Batok (traditional tattoos) in diaspora: the reinvention of a globally mediated Kalinga identity

Analyn Salvador-Amores

Abstract: **Tattooing, in terms of both practice and tattoo design, has become a significant component of popular global culture and the focus of anthropological studies worldwide (for example, Gell, 1993; Allen, 2005; Kuwahara, 2005; Thomas *et al*, 2005). Tattoos also played a role in twentieth century identity politics (De Mello, 2000; Atkinson, 2003) and they take on a similar role within the Filipino diaspora. This paper examines how diasporic Filipinos are turning to tattoos, and tattoo designs from the Kalinga ethnic group in particular, to formulate specific expressions of cultural authenticity and identity. Appropriating such tattoos reinvents a Filipino tradition as a way of sustaining and reshaping ties to a newly imagined homeland.**

Keywords: **tattoos; identity; diaspora; tattoo revival; Kalinga**

Author details: Analyn Salvador-Amores is with the Department of Social Anthropology, University of the Philippines Baguio. She is currently completing her dissertation for a DPhil in Social and Cultural Anthropology at the University of Oxford. Mailing address: Hertford College-MCR, Catte Street, Oxford OX1 3BW, UK. E-mail: analyn.salvador-amores@anthro.ox.ac.uk.

What objects, practices and techniques mediate diaspora? Kalinga tattoos teach us interesting lessons about the way in which diasporic cultures appropriate and utilize tradition as a resource for identity and self-expression. How do individuals learn of tattoo designs and the existence of tattoo artists? What sorts of meanings do tattoos generate in the context of identity formation? I offer an ethnographic account and analysis of the practice of *batek* or *batok*, the general term for the traditional Igorot tattoos among the Kalinga, an ethnolinguistic group of northern Luzon in the Philippines. The Kalinga tattoo themselves profusely with elaborate designs on wrists, arms, chest, legs and, in some instances, on their faces.

South East Asia Research, 19, 2, pp 293–318 doi: 10.5367/sear.2011.0045

For the Kalinga, such tattoos function as painful rites of passage, as bodily adornments and as visible markers of personal or place-based religious and political affiliations. For diasporic Filpinos and others, Kalinga designs are taking on new kinds of signification. Thus, despite the relative decline in traditional tattooing across the Kalinga region of northern Luzon, there is an unprecedented revival of traditional tattoos in Buscalan, a remote village in Tinglayan municipality, southern Kalinga. The revival or '(re)invention' of traditional Kalinga tattoos in Buscalan is both global and local simultaneously. It is not just Filipino diasporans returning 'home' from overseas who seek out tattoos from southern Kalinga, but young Butbut-Kalinga and other urban Filipinos who have developed – in conjunction with Filipino global migration – a renewed appreciation of traditional tattoos as a strategy to signify their own individual and ethnic identities. Traditional tattoo designs are also being sought out by urban Filipinos and diasporic Kalinga and non-Kalinga people (for example, local and foreign tourists) who travel to Buscalan to be tattooed by a traditional tattoo practitioner [*manbatok*].

The growing popularity of what – 20 years ago – seemed to be a waning cultural practice can be explored through Hobsbawm's theorization of the 'invention of tradition'. Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983) famously observed that traditions that appeared or seemed to be of ancient origin might only have emerged fairly recently. Further, Hobsbawm (1983, pp 1–2) theorized that:

> 'invented tradition . . . includes both "traditions" actually invented, constructed, and formally instituted, and those emerging in a less easily traceable manner within a brief and dateable period . . . "invented tradition" is taken to mean a set of practices governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity of the past … The peculiarity of "invented" traditions is that the continuity with it is largely factitious. … They are responses to novel situations which take the form of references to old situations, or which establish their own past by quasi-obligatory repetition … The object and characteristic of "traditions" including inventing ones, is invariance.'

Hobsbawm (1983, pp 7–8) also makes reference to a 'break in continuity' that can transform even long-standing customs into 'invented traditions'. These breaks, he points out, occur more often when 'old

traditions' that have experienced a decline or demise over the centuries are revived for the purpose of asserting identity. This observation leads Hobsbawm (1983, pp 5–8) to posit that even 'extinct' traditions become (re)invented traditions when they are revived.

Hobsbawm, however, does not explain adequately what he means by 'revival' or how to distinguish analytically between what is, and what is not, an 'invented' tradition. Traditions are not static entities. Rather, as Wagner (1975, p 9) observes, tradition involves a continual process of self-modification or 'dialectical invention' – what Sahlins (1999) refers to as the '*inventiveness* of tradition': that is, the capacity of cultures to renew themselves through an ongoing process of reinvention. The continuous process whereby 'living traditions' reinvent themselves might thus be 'understood as a sign of vitality rather than decadence' (Sahlins, 1999, p 409).

I argue here that as a 'living tradition', the entanglements between contemporary local and diasporic engagements with Kalinga tattooing are closer to Hobsbawm's description of 'revivals' rather than 'inventions' of tradition. In this paper, 'revival' refers to two interlinked processes: (1) a local-level Butbut Kalinga tattooing renaissance taking place amidst increasing tourist interest in tattoos, and (2) a reinvention of the 'Kalinga tattooing tradition' in the diaspora to signify a kind of newly imagined, pan-Filipino and pre-Hispanic authentic identity. What the diaspora has given the Butbut Kalinga tattoo 'tradition' is a new vitality and global scope of expression. Further, the resultant tattoos ('revived tattoos') draw from various media resources (for example, the Internet, old photographs, ethnographic texts) and personal experiences with the Kalinga tattoo designs. Both media representations and experiences together enable recipients of tattoos to articulate and validate an ethnic or national identity through their skin. Kalinga tattoos not only mark and make Kalinga ethnic identifications, they also express the individuality of and create an imagined history for non-Kalinga Filipinos living a bi-cultural or multicultural existence in the diaspora.

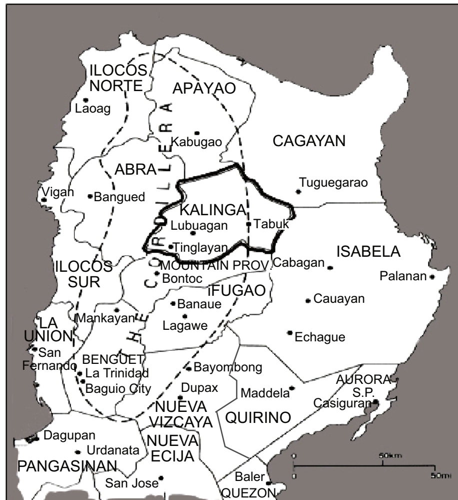
The Butbut of Kalinga

The traditional tattooing practice I study belongs to the Butbut people of the municipality of Tinglayan, south of Kalinga region, northern Philippines (Figure 1). Butbut land rises from the banks of the Chico River. North of the river are the mountain areas on whose strategic slopes are found four of the five Butbut villages: Buscalan, Loccong, Ngibat

and Butbut proper (Figure 1). The fifth, Bugnay, is on a southern slope. These five villages have a population of about 3,083 (NSO Census, 2009). More than 50 groups comprise what is referred to – somewhat inaccurately at times – as the wider 'Kalinga' ethnolinguistic group. Lowland Filipinos are generally unfamiliar with the distinctions among inhabitants of Kalinga province, and people in the Butbut villages are generally referred to as Kalinga. The Butbut villages have produced a number of indigenous rights activists, including the martyrs Macliing Dulag and Pedro Dungoc. Butbut leadership in struggles against government-led plans for resource development has made 'the Kalinga' – as represented by Butbut people – prominent in the Filipino national political consciousness as tattooed indigenous rights activists.

