

DEATH AND BURIAL RITUALS AND OTHER PRACTICES
AND BELIEFS OF THE CORDILLERANS

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DEATH AND BURIAL RITUALS AND OTHER PRACTICES
AND BELIEFS OF THE CORDILLERANS

(Dissertation Abstract)

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The Problem and Methodology

This study focused on the death and burial practices and beliefs of the cordillerans. Specifically, the study sought to identify the death and burial practices and beliefs of the cordillerans; to describe the characteristics of these practices and rituals and to find out the values derived from these rituals and practices.

The researcher obtained the information and data from the knowledgeable people of the community through interviews and participation-observation.

Findings

There are varied burial death practices, rituals and beliefs of the different tribes living in the cordilleras that take place immediately after a person dies. These rituals last several days after interment. These burial practices and beliefs are performed to honor a dead relative, to seek blessing from the spirit so that the dead may rest in peace.

The death blankets and attire are chosen in accordance with the dead man's wealth, age and is also determined by the family traditional practices.

The native dirges known as baya-o, salidumay, dan-danag and badiw are expressions of lament, sadness and praise. Each is eulogy, a prayer that is sung and a tribute to the dead.

The burial rites are expressive of ethnic and cultural identity and are strictly enforced by the community folks.

The expensive death practices is a serious burden for the inhabitants. The relative of the dead incur debts to pay and sometimes, economically speaking, they have to start life all over again.

Recommendations

Based on the conclusions, the following are recommended:

Students of the Cordilleras should be knowledgeable about the varied death practices and beliefs of their people in order to be in the better position to appreciate their cultural heritage.

There is need to incorporate the cultural values identified in this study in the curriculum of the cordillera schools.

There id a need to minimize expensive death practices in order to lessen the economic burden incurred by the families concerned.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

This attempt to articulate the Cordillera indigenous culture particularly its beliefs and practices related to the death and burial has been made possible through the generous support and cooperation of several people who are mostly concerned with the interested advancement of research.

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S.M.C.

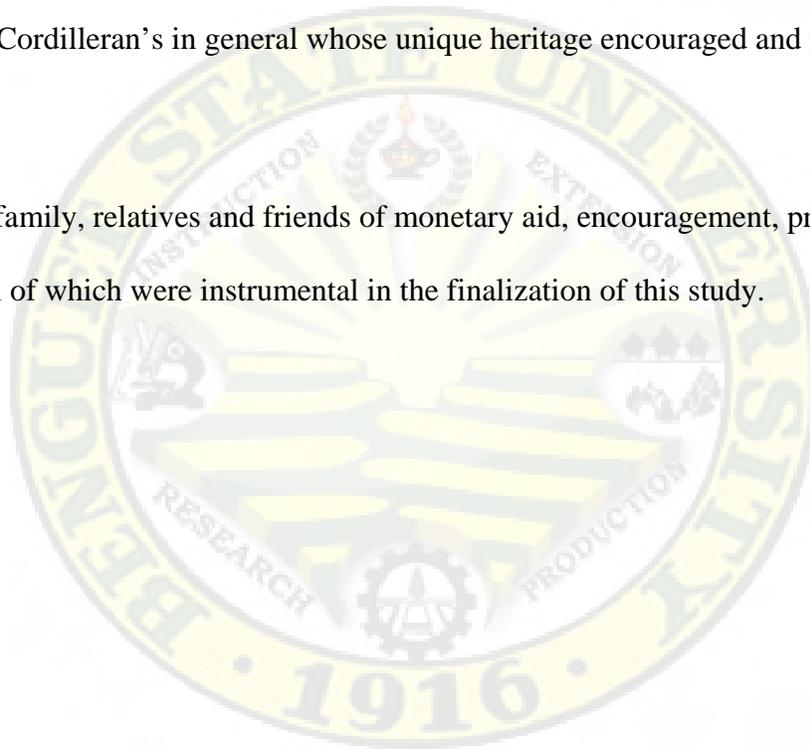


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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

Thoughts of death occurring in moments of intro-inspection are often accompanied by pessimistic attitudes. The inherent fear attached to death is universally felt by people of varying persuasions. The highlanders are not exceptions to this fear brought about by the specter of death. Their wake songs specifically the ba-diw and the baya-os, interpreted as an outpouring of sadness over somebody's death become a forum through which the inhabitants intercede for long and meaningful life.

These lines lifted from a ba-diw chanted in an Ibaloi wake, urge the dead to implore from the creator Apo that He put a seal on death.

Ibaloi

English

Dyet sabian mos Apo
Si Apo Rios tayo
Dyet mo ngo e sodsodsod
Isengpet moy ngayodngod
Sodsod mon kaapuan
On anay ka ma Ina
Ashakel kayo mala.

You will meet the Greatest
The highest of all, our God
Carry the message
Relay it in strongest terms
Tell also our ancestors
That your presence, mother would suffice
That many are already home.

The chants express a desolate cry uttered in exasperation over the loss of a beloved person. The song expresses desire to be given opportunity to spend one's vitality to enhance and develop the ethnic culture anchored at honoring ancestral spirits who are perceived as benevolent guides of the living.

As the Ibalois, Kankanaeys, the Isneg and other highland ethnic groups struggle for existence, sometimes their optimism is dimmed by thoughts of death. The burden of loss accentuated by death's financial implications is onerous and oppossive enough, yet these people attach positive values to elaborate death rituals. Despite the fact that they are saddled with financial obligations, they willingly shoulder the expenses of these death rituals. This attitude is deeply-rooted in their beliefs regarding death. It is interesting to note that many times the Cordillerans wonder at the seeming ease of bearing sadness and the financial weight incurred at wakes.

The constitution mandates educational institutions to help in the preservation and development of indigenous culture and traditions. Death practices form part of the traditions inculcated orally and passed on from generations. Death rituals are also disseminated to the young through observation and participation in rituals in rural communities. It has been observed that death rituals are among the most expensive in terms on money and time. There are practices however that are replete with meanings which the younger generation could assimilate and imbibe like cooperation, respect for the aged and sense of sharing.

The highlanders especially Benguet are generally described as simple and hardworking. Mostly small-time farmers and gold panners, they cling to their cultural practices with love as well as pride. They work hard to save money which oftentimes are spent for a ritual celebration. A more pressing rite would be on death. The young adults would readily accede to

spend their hard –earned money especially on death rituals on the belief that such rituals would please the old folks and acquire for themselves blessings from above.

The increasing consciousness of the Cordillerans regarding the importance of education, which is becoming expensive, and the rising cost commodities make it imperative for the highlanders to minimize costly death ritual performances. Time would come when very elaborate and expensive burial practice would stop.

Culture is a dynamic as man discovers new techniques and constantly modifies the old one by improving them and discarding the useless. To the old folks, discarding some aspects of culture is a threat as the younger generation may opt for the new and innovative practices, and in so doing, may in the long run, lose sight of their ancestors' culture and way of life. It is within this context of preservation of the positive aspects of the culture of the Cordillerans that this study is anchored.

THE PROBLEM

The purpose of this study as to identify and describe the rituals and other practices as well as beliefs of the Cordillerns regarding the death and burial.

Specifically, the study sought to answer the following questions:

- 1) What are the rituals and other practices of the Cordillerans regarding death and burial?
- 2) What are the characteristics of these rituals and other practices?
- 3) What are their beliefs regarding death?
- 4) What are the values that the Cordillerans attach to death and burial rituals and other practices?

Hypotheses

The researcher was guided by the following hypotheses:

- 1) There are varied death and burial practices of the people of the Cordilleras. These include practices followed in the selection of death attire and death shroud, interment and animal sacrifices, dirges and prayer at wakes and post-burial activities.
- 2) The burial practices range from simple to the more elaborate and complex rituals. The moderate ones are marked with frugality in contrast to the more affluent ones characterized by extravagant spending, intricacies of functions and a network of incantations.
- 3) There are varied beliefs adhered to by the Cordillerans that are associated with the dead.
- 4) There are values attached to the death and burial practices and beliefs.

Scope and Delimitation of the Study

This study is delimited to the identification of the practices and rituals obtaining during death and burial ceremonies as observed by the people of Apayao, Benguet, Ifugao, Mountain Province and Kalinga. It includes a description and analysis of the different details of prayer, animal sacrifices, death accouterment and expenses attendant to the occurrence of death, interment, through culminating services. It attempts to prove into daily, and step by step intricacies observed during the wake. It determines the length of the wake and identifies the values derived from these rituals. The dirges or chants are analyzed to draw insights about the Cordillera wake practices and beliefs.

Definition of Terms

Ancestral spirits. The spiritual entities or representations of departed relatives are believed to be existing in higher dimensions of existence maintaining mutual dependence with the living world. A harmonious relationship with man makes them man's benefactors and a hostile one turns them malevolent.

Bereaved family. Consists of the surviving spouse and the offspring who participated in the funeral rites and pay the cost of the expenses.

Beliefs. Man's perception and conviction about reality which include his concepts and ideas about seen and unseen world. It is man's trust and confidence in the power of the unseen.

Cordillera. The geographic area occupied by the sub-provinces of Apayao, Benguet Province, Ifugao Province, Mountain Province and the sub-provinces of Kalinga.

Cordillerans. They are the indigenous people inhabiting the Cordilleras. The word Cordilleran comes from the mountain range Cordillera, so the geographic area is known as Cordillera.

Death. A permanent cessation of life in a person.

Dirge. A song, poem, or musical composition of grief or mourning.

Funeral rites. The customary and traditional functions concomitant to death regardless of whether interment would take place or not.

Native priest. A person whose function is to make sacrificial offerings and perform other religious rites according to tribal customs and traditions.

Rite. A ceremonial of formal solemn act, observance, or procedure in accordance with prescribed role of custom.

Values. Acts, customs and functions regarded by a particular ethnic group as favorable and worthy guide in life.

Wake. The customary and traditional functions attendant to the welfare of the dead. The term is interchangeably used with funeral rites.

IMPORTANCE OF THE STUDY

This study is important for record purposes. It is a written record of the significant practice and beliefs of the Cordillerans particularly on the death rituals that deeply affect the inhabitant's life.

The ethnic burial and death practices and beliefs especially in terms of dirges and inbuilt coping mechanisms constitute manifestation of intellectual creativity which justified the conduct of this study. The findings of this research will benefit the following people:

1. The curriculum makers. It is a guide in enriching a community-oriented curriculum which incorporates some activities of the death rituals such as the dirges or chants in the subjects taught in school.
2. The educators. Classroom teachers will use the findings of this study in the preparation of community based lessons. Sociology instructors will have a better understanding of the Cordillerans especially as regard their death practices and beliefs.
3. The school administrators and supervisors. The study is a guide in properly conducting the process of situational analysis which takes into considerations the people , the community and the school. The result of the situational analysis enriched by the findings of this study becomes the basis of a functional educational plan for the Cordilleras.
4. The Cordillerans. Among the Cordillerans themselves, especially the younger ones, knowledge of the rationale behind these death practices and beliefs will promote better appreciation of their own indigenous social functions. Knowledge of one's cultural traits of which death ritual is one, is important if one has to be integrated into the cultural mainstream of society. It is said that it is through self-acceptance that one is accepted.

In view of the above-stated considerations, this study derives its significance and importance.

Chapter 2

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

The researcher reviewed a few written materials about death and burial practices. There was no previous study conducted about death rituals and beliefs among the Cordillerans, although there were articles relating to the focal points of the study particularly on aspects like animal sacrifices, prayer, death, accouterment, and dirges or chants. A perusal on these areas of concern vital to the present study yielded the following review, especially in the aspects dealing with animal sacrifices, death accouterment, dirges, ritual and beliefs.

Animal Sacrifices

Animal sacrifices offered to some spiritual deities seem widely practiced among the rural communities for varying reasons.

