”

Americans viewed and interacted with the peoples of the Philippines in light of their existing perceptions of other non-white peoples, particularly Native Americans and African Americans (Van Ells, 1995, p. 612). Dierdre McKay (2006) wrote that Americans viewed native Filipinos as members of the “tribal slot,” meaning that they were situated within the same particular forms of geographical and historical representation through which Americans viewed other indigenous peoples (p. 293). At the beginning of the twentieth century, interracial relations in the United States were tense at best, and that tension was translated to Filipinos. Americans hoped to remake the Philippines in the image of the United States, using the same processes and techniques (Paulet, 2007). Nicholas Roosevelt described the American colonialism in the Philippines as an attempt to transform the islands into “a sort of glorified Iowa” (as cited by Paulet, 2007, p. 179). When Euro-Americans settled the American continent, they displaced Native American peoples and attempted to force their assimilation through degradation of cultural practices and education in boarding schools. In many ways, the education initiatives established both at the World’s Fair and in the Philippines paralleled those established for Native Americans.

American education in the Philippines aimed to teach Christian morality and English language skills, along with math, business, and agricultural training for boys and domestic training and etiquette for girls (Paulet, 2007, p. 199-200; Goh, 2008, p. 265). English-speaking schools intended to teach Filipinos the American Dream, and dissuade them from the cultural practices they knew (McKay, 2006, p. 296). A prominent American scholar wrote, “We must recognize in our treatment of the Indian, and of all undeveloped races, that they have not reached moral manhood, and we must keep away from them, as far as possible, temptations which will lead to their ruin” (as cited by Paulet, 2007, p. 181). Americans of the time viewed Philippine natives as so backwards that American education represented their only path to reform (Van Ells, 1995, p. 620). American educators believed that indigenous peoples needed to be forced to learn and to work but were so confident in the righteousness of their actions that they believed indigenous Filipinos would come to prefer Euro-American lifestyles if properly educated

(Goh, 2008, p. 265; Paulet, 2007, p. 181). The Revered Lynman Abbot summed up this belief by saying, “The ignorant are never hungry for education, nor the vicious for morality, nor barbarism for civilization; educators have to create the appetite as well as furnish the food” (as cited by Paulet, 2007, p. 181). United States officials aimed to interest native Filipinos in wage labor and jobs reserved for second-class citizens that utilized American values and cultural ideals, but in the process ignored the culture and subsistence methods that had existed for centuries before their arrival in the Philippines (Paulet, 2007, p. 189). These attitudes influenced public opinion and understanding of Philippine native groups like the Ilongot, as well as the scholarship written about them during this time.

The Role of Colonial Anthropology

Anthropology furthered the rationalization of Philippine colonialism through a misapplication of scientific methods that imposed American hegemony by clouding framing beliefs of indigenous inferiority in clouds of scientific objectivity (Cañete, 2008, p. 4; Van Ells, 1995, p. 608). Universities often granted untrained colonial officials anthropology doctorates and grants to conduct ethnographic fieldwork in the Philippines that lent academic authority to American justifications of colonization (Goh, 2008, p. 264). American academic interest in the Philippines was very high in the early 1900s and researchers often overlapped each other in certain areas. They almost definitely had contact with one another and influenced each other’s findings (Quizon, 2004, p. 541). Furthermore, ethnography of the early twentieth century operated within the racial attitudes of the period, and anthropologists often framed their research in evolutionary and linear views of the development of societies (Cañete, 2008, p. 4). Anthropometrics and ethnic taxonomy lent an aura of objectivity to ethnographies within these paradigms (Cañete, 2008, p. 5; Van Ells, 1995, p. 608; Quizon, 2004, p. 530).

Collection voyages, often undertaken alongside ethnographic ventures, are never passive or random, but instead represent a process that constructs physical paradigms for public understanding of cultures. Collectors aim to choose objects of striking beauty, great cultural value, frequent use, or skill in construction and use them to demonstrate cultural values (Quizon, 2004, p. 530-531). Objects retain a concrete and intrinsic relationship with the location in which they were made and used, as well as the subsequent contexts into which they are placed (Pearce, 1993, p. 256). While material culture represents certain crucial important ideas about the people who made and used it, only a very small proportion of available objects make their way to museums or public view (Pearce, 1993, p. 7). Collections, therefore come to represent a metonymic relationship to the cultures they represent (Pearce, 1993, p. 38). As every

object in a collection becomes so as a result of deliberate decisions of the collector, the process seems to hover in the undefined space between cultural ideas of value and the deepest levels of individual personality (Pearce, 1993, p. 38, 5-7, 257). The act of selection highlights certain objects as culturally meaningful and noteworthy in a highly visible way (Pearce, 1993, p. 5). Only the collector conducting research in the field can make these determinations.

The individual motives of collectors are often minimized, but unavoidably shape the views presented by collections (Pearce, 1993, p. 88, 241). Beyond the fact that many collectors hope their collections will one day earn them honor and acclaim, collections physically embody the ways that a collector lives with and mediates the chaos of difference between his own culture and that under study, especially in the early months of his or her arrival (Pearce, 1993, p. 55). His or her sensory experience of cultural discontinuities informs his choices in which objects to select or reject (Pearce, 1993, p. 39). In this way, objects can be intensely romanticized or even fetishized by the collector as he or she struggles to structure them in systematic ways. Furthermore, they can become objects of dominance and hegemony if the collector interprets the differences he or she perceives as inferiority (Pearce, 1993, p. 51).

Objects are often understood as concrete evidence of the cultural values of those who created them; the footprint they left behind that contains the essence of their way of life. Most of the meanings that objects convey, however, are not intrinsic but dependent on interpretation. While these objects communicated great symbolic meaning for their Ilongot wearers, they were interpreted differently by those who collected them. When the objects under study in this paper were collected from the Philippines as part of academic undertakings, they were understood to tangibly and significantly represent the Ilongot people who made and wore them. Particularly objects that symbolically referenced headhunting, non-Christian religious ceremonies or other concepts often rejected in 1900s Euro-America came to embody the differences between the creating and receiving cultures, crystallizing the roles of “Us” and “Them.” The objectified differences in this case were likely viewed as manifestations of American dominance and cries for American help from Filipinos. They further satisfied a fascination for the exotic “Other” from around the world and provided academic and educational opportunities for people who would never travel.