The Butbuts' prominence is rooted in their courageous struggle against the infamous plans to dam the Chico River in 1975. Tattoos figured even in this struggle when elderly women disrobed [*lusay*] their tattooed torsos and limbs in front of government surveyors and soldiers as a way of blocking the dam development. The Butbut believed that the women's act of unveiling would bring extreme harm and bad luck to the men observing them. Another group of tattooed women dismantled and burned campsites of project engineers in 1974 in Basao, a village next to Bugnay (Lua, 1992, p 36). In May 1975, 150 *papangat* [tattooed village elders and peacemakers] from Kalinga and Bontoc forged the Bodong Federation Inc, which united to oppose the construction of four hydroelectric dams that would have inundated Kalinga villages, rice terraces and sacred burial grounds. For the first time, the Kalinga and Bontoc created inter-tribal solidarity and declared their preparedness to resort to armed resistance to defend their ancestral domain. They sent petitions and delegations to President Marcos in Manila, but the president dismissed their appeal as sentimental and urged them instead to make sacrifices for the sake of the nation's progress. The Marcos government then sent military forces to the area. The escalation of military operations in the area became a national and international issue, especially after the tribal leader Macliing Dulag was killed by soldiers in his own house. The slaying of Macliing Dulag further united the northern peoples and attracted not just global attention, but the attention of 'progressive' and 'activist' urban Filipinos. The tattooed leaders, elders and women were at the forefront of a people's struggle. For the metropolitan progressive audience, a Kalinga tattoo represents a connection to this rural resistance against both the corrupt Marcos regime and the World Bank, and the affirmation of a Filipino cultural connection to nature conservation and 'traditional lifeways'.

(a)



(b)

Tulgao West
Belong
Mallango
Centro Bangad
Sumadel 2
Dananao
Upper Bangad
Sumadel 1
Lower Bangad
Poblacion
Tulgao East
Ambato
Loccong
Old Tinglayan
Ngibat
Luplupa
Proper Butbut
Buscalan
Basao
Study area
Bugnay

0 1,550 3,100 6,200 9,300 12,400
Metres

Figure 1. (a) The Cordillera region, north Luzon, Philippines and (b) Tinglayan, a municipality of the Kalinga region where the five Butbut villages are located.

Today, the Butbut village of Buscalan – like any other village in the Philippines – is also exposed to external influences and market forces that affect traditional lifestyles. By the 1980s, the population had increased, as had outmigration in search of waged work, and traditional activities such as tattooing, pottery making, weaving and basketry had changed. Buscalan is now a popular destination for tourists seeking to be tattooed with traditional tattoos by Whang-ud, a 90-year-old tattoo practitioner from Buscalan. The village is currently being promoted by the local tourism office in Tinglayan as a destination for those seeking *batok* [tattoos], in addition to producing products such as *kape* [coffee] and *unoy* [native rice]. Whang-ud's tattooing services have been sought by young Butbut and local and foreign tourists alike, and her work has attracted media attention from both tourism promotions and wider 'alternative culture'-type publications or programmes. Tattooing has thus recently re-emerged to provide an alternative livelihood to the traditional agricultural industry in the village.

Nabatokan: traditional tattooing in the village

Tattooing was common practice among the warriors of the major ethnolinguistic groups in the Philippine Cordillera: that is, the Bontoc, Ifugao and Kalinga. Although very little is known or written about the practice, traditional tattooing was reportedly widespread in the Philippines in the early sixteenth century (Van Dinter, 2005). Accounts recorded by Spaniards in the early eighteenth century reveal that tattoos were common on the Cordillera, but offer little on the context and practice of tattooing. Foreign ethnographers then reinforced the idea that tattooing was done primarily and solely in connection with the practice of headhunting warfare (Worcester, 1912, 1913; Barton, 1949; Dozier, 1966). Although tattoos have acquired myriad meanings and significance for the Kalinga over time, tattoo designs in the Cordilleras are still primarily associated with headhunting (Roces, 1991, p 153). Print and broadcast media continue to perpetuate this notion.

As the dam protests of the 1970s indicate and as my research discloses, tattooing is not only linked with headhunting, but is associated both historically and contemporaneously with a broader range of social meanings (Salvador-Amores, 2002, 2009). Traditionally, *whiing* [chest tattoos] on men denoted bravery exhibited in defending the village against enemy attacks. To become a warrior in Butbut society entailed a great sense of responsibility [*nakem*] for the entire village and its people. For

Kalinga warriors, killing *per se* was wrong, but killing an enemy was a noble act and in accordance with their customary laws. Immediately after the successful headhunting party returned to the village, men would celebrate the *tumo* [victory feasts] when they butchered pigs and buffaloes, played the *gangsa* [gongs] and danced [*tadek*]. Tattooing of the successful warriors [*maingor*] followed, as tattoos were considered to be talismans to repel malevolent spirits or 'armours' to protect their bodies – part of what Thomas (1999, p 237) calls a 'technology of fear': tattoos intimidate and incite fear in the enemy in warfare, and at the same time command respect from the people.

Further, tattoos were – and continue to be – indicative of the high social standing of the warrior class [*kamaranan*] and mark wealth and prestige for both men and women. In Kalinga society, if the grandfather was tattooed, all ensuing male progeny were encouraged to become warriors so that they might earn their respective tattoos after successful participation in *baruknit* [warfare or inter-village conflicts] and *kayaw* [headhunting]. Women too were entitled to have tattoos when their male kin gained recognition as respected warriors in the village. The marking of tattoos on a woman's body was a visual display of their own and their male kinsmen's political and social positions in the community. When a warrior was tattooed, his female children and female first cousins were also tattooed to signify their membership in a renowned clan of warriors. As Lagunawa (a pseudonym), 86, a tattooed elderly woman explains:

> 'My father was fully tattooed on the face, chest, back and arms, including his legs after successfully participating in four tribal wars. He said that all my sisters were tattooed as there was no longer any space available on his body to put the marks of his achievement as a great warrior. Out of obedience and respect, we consented to get tattoos. Now that I am old, it reminds me of my father, his courage and dedication to protect our village.'

Tracing the kinship charts of some research participants who are 60 years old and above, I discovered that most of the eldest female children were tattooed, as were their parents and grandparents. To this day, the elders recall that people with tattoos were more esteemed than those who were 'different' – that is, without tattoos. Young women without tattoos suffered social stigma and were taunted by their peers who called them *chinur-as* [cowards without tattoos]. Young men teased these un-

tattooed women by rubbing saliva on their arms. Many of the elder women say that the psychological trauma produced by the taunts was more painful than the physical pain experienced in the process of becoming tattooed. As such, many young women opted to endure the process rather than bearing the shame.