The mountain tribes offer animal sacrifices during their varied ceremonies and burial rituals because of their firm beliefs in their ancestral spirits and other spiritual entities whom they consider important and useful to guide their lives. The inhabitants continually offer pigs and other animal thus maintaining close relationship with their ancestral spirits.

This relationship existing between the living and the dead signifies the mutual dependence still existing among the mountain tribes. Several pigs were butchered as offering to the spirits who were believed to have inflicted illness to a man in Ifugao. The offering of animals were expected to appease the spirit and obtain economic prosperity for the celebrants.

The Melanesian Kwaio of the Solomon Island offer pigs to please ancestral spirits whom are expected to infuse the efforts of the living with supernatural power when are pleased.

When displeased, with the living, they send sickness and death on their descendants that can be assuaged only by sacrifice of expiatory pigs.

Dumia asserts that burial methods in Ifugao vary upon age, social status and cause of death. Poor families have five days of wake while the rich people who die are watched from six to nine days. Pigs and carabaos are butchered as offering to the gods and the inhabitants' ancestors. An animal is slaughtered at each day of the vigil to feed the crowd. He concluded that Ifugao death means not only sorrow for the bereaved family but also the spending of savings earned through the years.

Among the Kankanaeys of Benguet the number of animal sacrifices depended upon the economic status of the bereaved family and the age of the deceased. A pair of pigs butchered on the burial day will suffice for a poor dead. Among the rich families, there are many animals sacrificed. The more animals butchered, the better for the dead because his ancestors would be happy to meet him. Carabaos, pigs and chickens are butchered for the wake. The condition of the gall bladder particularly the pigs and chickens is looked into. The native priest studies the gall bladder and comes out with favorable and unfavorable interpretation. The unfavorable interpretation prompts the inhabitants to sacrifice more animal until a favorable sign is reached.

If the bile, apcois free from veins and is neither empty nor full, it is declared generally good or malising by old folks. If opposite of malising which is termed kopatis seen, then prophecy must come from someone with good family background to complete the ceremony. The Karaos, like the Ifugaos and Ibaloys, offer pigs and carabaos in odd numbers which are killed in the yard. Meat from animals' sacrifices is served to everybody in attendance.

Among the Ibaloy, animal butchered in death rituals come in pair or even numbers, unlike the practice of the Karaos, who butcher animals in odd numbers. It is believed that sacrificial animals in pairs brings contentment to the spirits. Butchering of horses and chickens becomes imperative as the dead is believed to ride on the horses and the cock will crow upon the dead's arrival in the land of the dead. A belief discussion of the string worn around the wrists, karing by the orphaned offspring who are responsible for the rituals performed was also included.

Among the Ibaloy the death rites require the slaughtering of animals of all kinds raised in the locality. The inhabitants' beliefs in the existence of an eternal dwelling place of the Ibaloy populated by ancestral spirits, explains the reason behind all these animal sacrifices. In that perceived spiritual world, the arrival of the elderly soul laden with worldly treasures, especially for animals receives a rousing welcome. An empty-handed soul finds himself the object of discrimination. He is unwelcome and unacceptable in his new world. this feeling of insecurity may incite the spirit to cast evil, disease and even death among his relatives. In the light of all those beliefs, relatives of the dead person bring donation of cash or animals. Opo Can be a pig, a carabao, a cow, or a horse.

In New Guinea, the death of an adult man was an occasion for extensive killing of pigs for the mourners. In the same manner that the death of a married woman makes the husband and his clansmen responsible for the killing of pigs for the wake.

Among Cordillera tribes, it is common for the inhabitants to seek the aid of their ancestral spirits for guidance and outright cure of illness or discomforts by killing animal sacrifices especially during their death rituals. The people's tendency to engage in expensive and elaborate death rituals is attributed to their obstinate belief in the power of ancestral spirits to

monitor and manipulate the life of the living. Animals like pigs, cows, and carabaos are butchered during varied rituals.

Animals sacrifices offered during death rituals are means of facilitating a soul's entry to its spiritual world. Expensive death rituals are depleting the Ibalois' limited resources. The people's belief in an all-powerful and influential spirit conditions the Ibaloi's way of life. It is also the belief that the roaster's crow tells the presence of a new comer in the spirit among residents of Pulag.

Death rituals among the mountain tribes are always celebrated with the butchering of animals like pigs, cows and carabaos as offering to the peoples' ancestral spirits. Neighbors and friends, who come the wake, give donations of animals to be butchered.

Death Accouterment

Death shrowds and clothing's seem to be always selected or chosen with great care and sensitivity. Proper handling is also observed because of the varied beliefs associated with death accouterment. Among the Mountain tribes, death blankets are specially woven. Canol, writing on Kankanaey death ritual has this to say:

There are graded blankets for the dead. The bandalsis for the youth and poor. This is a poor kind of blanket with black stripes on both sides. It is also sewed as a blouse for a young orphan or widow. A better kind of blanket is the bayaong, a black blanket with a white stripes at the sides. This is used to wrap the corpse. Still a better type of blanket is the pinagpagan followed by the kuabaw. The more common one for the very rich is the dinli, or dilli. The special one which rare and expensive is the alladang. The male has moon and 12 person-like designs while the female has the stars with seven person-like designs. Bayaong, Kuabaw, and dinli or dilli are commonly used. Aside from the bayaong to wrap the corpse, two blankets are placed in the coffin.

Death attires are worn in pairs or in groups. The pinagpagan with the sinadibubo, a G-string, are used by the wealthy elderly men. A women wears a tapis called bak-ket .a

poor man's blanket consists of cheaper kind called kolibaw or bangkuro. Cano's kuabaw is the same kind of blanket termed here as kolibaw.

The practice of providing appropriate death attire is also adhered to by the inhabitants of Bontoc. Before sunset, the corpse is taken from the sangachiland carried to the coffin. The body is wrapped in a fachala, a death blanket. A married man is clothed with chinagta, a G-string and provided with a tochong for its headgear. Married men and women are wrapped in white cloth. Like the unmarried dead, the child is buried without coffin.

A fourteen-year old dead or above this age, is given its final bath and is dressed in white attire. A pair of shoes is placed at the side of the coffin near his feet. A much younger dead is dressed in ordinary clothes and wrapped with an ordinary blanket.

Death due to suicide is abhorred and is despicable. Any person who commits suicide is not accorded with the usual ceremonies. The body is usually wrapped with a common blanket or a mat and is immediately buried. Suicides and victims of accidents become a distinct and separate lower class who are considered malevolent.

Dirges and Chants

Ba-diw is an Ibaloi dirge through which one unburdens sorrow and expresses sentimental of love and hope in life. It is a prayer that is sang. The native priest can sing the ba-diw to complete a ritual instead of verbalizing with the ba-diw laments over the loss of a relative or friends as he implores Kabunianto to take care of the dead.

The ba-diw sung during the death watch are usually centered on the qualities of the deceased like his productiveness, travel experiences, success in business, story-telling abilities, life span and self-sufficiency.

The ta'ta miya and du'dyeng practiced among the Ibaloyos of La Trinidad, Benguet, are variations of the ba-diw. The ta'ta miya is sung only during the preparation of the spirit for his trip to the spirit world. It is sung to implore the mercy of the departed relative to look after the welfare of its living relatives. The du'dyeng is sung on wakes by assigned singers of at least eight to ten who arranged themselves in a bench throughout the duration of the activity. The du'dyeng entertains spirit-relatives believed to be hovering around the area.

The Ibaloi's bad-iw is the Karao's bangil. Bangil is an extemporaneous talk addressed to the deceased, the bereaved family and the general public in attendance.

Like the bad-iw, the bangil is started by a respected old man, after which the women respond in approval in what is termed o-was. When the bangil is rendered, all the men are gathered outside of the house while the women stay inside, so unlike the bad-iw where the men and women as group can sing the bad-iw either inside or outside the house.

Cawed describes how the inhabitants manage to remain awake at night. If death occurs to an old respected man in the community, there is a lot of singing. The Bontoc women sing the an-anako, the mourning song. The achog which is a song about the life of the dead, his love and accomplishment is heard. The dirges sang at the wake revolves around the life of the old dead person. Some minor deviations which center on the life of the singers themselves are done just to keep the mourners awake or challenge them to be

creative with their songs. Songs pervade the stillness of the night oftentimes creating a boisterous ambience with a mixture of sorrow and fun. Singing stops as dawn approaches.

Rituals and Beliefs

The belief in the immortality of the soul is universal. The body is believed to possess a soul which continues to live beyond death.

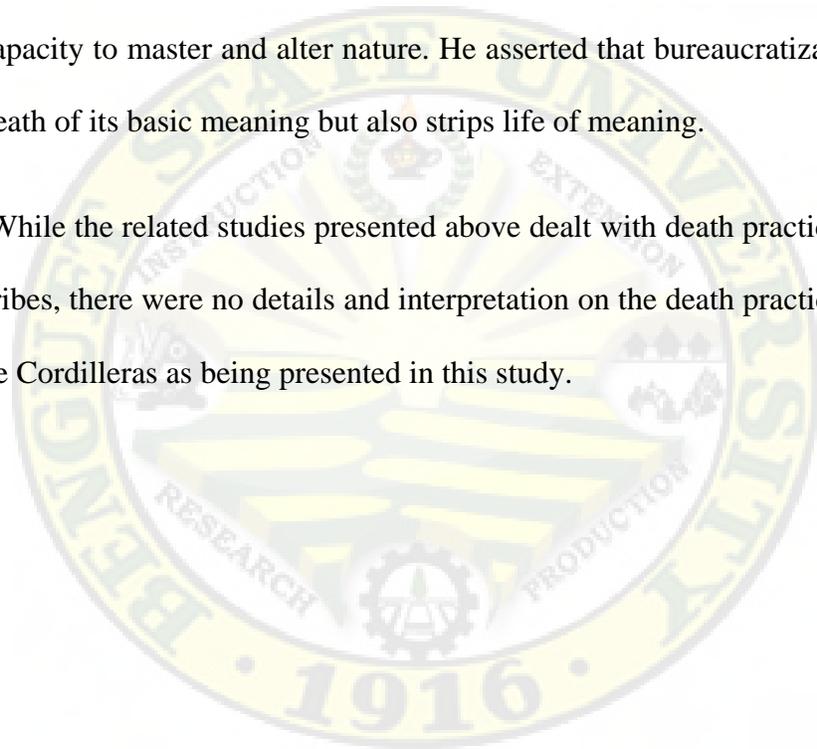
Ember reports that Lugbara see the dead joining the ancestors of the living and staying near the family homesite. They retain an interest in the behavior of the living, both rewarding and punishing them. The Zuni think that the dead join the past dead known as the katchinas at a katchina village at the bottom of a nearby lake. They are thought of to lead a life of singing and dancing and bring rain to the living Zuni. Some societies believe that the spirit of the dead remain nearby and continue to be interested in their living kin.

While the Zunis believe in a katchina village, the Ibaloi, ancestral spirits, in Mt. Pulag, the Ifugaos think the spirits continually populated Tulpukan.

David Popenoc dealt among other things about death and dying particularly on the meaning of death, the experience of dying mourning grief or bereavement, death and social structure. He asserted that man's awareness of life as finite profoundly shapes man's earthly experiences. He claimed that modern attitudes toward death differ greatly from other periods of history. Death was regarded as a common or familiar in the middle ages, becoming something horrible and fearful during the late middle ages. The nineteenth century attached a romantic concept when view of death was a poignant separator. He said that the twentieth century viewed

death as an invisible force. He cited earlier studies that underscored the importance of understanding certain patterns common to the dying that are of help to survivors, medical personnel and patients coming to grip with death. Claiming that mourning over death often begins in anticipation of the actual event he disclosed that survivors may undergo phases of mourning that include numbness, yearning to recover the dead person, disorganization, despair and recovery. He stated that modern American society utilized the health-care institutions, as death venue, where death is not seen as something natural but as an affront to society's technological capacity to master and alter nature. He asserted that bureaucratization of death not only deprives death of its basic meaning but also strips life of meaning.