William Jones of The Cummings Expedition

Of the six objects under analysis in this paper, four (See Objects #114910, #115015, #115065, #115218) were collected in 1908-1909 by William Jones of the R.F. Cummings expedition on behalf of the Field Museum. Cummings was a manufacturer from Alton, Illinois who was so inspired by the Philippines exhibit at the 1904 World's Fair and the academic excitement surrounding it that he funded a major collections undertaking (Field Museum Catalog Information, Accession Number 1096). Between 1907 and 1910, several anthropologists, the most notable of whom were F. C. Cole, William Jones, and S.C. Simms undertook collection voyages funded by Cummings to different ethnic groups in the Philippines. They collected nearly 1400 objects—roughly three-fourths of The Field Museum's Philippine collection--including textiles, weapons, ritual equipment, baskets, carvings, musical instruments, pipes, carriers, ceramics, and several other types of artifacts, including other items of personal adornment (Field Museum Catalog Information, Accession Number 1096). The expedition was extremely well financed with private monies and motivated by academic interest, as the collectors were agents of The Field Museum and not of the government (Quizon, 2004, p. 541). While subject to the pitfalls of the racial climate of the time, the expedition aimed to assemble a scientific collection that visually reflected the culture and social life of indigenous Filipinos (Quizon, 2004, p. 544). The pieces in the group under study are associated with The Field Museum Accession File 1096, which Curator George A. Dorsey processed on February 11, 1910.

Dr. William Jones served as the field collector of this accession and worked with the Ilongot for several years, but was killed by Ilongot warriors at the height of mounting tensions between Jones and his contributors. Collis Davis (2001) suggests in his Fulbright U.S. Scholar Program Thesis, completed in Luzon, that Jones' paternalistic attitudes toward the Ilongot, as well as personal frustration, lack of preparation, and overly romantic notions motivated these tensions. Davis' thesis, the primary source of information on Jones in this paper, hypothesizes that Jones was:

... A figure of indeterminate identity who oscillated between the Indian world and the mainstream of white America, but ultimately found acceptance in neither... Jones' expectations far exceeded the Ilongots' ability to deliver on promises, whatever the reasons may have been for their shortfalls. Jones' loss of this perspective inevitably led to an increasing intolerance and anger on his part until both he and the Ilongots were at the point of no return (Davis, 2001).

Born on March 28, 1871, Jones was of Fox Native American descent and grew up in the Indian Territory, now Oklahoma. In adolescence, he worked as a cowboy before attending the Hampton

Normal and Agricultural Institute, the only historically African American institution of the time to also educate Native Americans, followed by Philips Andover Academy, and Harvard University. In 1904, he became the fourth person, and the first of Native American descent, to earn a PhD from Columbia University, where he studied under Franz Boas (Davis, 2001). In spite of impressive academic accomplishments, Jones was unable to secure an academic position from which to continue his research, in part due to a delinquency in completing research projects, which contributed to significant personal frustration and disappointment (Davis, 2001). He conducted fieldwork among several groups of Algonquin Native Americans which he abandoned to accept The Field Museum's offer to travel to the Philippines in 1907, leaving behind him the academic roles for which his education had prepared him (Davis, 2001).

Immediately upon his arrival, the Ilongot received Jones as a "God-like" figure, a state in which he reveled, but it seems he could not shake his feeling of powerlessness in the wake of professional disappointments (Jones, 1908; Davis, 2001). Jones' attempts to embrace Kipling's "White Man's Burden" created tension among the Ilongots with whom he worked (Davis, 2001). At the same time, nostalgia over the loss of the West he grew up with in the Indian Territory and romanticized ideas about the irretrievable past greatly influenced Jones' frustration and demonstrated ethnocentricity towards the Ilongot (Jones, 1908; Davis, 2001). A story in the Philadelphia ledger attributed to George Dorsey told of an incident in which "Dr. Jones knocked a Filipino man down on the ground...when he refused to take his hat off during the playing the American anthem, 'The Star -Spangled Banner.'" (Davis, 2001). Along with this, Jones' field diary shows increasing contempt for the Ilongots' "primitive" ways, including criticism of their social behavior and hygienic habits, as well as the quality and delivery of the objects he commissioned for his collection. Jones wrote in his diary:

When their bellies are filled they depart. Their aspect is most repelling. Hands, faces, and their bodies are smeared with blotches of various kinds of dirt; and their stiff hair is disheveled. As they sit and scratch their lousy (a reference to lice) selves they seem more like beasts than human beings (Jones, 1908).

In March 1909, Jones issued an ultimatum to the Ilongot craftsmen who had promised him six balsa rafts for his collection (Davis, 2001). Jones, frustrated with delays at their delivery, threatened to kidnap and imprison their leader, Tacaden, if the rafts were not produced. Davis wrote that when the Ilongot produced only a few, Jones, "reached the end of his patience and good judgment," and began to guide

Tacaden to a boat (Davis, 2001). Of the nearly twenty fully armed Ilongot headhunting warriors present, three physically curtailed the kidnapping of their leader, resulting in Jones' death.

After news of Jones' death reach The Field Museum, S.C. Simms traveled to Luzon to complete the work Jones had begun (Davis, 2001). When he died, Jones was engaged to Caroline Andrus, who engaged in a legal battle with The Field Museum over the future of Jones' collection and personal items that was eventually negotiated to a settlement. Andrus' later quarrel with Jones' father led her to destroy hundreds of letters that Jones sent that may have shed more light on the decisions he made at the end of his life as well as his collecting philosophies (Davis, 2001). Jones was academically motivated, but it seems that the attitudes of his time greatly affected the frameworks through which he approached, understood, and collected from the Ilongot.

The Son of the Father of American Anthropology in the Philippines

The red beaded choker (*panglao*), and red hornbill earrings (*batling*) of this study (Objects 242590 and 242592.1-.2) were purchased from William Beyer as part of a larger collection in May of 1980. The museum paid Beyer \$1320 for the collection (Field Museum Catalog Information, Accession Number 3459). Ten objects were processed as a part of Accession File 3459 including textiles, earrings, belts, and betel containers. Although The Field Museum did not acquire these objects until 1980, cataloging information indicates that they were collected in the Philippines in the late 19th and early 20th century. Both objects in this group were owned by an Ilongot man named Simpuda who personally contributed them to William Beyer's collection (Field Museum Catalog Information, Accession Number 3459).