As a bodily aesthetic, tattoos also acted as painful reminders of rites of passage. Elderly Butbut women say that one who has endured the pain of the tattooing process will be able to bear any pain encountered later in life. Once tattooed, a woman is considered to be of marriageable age. This is not unlike other anthropological examples of body transformation through rites of passage (Mead, 1928 [1972]; Van Gennep, 1962; Turner, 1969) in which young people are integrated into the adult community and socially recognized as being ready to take on an adult role – ready to marry, bear children and carry responsibility for other forms of social relations in society. Tattoos are also said to ensure fertility for women and virility for men. In this case, the Butbut practice of tattooing the body in a painful rite of passage enables the bearer of the tattoo to become a fully social person within the village. For the older generation, the beauty indicated by the tattoos does not refer simply to beauty in the physical sense. Tattoos represent beauty of the intangible sort: strength, character, discipline, fortitude and similar traits.

For many tattooed Butbut elders, tattoos are valued over ephemeral material possessions. These, they believe, are the only things they truly own even in death and the afterlife. 'It is only the *batok* that is buried with us,' they say. 'That is the only thing that we inherit from our ancestors.' Today, the old women who are tattooed easily outnumber the number of tattooed old men. Of the remaining male elders, those with chest tattoos number even fewer. Men who had both chest tattoos [*whiing*] and tattoos on the back [*dakag*] were of exceptional bravery, indicating a warrior who fought in face-to-face combat.

American colonialism and the decline of tattooing

There was a significant decline in traditional tattooing among the Kalinga during the twentieth century. In the mid-1900s, as part of a drive to establish 'law and order' throughout the sub-province of the old Mountain province, the American colonial government, under the leadership of Governor Walter Hale, criminalized headhunting (Barton, 1949; Dozier, 1966, 1967). Hale recognized the existence of regional units

where certain influential tattooed leaders [*pangats*] exercised authority and received the respect of the local population. He empowered tattooed elders through the use of peace pacts [*puchon*], which provided a mechanism of arbitration to check further retaliation on either side during tribal conflicts. Strict penalties were imposed on violators of the peace pact. Furthermore, carefully selected tattooed warriors were recruited to join the Philippine Constabulary to reduce inter-village hostilities in the region. This strategy eventually led to the decline of headhunting and its associated tattooing.

In both Spanish and American colonial eras, tattoos created a distinction between different groups of colonized people – between the uncivilized non-Christians and the more civilized Christians. Under American rule, the decline of tattooing was linked to an acceleration in Christian conversion of mountain peoples:

> 'The missionaries established hospitals, orphanages, seminaries and institutions. Unfortunately however, the traditional practice of wearing G-string and bare-breasted women [with tattoos] were forbidden in some of these institutions. Under the prevailing church mores, they were considered obscene and hence, evil.' (CICM, 2007, p 99)

Christianity brought with it the concept of *kababain* [an Ilocano term for 'shame', *whain* in Butbut] and the *papachi* [priests] reproved the local people for 'headhunting, dirty dwellings, for wild manners, and for going without clothes' (AMP, 1956, p 9). Moreover, the American regime brought cultural stereotypes that held 'tattoos as marks of shame worn by outlaws, misfits, or those who have fallen from social grace' (Atkinson, 2003, p 23). Missionaries solicited sewing machines for the girls in the mission schools so they could learn how to sew. In addition to sewing, the women learned that they should wear white blouses to cover their breasts and to conceal their tattoos. The men were provided with trousers when they were recruited into the Philippine Constabulary. The Christian introduction of clothing thus diminished the visibility and hence the significance of tattoos.

Another outcome of American rule was an emergent distinction between the lowlander and the highlander (Scott, 1974). In the lowlands and cities dominated by lowland culture, their distinctive tattoos meant that Kalinga were easily identified as part of a marginalized highland group. Among the urban middle classes, even in Kalinga, tattoos were considered a mark of social deviance associated with criminality or of

ethnic ‘backwardness’. These prejudices became most evident when tattooed people travelled beyond their home villages. Tattooed Kalinga elders travelling to cities and lowlands concealed their tattoos under long-sleeved shirts; they were painfully aware of the kind of reception their tattoos might generate. Due to the attitudes of twentieth century urbanites, the increased mobility of the Butbut contributed to the decline of the traditional practice. From the 1990s onwards, young people moved from the village to the city to attend universities, find jobs and intermarry with members of other groups.

Because of the direct and indirect interventions of the colonial state, the practice of tattooing waned, but it did not disappear altogether. Although headhunting ended in the late 1960s, tattoos kept their role as talismans and spiritual armour. A generation of elderly warriors have the traditional *whiing* [chest tattoos], earned when they fought against the Japanese forces during the Second World War. These men are known as *maingor* or *maur'mot* [warriors] in the Butbut and Kalinga context. Those tattooed elders continued to be recognized for their leadership and were consulted in the forging of new alliances, resolution of ruptured peace pacts or settling of community disputes.

In the 1960s–70s, younger men who were drawn into and participated in conflicts with the post-colonial state and who defended their village from enemy attacks either by rebel troops or by the military, also earned tattoos. However, that generation of Butbut men (between 50 and 60 years old) refused to be tattooed with the elaborate chest tattoos that their predecessors had because of the fear of *mapuchaan* [short life or early death]. The elders encouraged the younger men to have tattoos, but discouraged them from ‘copying’ the patterns of the old warriors. Instead, the younger generation of Butbut warriors developed and reinterpreted the designs, fusing the old and the new. Although the technique and social meanings were similar, the designs, size and location of the tattoos varied to conceal the notion of being the ‘killer’ of the enemy or tattoos being earned as ‘tribal trophies’.

A case in point is Chuyawon (a pseudonym), 68, who earned his tattoo during the peak of the struggle against the Chico River Dam Project in the early 1970s. Chuyawon chose a more figurative design for his chest and upper arms to avoid being tagged as a ‘killer’. He reveals that the elders tattooed with *whiing* advised him not to be tattooed with the same patterns of the old warriors as this would cause the *ngilin* [taboo] of *mapuchaan* [short life or early death] or the taboo of *mawhuyong*

[blindness].[1] Beliefs about *mapuchaan* could also be the reason why few men from Chuyawon's generation to the present have tattoos on the chest and why many who are warriors have refused to be tattooed. Today, these individuals are given more contemporary figurative designs (for example, snakes, fish, lizards, turtles, birds and flowers) to diminish fear inspired by the traditional geometric tattoos found on older men.

What follows explores in more detail the changing significance of tattoos and the new designs that have emerged from the 1970s to the present. I focus in particular on the way in which, since the turn of the new millennium, Kalinga tattoos have become a focal point both for foreign tourists and Filipino diasporans alike, tracing these changes through the life and work of one female tattoo practitioner, Whang-ud.