While the related studies presented above dealt with death practices and beliefs of several ethnic tribes, there were no details and interpretation on the death practices and beliefs of the people in the Cordilleras as being presented in this study.



Chapter 3

METHOD AND PROCEDURES

The descriptive-survey method of research was used by the researcher to gather data, analyze and interpret the data. The descriptive-survey includes the presentation of facts and current conditions about the practices and beliefs regarding death and burial.

Techniques of Gathering Data

Interview with knowledgeable informants. The researcher sought the help and cooperation of the municipal and barrio officials of the provinces of the Cordilleras in identifying the possible resources persons, and other knowledgeable people who helped in the data-gathering process. Town mayors and barangay captains singled out the old folks or senior citizens aged fifty (50) and above as the acknowledged tribal mentors in the village death rituals. These identified ritual mentors were then approached and interviewed.

Being an Ibaloi, and an instructor at the Benguet State University, the researcher easily established rapport with the key informants. Many of the barangay officials who are in close association with the inhabitants contributed substantially first-hand information about death rituals and practices observed in their respective areas.

Individual teachers in ritual performances known by various names as mambunong, darorahit, mambuni, or mansibok were found to be very knowledgeable and experts in their own field. They aptly described events and activities basically vital to death practices and beliefs. They cooperatively shared their concepts and ideas about death rituals. Results of the interview conducted with the folk ritual mentors were compared with the

information obtained from other resource persons. Supplementary inputs came from the educated ethnic members residing in Baguio and Benguet.

The interview guides aided the researcher in identifying the death practices, values and meanings deeply rooted in the rituals. The answers were compared and analyzed for unanimity and clarity to ensure accuracy and reliability. Difference in practice and interpretation were very few and insignificantly in comparison to the established pattern pursued generally by the people of the Cordilleras.

Participation and observation, the researcher was a participant observer in death rituals that occurred in various places in the Cordilleras. During the wakes, she listened to interpretations and analysis of events carried on by the native priests and folk mentors. She noted the various activities as these functions were being performed giving extra care to inquire as to the rationale for the performances.

There were wakes attended by the researcher done for personal reasons and in an attempt to understand and appreciate the Cordillera people's death practices.

On December 15 to 18, 1994, the researcher attended the wake of BENITO Molintas in Tabuk, Kalinga. She stayed there for the duration of the wake where she observed the rituals followed by the Kalinga folks. More particularly, the manner of the interment and procedures followed in offering animal sacrifices were observed as the rites unfolded.

Bito Basatan, a pre-war teacher died in Bila, Bokod, Benguet on December 5, 1985. Being a relative of the deceased, the researcher had access to detailed information about the rituals and other practices associated to death. She took part in most of the rituals and other

practices associated to death. She took part in most of the rituals as active participation is demanded of close relatives. She observed how the corpse was properly attired and wrapped with appropriate death blankets,

Dennis Molintas, Jr. died at the age of 55 on May 28, 1986 in La Trinidad, Benguet. The researcher noted every ritual performed. She listened to the prayers, *ba-diw* or the Ibaloi dirge, participated in the meals and joined the funeral. She noted the activities that were done during the thirteen-day wake.

Bantas Suanding, former Governor of Benguet, died on April 7, 1988. The researcher observed the manner of conducting the rituals. She noted how the old folks carried their task as ritual mentors during the wake and post-burial rites,

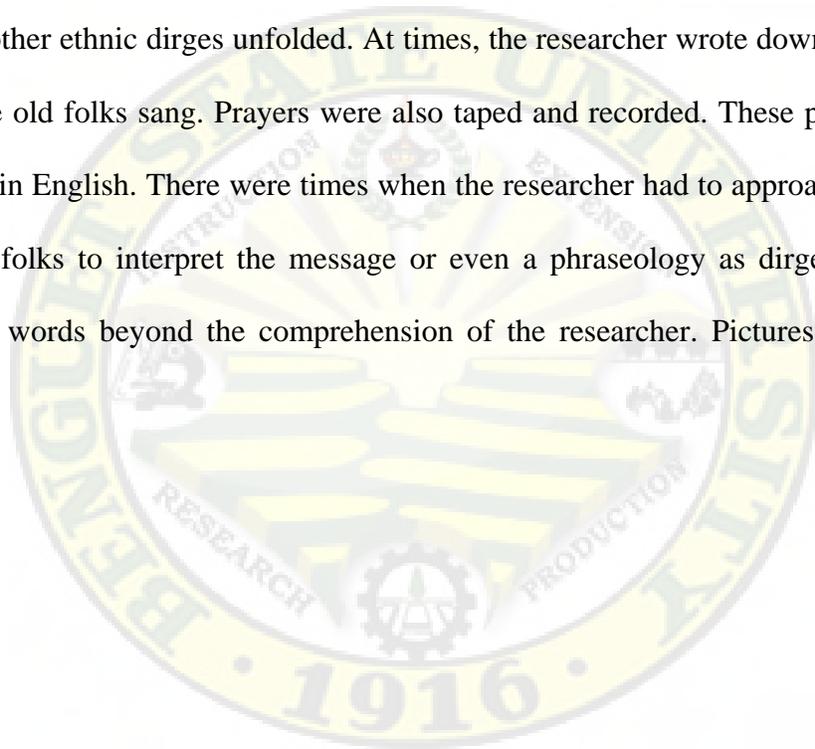
Nining Molintas, the researcher's mother died on the night of January 27, 1989 at Daklan, Bokod, Benguet. She was about eighty years old. The researcher was at her mother's bedside when she expired. She was present every day of the wake. Many rituals required by Ibaloi custom and tradition seemed confusing, trivial and meaningless but nonetheless performed by the family. It was these moments of perplexity that the researcher decided to note down and describe all the important rites and elicit the rationale behind the rituals from the mentors and native priests. Since the researcher was tasked to record the expenses incurred for the wake celebration, it was natural for her to inquire about the ramifications of each activity.

Pacis Daguio-a died on April 4, 1988 at Daklan, Bokod. On the same year, Docmina Basatan and Rebodya Celino also died on June 8 and July 15, 1989. Her body was interred in America as decided by the family who resides in U.S.A. Despite the burial in a foreign land, two sons came home to La Trinidad, Benguet to perform the death rituals required.

Angeles Atioan, a public school teacher died in Kiangan, Ifugao in June,1989. Although she hailed from Ilocos Norte, she married in Ifugao where she reside with her family, it was noted that the Ifuagao death rites were observed during her wake.

All of the above burial rites and others not mentioned in this section, gave the researcher meaningful insights into the Cordillera death rituals.

Devices like the tape recorder and camera were also used in gathering data, while the ba-diwand other ethnic dirges unfolded. At times, the researcher wrote down the lyrics of the dirges while the old folks sang. Prayers were also taped and recorded. These prayers and songs were translated in English. There were times when the researcher had to approach singers or any knowledgeable folks to interpret the message or even a phraseology as dirge singers in their versatility used words beyond the comprehension of the researcher. Pictures were also taken during the rites.



Chapter 4

RITUALS AND OTHER PRACTICES OF THE CORDILLERANS

REGARDING DEATH AND BURIAL

This chapter presents the rituals and other practices of the Cordillerans regarding death burial. These practices are adhered to by the people because of some beliefs associated with death. The rituals are enumerated as practiced by the people of the different provinces in the Cordilleras.

RITUALS OF THE APAYAO

The rituals and other practices relating to death and burial of the Apayaos are presented as follows:

Pre-Burial Rites

The pre-burial rites of the Apayaos follow certain stages immediately after the death of a member of the tribe.

Death bath. It is the washing of the corpse with water to cleanse the body from all dirt.

Putting on the death attire. The death attire is given the dead to be recognizable for the ancestral spirits.

Death announcements.The community is informed about the death of the neighbor.

Dangle rites.This is a food offering consisting the sacrificed animals.

Burial Rites

The burial rites take place on the day of interment.

Farewell rite. This is the moment where each member of the family bids farewell to the dead person.

Food offering. Food consisting of rice and meat is offered on the burial ground.

Pag-anido. This is the warning activity for the dead who may be feeling cold inside the cave.

Post-Burial Rites

The post-burial rites activities are done just after interment.

Pebble throwing. The mourners throw stones at the bereaved family's house in act of warding off evils.

Ngilin. The ngilin is the rest day. Close relatives and neighbors are expected to stay at home in deference of the dead. Ngilin is demonstrated in the black or white attire of the orphans and the renting of the garments on the sides.

Abobat. This is the feasts in the honor of the dead usually held on its first anniversary.

RITUALS OF BENGUET

The rituals and practices relating to the death and burial of the Benguets are presented as follows:

Pre-burial Rites

Nangmesan Sha.It is done on the first day. It the rite wherein the body is washed with water, after which the death attire is put on. The corpse is either seated on a sangashelas was

the common practice about twenty years ago, or laid in the coffin, the usual common practice today.

Bangon To. On the second day, this is the stage where a death blanket is identified and wrapped around the body or placed over the body of the dead.

Katdu. During the third day, a large male carabao is slaughtered as a part of animal sacrifices needed for the wake. The caring, a mourning bracelet, is worn by the offsprings. The senie-si is prepared out of the animal slaughtered for the dy. The sec-kot ni dubid starts to function on this day, as relatives and friends come to bring their conditions.

Ka-pat. On the fourth day, this rite can be an interment day should the family choose to bury the dead. It is also a day where relatives can bring their donations.

Kalmia (fifth day). This is the rite considered by many inhabitants as a lucky day to offer one's opoday where relatives can bring their donations.

Ka-nim (sixth day). It is an opoday where relatives can bring their donations.

Burial Rites

Kapito (seventh day). This rite can be an atmosphere of preparation, being the day before interment. Madmadis said during the evening and at dawn as preparatory activities before interment.

Kasiyaw (ninth day). It is an interment day marked by the slaughtering of animals sacrifices. The cleansing rites of the living people are performed after interment.

Post-Burial Rites

The post-burial rites included deben, ocat, seisi ni oling, and kapi. These activities are the concluding function of wake.

RITUALS OF IFUGAO

The rituals and practices associated with death and burial of Ifugao are presented as follows:

Hongnga.The hongnga is performed immediately after death to ward off evil that may come during the wake.

Amuhon.This is the death bath given to a corpse to clean the body of earthly dirt.

Putting on death attire.This activity of dressing the corpse in death attire would facilitate immediate recognition especially of the ancestral spirits that the dead would meet on its new world.

Seating the dead on the hangdil or haludag.This traditional function of seating the dead allows the dead in full view for the mourners. The seated position permits the dead also to watch the people in attendance.

Monwahiwa.The monwahiwaare assigned the tasks of watching the dead for the duration of the wake.

Ignob. This tasks of ignobis a call on the ancestral so they would be informed about the death of the villager.

Tungol. The tungolis the function whereby close relatives and friends present their donation for the wake in an act of condolence.

Burial Rites

The burial rites are those that are done during interment of the corpse in the cave or burial ground.

Death blankets. The death blankets are either placed over the body or folded over it.

Atag.the task of moving the body from the house to the burial cave is facilitated with the use of the atag.

Bangibang.This rite is the kind observed for murder victims.

Post-Burial Rites

The post-burial rite include series of functions which is a continuation of the wake.

Binyon.Binyonallows the spirit of the dead to retrieve all the things that he would need for the new kind of existence.

Ngilin. This ngilin allows the mourners a day of rest from the field work.

Agamid. The agamidis the feast in honor of the dead usually held on the first death anniversary.

RITUALS OF MOUNTAIN PROVINCE

The rituals relating to death and burial of Mountain Province are presented as follows:

Pre-Burial Rites

The pre-burial rites include series of activities immediately done upon the death of a member of a tribe.