Born in 1918, William Beyer was the son of Henry Otley Beyer, a renowned scholar now known as the Father of American Anthropology in the Philippines (Gosling, 1997). Throughout his life, Henry Beyer wrote extensively about the ethnic groups of northern Luzon, and collected a wide repository of cultural objects pertaining to these groups (Gosling, 1997). Born and educated in the United States, Beyer became fascinated with the Philippines after attending the St. Louis World's Fair in 1904. He joined the Philippine Ethnological Society in July of 1905, and left for Manila a month later. He remained invested in Philippine ethnology for the rest of his life (Gosling, 1997). He married an Ifugao woman named Lingayu Gambuk, who gave birth to William Beyer, their only child. Throughout his career, Henry Otley Beyer amassed an extensive collection of Philippine ethnographic objects and

writings (Gosling, 1997). When he passed away in 1966, his son took control of his collection (Beyer, 1967; Gosling, 1997).

William Beyer worked throughout his life to expand his father's collection and distribute it to scholarly institutions, both in the Philippines and around the world. The collection included a large library on cultural history, archaeology, ethnography, linguistics, and folklore of the Philippines and neighboring countries, supplemented by manuscripts, photographs, pamphlets, maps, and other illustrative material. Numerous archaeological and ethnographic specimens gathered during fieldwork throughout the Philippines and an extensive collection of Philippine pottery and glazed wares from China and Southeast Asia also supplemented the collection (Gosling, 1997). Henry Otley's motivations likely related to academia and an urge to display the aspects of the culture he adopted. His son likely echoed these motivations, and interacted with his father's collection as part of a family enterprise. William Beyer distributed his father's collection to the National Library of Australia, the National Museum of the Philippines, and several private collectors, although many are now missing (Field Museum Catalog Information, Accession Number 3459). Several museums in the Western world, including The Field Museum have purchased pieces of the collection (Gosling, 1997).

Much of collection remains in the Banaue Museum, which is run by the Beyer family, descendants of William's children (Bloom, 2009, p. 171). The family also runs an inn in the mountains of Banaue, called the Banaue View Inn. The inn burned to the ground in 1968 but has been rebuilt, and still operates successfully under the proprietorship of Lily Beyer Luglug while the museum is run primarily by Henry Beyer II. The Lonely Planet advertisement for the Banaue View Inn describes William Beyer as "a swashbuckling antiques dealer who sired 16 children" (Bloom, 2009, p. 171). In 1968, Beyer wrote a short book called *Mountain Folk Art: Aspects of Philippine Culture*, a copy of which resides in The Field Museum library and archives. Although it seems unlikely that William Beyer is still living, given that he would be 94 years old, I found no specific information regarding his death.

Object Descriptions

Jones and Beyer collected objects based on their aesthetic beauty, cultural importance, or the skill required to create them. I selected the objects on which to focus my analysis for similar reasons. While the majority of the information I compiled about these objects came from textual sources, my understanding of them was greatly enhanced by close examination of the objects themselves. The form, materials, and condition of the objects lent insight regarding their construction and sources, as well as

the care with which they have been handled in the last century. The museum documentation for each object proved equally informative, providing information such as their indigenous names and provenance, as well as the details about them that their collectors, curators, and collections managers deemed important over the years since they left the Philippines. Additional research regarding these objects and their documentation allowed me to expand and correct some of the catalog information available about them.

Object #114910—Boar's Tusk Armlet

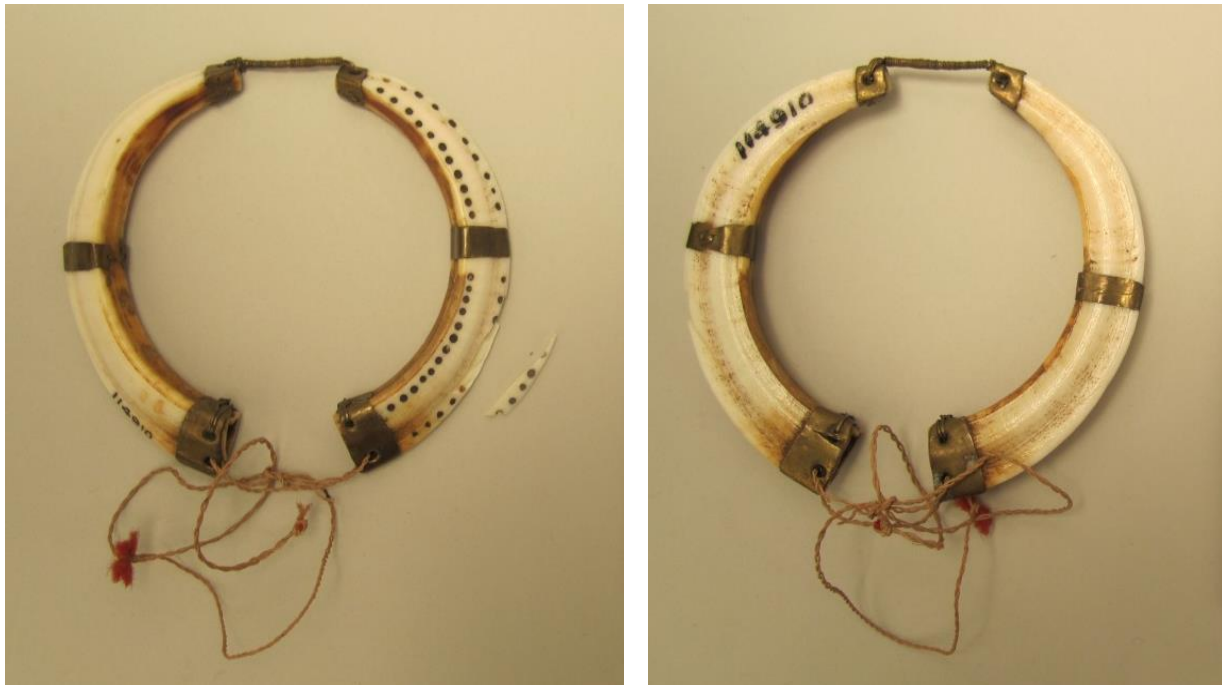


Figure 13: Ilongot people probably wore this boar's tusk armlet at ceremonies, on social visits, on headhunting raids, and as a part of daily ornamentation. *Photo by: Sarah Carlson*