Whang-ud: traditional practitioner of batok

Tattooing was a specialist activity of the men in Kalinga society and among the Ifugao and Bontoc of the Cordillera region. It was the male *manbatok* [tattoo practitioner] who tattooed the young men and women of the village, and female tattoo practitioners were, and remain, relatively rare. However, I was introduced to Whang-ud, a 90-year-old female tattoo practitioner from the village of Buscalan. Whang-ud learned tattooing when she was 13 years old, working as an apprentice to Whag-ay,[2] an old tattoo practitioner from Ngibat who resided in Buscalan for four years in the early 1930s. Whang-ud and another female tattoo practitioner named Amtadao[3] (a pseudonym) who hails from Basao were Whag-ay's apprentices. Whag-ay tattooed many young men and women in the village for a fee, and Whang-ud was one of them. Whang-ud has tattoos done by Whag-ay on the upper shoulders, arms and neck. In October 2008, she was tattooed on the nape of her neck by a young Filipino–American tattoo artist from Los Angeles during a cultural festival in Tabuk, Kalinga's capital.

Before proceeding, it is important to note that the term 'artist' or 'art' is not present in the repertoire of Butbut words. Tattoos and tattooing

1 The same term, *mawhuyong* [to go blind], is also used in Bontoc. Another Butbut term is *mawhuyo* [to go rotten], meaning the death of a person.

2 Whag-ay was approximately 100 years old when he died in Ngibat in 1999. People recalled that in the *cherwasay* [funeral song], he was praised for being an industrious tattoo practitioner. He stopped tattooing in the early 1970s because he was partially blind.

3 Amtadao (86) can no longer tattoo due to poor eyesight. Her last tattoos on men were done in the mid-1980s.

are seen as a social practice and a cultural endeavour rather than as an art form. The lack of a specific word is an indication that the production and reception of imagery, symmetry, performance and so on, are integrally connected to their way of life (Morphy and Perkins, 2006, p 13). What is present is the word *manwhatok* (*man* is a prefix that means 'a person who does' and *whatok* means tattoos) to refer to a person who does traditional tattoos, such as Whang-ud and her predecessors. The English term 'tattoo artist' is one used by local and foreign tourists when visiting the area, and has gained currency among the local people in Butbut and in Kalinga to refer to a person who makes the tattoos, whether 'traditional' tattoos (such as those of Whang-ud) or 'modern' tattoos (done in the shops in nearby cities).

Whang-ud considers her markings to be *whayyu* [beautiful]. She also sees tattoos as being about lifelong learning: that is, learning by having it done on her body. Whang-ud consigned in her memory each tap of the design done by the elder Whag-ay. Her legs also have faint tattoo tracings of short parallel lines and triangles that she said were 'practice marks' – relics of experiments she had carried out on herself in the process of learning her craft.

Whang-ud mastered tattooing when she was about 20 years old. Her renown as an artist stems from her reputation as a tattoo practitioner with a 'light hand', and as such she received invitations to visit and practise her art and tattoo people in other villages. The main tattoo instrument that she uses is called the *gisi*, a stick with a lemon thorn [*parakuk id lubfan*] inserted in a hole towards one end. The *gisi* is hand-tapped at a rate of about 90 to 120 taps per minute using a *pat-ik*, a wooden stick, to create the design. In the past, Whang-ud recounts that it took about three days to tattoo a man's chest, a day to tattoo an arm and another day for the other arm.

Traditionally, ink is made using charcoal powder or soot scraped from underneath a clay pot [*whanga*]. When Whang-ud opts to use traditional tattoo ink from charcoal, instead of clay earthenware, she scrapes the first layer of soot from the bottom of an aluminium pan[4] used for daily cooking. The dark charcoal powder is placed in the half-shell of a coconut, and about 50 ml of clear water is poured in. The mixture is then stirred to the desired thickness using a slice of sweet

[4] Aluminium pans and plastic plates have reached the village via itinerant lowland traders, and have replaced the traditional clay pots and wooden plates used in the past.

potato. On other occasions, Whang-ud uses sugarcane soot.[5]

Although Whang-ud still uses this traditional mix, there have been instances when she has used ink from a pen or the bottled Indian ink given to her by a Bontoc teacher, Kerchaten, who lived among the Butbut in the 1980s. She has also tattooed using bottled red and black Indian inks brought from Tuguegarao City by an ex-military man from Butbut who wanted to be tattooed by Whang-ud. Recently, a Hawaiian traditional tattoo artist, Keone Nunes, gave Whang-ud an ink made of *kukui* nuts (*Aleurites moluccana*) used in traditional tattooing. Although Whang-ud has used these different inks in tattooing, she still prefers the traditional mix because it leaves a darker mark on the skin – a mark that is not prone to discoloration. China black ink (Rotring), which is popular in French Polynesia, becomes greenish black when tattooed on the skin (Kuwahara, 2005, p 66), and this was the case with some tattoos I saw among other tattooed elders in the Cordillera region.

Among the Butbut, black ink is preferred because the elders say that it is usually as black [*nangitit*], as dark [*nalatak*] as the colour of the native pig [*burias*] and the thickness of the skin [*ublit na whuyo*] with a comparable thickness to that of human skin (Revzani *et al*, 1994; Engel *et al*, 2008). *Nalatak* connotes that the ink is deeply embedded underneath the skin [*naichayo* or *naicharum*, meaning 'deep in the skin'], hence a permanent visual record of the wealth owned by an affluent family.

Historically, tattooing fees were expensive. For instance, payment for tattoos on both arms (for women) or the chest (for men) would cost a medium-sized pig, bundles of rice, silver coins, a pair of *kain* [skirt] or *bahag* (loincloth) and beads equivalent to the price of a pig or water buffalo. In some cases, when families could not afford to pay the required amounts, alternative payment schemes were arranged. For instance, Saguysuy (86), a tattooed elder, paid for her tattoos by working on rice fields owned by Whang-ud's family during the planting [*ra-ep*] and harvest season [*apit*]. The prevalence of tattoos among affluent

[5] In the contemporary Philippines, there is an emerging health discourse surrounding unsanitary conditions and unsafe practices in underground tattoo shops by unlicensed tattoo artists. The Philippine government's Senate Bill No 2141, 'An Act to Regulate Body Piercing and Tattooing of 2005', regulates 'all forms of body piercing and tattooing to protect the health and welfare of the public'. It stipulates that tattooing must be done in licensed tattoo studios that have been issued clearances by the Department of Health. Clearly, Whang-ud's way of tattooing falls outside the parameters set by the government; nonetheless, more and more people have sought her out for 'authentic tribal designs' from the very source.

Kalinga families in the past is shown by the presence of many old tattoo practitioners in different villages – most especially in places where peace pacts were held and victory feasts were celebrated. Whang-ud was and remains one of the finest female tattooists among them.

Tourism and the revival of tattooing in (and beyond) Kalinga

In Butbut and nearby Kalinga villages, there were historically two kinds of tattoo practitioner. The first was a resident tattooist who tattooed people in the community. The second was a travelling tattooist who would visit other villages to tattoo for a fee. By the end of the Second World War, Whang-ud had become both a resident and a travelling tattoo practitioner. Her craft brought her to other villages in Tinglayan: Bangad, Basao, Poblacion, Sumadel (southern Kalinga); Lubo, Dacalan (south-east Kalinga); and she has even travelled to Lubuagan, Pasil (northern Kalinga) and Betwagan, Saclit and Bontoc (to the south in Mountain province) and further south to Benguet province to tattoo hundreds of young men and women.