Ngorab. The ngorab is the rite that permits the member of the bereaved family to participate in the wake.

Death bath. The death bath which is the cleansing of the body with water frees the body of all earthly dirt.

Putting on death attire.The traditional death attire worn by the corpse makes the dead easily identifiable.

Manmanok. The manmanok is the rite that consists of butchering some chickens that serve to guide the conduct of the wake.

Seating on the dead on the Sangadil.This function of making the dead seat on a Sangadilis is a way of honoring old men and women in death.

Singing of death chants. The mourners express lament by singing the baya-o, liw-liwa, and salidumay.

Interment Rites

The interment rites are the activities that take place on the day of burial. The death blanket is wrapped around the body or folded over the dead after which it is hurriedly carried to the burial caves as is practiced in Sagada.

Post-Burial Rites.

The post-burial activities engaged in by the villagers are still wake functions aimed at giving respect to the dead.

Uttong. The uttong consists of animal sacrifices which act as provisions for the next life of the dead.

Suppon. The suppon are donations that come from relatives and friends. They accounted for after interment.

Ngilin. The ngilin is the rest day for the community and the mourners in difference to the dead member of the community.

Arawit. The arawit is the requirement of honoring the dead whereby the offspring butcher some chickens as an offering to the dead parent.

Cob-cob-fu. The cob-cob-fu is a community picnic by the river. The gathering is a symbol of life and community.

RITUALS OF KALINGA

The rituals and other practices relating to the death and burial of the Kalingas are presented as follows:

Pre-burial Rites

The pre-burial rites consist of series of functions done immediately after death.

Death announcement. Death announcement is done by relaying the information about the death a villager in a loud voice at the center of the community.

Death bath. The death bath which is washing of the body with water cleanses the body from earthly dirt.

Seating of the dead in the Sangachin. The dead is seated in a sangachin. It is a way of honoring the dead.

Dangles. The dangles consists of animal sacrifices offered to the dead.

Ebbin. The ebbin is deep sorrow expressed in a cry.

Addang. The addang is meat shared to the mourners as a means of appreciating their presence during the wake.

Mourning band. The mourning band identifies the members of the bereaved family.

Kallating or Pauli. The kallating are choice parts of the meat that goes to the donor of an animal.

Interment Rites

The interment rites include those tasks done during the burial day.

Lapsac. The lapsac is a bamboo mat used to wrap the corpse.

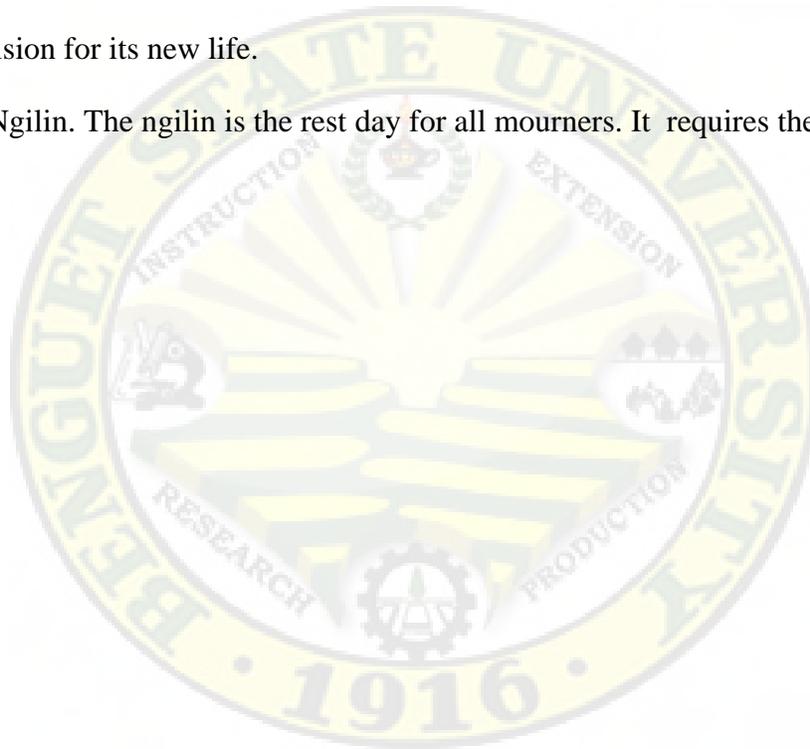
Death blankets. The death blanket is wrapped around the body or folded over it.

Post-Burial Rites

The post-burial rites include the send-off activities.

Uttong. The uttong consists of animal sacrifices that would be brought by the dead as its provision for its new life.

Ngilin. The ngilin is the rest day for all mourners. It requires them to refrain from strenuous work.



Chapter 5

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE RITUALS AND OTHER PRACTICES OF THE CORDILLERANS

This chapter describes the characteristics of the rituals and other practices of the Cordillerans that are associated with their dead. It looks into the manner of performances and gives detailed discussion on the prayers, animal sacrifices, death clothing's and blankets as customarily done by the different tribes in the Cordilleras. The major ethno linguistic groups are arranged in an alphabetical order.

APAYAO DEATH RITUALS AND PRACTICES

The sub-provinces of Apayao lies in the northernmost part of the Cordillera central mountain range of Northern Luzon. Its terrain is characterized by mountains, valleys foothills. The people are known by various names: Isneg, Sned, Apayao, Mandaya and Calanasan. Most of them prefer to be called simply Apayaos. The Isnegs are slash-and-burn agriculturists who inhabit the interior mountain ranges of Apayao. Isneg is the local dialect understood by most people although differences in accents occur among the inhabitants.

Pre-Burial Rites

When a person dies in Apayao, the bereaved family and its close relatives come for a meeting to discuss details attendant to death rites. The presence of the adult family members is important as an initial activity of discussion. It could happen that the dead is left untouched for some days if a key personality in the family is absent.

A family member knowledgeable about the customary and traditional burial practices or a darorahit briefs the members on specifics of the wake in accordance with customs carefully

insinuating the long term effects of conforming to the mandated functions at the same time affirming to the family's inherent and sole right to consider what they think is most appropriate kind of wake for their dead relative. Both the benefits and disadvantages attributed to the practice of traditional death rites are discussed to help the members whose economic disposition and frame of mind would be contributory to the decision of the kind of death functions that their relative rightly deserves.

A member may express his willingness to share in the ritual expenses stating what he can contribute and do during the wake. Still another may willingly oblige but is constrained by his limited resources, a clue that some other well-off relatives could offer to bail him out with certain arrangement. There are times when an orphaned offspring would even secure loans for ritual expenses surrendering a piece of valuable land as collateral, done so on the belief that evasion of ritual obligations might usher bad luck. The Isnegs of Apayao observe wake and burial rites from as short as a day to as long as five days depending upon the socio-economic status of the bereaved family and the maturity level of the deceased.

In death, a man or woman is clothed with his or her favorite clothes. The native costume may also be worn. Thus an old woman may wear her akin, a tapis, and an old man in his G-string with its anuputan, a tobacco tucker worn around the waist. This set of native attire is specially tailored and worn only on rare occasions like fiestas or any local community celebration.

Immediately after death, the corpse is given a bath by men, if a man, and by women, if a woman and attired in best clothes available. Close kins put peaces of libno herbs inside the

clothes as an antidote to a supposedly old woman's tactic to waylaid spirits. The eyes and the mouth are closed.

The men construct a tadag or the bamboo bier. This is brought inside the house. The corpse is made to lie on its back with his arms crossed over his breast.

The surviving spouse stays in one corner of the house with the back portion of the body against the corpse. She covers herself with a blanket. Believing that a brave male surviving spouse could be pursued by spirits, the widower tries to forestall the visitation of ghoulish spirits. Accompanied by a male relative, he goes to a river the day after the wife's death. A hole is bored near the river. It is allowed to be filled water where the widower dips his little finger. He refrains from taking a bath for the duration of the mourning period.

Death blankets are passed on from parents to off-springs. They are folded over the upper torso of the body. Before interment, the blanket, Apayao inabel, is a lifted from the coffin. It is nearly folded to be kept by the bereaved family. It does not get buried with the corpse. It is used again by people within the family circle in death.

The Isnegs show their sorrow by crying over the dead punctuated with vocal expressions of regret over past activities left undone or unsaid. They express their love to their dead. With the corpse lying on the ikamen, mat at the center of the house, an orphan says the following in a cry:

Isneg

English

Ama, natahit unay naham ni
Ta pinanawan nahami
Ngem awan ni mohalin to
Ito ya napan gasat mo

Father, we hate to see you leave us
But we can't do anything
Because its your fate

Ama, todi ya modi nga
Masingan daha
Todi ya bilin mi dahayo
Akkan dahami ya nadahus
Inhadayo mo dahami ya
Sapay koma ta naragsak ya
Papanan mo ya sabali a biag
Ayayaten daha ama.

Father, this is the last
time for us to see you.
Don't leave us alone
Help us to be luck in life
Keep us away from evil
May you be happy in the next life

We love you father

The mourners sit around the corpse. They talk about their happy times and hilarious experiences shared with the dead man in this lifetime. Stories about the struggles and difficulties that the deceased have to overcome to reach a goal become vibrant topic among the dead man's friends gathered to console the bereaved family. Listening intently to the elders of the village related stories that both entertain and teach values, the mourners idle the long dreary days and nights. No kind of singing is heard during the wake. People in the wake are served with food and basi.

Playing a unique game of endurance called bisnagis also a favorite past time during the wake rites for the villagers. Played by pairs, each player is required to expose his things as hard as he could too. The process of slapping goes in a cycle until both palms and things of the players bleed. With the participants in great pain and exhausted but provided some kind of entertainment for the onlookers, the games come to an end.

A respected man of the village goes around the community tasked to inform the people of a death in the neighborhood. The people would also know their obligations of sending in voluntary donations, tulong also known as alos, of any amount or kind as a way of consoling a bereaved family. Donations of money are spent through-out the duration of the wake.

There are animals butchered daily if the family could afford. These are food offerings to the ancestral spirits and the spirit of the deceased who are deemed to be mingling with the mourners. The animals slaughtered would also serve the people gathered around the house. Poor families would depend upon the community people's donations. The members of the bereaved family do not partake of the food offering considered dangles which do not arouse their appetite. The grieving spouse or children could subsist on rice and coffee or vegetables only.

The Isnegs are guided as to the conduct of their death rituals by the peace and tranquility in the community atmosphere, characteristics of a departing soul satisfied with the functions attendant to its wake. If the death rites progress without any objects broken unnecessarily, no occurrence of fighting within the house premises, no animals owned by the family die, belief has it that the ancestral spirits approve of the solemnities and functions of the rites. The spirit's imprimatur would be affirmed by the absence of strange, disturbing, recurring dreams. The Isnegs consult the darorahit for any negative signs like sneezing, disturbing dreams or breaking of plates.

On the eve of the burial day, relatives construct a bamboo coffin. Bamboo slats are closely fitted together joined by strips of bamboo for the dead. Other families may also choose lumber for their dead relatives. Lumber comes from the sagat, the hardest wood abundant in the locality. The sagat hand-sawed lumber are assembled in the burial site in a manner that the soil act as support for the sides of the lumber, so that nothing could disturb the corpse. Using bamboo or barks of trees to glue the pieces of materials together, nails or cement are avoided so that the dead man's flesh would readily mix with the soil upon its decay, thus facilitating the spirit's achievement of piece in its life in another world. Affirming the people's belief in the idea that man comes from and returns to dust, is this practice of burying the dead in the soil and not

cemented tombs. The influence of the modern world however has not spared the Isnegs though, because the rich Isnegs now a days would also go for cement tombs.