Ilongot craftsmen constructed this armlet using boar's tusks, and brass and cordage findings (See Figure 13). Three flat brass pieces wrap around each boar's tusks at either end and in the center, and are attached to the tusks with brass wire. The narrow ends of the tusks are connected by brass wire, and the wider ends with woven cordage ornamented with red cotton. One end of the cordage has a considerably smaller tuft of red cotton than the other, from which it can be inferred that part of the cotton has probably sustained some damage. When the object was constructed, the cordage would have been easy to untie, allowing the wearer to fasten the ornament to the arm. Now, however, the cordage is brittle. The artist incised the outside edges of one tusk with parallel rows of blackened circles. There are twenty-four such circles on the top row, and twenty-one on the bottom row. Both tusks are hollow and

have sustained small cracks at their wider ends. There are two larger cracks near the cordage closure on the broader side of the tusks. One flake appearing to be from the broad side of the ornamented tusk has become totally separated from the object. The inside of the tusks, the side that faced the wearer's arm, has some dark brown staining.

A tag is housed with the object which reads “#114910, PHILIPPINE ISLANDS, LUZON, ILONGOT” and “ARMLET,” on the reverse. The object's catalog number (#114910) is written in black marker on the widest part of one tusk, opposite the decoration, and on the reverse side of the object. From the brass clasp to the cordage, the piece measures 9.25 cm. At its broadest, the width of the piece is 10.5 cm. Three flat pieces of brass wrap around each tusk, roughly 4.5 cm apart. Located at the pointed ends, centers, and broad ends of both tusks, the brass decorations measure approximately 1 cm, .75 cm, and 1.5 cm respectively. According to its Field Museum Catalog Card, the Ilongot probably called this boar tusk ornament a *gogu*. However, the online catalog of The Yale Peabody Museum, which contains several Ilongot items collected by Renato and Michelle Rosaldo indicates that such an object is called a *pasir* (Yale Peabody Museum Collection Information, Object #235104). The Peabody Catalog also indicates that boar's tusk armlets were typically worn by successful hunters on their left arms, often below a brass and copper arm band called a *binitur* (Yale Peabody Museum Collection Information, Object #235101; Casal, 1981, p. 244).

Objects like this one were among those that young men who had not taken a head could wear. Doing so demonstrated their powerful *liget* and control of *bēya*, commanded admiration from onlookers, and announced one's place in the cycle of maturation. Neighboring ethnic groups like the Kankanay and Bontoc wore similar armbands, and the artistic traditions of these groups likely influenced each other (Rodgers, 1985). Furthermore, they likely exchanged materials to create similar objects. These trading relations were honored by wearing armlets like this one. While I have thus far been unable to locate public domain photos of Ilongot people wearing such objects, the collections at both The Field Museum and The Yale Peabody Museum contain several such objects, demonstrating that they were probably worn often, both at ceremonial events and daily interactions. Euro-American perspectives likely saw boar's tusk armlets as evidence of big game hunting and non-mechanized production that they viewed as primitive.

Object # 115015—Shell Earring

This earring, called *kalēpān* by the Ilongot, is roughly circular with a diameter of about 3.5 cm and made of shell (Field Museum Catalog Card #115015). Presumably, it was once part of a pair. The disk is curved with a 0.5 cm hole drilled just off center. This hole, like those drilled in the other objects, was likely made using a bow or pump drill (Villeges 1983; 24). The catalog number (#115015) was written on the back of the object with a black marker. The shell is iridescent on the front side and ornamented with a blackened, incised pattern while the reverse is matte.



Figure 14: These shell disc earrings were worn daily by both men and women, however, men and women wore them on different parts of their ears. Photo by Sarah Carlson

A design of incised sunburst shapes forms a circle overlapping a cross that follows the curve of the object. On the very outside of the design, small diagonal markings were etched, but not darkened (See Figure 14). Within the circle made by these markings, slightly larger diagonal markings, connected at their bottommost point to form a faint line, have been both etched and darkened with pigment. The design forms a second circle on the rim of the object and frames the darkened cross of the next section of design. An etched and darkened series of twenty-six sunburst-shaped reliefs forms a circle layered over the fourteen sunbursts forming a cross. One section of this cross has an extra line of un-darkened etching above it, but the rest of the cross has only the line of darkened etchings as a border. The pigment has also darkened part of the hole near the center of the object. Small marks and damage exist in one quadrant made by the pattern, and small depressions in others. The edge of the piece has been smoothed and rounded to the same matte, light brown coloring of the reverse of the object (See Figure 14). The

very center of the reverse maintains some iridescence, but it looks as though that iridescence had worn through the covering of the back due to wear, and several scratches are evident.

The object's catalog card indicates that *kalēpān* were worn by both men and women by passing a string or brass-wire loop through the hole at the center and hanging the other from the ear. The card goes on to say that men hung these loops from piercings in their earlobes while women hung them from the upper rims, or helixes of their ears. Photographs of Ilongot men and woman held in the Field Museum photo archives, however, showed just the opposite—women wearing *kalēpān* from the lobes of their ears and men from their helixes. While I was unable to resolve this incongruity through ethnographic fieldwork, I was able to communicate with Dr. Renato Rosaldo, and tap into his extensive knowledge of the Ilongot. He confirmed that the photos more accurately conveyed how these objects were worn. That is, women usually wore *kalēpān* from their earlobes and men from their helixes (Rosaldo, Personal Communication). As they are made of shell, the material for earrings like this one were likely obtained through trade with or with permission of coastal peoples and as such represented those relationships when worn. Furthermore, wearing *kalēpān* announced that one had the social capital to engage in foreign trade, and connection to people of skill who could incise fine detail into shell, making them both desirable objects to wear and frequent items of bridewealth. Earrings like these were worn on a daily basis, while working or hunting as well as to ceremonies and social engagements.