Thereafter, her popularity further rose in the 1960s–80s. During that period, the traditional designs of the elders (discussed above) were revised and altered in various ways by a generation of young Kalinga men who sought the services of Whang-ud. The tattoos that they acquired combined Whang-ud's traditional geometric patterns and the figurative designs preferred by the then younger generation of Butbut. Those emergent designs were modern re-expressions and reintepretations of traditional forms that created new meanings and had different aesthetic affects. Whang-ud's younger brother Puchay (54),[6] was one of the first to draw figurative patterns using a ballpoint pen. His drawings and graphic design approach led to more personal or individualized designs, rather than the more institutional or social practice of identical patterns of tattooing in the past.

Since 2000, traditional tattoos done by Whang-ud have been appropriated by various individuals from different social backgrounds as markers of their identities. Many of her customers are now tourists – around the world, the renewed popularity of traditional tattooing has been developed in close association with tourism. Local tourist guides from Tinglayan, Kalinga and Sagada include Butbut in their itinerary for local and foreign tourists; and tourist guidebooks mention the remote

[6] Puchay was the only one of Whang-ud's siblings who was able to attend and complete high school.

villages of Tinglayan as 'great trekking destinations' whose people are known for their 'distinct chest tattoos' (Lonely Planet, 2005, 2008).

Tourists who visit Buscalan may be classified according to the following: (1) those first- time travellers to Buscalan who, upon meeting Whang-ud, are persuaded to have tattoos; (2) 'tattoo collectors' or enthusiasts who have been tattooed previously by other tattoo artists and who may have one or more tattoos covering their skin; and (3) traditional art enthusiasts who visit Buscalan not primarily to get tattoos. Most of the foreign tourists, whose ages range from 21 to 42, have previous experience of tattooing (either they are extensively tattooed or they have gained information about tattoos from the Internet).

Whang-ud estimates that during the peak summer tourism months (March–April) she tattoos four people each day, and 40 people per month, on average. During my fieldwork in 2009, Whang-ud estimated that she had tattooed more than 200 persons, local and foreign tourists alike, since 2005. With the recent influx of foreign and local tourists into the village, Whang-ud has also adjusted her rates for tattoo services. She now charges by the *changan*, a hand measurement from the thumb to

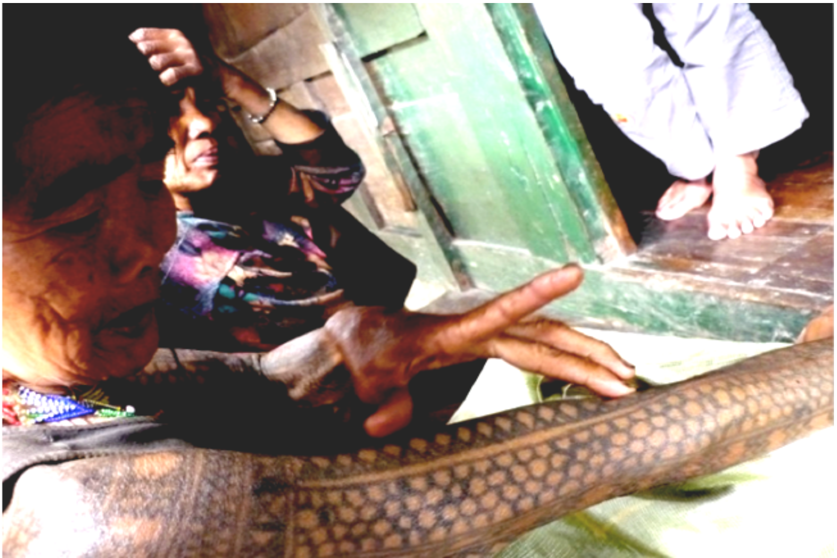


Figure 2. Whang-ud measures the *changan*, from the thumb to the middle finger, approximately four inches, on her tattooed arms.
Photograph by Analyn Salvador-Amores.

the middle finger, approximately four inches long (Figure 2). A tattoo the size of a *changan* costs between 1,000 and 2,000 pesos ($20–$40) for foreign and local lowland tourists. Lower rates apply for locals (those from Kalinga).

With the influx and convergence of tourists coming from North America, Canada, European countries such as Germany, Italy, England, the Netherlands, Switzerland, and local tourists coming from Manila, in Buscalan, traditional tattoos have become desacralized and are increasingly being obtained for decorative purposes. Clients 'choose' the designs from among those found on her arms. Whang-ud would tattoo local and foreign tourists with a small part or a combination of traditional tattoo patterns on the legs, upper shoulders, wrists and back; and in some cases, a full sleeve on the other arm. The tattoos I observed are designed with the express purpose of public display (such as on the arms, wrists, lower leg), while others are tattooed on areas where tattoos are readily 'concealed and revealed' (upper shoulders, back or upper thigh).

The motivations of the tattooee vary from identity construction to bodily adornment. When I asked the Butbut why such a practice of tattooing outsiders was allowed – isolated from their collectively held cultural norms, values and beliefs – most simply answered that the context of these tattoos had changed, indicating that, despite traditionally inscribed notions, cultural definitions of tattoos also transform through time. The Butbut understand that tattooing is a source of identity or individuality and that tattoos satisfy deeply personal and private intentions. Such acts are seen both to validate tradition and address contemporary needs.

Internet tourism has also been instrumental in the spread of information on Kalinga tattoos, and on the tattoo practitioner Whang-ud in particular. In 2010, an Internet search on the terms 'Kalinga' and/or 'Kalinga tattoos' would readily yield: (1) recent photographs of various elderly tattooed men and women from Butbut and different parts of the Kalinga region and the Cordilleras – all these are based on (2) travel ('roadtrips') and tattoo blogs or articles of local and foreign tattoo enthusiasts who went to northern Luzon and were tattooed by Whang-ud; (3) academic papers with archival photographs of tattoos and line drawings of tattoos in northern Luzon; and (4) videos and clips of the actual tattooing process culled from feature documentaries made by local and foreign television. Recently, Whang-ud has been touted as 'the last Kalinga tattoo artist of the Philippines', practising the 'vanishing art of

tattooing' of the 'last headhunters in Kalinga' (Krutak, 2008, 2009, 2010, pp 182–185; David, 2010). The idea that her art is vanishing, exclusive and place-based gives her tattoos an aura of authenticity that has helped Kalinga designs gain popularity in the local and foreign media and on the Internet.

The majority of Whang-ud's predecessors have died. Whang-ud's age has caused her to become sedentary, as are many of her few remaining Kalinga tattoo practitioner contemporaries, whose aged bodies and poor eyesight prevent them from travelling far and limit their ability to practise. In the village, there are few computers and no Internet connection. Thus Whang-ud is largely unaware of her visibility and permanence on the Internet, where both facts and fictions about traditional tattoos circulate. However, what demonstrates the resurgence of tattoos is precisely the reversal of this pattern of traditional practitioners' mobility. In the past, it was common for tattooists to move about from village to village. Today, it is the tattoos that enjoy mobility. Local and foreign tourists physically and virtually travel to the village of Buscalan to have tattoos, which they carry with them, dispersing her tattoo designs around the world: among them, as I discuss below, are diasporic Filipinos.