The children gather around the corpse to bid farewell to their beloved dead. Standing as a family, each child or offspring expresses deep sadness over the untimely death of the parent. An adult offspring painfully bids his father adieu and says:

Isneg	English
<u>Nona-anganapanyasabaliyabiag</u>	You went ahead of us in the next life
<u>Ngemuraytangamin tulaymatay</u>	It is a fact though that all people will die
<u>Uraynomayamyagasatmo</u>	Even if this is your fate
<u>Toyabilinkoihaw</u>	this is my request to you
<u>Dahamiyapinanawanmo</u>	For us whom you left behind
<u>Ibansemyanapiyaagasa</u>	Grant us good fortune
<u>Nangnangrunayaananakmo</u>	Most especially your children
<u>Ag-aguimseyakabagianmo</u>	Brothers and sisters and relatives
<u>Suwerteyaibansemkadahami</u>	Luck, you should leave with us
<u>Ihawyamansengsengankadahami</u>	Watch over us
<u>Aldawsegabi</u>	day and night
<u>Ihadayomokamisedakusyamaaramid</u>	Keep us away from danger
<u>Pakawanemmodahami</u>	Forgive all wrongs we
<u>Yanadukasngainwaniihaw</u>	have done to you
<u>Sopaykomananapigayapagturuan</u>	May you go to a better life
<u>moa sabaliabiag</u>	in the world.

Burial Rites and Practices

On the burial day, the corpse is wrapped around with a mat, ikamen. Carrying it on the shoulders are the immediate menfolk of the family. The burial site is a piece of land owned by the family. It can also be on a community burial cave. Inside the bamboo coffin are placed a jar basi near the feet that would quench the dead man's thirst on its journey to the land beyond. His spear near the

left hand and his shield near the feet would protect him from enemies that he could possibly meet along the way. The weapons are properly positioned at his disposal so that he could immediately stand to grasp his armory to defend himself.

Before the coffin is lowered in its final resting place, it is strewn with ashes of langpapalms which are made into native raincoats. The ashes dissuade the body from turning into balangobang, a fearful ghost.

The coffin is then lowered to the grave aided with strips of rattan. The lid of lumber covers the bamboo coffin. Protecting the burial site from the scorching heat of the sun and from the pelting of the rain, is a low structure of rono or sticks erected just above the mound. Over the soil are placed the dead man's favorite hat, his ana-nga or raincoat. A spear is also seen to ward off malevolent spirits from consuming the body.

A food offering consisting of a pot of rice and meat stands with the other objects. An empty plate and bowl set near the food offering indicates an adult corpse. A plate of rice with a piece of meat seen over the mound speaks of a young deceased. Since an infant or a baby can't prepare food for himself, the plate set is already filled with food. The pag-anido rite which obliges the relatives to build fire near the burial ground to warm the deceased coincides with the food offering done successively for five nights.

Post Burial Rites and Practices

After the burial, the mourners proceed to the ritual house to partake of a pig or a dog butchered by the family. To protect the grave from being robbed by harmful spirits, the mourners throw pebbles at the ritual house, an act of warding off the evil-minded.

The bereaved family mourns the passing away of a member for at least a month or a year depending upon the decision of the nearest relatives. Several functions are also observed

during the mourning period. The house may be enclosed with bamboo fences, to avoid trespassing by strangers who may not know about the recent death. The surviving spouse and orphaned children wear white or black or any dull-colored clothes during the period of mourning.

The mourners refrain from eating spicy food including the deceased's favorite menu in observance of the maglo rite prohibiting the consumption of the deceased's preferred food. Favorite hobbies of the deceased should not also be done. Hunting should not be engaged in by the grieving children if their deceased father loved hunting. A surviving spouse diets on fruits and root crops or plain rice. This practice of fasting and abstinence demands unwavering perseverance and strong will on the part of the living spouse because such acts of self-denial is believed to facilitate the spirits achievements of peaceful rest as they also ensure meaningful and prosperous life for the living relatives especially the offspring. A grieving spouse also tears her lower garments on the side as expressions of deep sorrow. It is symbolic of a shattered life brought about the death. This renting of garment is believed be a scheme of aiding the dead man's spirit to attain happiness. Shunning all kinds of festivities, the grieving spouse stays most of the time inside the house seated by the window all by himself. A widow allows her hair to grow long because trimming or shaving for a widower is a taboo. This accounts for the wearing of headgear to hold the hair in place.

Should somebody in an act of jest or for any reason, forces a grieving spouse to join activities violative of customary laws and tradition, the culprit could be meted with a heavy punishment, multa. The multa imposed by the elder for transgressions of deeply-rooted practices could be in kind or in money. It may be either chicken or pig.

The Isneg believed that dead exist in other world, the aglalanawan, where the earthly tasks of planting, harvesting and communal living are functions common to them. The kaduwa, soul, is believed to cross the pond in a ferry piloted by the spirit, kutaw. In a bid to please kutaw, who could facilitate the spirit's entry to aglalanawan, the appropriate customary death rituals would be the key.

The Isneg mourning rite ends with the celebration of the abobat where festivity is witnessed with flowing native wine, basi, abundant food or pigs and other animals signifying a new kind of life for the family.

BENGUET PRACTICES

Benguet Province at the base of the Cordillera area is known for its multi-million vegetable industry. It's temperate climate coupled with its proximity to market outlets are valuable assets in development. The town of La Trinidad, Tuba, Sablan, Itogon, Bokod, Kabayan, Tublay and Atok are mostly homes to Ibalois. The northern towns of Kapangan, Kibungan, Bakun and Buguias are mostly populated by indigenous Kankanaeys. The Kalangoyas belong to the third minority group. Due people mobility, however, there are many migrants living in the different towns. La Trinidad, its capital town is fast growing into a metropolitan area. Baguio City, the gateway to Cordilleras is located in Benguet.

Pre-Burial Rites and Practices

The pre-burial rites and practices of the Benguet Cordillerans are described as follows:

Nangmeshan Sha. Immediately upon occurrence of death, close relatives are informed of the sad news upon which they gather I the dead's house to watch over the body. The dead is given a death bath to clean all dirt acquired through the process of life. The bathing ritual,

nangmesansha is the opening salvo and initial stage of the different funeral rites. A female corpse's bath takes place inside the house while a male's bath is done outside the house. The dead sits on a small and low stool placed across a long wooden basin, pa-kong, sometimes used as pig's trough. With both hands guided to cover its private parts, the bare body is splashed with water, leaving the hair dry after which the dead is now ready to wear the death clothings. She is wrapped with a tapis, eten, in white interspersing with black stripes. A loose shirt called kambal serves as the upper garment. Made of manta cloth, the kambal could be sewn by any close relative. A male corpse wears a white long-sleeved shirt with matching white trousers. He is also allowed to wear any of his favorite clothes if he has not during his lifetime intimated his preferences for his death garments.

At certain specific past time, Benguet men wear the G-string instead of pants. Since the G-string is part of the traditional apparel it necessarily becomes one of the thing the dead would bring along in his journey. The sinadibubu also known as kobal, a G-string, folded inside the coffin to complete the set of man's death attire. Some families, especially among the Kankanaeys would still done the dead with the G-string because such is the traditional garments for men. The inclusion of the kobal or wanes would hasten acceptance of the deceased to the spiritual world. He would not be dressed in a different manner as those of his ancestors. With the kobal, the dead person would not be mistaken for an alien.

A dead person needs a head gear, shegnet, which would be either the costa or the binajek (see Figure 1). The shegnet is folded in a triangular shape with the broad portion covering the forehead while the end parts are the properly tucked at the back keeping the shegnet in place as the dead rest on his back. Two pieces of cloth of similar material and color with that

of eten functions as the binongkod, also called bedbed and balkes. The binongkod, also is longer than the bedbed. The balkes serves as death belt. In ancient times, the binongkod straps the



Figure 1. The Dead With Dead Blankets of Aladang, also known as Endashang, Head Gear is of Costa.

Both aladang and costa are worn by the dead whose ancestors also used these death blanket and head gear at the time of death.

corpse to the death chair, keeping the corpse in sitting position. The rarity of the death chair in recent times paved the use of wooden coffins but the binongkod still forms part of the death attire. No longer used to hold the trunk in an upright position, the binongkod is placed loosely over the breast. At this point in time, the coffin is still under construction so the remains is made to lie at its back on a bed. The hands are fixed over the breast with the right palms spreads over the left. The legs are flexed on the knee. The corpse with its head region towards the north, feet towards the south, the face a little bit tilted towards the right rests on a bed or floor placed at the right of the entrance door. At certain point in time during the washing and clothing rites, somebody in the crowd would occasionally ask the dead to relax her body to allow the relatives to wash or cloth her, done so, to ensure facility in the conduct of otherwise difficult and dreary procedure. Old folks recount of specific instances in the past when a body get so stiff and tough making it difficult for relatives to do the bathing and dressing rites. Two pigs are butchered for the bathing rituals to allow the old folks to read and interpret messages insinuated by the pig's entrails which to the m would be a sign of either approval or rejection of the conduct of the specific rite of the day. One pig function for sabusab, a cathartic process, while the other accounts for Nangmesan Sha.

A more primitive practice of attending to the wake is the seating of the corpse in a sangashel or sangadil. More popular among the wealthy families, this tasks of death enthronement among the Benguet honors a man who in his lifetime performed prestige rituals. While still done among the more traditional folks, presently the majority of the Benguets' dead lie in coffins or amt rather than enthroned.

Bangon To. Death Blankets and Attire. The second day after death is marked Bangon To literally translated as “awakening.” On this day, the relatives have a closed door conference to plan for the burial rites. The old folks, admittedly the undisputed mentors in ritual performances thoroughly discuss and explain the prescriptions, significance and implication of the wake traditional practices to the deceased’s close relatives. The burial expenses become the formidable issue to be resolved on Bangon To. Discussions among the members of the family in terms of live stocks and poultry to be killed, the rice bundles all kinds of donations or dole-outs. The economic status of each child as well as the family are key determinants to the length of the wake. If the dead person left behind some personal and real estate properties, some of these are sold to other relative who are willing to spend for the rituals. Any attempt to save in ritual expenses by sparing some properties left by the deceased, especially if the community people are aware of such possession and properties, is frowned upon and castigated. Any act aimed to negate or obviate ritualistic activities is vulnerable to community criticism, an act feared to fuel bad luck. If death occurs to a lowly family however, the rituals are still done but with utmost austerity. Interment for a poor man is possible on Bango to. Although the family ultimately decides on the ritual atmosphere, whether one of the elaborateness or austerity, the pronouncements of the ethic mentors who really exist as patrons of customs and traditions strongly influence the decision of the nginoso. Appended her is a badiw song chanted by a native priest, Celis Baniwas, during a wake on January 31, 1989, in his earnest desire to plant vibrant seeds of Benguet customs and traditions. The message of the song was directed to the academically-minded people who gathered for the celebration.

Ibaloi
Sipa ken amansudat?
Sipa ken amanbasa?
A man basa ni dibsho

English
Who is it who writes?
Who is it who reads?
Beholden to the books he reads

Ensulat ni Merikano
Enkidtyawan ni pulao
Ni Kanon a mangodao

Authored by some white foreigners
Which are filled with lies
Propagated by the white

It is observed that for as long as the orphaned offspring's are physically capable of doing work and as long as the embers of hope and aspiration exist in their hearts, they shall always be in accord with the dictates of customary practices of doing their last respects for the dead.