Object #115065—Neck/Waist Ornament



Figure 15: Neck and waist ornaments like this objects lent beauty and energy to ceremonial proceedings.

Photo by Sarah Carlson

Object #115065 is a beaded necklace that hung nearly 50 cm when worn (See Figure 15). Its maker strung woven cordage, seemingly of plant material, with hollow bamboo pieces, black seeds and colored glass beads to create this piece. The clasp was formed of coiled brass wire that forms a loop on one side and a toggle of two spirals connected by a loop on the other side. Four beaded strands extend from either end of the clasp to create the neck-form of the ornament, which measures about 44 centimeters across its diameter. A tag housed with the object confirms its catalog number (#115065). Eight bundles of three beaded strands each were topped with brass tubes and colored glass beads and attached to the neck-form with red cotton. Two of the brass tubes have an etched design of three open triangles facing up located above two facing down, repeated twice. One tube is silver colored. The colored beads are blue, white, brown, red, and teal. A ninth bundle was strung from the center consisting of eight strands. One strand has become separated from the rest of the object, but remains housed with the object.

The beading on the object follows a loosely repeating pattern of a bamboo bead, followed by a black seed. Each strand hung to roughly the same length on the wearer's body; roughly 22 cm from the base of the neck-form, 50 cm from the top. One strand of the clusters furthest back on either side of the object is much shorter, hanging 18 cm from the top of the neck form. In four of the bundles, and likely all of them at some point, one strand of the bundle ends in an 8cm horsehair



Figure 16: Upon researching objects like this one, it seems apparent that the embellishments at the ends of certain strands are made of horsehair.
Photo by Sarah Carlson

ornamentation (See Figure 16). Field Museum catalog information does not specify the material type of this ornamentation, but the Yale Peabody Collection references horsehair as the material type for ornamentations like this on similar artifacts (Yale Peabody Museum Collection Information, Object #YPM ANT 235032, YPM ANT 235034, YPM ANT 235035, and YPM ANT 235041). A visual comparison with images of horsehair convinced me that these adornments are indeed tufts of horsehair.

Objects like #115065 were typically worn during ceremonies and dances, and their constant movement embodied the quickness and energy that Ilongot hunters venerated. The glass beads likely required trade, or passage through generations as heirlooms as the Ilongot did not produce glass locally and therefore wearing these objects celebrated kin and trading relationships (Villeges, 1983, p. 24). Furthermore, wearing such objects demonstrated control of *bēya* both in displaying that one could beautifully adorn oneself, and that one could perform in ritual settings. Wearers communicated youth, passion, quickness, and a desire for admiration. Collectors were probably attracted to this object after seeing it at the center of ceremonial attention, especially at covenants and spiritual rites.

Object #115218—Red Hornbill Headdress

The red hornbill headhunters' headdress, *panglao* or *toc-bed*, was among the most famous of Ilongot personal adornment objects (See Figure 17)(Field Museum Catalog Card #115218). Its frame was constructed of three pieces of narrow wood, two forming the sides and one forming the top, which was secured by woven cordage passed through the wood. The two side pieces line up beside each other and support the beak of the bill and are roughly 27 cm long. A fork shape was cut into the front of both pieces of wood to mimic the shape of the bird's mouth. Behind the bill, both pieces of wood were carved more narrowly from 4 cm to about 1 cm wide then widen again at the rear of the ornament, curving to facilitate placement on the wearer's head. Small pieces of the outside edges were whittled away to create a scallop design, with irregular black circles in roughly every other scallop depression.



Figure 17: Headhunting ornaments, like this red hornbill headdress were the only Ilongot ornaments worn only by men, but they were not concealed or hidden from female view. Photo by Sarah Carlson

Intersecting horizontal and vertical rows of circles decorate the back of the object. Several small holes were drilled to enable the attachment of the bill to the wood. Depressions on the inside of both pieces of wood most likely indicate either insect activity or residual damage inflicted when attempting to attach the bill to the wood. The top piece of wood is similar to the side pieces in size, shape, and decoration. Behind the circle design at the rear of the object, the top piece of wood has two holes, rather than one, through which a long piece of cordage is strung. Where the top piece narrows to support the crest of the bill, three small V-shape pieces of wood have been decoratively cut out on each side. Two holes were drilled just behind the design of circles at the back of the piece. The piece has several depressions similar to those on the side pieces, including a semi-circle of depressions just underneath the curve of the back of the crest.

The color of the bill fades from dark red, to pink, to orange and the bill measures 23.5 cm. It has sustained several cracks and flakes, but appears structurally solid. Some black marks, seemingly of the same pigment as the pattern of dots are visible along the inside of the mouth, on top of the crest, at the angle where the beak meets the crest, and along the bottom of the beak. Some scratches and discoloration are also present. Through a process of heating and bending, the bill was folded over the wooden frame in order to create the headdress's shape. The creator of the object then used a sharp point like a needle to make small holes in the heated bill along its reverse side and passed cordage through the holes sewing a black plant fiber around the bill to offer stability, and attached the bill to the wood frame.

According to Field Museum Catalog Card #115218, the headdress is made of a toucan bill. Toucans, however, lack the crest at the top of the bill which is visible on this object and are found primarily in Southern Mexico, Central, South American and the Caribbean region, not in the Philippines. The symbolic links between headhunting and red hornbills suggested to me that this piece was made of a red hornbill skull. Yet, over fifty species of hornbill exist, and nine are endemic to the Philippines. Further research showed that the bill of Object #115218 is a visual match for photos of the Rufous hornbill (*Bucerous hydrocorax*), an endemic species with historical ties to headhunting. For these reasons, it seems likely that Object #115218 was made using a Rufous hornbill's skull.