Diasporic Filipinos: tattoos as a site of authenticity

As I have shown, in the past, traditional tattoos were important in shaping Kalinga personhood. These tattoo designs have now become important in twenty-first century Filipino diasporic identity politics. Being diaspora stimulates people to express multiple conceptions of identity. For Filipinos, these identities often entail exploring ethnic and national and anticolonial belongings simultaneously (see also Longboan, this issue). Mendoza (2006, p 187) notes that 'a curious phenomenon in the United States is that of US-born Filipino–Americans trekking (literally) for the first time to a homeland they are now only beginning to reclaim as their newly-constructed sense of identification'. These Filipino–Americans who arrive in Butbut seeking tattoos are mainly young urban-dwelling adults and professionals who were either born overseas or who migrated with their families as young children.

One such individual is Filipino–American Reynaldo Pellos (35), an environmental engineering graduate from San Diego who was a Peace Corps volunteer in Kibungan, Benguet for five years. The 'search' for his Filipino roots led him to books on Philippine history and Internet sites that contained information on Filipino customs and traditions. What was impressed on him when he saw Whang-ud's work on the Internet

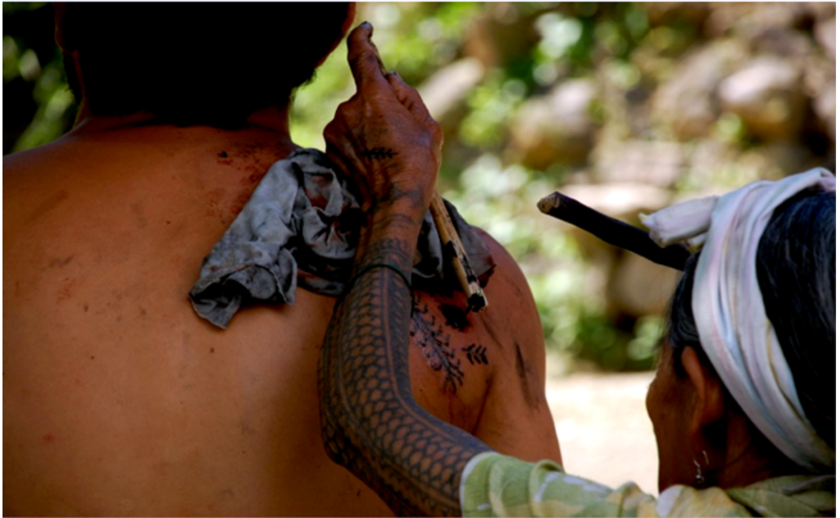


Figure 3. Whang-ud tattoos Reynaldo Pellos on his upper right back shoulder for about two hours through hand-tapping, using traditional tattoo instruments.
Photograph provided by Ruel Bimuyag. Reproduced by permission.

and heard of her practice from other friends in the Cordillera was that his expression of his 'Filipino-ness' could be made permanent through her tattoos. Reynaldo felt that he could find and fix his Filipino identity by going back to the place of origin of these tattoos to be tattooed himself. Reynaldo's desire took him on a trek to the mountain regions of the Cordillera, where he saw first-hand the tattooed elders from Bontoc and Kalinga. In June 2009, he made his way to the village of Buscalan to meet Whang-ud. Reynaldo was tattooed by Whang-ud with a *gayaman* [centipede] and *alam-am* [fern] to represent his environmental leanings (Figures 3 and 4). For Reynaldo, the tattoo experience with 'pain and blood' is very meaningful because it marks a passage of sorts. The tattoos signify the completion of the work he had set out to do in the Cordilleras. Villagers in Buscalan approved of Reynaldo's tattoos. He is likewise proud of the designs because of the personal connection the tattoo has enabled. This, he says, is unlike the practice in America where tattoos are used for 'showing off' in public, even by Filipinos. Reynaldo also remarked that, although he had lived in the USA for a long time, he felt that he was 'not actually part of it'. For Reynaldo, the tattoos affirm

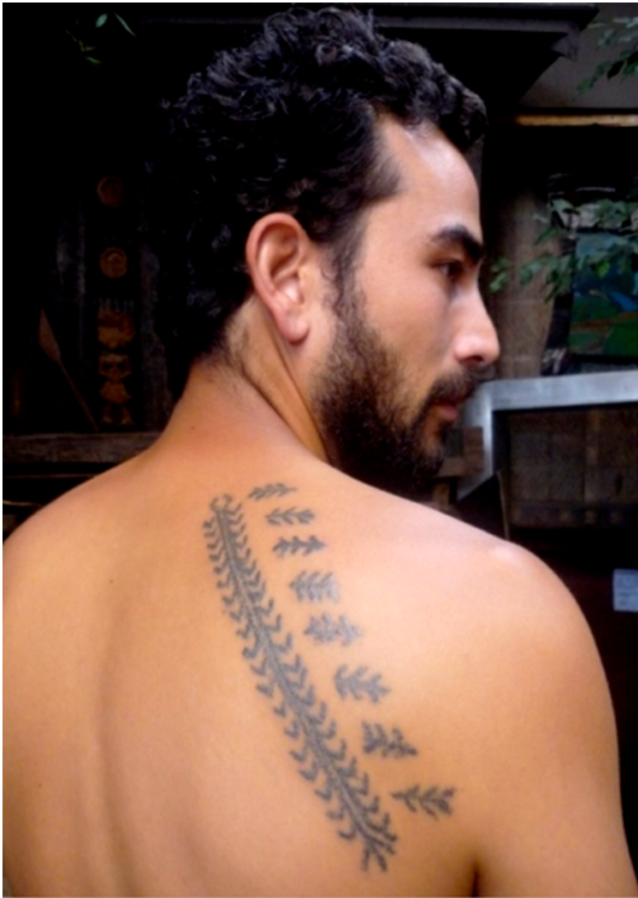


Figure 4. Pellos tattooed by Whang-ud with *gayaman* [centipede] and *alam-am* [fern] to represent his passion for the environment.
Photograph by Analyn Salvador-Amores.

and express his Filipino identity and at the same time help him make sense of his bilingual and bicultural life as a Filipino–American.