The choice of death blankets and the setting of the duration of the wake are arrived at, after a thorough discussion and analysis of events that transpired during the lifetime of the deceased. If the deceased has valued the Benguet traditions, demonstrated by her strict adherence to tribal prescriptions, the bereaved family together with relatives come to a consensus of an appropriate wake in accordance with tribal customs and traditions. Death blankets come in categories, each type bearing certain implication. Some people equate death blankets with a diploma or certificate since these death covers seemed to be conferred as well as deserved, the criteria of which is one's achievement in life itself. Living a colorful life between the age ranges of around sixty and above and have accumulated considerable wealth as well as fame by Benguet standards, the deceased maybe groomed to be adorned with Sinai, also known as the Alladang or Endashang

Folding the blanket crosswise into two, its upper portion can be recognized, with a close scrutiny of the specific man figure at the middle part whose head is an indicator of the top part of the blanket. The top part of the blanket is intended to cover the upper trunk of the deceased. The Sinai requires the costa for its head-gear. The costa is square piece of black woven cloth with white broad stripes at the sides. It is also folded in rectangular manner, its base covering the

forehead while fixing its tapering ends at the back of the head. The Sinai and costa come in pair. Another type of blanket is a multi-colored one, predominantly red called pinagpagan.

Like the Sinai, the pinagpaganis demanded by affluent families, the choice depending upon the clan's discretion and traditional practice. An ancestor availing of the pinagpagan implies that the offspring's be wrapped with the same blanket upon death (see Figure 2). Like the Sinai, the pinagpagan also blends with the costa. A third kind of blanket is the bagiw,



Figure 2. The Pinagpagan is wrapped around, Head Gear is of Costa

The Pinagpagan is a required blanket for the dead whose ancestors used this death blanket at their time of death.

sometimes also known as shindig or dinli dubbed by the inhabitants as common or ordinary.

A deceased at a young age is wrapped with the bagiw also known as the bandalaw which require for its head-gear the binajek. A man wears white attire, pants and trousers. A woman is clothed with garments of kolebaw or kuabaw.

The choice of appropriate death blankets entails punctilious analysis of the clan's history in terms the category of blankets worn by departed ancestors as well as the type of ritual performances held during the dead man's lifetime. Tradition mandates that an offspring uses the same type of blanket as that of this parent and in no case would he deserve a higher category of blanket as that of his parents. So is the wife deemed to be always subservient to the husband so as to never to upstage him even in death. There are times when a dying or sick person insinuates a preferred blanket but such articulation is not always a solid guarantee that sound decision is reached. When an atmosphere of equanimity and understanding prevails throughout the wake and even lasting through the years, such is interpreted as a result of animistic approval of the conduct of the funeral rites. A prosperous and successful life bestowed on the living is partly view as having been generated by the spirit's benevolence resulting from its achievements of peace in its new life. Degrading poverty, illness and irritability are widely deemed as malediction, an admonition or a reproach brought about by unsatisfaction and error during the wake. Mental illness is also blamed on the erroneous choice of death blankets. Owing to the circumspection attached to the selection of the death attire, old folks may advise the enclosure of two blankets of different types in the coffin. One is wrapped around the body while the other is folded as a pillow of the dead or placed in the corner of the apex of the tomb. This arrangement is resorted to dispel complaints and loquacity among neighbors who may have varying options. It

also promotes luxury of choice although such arrangement is done only with the approval of ritual mentors.

In earlier times, the coffin was a hallowed pine log, tabular in shape with only one opening constructed as its base, which serves as the entrance door. With the disappearance of the large pine trees due to logging, the practice of dunged out logs as coffin was related in favor of sawed lumber. There are families however who cling to this age-old practice. Matured pine wood is selected with preference to the pine pith on account of its quality and durability. The pieces of lumber are then properly fitted and arranged in the burial ground with the soil along the sides helping keep the structure intact. With this particular arrangement practiced by some Benguet families, the corpse is laid at the coffin only on the day of the burial. Some of the families use coffins which are already nailed together. With the corpse properly attired, he is now ready to occupy the wooden coffin. The desired blanket is spread over the coffin. Then the body is lowered over the blanket which is folded inward over the body in aright over left position, exposing the upper extremities of the body. The appropriate headgear, shegretis placed, the balkes and the binonglod over the central trunk of the body. Then the coffin door is slipped over, leaving the face and breast to the full view of the people.

Commercial coffins are discarded because of the kind constructed materials particularly with the nails and glasses, which are believed to cause eternal unrest to the soul when they fall against the bones in the process of decay.

Katdu or Makatlo. A male carabao and a male pig are the bereaved family's preparation for the day. Customs prescribed a large male carabao for katnu because of the common practice of distributing raw meat to the barrio folks having a mutual meat-sharing scheme, kaapagan with

the community of the deceased, an act that serves as an announcement of the untimely demise of a community member.

A large male pig is also a katdu requirement, offered to Kabunian that would seemingly permit the folks to design ritual bracelets known as caring. The caring, circular in shape symbolizes continuity of life enlivening the bereaved family despite the occurrence of death. Constructed from the bark of a local tree, the tino-to, observed to be strong and sturdy, wearing these string bracelets would endow the bereaved children with durable strength needed for life. With the orphaned children adorned with these bracelets, the ancestral spirits would easily identify their benefactors or the ritual celebrants. With both parents gone, an orphan wears a pair of string bracelets, worn on each wrist. If one of the parents is still alive, the child wears only one string bracelet. A dead father requires the wearing of caring on the right wrist while a caring on the left indicates that the child's mother is gone. The sons and daughters-in-law should avail of the ritual bracelets if their parents are dead otherwise they are exempted from the practice.

Ba-diw songs extolling the virtues of the deceased and expressing lament are rendered on katdu. Relatives and friends sing the ba-diw one after another while the women gather around the singers, hum the atub or asbayatin a gesture of approval.

From the large male pig butchered for katdu, comes the senie-si. The senie-siare slices of meat cut in elongated shape of about 6 to 12 pieces. The number of slices depends upon the financial ability of the deceased. These long slices of meat are kept hanging in two places, one above the fireplace inside the house and the other pieces set out to dry under the sun at the house frontage. The number of pieces kept inside corresponds with those kept outside the house. The senie-si kept in the kitchen are obligations of families who performed prestige rituals during their

lifetime. It is a tribute to the deceased of his ritual capability. The senie-si ritual informs the ancestral spirits of death in the family. (see Figure 3)

Records of funeral expenses incurred by the bereaved family are kept through the sec-kot ni dubid or tie-knotting ritual. A string, dubid, of about a meter long is fastened overhead near the front door. For every pig butchered, a jar of salaw of rice wine is brought out to the house frontage. To put this expense on record, a knot is made on the string. For every gabi, aba ritual, another knot is made at the end of the rope or dubid. For every cattle butchered, 2 or 3 kayabang or baskets of aba are needed. The jar, salaw standing in front of the house ladder or steps indicates the commencement of the daily wake ritual. The number of the bundles of palay used during the wake are also recorded and counted in terms of b'tek consisteng of four bundles. A minimum of at least two b'tek each day of the funeral wake is required. For every b'tek or 4 bundles, one daut, a small strip of bamboo used to bundle the palay is suspended on a stick across the front door. This recording scheme is intended for the scrutiny of the spirits so that they would recognize and appreciate the expenses in honor of the deceased. The palay, Kintoman variety produced from the family farm is customarily displayed in one corner of the house specifically south of the coffin. The daily palay requirement of at least two bundles is threshed out every morning. For every pig or large animal offered by the bereaved family, it is accompanied with a pot of red rice, kintoman, boiled inside the kitchen. This rice, called t'kem, specially prepared inside would form part of the daily food offerings. Palay denoted by neighbors and friends are cleaned for the people gathered outside the house. It is excluded from the ritual count since they are the products of other farms.

Before sacrificial beast go through the process of food preparation, some flesh called bukdow is boiled inside the house. This boiled meat called sindad, is purposely reserved for the close relatives who stay close watch over the coffin.



Figure 3. Siniesi, a symbol of death
The siniesi hang on a suspended rope at the bu-dayanto inform the spirits and passers-by of somebody's death.

Ka-apat. The day after the katdu is ka-pat, the fourth day. Relatives, friends and neighbors having been informed of the death through the meat distributed on katdu start sending in or bringing in their donation called opo. Contribution may be in kind like money, palay, bottles of drink or animals. Pigs, cows, carabaos and horses are common donations from close relatives. Done for generations, an individual's financial ability and the degree of kinship ties with the bereaved family. Collectively done as a clan, a group of close relatives may donate any animal. Gifts from close relatives and neighbors living in the host community serve as plain aids to the bereaved family.

Opo and other donations. The concept of Opo, aside from serving as ways of condoling with the bereaved family, goes deeper than this act of benevolence for the Benguets. The opo is believed to be a paw-it, pasalubong or a gift sent through the deceased to be distributed to the ancestral spirits of the honors. The opo an ethnic scheme similar to a mutual aid system whereby relatives whether through consanguinity or affinity share in the wake expenses through contribution which come either in money or in kind. It is along this idea that the amount or kind opodoned is determined. Close relatives usually choose animal for opo. Friends may give any amount. The closer the kinship ties, the more valuable or costly the donation. For opodonors coming from distant communities, some slices of meat called dapsoy, also known as danglisact as receipts since the dapsoy are sent back to the donors. The dapsoy indicates that the donation is received and served as evidence to the spirits that the traditionally prescribed opo is adhered to and closely monitored by the inhabitants. A dapsoy is required for every donation of money and palay regardless of the amount or quantity. Donor of animals retain a small portion of the meat called ekkol for distribution to relatives sharing the cost of the animal opo. Along with each animal opo are some bundles of palay to be threshed and boiled outside the house and must be

consumed during the day. The prescription of immediate consumption of the day's offering except the heads of livestock has relation to the belief that the ancestral spirits are the recipients of the opo and not the living people. It is feared that opo, not used up, may be scrupulously stolen by strangers, thus in a way defeating its purpose as food offering. While the head of the animal is tied to the pine pole or pangawan (see figure 4), for the next day's breakfast, it also informs the ancestral spirits of the number of livestock killed for the day implying that the wake is either far or almost over.



Figure 4. The pangawan adorned with meat coming from the opo and the family offering.

The head and legs of animals butchered during the day are kept on the pangawan for breakfast the following day.

The ropes or guanet used to tie the animals are kept inside the house near the coffin as concrete evidences of the opo. Belief runs that the deceased takes along with her the animal opo still with ropes and animals in tow on its journey to its destination.

Early in the morning the ka'pat and the succeeding days before the burial, a pig from the house butchered. The pig offering is done as forerunner of the expected series of animals to be slaughtered during the day. After an effective ritual reading, close relatives inform the native priest and the family of their intentions to make their offering. Permission is secured to use the apay. The donating clan witnesses the killing of the animal, done in accordance with the customary way. When allopo earlier registered with the family secretary is made a way with, the apay is thrown away into the backyard. The apay refers to the green cogon grasses spread as place mats for slicing and cutting meat after which the ritual reading is done. It can also serve as a table for old men folks. It occupies the center portion of the house frontage. The keeping away of the apay insinuates an end to animal donations for the day.

The Benguets bury their dead on either of these days, Bangon to,ka-apat,kapito or kasiyam. These are the customary days to entomb the dead. Among the Ibaloyos of Benguet, this practice is truly adhered to, unless the cause of death is established to be one a disgraceful manner or an infant in which case, immediate burial follows.

Kalima. The fifth day, kalima is still an opoday. The rites performed on ka-pat are almost similar to those activities for this day. Tradition views the kalima as the most favorable opo day. The kalima being somewhere midway from bangon to toburial day has the distinction of being known as the luckiest day in terms of the acquisition of blessings. It is within this concept that many relatives would choose this day to offer their animal donations.

The female horse is also a special offering for this day. Pangawan, a strong wooden structure is constructed for butchering purposes. With an ax, a man knocks off the head of the animal once or twice as needed to kill the horse. Then, it is cut open at the stomach. A close relative scrutinizes the different internal organ whose presence in their normal and healthy state is interpreted as a manifestation of the spirits favorable acceptance of the offering. (see figure 5.1 and 5.2).