Wearing headdresses like this dramatically displayed a hunter's skill to onlookers. Hornbill headdresses were specifically associated with Ilongot warriors, as their neighboring ethnic groups did not make such ornaments (Rodgers, 1985). Susan Rodgers (1985) wrote that hunters who had taken two heads earned the right to wear headdresses. This idea seems at odds with Renato Rosaldo's (1980) that men did not compete to take a prodigious amount of heads, but it seems likely that such striking

ornaments were reserved for excelling feats of headhunting skill. The hornbill headdress connected its wearer to *liget* and *bēya* through its hardness, redness, and symbolic connection to spirit birds, much in the same ways that *batling* earrings made these associations. Ilongot warriors wore headdresses to ceremonies and social engagements where they highlighted their status and skill, like covenants. Headdresses like these likely fascinated Euro-American collectors as they represented both headhunting and ties to non-Christian spirituality.

Object #242590—Red Choker Necklace

Field Museum cataloging information for Object #242590 designates this necklace as a *panglao*, while the Yale Peabody Online Catalog Information calls it a *panlaw nun pete* (Field Museum Catalog Card #242590; Yale Peabody Museum Collection Information, Object # YPM ANT 235037)(See Figure 18). While Susan Rodgers (1985) uses the term *panglao* to refer to hornbill headdresses, I will use the term *panglao* to refer to this kind of necklace for the sake of consistency with Field Museum records.

Necklaces of this kind were mostly worn by women, as indicated by their small size (Casal, 1981, p. 249). Object #242590 measures roughly 38 cm in circumference when worn, which requires a relatively small neck. It is made of red glass seed beads, shell ornamentations, brass findings, black thread, cordage, and red cotton.

The neck-form is shaped by three strands of red glass seed beads stacked vertically and sewn together with black thread. Their ends were coated in wax or resin and spiral knotted to create a toggle. An extra loop hangs from the toggle ring, most likely for sizing purposes. A brass chain was attached to the underside of the red beads with black thread, from which a pattern of long and short pendants of



Figure 18: This red beaded necklace has shell pendants connected with brass linkages, and might represent materials from three locations, visibly referencing as many trading alliances. Photo by Sarah Carlson

shell and brass dangle. Short pendants are made of brass linkages and a keystone shaped serrated shell piece, and measure 1.5 cm. Long pendants measure 5.5 centimeters and consist of brass linkages connecting to round serrated shell disks, and ending with a keystone shaped serrated shell piece. The pendants decorate the necklace in a pattern of one long pendant, followed by two short ones. Three short pendants border either sides of the pattern, resulting in eleven long and twenty-six short pendants in all, with 129 brass linkages, fifty-five shell disks and thirty-seven shell keystones.

This object could embody several different trading relationships as no conclusive evidence of indigenous Philippine glassmaking has been found and glass beads are generally assumed to be products of trade (Villeges, 1983, p. 24). As only those who produced surplus could engage in foreign trade for luxury goods like jewelry, wearing an object like this announced personal success and wealth. It also could have served as a visual reminder of kin relations and heritage, as glass beads were often passed through generations as heirlooms. The movement of the shell pendants was seen to embody the quickness of *liget* and its fine craftsmanship announced ties to someone of great skill and command of *bēya* who could have produced it. Craftsmen were understood to display the highest levels *bēya* in their work. The object is extremely well-preserved and in excellent condition, indicating that collectors took vigilant precautions to protect it, likely due to its beauty and delicate workmanship. Furthermore, when Henry Otley Beyer collected this object, and later passed it to his son, it remained cared for in his collection and spared the damages of travel until the 1980s, when collections transport techniques had been much improved from those of the early 1900s. For these reason, if a public exhibit of these objects is in the future of the collection, this necklace would likely make an interesting display piece.

Objects 242592.A-.B—Red Hornbill Earrings

These red hornbill earrings, or *batling*, were made of L-shaped slices of red hornbill beak, angled at about 130 degrees. The shorter end of the L-shape is broader than the longer side. Flat brass pieces were bent over the ends of each to form trapezoidal shapes, with etched designs on one side. The brass pieces are connected to the bill with brass wire passed through perforations. Brass wire also creates loops from which pendants of shell and brass linkages hang. At the broader end, each pendant contains long, thin shell pieces while the narrow end has two short and one long pendant of brass linkages, round serrated shell disks, and shell keystones. The brass wire loop in the center contains an extra brass linking piece through which a loop was passed to connect the earring to the ear (Field Museum Cataloging Information, Accession #1096). The shell ornamentations on both earrings have some discoloration

around their edges and a few marks and chips, but overall both earrings are in excellent condition. Like the red beaded necklace, they were spared the roughness of transoceanic travel until 1980. Object #242592.A is a darker red than #242592.B, and both are a darker red than the red hornbill headdress, Object #115218, but not enough information is available at this time to determine the specific species of the bird.

Earrings like these are among the most important ornaments that Ilongot people wore. Supreme



Figure 19: Red hornbill earrings were among the most important ornaments an Ilongot man acquired in his life. They displayed him as a mature adult and a lethal headhunter. Photo by Sarah Carlson

markers of skill and maturity, as well as *liget* and *bēya*, the acquisition of red hornbill earrings represented the pinnacle of pride and accomplishment in an Ilongot boy's life. Like the red hornbill headdress, the earrings are primarily symbolically connected to headhunting and to the Ilongot identity, as well as to their notoriety as feared warriors throughout Luzon. The importance of earrings like these have been widely recreated in photos and published works. Collected by Henry Beyer and protected by his family, these objects are in extremely good condition and represented heavy symbolic importance to their Ilongot wearers. Future

exhibitors of The Field Museum's Ilongot material could communicate significant information to museum visitors through display of these objects.

Museum Perspectives

Although they are often accessed by researchers for academic study, the 10,000 objects of The Field Museum's Philippine Collection have not been on public display since the 1980s. Currently, the collections management team in charge of the collection is working with Philippine cultural groups both in Chicago and in the Philippines, such as The Alliance of Filipinos for Immigrant Rights and Empowerment (AFIRE) to decide what steps should be taken for the future of the collection. While I participated in only preliminary meetings, several possibilities were discussed to increase exposure and access to the objects with the Philippine community, including the creation of an online database accessible from both countries and the construction of a temporary exhibit. Such meetings aim to engage those represented by the

collection in its interpretation and discussion. Only time will tell what steps the committee will take to increase public knowledge of and safe access to the collection, but conversations regarding such decisions open inquiries into the roles of community engagement in determining the future of a collection, and in the possible creation of future exhibits.