Melisa Casumbal-Salazar (40) is a US-born Filipina doctoral student at the University of Hawai'i at Manoa, whose research on the significance of corporeality in women's protests against the Chico Dam and open-cast mining in Kalinga and Bontoc from the 1970s–90s brought her to Kalinga and Bontoc in 2009–10. From her exposure to literature

on Kalinga and her brief stay in my fieldwork site for my *kammid* [adoption ritual], she learned about the tattoos and the culture of the Butbut people. Although she initially had no intention of having a tattoo done while in Buscalan, the experience of travelling the long distance to visit Whang-ud, the knowledge she gained about the tattoos and Whang-ud's significance and renown as one of the oldest living practitioners of traditional Kalinga tattooing convinced her that to be tattooed by Whang-ud was an experience she could not pass up. My role in the tattooing session was to draw the design on her skin with a ballpoint pen, which Whang-ud would tattoo on Melisa's upper left arm later. The triangular aspect of the design represents the five villages of Butbut traversing the mountains above and below [*ngatu* and *daya*] Buscalan, and the zigzag lines represent the Chico River running through the mountains in Bugnay, another Butbut village. Although the tattoo was drawn on Melisa's skin, Whang-ud rendered the design differently according to her intuition as the tattoo progressed. The resultant tattoos with their 'imperfect' lines and 'unfinished' patterned effect lent a 'traditional feel', unlike that required by Western tattoo aesthetics (that is, coloured, fine-lined and finished).

Reynaldo and Melisa are two examples of Filipino–Americans who travelled to and went 'trekking' in the Philippines to have tattoos. Other diasporic Filipinos obtained their Kalinga tattoos without physically making their way to Buscalan. In these instances, traditional tattoo designs copied or 'appropriated' from archival photographs published in *National Geographic* magazine (Worcester, 1912, 1913) and publications on the Internet are rendered in ink by professional tattoo artists in the USA. Contemporary interpretations of tattoos made by enthusiasts (and non-enthusiasts alike) derive from the historical uses and understanding of tattooing. While the image of deviance signified by tattoos continues to exist in North America, these nonetheless have become considerably more open to interpretation and subject to situated definition (Atkinson, 2003, pp 23–24). For instance, with the resurgence of tattooing in the mainland USA, Filipino–Americans gained new impetus to explore their new-found identities: 'this born again Filipino experience led to Filipino Americans walking about the campus sporting tattoos written in *alibata* or the ancient script of the early Filipinos' (Mendoza, 2006, pp 152–153).

The tattoo as 'quaint relic of the past' seems to have particularly captured the imagination of a Filipino–American organization called *Tatak ng Apat na Alon* [Mark of the Four Waves Inc]. Established in 1998, the

group's name alludes to the four-wave migration theory that explained the societies of the early Philippines. The group includes about 90–100 tattooed members – mostly professionals and students from Los Angeles and from other parts of the USA who seek to revive traditional tattoos by putting permanent markings on their skin. Applicants for group membership must undertake a study of Filipino culture. Being tattooed is optional for members, but most members have chosen tattoos of traditional motifs culled from old photographs and images of tattooed people from the past. Traditional designs thus gain new expression on contemporary bodies as part of diasporic community formation and identity politics. Here, the reconstruction of new identities has been abetted by and proliferated through technological breakthroughs such as print and photographs, TV and satellite images, and even museums and maps (Anderson, 1983). Technology provides for ease in transferring traditional tattoo designs from all around the Philippines to bodies in the USA that are then tattooed using modern implements.

Thus far, I have talked about the ways in which the real and virtual travels of diasporic Filipinos and other tourists and the accompanying circulation of tattoos on bodies and in digital form have contributed to a revival in Kalinga tattooing. The final case relates the stories of two tattooed elders, Lasoy (80) and Arumbaya (66), who migrated to the USA to live with their children in Mississippi and New York respectively. Lasoy Gunnawa (81), of Lubo, Tanudan was 13 when she was tattooed. The process took two years to complete. She has among the rarest tattoos for women on her forearms and neck. When Lasoy migrated to the USA with her equally tattooed husband in 1986, she was an instant 'cool grandma' in a contemporary American society that is now more accepting of tattoos than the turn-of-the-century colonizers who sought to discourage and conceal the practice among their colonized peoples. Many people who stopped to admire her beautiful tattoos would eventually end up having their pictures taken with her. Lasoy was proud to be photographed at a local museum in the USA in 2002 with her beautiful tattoos (Figure 5). According to Lasoy's daughters Dominica (61) and Josefa (42), their mother did not encounter any negative experiences with her tattoos, 'because many Americans have tattoos and they appreciate tattoos as a form of body art'.

In the case of Arumbaya (64), who left for the USA in 2003 to join her youngest daughter, she was initially hesitant to reveal her tattoos while in the States for fear of being labelled as a 'criminal', as she had experienced once before in Baguio City in the Philippines. In the USA,

Figure 5. Lasoy's portrait shows the beautiful tattoos on her arms, lower neck and shoulders – all signify the affluent status of her family. Her tattoos also follow a pattern similar to that of her skirt [*kain*].
Photograph provided by the Gunnawa family. Reproduced by permission.

however, she says that people have come to her and admired her beautiful tattoos. For Arumbaya, seeing many colourfully tattooed people in the USA made her feel pride in her Kalinga identity – especially so when her daughter explained the meanings of the tattoos to Arumbaya's grandchildren, and how these are not mere charcoal drawings, but marks of beauty and bravery.

Lasoy's and Arumbaya's stories do not so much complete the migratory circle as demonstrate the intersections of Kalinga tattoos and diasporic Filipinos' varied social and historical biographies. Appadurai (1988, p 5) suggests that it is not just people that have social lives and histories, but objects too. Tattoos appear to be such 'objects'. As digital images, tattoos, like other objects, may be separated from the people who make and are made by them. However, as embodied artefacts, they are not so easily detached from the person wearing them and thus acquire 'biographies' in much the same way that the bodies that bear them do. It is perhaps that indivisible combination of embodied media that links the real and virtual 'treks' of disaporic Filipinos such as Melisa and Reynaldo and the Four Waves group to seek out Kalinga designs with the migrant stories of Lasoy and Arumbaya whose traditions are carried with them on their bodies: for each, tattoos are the medium through which they create and renew a sense of being 'at home.'

Conclusion

Kalinga tattoos have meanings that have been ascribed to them by 'tradition', but media and mobility have seen tattoos' meanings both transformed and augmented through the diaspora. The proliferation of spaces to represent tattoos as an intrinsic part of Filipino culture (the Internet, photographs, print adverts) has enabled easy access to traditional tattoo designs that the young generation can 'copy', 'borrow', 'transfer' and appropriate in a variety of ways. Here we see an instance of what, following Hobsbawm (1983), might be termed the revival of tradition as diasporically imagined selves are materialized through tattoos. This revival is not only enabled by the search for 'authentic tattoos' among local and foreign tourists who travel to the village of Buscalan, but, in this example, the tattoos themselves have been revitalized and made mobile through the media and the Internet in particular.

The Internet has become an efficacious medium for the dissemination of information on tattoos, the novelty of the form and the designs, the 'traditionality' of the process of tattooing, the location and purpose of tattoos. The Internet, showing photographs of Whang-ud in a tattooing session, or pictures of historic designs, offers a visual resource (tattoo designs) and a cultural practice (tattooing) through which diasporans can experiment with and reshape their malleable and multiple identities. Arguably, Whang-ud's tattooing tools are just as much a site for the production of an authentic Kalinga identity as the Internet, blogs

and photographs, but her practice shows that diaspora are mediated by the flesh (Whang-ud) and the bodily inscriptions (tattoos) on it. In other words, it is not just the features of the technological advance (pixels and sound waves transmitted electronically) that mediate diaspora: the *batok* [tattoos] themselves do the work of mediating diaspora as objects that make and mark exchanges, people and relations of cultural and social importance. Those bodily mediated relations in turn shape and enact connections between particular spaces and times.