The sindad prepared in the house kitchen is cooked for close relatives and friends, while boiled rice and meat cooked outside the house is shared by all people in attendance. Gabi, a necessary component of large opo animal serves as snacks. The quantity of food offering in terms of the kind, size and number of animals slaughtered is viewed in the relation to the specific purpose of the ritual. The financial capability, the willingness or the bereaved family, insinuations from the old folks play a substantial consideration in determining the kind of rituals attendant to a wake. A poor family may utilize the dole outs coming from the relative s an friend to buy a pig and sack of rice, quite enough for a simple but nevertheless appropriate burial rite which a family with an average economic standing may abhor to do. Tradition rules that the significant funeral expenses be shared by the immediate bereaved family members, a scheme which has been an admitted and respected way of life, unless in instances where the relatives are



Figure 5.1. The Ritual Horse offering.

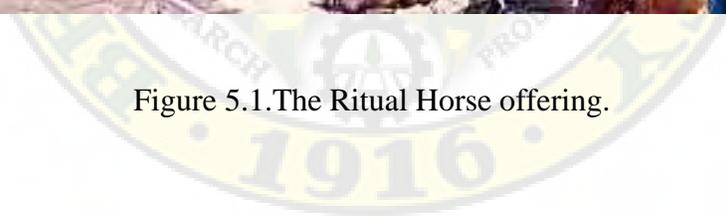




Figure 5.2. The ritual horse offering is tied to the wooden structure, pangawan, then butchered.

truly mired in poverty. There are situations when the inhabitants loan their farms to well-off friends to finance wake expenses. It is bruited that the ancestral spirits bestow blessings in the form of strength and fortitude, needed for work to people who promote and fulfill customary practices, so they would experience the increased productivity allowing them to redeem their debts.

Ka-nim. The sixth in ka-nim. It is still an opo day. A male pig and a cow of any sex are necessary for this function that should come from the bereaved family. Ka-nim has the same rites and Kalima.

Kapito. The seventh day is kapito. Rites are similar to those of the 4th and 5th days. Burial could take place on this day is deemed appropriate by the native priest in coordination with the bereaved family.

Kawado. The eighth day after the death simulates the activities as in ka-apat,ka-anim, or kapito. The significance of kawado is it being the eve of the burial, the day having an atmosphere of preparation similar to one taken before a long journey. Before dusk, materials required for travel are gathered. Such things include the basic necessities for a business trip functional to the dead during its lifetime. The luggage may contain the following items:

Favorite clothes or wardrobe

Blankets

Some footwear

A saddle if there's a horse

Kaybang for a woman

Pasiking for men

A match or lighter

A wallet or purse with money

Some cooking materials

Red rice

Some salt

A piece of dried meat

Some grounded coffee

Beans, tinapong

Some sugar

A plate, bowl

A towel or a bolo

All these are packed in a traditional basket, whether the kaybang for a female deceased or the pasiking is placed near the coffin. The ropes to which the animals butchered were tied with, are collected near the coffin. A horse saddle is seen among the array of materials.

Burial Rites and Practices

The burial rites and practices of the Benguet Cordillierans commence on the ninth day are described as follows:

Kasiyam: the interment. The ninth day is kasiyam. Only a dead person who left some material possessions, gway en sagputan to, may reach until the ninth day. If burial takes place on this day, the ritual starts as early as one o'clock in the morning when the first madmad commences. The first madmad is a prayer addressed to kabunian, ancestral spirits and the dead man, now a spirit, imploring them to act as guardians of the living and warding off evil spirits.

The madmad is a request-laden ritual reminding the dead of his newly acquired status as the benefactor and shield of the living towards the evil, as death to the Benguet seem to be a

transition from this earthly life to a supernatural life, as the natives would sing, Tep a ki riyos kama. While appealing to the dead for material benefits, the dead man is appraised of all the worldly possessions which he brings along with them. He is admonished to beware of mischievous spirits who might mislead or provoke him into casting aspersions on his living relatives who out of love and respect for him patiently performed the maximum wake requirements. The bereaved family and relatives stand while saying the madmad. An old man, either a native priest or a relative starts saying the following:

Ibaloi	English
Sikam dya Apo shiyos	Almighty creator
Dya amangitudtushong	The Great Director of men
Ni obda ni too nantan	Since man's existence
Sikayo den Kaapuan	We also call on man's
Dya angibalbalnay niyay	Acestors
Dya apanbiyag	Whose footsteps we follow
Paki-os-os-shong dyoy apo	
Dyo, anak dyo	Guide the children, the
Sikam da (state the name of the deceased)	Offsprings
Endukoy mo ngo den amin e	You (name of deceased)
Sagpot mo	
Eta a kaong, nuwang,	Every offering required
Kabadyo, aba,	Is here
Kumpleto kasapulan mo.	There is sow, a carabao, A horse, gabi
Kelmakim day balon mo.	A complete assortment of
Karam ngo papidipidiw	Things
Karaka pato-to-no ono	Be watchful of your provision
Paseng-sengkit	That nobody takes them away
Eman mo ngo dan amine tan	Because they are yours
Sagpot mo ngon amin	Beware of detractors along
Sagpot ni anak mo	The way
Paki-olim met ma ngo di	Keep in mind that these
Mapteng, talna ni biyag.	Offerings are symbols of Love from you left behind.

At this point in time, belief has it that the dead becomes fully aware of his spiritual essence and is deeply engrossed in anticipation for his final departure. The ba-diw songs, the madmad, the crying, the offerings, the ritual signs, the death blankets and the presence of many people in and around the house are all indications of death. It is for this reason that the burial day is spent in utmost solemnity and solitude.

Ba-diw songs and covert manifestations of sadness as in loud wailing or crying is taboo for this day. Given an atmosphere of peace and sobriety, the dead embarks for its destiny with pleasure and composure. The dead should be left undisturbed by avoiding any strong outpouring of grief at this moment of embarkation.

The second madmad takes place before the day breaks at around four o'clock. It is a "farewell to the dead" act of the living. The relatives gather at the house frontage, facing the house. Any close relative starts the madmad and says:

Ibaloi	English
Eya maIna, On-akad kama	Goodbye, mother, farewell
Endam ngon amin e sagpot mo	May peace be with you
Niman ta simbim mies Apo	May you rest and find joy
Shiyos	Because you are with God
Aki riyos ka ma.	
Pangwasgwas sim e naydispag	Share the blessings of God
Pakipokpok moy anak mo,	Protect from all evil
Kaanakan mo, tan amine ray	Be a guide to all, the
akim.	Children, offsprings
Pan belengbeng mo et aman	
Duko-duko	
Karaka pa-ul-ulbod,	
No man a-mes ka shi aponan,	
Igten moy kaguanagwanet	
Tep kumplettoy endukoy mo.	

Then the people sit down in silence as the spirit of the dead is believed to look around.

Kasiyam being a burial day prescribes a male horse, a female carabao, two male pigs, one of which should be a big one, aside from those that are donated by the relatives. The horse prescription is for a dead person who exhibited during its lifetime, fondness for horses. A medium sized male pig is required to serve the visitors who by nature refuse to partake of the shangdis, food prepared during the wake. The daleng, or naidulin as they are called, eat in a nearby-house, their food prepared by relatives of their own kind to prevent food contamination. The daleng persons get sick when forced to eat shangdis.

Another large male pig is the source of the second senei-si rite, the preparation of a set of long slices of pork. These senei-si prepared on burial day tells the spirits that the corpse is entombed today. The new set of senei-si indicates the end of the first set of death rituals.

The number of slices corresponds with those that are placed during katdu which is kept near the house fireplace. This is also the last day of accepting opo and other donations.

The burial ground is identified and preparation may start during the katdu. The location may have been chosen earlier by the dead during his lifetime or by relatives. This day, being the last day is a time to examine closely at the kind of animals butchered for the wake. All animals offered from the house should come in pairs, that is a male and a female. This pair concept supports the belief in the dead's spiritual existence in a spiritual environment, thus needing some earthly possessions for seed capital.

Interment usually takes place anytime past noon in consonance with the usual practice of laborers to break homeward before dark. Any variation is caused by the kind of death and the age at the time of death. A child is interred before noon, while death caused by any suicidal means does not deserve any wake. No mourning takes place for any person who commits suicide, the

dead being interred right after death. Death due to self-destruction believed to have the blessings of unsatisfied ancestral spirits is considered abhorable and dishonorable, worthy of a sarcastic and contemptuous treatment during the inhabitants show of deep sorrow and respect for the dead who dies of natural death or old age serves as an admonition to the ancestral spirits that such kinds of death is intolerable that would bring them no benefits. They are warned through the hasty and simple rites that they have been remised of their duties as benefactors of the living and that the earth people will not hesitate to forsake them given similar situations.

Before internment, the relatives conduct a final inspection of the death attire and the position of the dead in the coffin. A male corpse's head is slightly titled to the west, done so, in memory of his lifetime work of tending cattles, so that before sunset as he soliloquizes: A-dabigayam, Nacmangtangan. A female corpse's head is also titled to the east, in remembrance of her daily chore of having to be an early riser to serve the family breakfast, thus daily during her lifetime she wakes up thinking aloud: Agwawa gayam: Nacmanokan.

Any metal objects like pins may not be used among the death wardrobe as these might cause the dead some discomforts. A consensus is reached as to the time for burial. The coffin is then brought outside, feet portion ahead ground. The coffin is laid on the ground at the house frontage, bo-dayan where the dead is informed through madmad of his impending interment.

A relative holds the leafy portion of a sugar cane, swings the leaves back the forth along the way to ward off the spirits of the living from joining the dead to its journey. The sugar cane with its ever-green leaves symbolizes life that must continue for the relatives of the deceased. Close relatives act as pall bearers but despite the preference for relatives, many able-minded persons would strive to lift the coffin, the act being closely associated with luck in terms of life longevity and material prosperity.

At the gravesite, the individual identifies are concealed calling people not by their real names but by common nouns like, boy, girl, bachelor, lady, somebody or Manodeng in Ibaloi. The anonymity concept transpiring at the burial grounds is done to preclude all evil intents of spirits upon the living community. Sneezing, traditionally considered a bad omen is taboo as it may cause delay and confusion in the spirit's flight to its destination. To prevent sneezingspecially among children, the nose is held between the thumb and the forefinger with back and forth movement while uttering the following:

Ibaloi	English
Deng deng,deng, A man e ba'ba'kis	May nobody sneeze

Interment. The coffin is pushed inward the tomb, feet portion ahead so that the head section is near the tomb's exit. A bottle is placed inside the tomb because water is said to be an indispensable companion of life and even death. Some menfolk stay behind to close the tomb's opening, usually a square portion constructed to face north. Before leaving the burial site, each individual in attendance scoops a handful of soil, throw it at the coffin saying:

Ibaloi	English
A ketdabg may san ka akki ta, tep Sinongod mo ma lay mbilonget. Sungoren ko ngoy manival	Our relationship is now broken since you opted to stay in the dark, While I move toward the light.

In patrilocal or matrilocall families, the surviving partner specially if he is young, may opt to go home his parents' abode immediately after the burial, amaysidyan. Surviving brothers and sisters also head for their homes before burial rite, an arrangement meant as a safeguard and a preventive measure. The surviving spouse is closeted in a dark room where his mobility is limited to the basic necessities. He is attended to and made comfortable by people who are similarly situated, the widows and widowers. This arrangement facilitates the surviving spouse's

coping ability as well as the spirit's peaceful departure. The surviving relatives retrace their steps back to the house right after the burial.

The bereaved family, children, grandchildren and their spouses arrange from the eldest to the youngest proceed to a river or a spring for the da-nop rite, where each child washes the face, legs, feet, specially the knee, poweg. The water in the washing site should be a traditional water source in the community. Water implies the presence of life. It follows on and on toward the sea that never empties.

At the spring, the caring won on the left wrist is collected by the eldest child, tied together, then left hidden underneath a big stone. The washers backtrack to the house forming one long line minding carefully to keep off dogs that may cross the lengthy line.