Museums are artificial constructions that create meaning using physical objects. Their collections, collection

policies, and exhibitions policies create value and significance, informed by cultural and ideological assumptions (Pearce, 1993, p. 239). The relationships between members of the producing culture, the collector, the museum, and the museum visitor determine the effectiveness with which such meanings can be communicated.

Basics of Collections Care

Currently, the objects are housed in the collections facilities at The Field Museum, where the collections management team attempts to preserve them according to collections management best practices. The collections are an immense body of material evidence that embraces the physical human and natural past, interpretations of that past and multiple layers of meaning generated through research (Pearce, 1993, p. 134). The condition in which an object survives determines how much representational meaning it can convey. This preservation is dependent on the kind of storage provided for it, especially considering the material and methods of its manufacture, and the environment to which it is exposed (Bachmann and Rushfield, 1992, p. 5).

General recommendations for museum collection best practices include thoughtful creation of policies for environmental control, proper handling, thorough documentation, and effective object organization according to access needs and material (Rose, 1992, p. 121). Fragile objects should be



Figure 20: The Field Museum in Chicago, Illinois houses well over a million artifacts, only about 1% of which is on display. The rest are preserved in behind-the-scenes collections, where conservation efforts protect them for future study.

enclosed in storage boxes or trays of archival rigidity, durability, and buffering quality that support the object securely (Bachmann and Rushfield, 1992, p. 7). Ideally, these storage containers are housed on shelves padded with archival material like Ethafoam, which, like the materials of the storage boxes, does not produce damaging particles or gasses (Bachmann and Rushfield, 1992, p. 7). For each of the objects considered in this study, I created Blue Board and Ethafoam trays individually designed to protect them from damage or wear.

Primary environmental concerns are the control of temperature and relative humidity, exposure to light, airborne toxins and particles, and pests (Bachmann and Rushfield, 1992, p. 6). Inappropriate or fluctuating temperature and relative humidity can initiate chemical reactions that may lead to deterioration. Relative humidity is the ratio of the partial pressure of water vapor in an air-water mixture to the saturated vapor pressure of water at a given temperature, meaning that the amount of humidity in the air is dependent upon the air's temperature (Craddock, 1992, p. 15). High temperatures and levels of relative humidity can promote corrosion and permit mold to grow while low levels lead to desiccation, embrittlement, and irreversible dimensional changes (Craddock, 1992, p. 15). Materials and conditions of objects cause the ideal range for these considerations to vary, but most collections managers agree that most objects should be stored at a temperature between 66-72°F (19-22°C) at a relative humidity level between 45-55% (Craddock, 1992, p. 16). Rapid fluctuations compound the risks associated with these variables, so adjustments should be made slowly and gradually (Craddock, 1992, p. 17). Furthermore, collections should be stored away from the outside walls of their facility, and away from heating agents, water mains, and daylight (Bachmann and Rushfield, 1992, p. 6-7). Both visible and invisible light like UV radiation can be extremely damaging to objects, especially those containing dye or pigment, so artifacts should be kept away from natural light and at a distance from the heat and intensity of light bulbs. When not in direct use, lights should be turned off in collections areas (Bachmann and Rushfield, 1992, p. 8). Collections facilities should be cleaned regularly to minimize damage from dust and airborne toxins, and checked for pest activity and signs of damage (Bachmann and Rushfield, 1992, p. 6-8).

Ethnographic objects should always be handled with the utmost care and respect, according to a planned set of movements (Bachmann and Rushfield, 1992, p. 8). Any time a handler moves an object to a new location, he or she should document the move in the objects' documentation. No object should ever be moved from one location until a preplanned space has been cleared and prepared to receive it. Many object handlers prefer padded trays or dollies to transport objects that are large, heavy, or more

than ten steps from their new location. Objects should be lifted with two hands, around their widest and most sturdy part, never by a handle or protrusion as they often prove fragile (Bachmann and Rushfield, 1992, p. 8). Along with this, many collections managers, including curators or registrars, choose to place their offices near collections entrances for convenient access and visual security. Significantly, collections managers must organize collections based on frequency of access, as well as according to the specific needs of their materials and typological considerations. In this way, they place preference on some objects over others and construct systematic frameworks of reference for objects based on their perceived importance in many of the same ways that collectors do.

Object documentation is important in determining changes in the object over time, finding the object's location with ease, organizing the spatial structure of the collections, and preserving the ethnographic meanings tied to the object by its collector and subsequent researchers (Bachmann and Rushfield, 1992, p. 5; Rose, 1992, p. 115). Along with its ethnographic record, object documentation includes detailed condition reports that often include photographic renderings of the object, helpful in tracking physical changes in an object that might alert museum workers to ineffective collections management policies. Documentation and photographs further reduce the amount of handling necessary to glean information from artifacts and to select objects for exhibition, loan, or study, thereby preventing damage, and ensure that objects are not lost (Rose, 1992, p. 115-116). Most museums mark each of their objects with a unique and permanent code, usually a number, and use it to track the object and attach it to the ethnographic meaning known about it (Bachmann and Rushfield, 1992, p. 5). Objects should be accessioned, inventoried, and arranged according to a system of organization determined by the collections manager and exhaustively catalogued. Pearce (1993) indicated that once this record is established, it helps to solidify the whole system of organization. The thrust of decisions made by collectors are manifested in their objects' documentation (p. 136).

Community Engagement in Exhibition

Collections policies manifest relationships between museums and their collections, as well as with the outside world, including the producers of the objects that museums store and display (Pearce, 1993, p. 135). Decisions about the future of collections or creation of exhibits must consider these relationships in striving to be effective. Like all relationships, those between the museum and the outside world are in a constant state of flux, and active communication is necessary to avoid alienating the producing culture from representations made about them through their objects. Such alienation leads to

the construction of ethnocentric ideas in presentation of those objects. Collection policies are not neutral or passive any more than collectors' decisions are, and play a significant role in the interactive process through which museums are constructed (Peace, 1993, p. 136). Collections managers make decisions regarding conservation priority or storage location of objects in relation to their perceived museological value, their intellectual meaning, aesthetic quality, potential for public interpretation, and political implications (Pearce, 1993, p. 135).