In tattoo festivals, street dancing and tattoo conventions, diasporic bodies in the USA and elsewhere are marked with tattoos that physically connect them to Butbut/Kalinga. In Butbut today, much is remembered about socially essential tattooing, including the social positions and personalities of important Kalinga tattoo experts in the past. Yet this memory is juxtaposed with or complemented by new practices of temporary tattoo markings in imitation of traditional tattoos, which are worn on special occasions to emphasize a specific identity. As the Internet has affected tourism in Buscalan, Butbut tattoos, Whang-ud and the tattooed elders (process, tattoos and flesh), the tattoo revival has been instrumental in reinventing aspects of Butbut indigeneity as globally Filipino.

Acknowledgments

My research is generously supported by the International Fellowships Program of the Ford Foundation, Philippine Social Science Council Research Grant, the University of the Philippines, and the E.O. James Bequest of All Souls College & Hertford College at the University of Oxford. Thanks to my supervisors Marcus Banks and Elizabeth Ewart for their continued support and to Deirdre McKay and Mark Johnson for their editorial suggestions. I am grateful to Grace Subido for a preliminary reading of my paper and for the anonymous reviewers' comments. I would like to thank Willy Alangui, Jeffrey Estigoy and Alice Follosco for help with the maps. I am extremely grateful to the Butbut people for their warmth and hospitality during my stay in Tinglayan and Tabuk, Kalinga.

References

Allen, T. (2005), *Tattoo Traditions of Hawaii*, Mutual Publishing, Honolulu.

Anderson, B. (1983), *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, Verso, London.

Apostle of Mountain Province – AMP (1956), 'This is what our ancestors told us', *Apostle of Mountain Province*, Congragatio Immaculati Cordis Mariae (CICM), Manila, Vol 25, No 9–10, pp 6–9, 28.

Appadurai, A., ed (1988), *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, New School University Press, New York.

Atkinson, M. (2003), *Tattooed: The Sociogenesis of Body Art*, University of Toronto Press, Toronto.

Barton, R. F. (1949), *The Kalingas: Their Institution and Custom Law*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, IL.

Congragatio Immaculati Cordis Mariae – CICM (2007), *Carrying on the Mission: 100 Years of CICM in the Philippines*, CICM, Manila.

David, K. (2010), 'Ang Huling Mambabatok' [The last tattoo artist], *I-Witness Documentary, GMA-7* (50 min).

De Mello, M. (2000), *Bodies of Inscription: A Cultural History of the Modern Tattoo Community*, Duke University Press, Durham, NC.

Dozier, E. (1966), *The Kalinga of Northern Philippines*, Holt and Rhinehart Publications, New York.

Dozier, E. (1967), *The Mountain Arbiters: The Changing Life of a Philippine Hill People*, University of Arizona Press, Tucson, AZ.

Engel, E., Santarelli, F., Vasold, R., Maisch, T., Ulrich, H., Prantl, L., König, B., Landthaler, M., and Bäumler, W. (2008), 'Modern tattoos cause high concentrations of hazardous pigments in skin', *Contact Dermatitis*, Vol 58, pp 228–233.

Gell, A. (1993), *Wrapping in Images: Tattooing in Polynesia*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Hobsbawm, E. (1983), 'Introduction: Inventing traditions', in Hobsbawm, E., and Ranger, T., eds, *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, pp 1–14.

Hobsbawm, E., and Ranger, T., eds (1983), *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Krutak, L. (2008), 'Philippines: the Kalinga headhunter's tattoo', *Discovery Channel Feature on Tattoo Hunter* (approximately 50 minutes).

Krutak, L. (2009), 'The last Kalinga tattoo artist of the Philippines', website: http://www.larskrutak.com/articles/philippines_/index.html (accessed 20 October 2009).

Krutak, L. (2010), *Kalinga Tattoo: Modern Expressions of the Tribal*, Edition Reuss, Aschaffenburg.

Kuwahara, M. (2005), *Tattoo: An Anthropology*, Berg, Oxford.

Lonely Planet (2005, 2008), *Philippines: Country Guide*, Lonely Planet, London.

Lua, N. (1992), 'Butbut riddles: form and function', *Verge*, University of the Philippines Baguio, Baguio City, Vol 5, No 1–2, pp 36–66.

Mead, M. (1928[1972]), *Coming of Age in Samoa: A Psychological Study of Primitive Youth for Western Civilisation*, American Museum of Natural History, New York.

Mendoza, S. L. (2006), *Between the Homeland and the Diaspora: The Politics of Theorizing Filipino and Filipino American Identities*, Routledge, London.

Morphy, H., and Perkins, A., eds (2006), *Anthropology of Art: A Reader*, Blackwell Publishing, Oxford.

National Statistics Office – NSO (2009), 'Census of 2009', Baguio City.

Revzani, M., Hamlet, R., Hopewell, W., and Sieber, V. K. (1994), 'Time and dose-related changes in the thickness of pig skin after irradiation with single doses of 90Sr/90Y Beta-rays', *International Journal of Radiation Biology*, Vol 65, No 4, pp 497–502.

Roces, M. (1991), *Sinaunag Habi: Philippine Ancestral Weave*, Nikki Coseteng Books, Quezon City.

Sahlins, M. (1999), 'Two or three things I know about culture', *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, Vol 5, No 3, pp 399–421.

Salvador-Amores, A. (2002), 'Batek: traditional tattoos and identities in contemporary Kalinga, north Luzon Philippines', *Humanities Diliman*, Vol 3, No 1, pp 105–142.

Salvador-Amores, A. (2009), 'Breaking barriers of ethnocentrism: re-examining Igorot representation through material culture and visual research methods', *Cordillera Review: Journal of Philippine Culture and Society*, Vol 1, No 1, pp 47–75.

Scott, W. H. (1974), *The Discovery of the Igorots: Spanish Contacts with the Pagans of Northern Luzon*, New Day Publishers, Quezon City.

Thomas, N. (1999), *Possessions: Indigenous Art/Colonial Culture*, Thames and Hudson, London.

Thomas, N., Cole, A., and Douglas, B., eds (2005), *Tattoo: Bodies, Art and Exchange in the Pacific and the West*, Reaktion, London.

Turner, V. (1969), *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure*, Aldine Transaction, Chicago, IL.

Van Dinter, M. H. (2005), *The World of Tattoo: An Illustrated History*, KIT Publishers, Amsterdam.

Van Gennep, A. (1962), *The Rites of Passage*, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.

Wagner, R. (1975), *The Invention of Culture*, Prentice Hall, Englewood Cliffs, NJ.

Worcester, D. C. (1912), 'Headhunters of northern Luzon', *National Geographic*, Vol 23, No 9, pp 833–930.

Worcester, D. C. (1913), 'The non-Christian tribes of the Philippine islands', *National Geographic,* Vol 24, No 11, pp 1157–1256.