If The Field Museum decides to increase public access to its Philippine Collection, they will continue to do so in conversation with Philippine heritage centers in both the United States and the Philippines in order to do so with respect and representational accuracy. Pearce (1993) called artifacts "selected lumps of the physical world to which cultural value has been ascribed" (p. 4). In ascribing this cultural value, interpreters necessarily imprint objects with their own cultural constructions (Baxandall, 1991, p. 34; Pearce, 1993, p. 116; Karp, 1993). Museum objects become categorized as such, and therefore ascribed representational authority, by the act of collection, and, for some of them, that of display (Pearce, 1993, p. 7; Kirschenblatt-Gimblett, 1992, p. 388; Vogel, 1991). In acting as repositories of cultural information as well as forums for the expression of cultural values, museums provide access to information that visitors would not otherwise encounter, and often serve as the only representational view visitors will encounter (Karp, 1993). Museums play an increasingly educational role in modern society and are viewed and understood as authoritative sources of cultural knowledge (Karp, 1993). This authority charges museums with the responsibility to consider the views of several important viewpoints.

Exhibitions should take in account multiple views within the culture that produced the objects displayed, and the biases and ideas of the unconditioned visitor, as well as the structured narrative envisioned by the curator (Karp, 1991, p. 15). Curators and exhibition designers wish to present cultural material in structured and interesting ways. They aim to convince visitors that the cultural codes embodied in the presented material are worth learning, but more importantly, curators wish to portray accurate information about the subjects of the exhibition (Pearce, 1993, p. 263). The subject of an exhibition is not a static thing. As no two people that identify with any culture understand or interact with it in the same way, museum professionals must engage the ideas, values, and symbolic categorizations of many people playing many roles within the producing culture. This engagement helps to create accurately representational exhibit themes. These themes must then be translated into methods of presentation that uninitiated visitors will find appealing and informative (Baxandall, 1991, p. 34). As

Ivan Karp wrote, visitors do not bring to exhibitions the requisite cultural resources for comprehending them, for “If they did, there would be no point in exhibiting” (Karp, 1991, p. 21). When exhibitions present new or surprising information that challenges visitors’ personal values and constructions, visitors must choose to redefine either their experience with the exhibit, or the previous assumptions challenged by it. Karp wrote that exhibits should aim to create for a “shock of recognition” which inspires altering the latter, and should provide enough context and resources to enable this reorganization of conceptual categories and encourage discourse (Karp, 1991, p. 21). Curators aim to bring museum visitors into conversation with object producers, who they will likely never meet. In this way, curating efforts are most successful when they aim for a conversational relationship between the object’s producer, the label writer, and the label reader (Pearce, 1993, p. 249; Baxandall, 1991, p. 38).

Museums use objects to display constructed meaning. As Pearce wrote, “Meaning is written on water and we are all free to construct our own kinds of reality” (Pearce, 1993, p. 255). By this, she means that cultural meaning is not concrete, but ineffable and constantly changing. Exhibitions and the knowledge they display should be understood as productions—conditioned and constructed snapshots of information projected onto objects—rather than holistic views of culture (Pearce, 1993, p. 258). Community engagement helps museums to turn their perspectives outward to make those snapshots more accurately representational of the displayed cultures in their exhibitions and public displays (Pearce, 1993, p. 113). Progressive and cumulative efforts of museum workers help to inspire a clearer and less ethnocentric view of the human and natural worlds (Pearce, 1993, p. 258).

Conclusions

Ilongot craftsmen make striking personal adornment objects of elaborate detail, but the ornaments serve much greater symbolic roles than merely displaying beauty. In the first half of the twentieth century, the personal adornment items of indigenous people were often associated with a fantasy of “primitive” people who produced adornment only to create beauty or express their feelings. Abandonment of these archaic views, however, leaves opportunities to explore the cultural, historical, and symbolic power that personal adornment items can represent (Rodgers, 1985, p. 13). Through first hand examination of objects, their museum documentation, and ethnographic sources I explored how the Ilongot of the Philippines used ornamentation to communicate important messages regarding social status, wealth, and maturity, especially as these concepts were mediated and motivated by headhunting. Furthermore, I utilized previous object studies to reflect on the ways that trading alliances, kin

relationships, and political partnerships were embodied by wearing ornaments obtained through gifting or foreign trade. By highlighting these relationships in visible ways, Ilongot persons marked the importance of the relationships as well as their own personal social capital and control of surplus. Different meanings were projected onto the objects when colonial anthropologists selected them as parts of academic collections in the early 1900s. For the collectors, the objects served as physical proof of notions like the “White Man’s Burden,” a duty to “improve” the lives of indigenous peoples so it would mimic the values of Euro-American culture (See Figure 11). Furthermore, objects offered physical proof of differences between American and Filipino cultures that Americans perceived as exotic and fascinating. Collectors aimed to bring home objects that satisfied this fascination and justified nakedly imperialistic goals of American annexation in the Philippines. The objects collectors chose to highlight through the act of selection came to bear a metonymic relationship to their producing culture as a whole.

When I began examination of the six objects discussed in this paper, they had been in the Field Museum collections for decades. I analyzed their construction, museum documentation, and preservation as well as the ethnographic information that accompanies them. Through this research, I have updated several inconsistencies in this data and hope that this paper will be instructive to those who study them in the future. I also considered collections management policies regarding use, collection organization and preservation priority as they are informed both by the physical requirements of objects and relationships among collectors, museum visitors, and members of the producing culture. Exhibition planning depends on these same relationships as curators aim to bring uninitiated audience members into contact with the conceptual considerations of a producing culture. In this way, both collections policies and exhibition planning are critically influenced by community engagement and participation of members of the producing culture. Developing relationships with members of the producing community gives those members a voice in their own representation. In the past, the objects under study in this paper have communicated enormous symbolic and cultural meaning to their producers and wearers, as well as political and racial ideas of the people who collected and transported them to the United States. They now hold still different context as museum objects that are seen to bear a metonymic and representational role to the Ilongot persons who made them. Active engagement between perspectives of museums, producing cultures, collectors, and museum visitors take steps toward bringing these interpretations into conversation with each other, and communicating the vast meanings embodied by objects.

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