At the house frontage, the rice stalks, osang, the rice bundles and the knotted strings, aseckot dya dubid which serve as records of the expenses are burned. The recorded data becomes a burnt offering for the ancestral spirits. The caring worn on the right wrist of each child collected and bundled together. They are inserted in the house's eaves somewhere overlooking the house frontage by the eldest child. There, they should stay untouched and undisturbed even by strong winds to ensure the reign of peace and tranquility in the family. As each family member approaches the burnt area he swings the right foot over the members in affirmation of man's need for fire and in his power over fire in life. Life must continue meaningfully even as the loss of a beloved. All other mourners also sway their right foot over the fire. The swinging of the right foot sets the tone of the kind of relationship between the living and the dead. It implies man's dominion over fire. The fire resembles a formidable division between the living and the now dead relative brought about by death. The act is an imposition of the living that the dead should dissociate and extricate herself from the living for any attempt to communicate with them

would inflict pain and discomfort. The fire brings hope, so that the people have reasons to look forward for a better and brighter future even amidst their sorrow. At this point, the second Sabosab, also known as Suni-suni, a cathartic rite to protect the living from evil spirits is prepared. This sabosab rite signifies divorce so that the performance of this ritual is a message to the spirits that henceforth the dead reached its terminal earthly life. People seat outside the house frontage bo-dayan ready for sabosab blessing.

An old man usually a relative soaks the leafy part of the sugar cane plant in a basin of water, swings it around in an act of blessing the people saying:

Ibaloi	English
Onong jo dya shanom dya Anshukiy e biag to Dya ag ma ket ket shang	May the youth lead a long and fruitful life Like the water that continuously flows

The sabosab food is prepared by chopping the meat into small pieces or cubes, then garnished with pounded ginger and some glasses of native rice wine, tapey. It is eaten alone without rice. The close relatives should be the first to partake of it followed by those in attendance. As a matter of fact, the eldest son is given the honor to take the first bite which is a signal for one and all to partake. The mourners momentarily enjoy a light mood as each scamper to secure a plate customarily arranged in two lines at the house frontage. It is regarded that a piece of meat is enough to cleanse and protect a person against evil at the same time enough to qualify him as a beneficiary of spiritual blessings said to be thriving in abundance at this juncture.

Before dusk sets in, the sinei-siare collected on a big basket dangadya for storage, usually at the ceiling or a makeshift stand built over the fireplace. On burial day, all the palay offering should be threshed out. No palay bundle should be left alone in its designated place. Ay extra

bundles of palay donations, anybody, preferably students are allowed to thresh out some, for their personal consumption. The tolerance is explained by the fact that the opo palay may not be kept in the house since they should be consumed by the people attending the wake not by the family. Opo in the form of money is used to buy food items like sugar, coffee, bread, milk and the like. If the bereaved family is in a difficult situation where money is the predicament, the opo collection may be used to buy a pig and other necessities needed for a simple and austere ritual.

Post Burial Rites and Practices

The post burial rites and practices of the Benguet cordillerans are described, as follows:

Deben. The day after the burial is the De'ben. Many people would observe this day as a day rest, a non-working day for most local inhabitants, done in deference to the dead. The Karao tribe marks the burial day as deben. The debenis is also the day designated to cut-off the pangawan, a structure built on Katdu for trying the rope of an animal as it is knocked down on the head. An old man who has been traditionally performing this task is selected to cut or chop down the pangawan.

A small cow is required for this ritual. This cutting down function is an indication of the termination of animal butchering. Henceforth, from this day on, no cattle should be slaughtered. The cow prescription is considered voluntary since the pangawan is allowed to be torn down even without butchering a cow. The burial day is the final countdown for the first series of counts in a wake.

The wake count. The count is determined by the number of days and pigs butchered and the nature of ritual performance. The initial count, Day One, starts with the bathing of the dead and eating the first pig offering. It does not necessarily start immediately on the day the person dies. Specific in point here is a case of a person who dies elsewhere, so the body has to be

transferred to its placed of residence for the ritual. Another case would be in the absence of important relatives who shoulder the expenses.

A synopsis of the Key Traditional Practices Done During the First Series of Funeral Rites is presented herein.

Dates	Ritual Prescription		
Jan. 27/89	The old woman's death – 9:30 P.M.		
Dates	Traditional Count	Nature of Activity	Animal Requirement
Jan. 28/89	Nengmesan	Bathing the dead	1 medium sized pig
9:00 P.M.	Nangmesan sha	Putting on the death attire	1 male pig
Jan. 29/89 A.M	Bangon to	- Selected and identification of death blankets, - Setting the number of wake; Start of expense recording- "seckot ni dubid"	1 female pig 1 small pig for sabosab
Jan. 30/89	Katdu	- Wearing of caring by bereaved children - Meat distribution in the community-death announcement - Start of <u>opo</u> and <u>dapsoy</u> - Pounding of rice, at least 2 <u>beteks</u> daily from today - Start of Bad-iw singing	1 large male pig 1 large male pig
Jan. 31/89	Kapat	- Submission of <u>opo</u> and issuing of <u>dapsoy</u> - Singing of bad-iw songs	1 cow 1 pig 1 small pig for people not eating

- Wrapping the dead with death blanket shangdis

The subsidiary rites. The first Octat is done on Guangaguaang. The ocat, literally meaning, come out, is a function done on guangaguaang, the day immediately following Deben. Octat requires the dead's spirit deemed trapped in the tomb to come in anticipation of another series of rituals. A pig is signed to lure the spirit out of its hiding place. Specific to this occasion is the need of an ordinary blanket, one known to be a favorite cover of the dead in its lifetime. A male relative accompanied by some old folks brings out the blanket near the tomb, spread it open as if enticing somebody to hop in while an old man says:

Ibaloi	English
Ka-octat ca di	Come out, we ask of you
Tep ocat niman	Because today we celebrate <u>ocat</u>
Pan-evan ca did	Come hop over
Dya katap	the blanket.

Then the blanket is folded from the corners inward, rolled over as the relative carries it over his right shoulder, simulating an action needed to carry a heavy load. In the past, a closed basket called the betit takes the place of the coffin right after burial. The betit is believed to entrench the spirit of the dead man. With the disappearance of the betit the folded blanket is recognized as the structure encasing the trapped spirit. The man enters the house, places the blanket on a chair in a corner where the array of things belonging to the dead is conspicuously displayed. This space becomes the dead man's corner. It is held with respect in keeping with the old folks claim that the spirit occupies the chair, noting each individual's presence. At mealtime, a food offering is placed in front of the chair. Folks would say that as the people eat, son is the

spirit, so the food offering takes place every mealtime. It consists of a plate of rice with a slice of meat over it, a bowl of soup, a pinch of salt on a saucer and a glass of water.

At this juncture, another series of count commences. The first ocat starts the initial countdown. The day is also known Guangaguang. The day after deben, the third day is marked katdu, followed by kapat which are rest days, man a jas. On these days of rest, the household astir from morning 'till night, with members and relatives avoiding strenuous manual work lest they meet untoward events as warned by the folks. Ocat is exercised twice in a man's wake.

The Second Ocat on Kaima. The day after kapat is kalima. The second ocat is observed on kalima at night time following the same pattern done during the first ocat. The night affair imposes on relatives and friends in attendance to pass the night in ritual house ready for the next day's dawn activities. The conducive atmosphere allows for the solemn observance of ocat, where the barking of the dogs, sneezing and wailing especially of children are expected to be minimized if not eradicated given the stillness of the night. Another pig to complete a couple of pigs for the second ocat function is needed for the night rite. A male and a female chicken and a dog bring to a close the ocat.

Seise ni Oling. The next day is Kanim dubbed as Seise ni Oling, the house cleansing rite. People who stay overnight are up in the wee hours of the morning for a thorough cleaning-up activity of garbage scattered in and out of the house during the duration of the wake. People sweep the dirt out towards the orchard usually planted with coffee and other fruit trees, rendering the fruits unclean or contaminated for the consumption of a widow or a widower for the period of atleast one year. Belief has it that the wake filth fertilizing plants, soil even its fruit trees, rendering the fruits unclean or contaminated for the consumption of a widow or a widower for the

period of at least one year. Belief has it that the waste filth fertilizing plants, soil even its fruits, a view held as a kind of food spoilage hence a taboo, for the surviving spouse to partake of.

The ritual pig skulls conspicuously embedded at the house eaves, the puron,dangan, and all symbols and signs accruing from the ritual functions held in the past, end up in flame with a dawn fire built in front of the house.



Figure 6. The Dawn fire

This fire built at dawn consumes all concrete symbols and vestiges of rituals performed by a Benguet couple. The pig's skull often seen hanging at the house eaves, the dangan. And all other evidences of ritual performances turn to ashes either on the last kappi rite or during the Anniversary rite.

The existence of these covert manifestations, a mute testimony to the family's magnanimity in the exercise of the cultural heritage is co-terminous with the celebrants. The destruction could also be delayed for a year to coincide with the anniversary feast, pan gwingian to.

An early breakfast of dog meat awaits the exhausted cleaners. Then the blanket serving as betit is carried on the shoulder to the tomb, where it is unfolded, setting the spirit free to wander as an old man says the following madmad:

Bolos kama ta nakshing may	You are now free to wander.
akow mo.	Because the funeral days are over
Paki bantay mo era dya	May you guide the children
anak mo	The grandchildren and all the inhabitants.
Tan apom, akim ja	
Jinagjag mo.	

The blanket is returned to the house to be draped, a may sa shang in a specified corner among the dead's prized possessions. This cubicle is regarded as a kind of sanctuary for the dead man's spirit whenever he would feel the need to be among his household. One can see his valuable earthly clothings, tools and utensils seemingly at his disposal. The sacredness attached to this portion of the house exists for at least a year from death.

At this juncture the siniesi or dried meat is distributed to immediate members of the family, relatives and those within the house premises. Priority recipients, especially of the sukshol, a ritual longgonisa, prepared from the mixture of blood and grounded meat enclosed in an intestinal sack, are relatives with intentions of offering in memory of the dead in their own

respective homes. The seniesi is viewed as holy meat. It is mixed with the meat on kappi enhancing the kappi's chances of acceptability to the spirits.

As a tribute and act to implore blessings, kappiis done three times in the ritual house. The immediate children may also celebrate kappi three times in their respective dwelling places. Close kins like the nieces, nephews and grandchildren properly situated in life often times volunteer to offer the kappi rites at least once in their respective houses. The seise is also marked with a washing rite where the household members rid themselves of dirt or filth acquired through the wake. The death fire which existed from the start of the wake is put off, signifying a close of all activities on for the dead.

IFUGAO DEATH PRACTICES

The province of Ifugao, located at the central part of the Cordillera is characterized by rugged mountains and rolling hills. There are plateaus seen in the east and south. Ifugao although considered as one main tribe, is composed of the Avagans, the Kalanguyas, and the Tuwali. It is the smallest province in the entire country.

Pre-Burial Rites and Practices

Death in the family especially of an adult member brings a family and close relatives to a meeting to discuss the manner of conducting the burial services. Offsprings of the deceased together with the oldfolks set the number of days of the wake. The ritual functions are discussed, with the orphans signifying their intentions or plans under the tutelage of a mumbaki, an Ifugao native priest.

Assessing the financial ability of the family to include the married children, the daily sponsor for the wake is identified. Each child then expresses his wish relative to the wake intimating the number of days or meals that he could afford to sponsor.

Wakes for infant and children may be short as a day to three days. The young corpse is given a bath by the old folks, so chosen because of their past child-bearing ages. Its favorite clothes in life are put on. Bathing is done for the purpose of cleansing the body, preparatory activity for any travel plans, as the soul gets ready to embark on its journey to the land beyond. A pair of ducks, a male and female can be butchered although a pig could be offered if there is one available in the neighborhood.

Among the Mayaoyao folks, the hongnga is done if death is caused by illness. The hongnga prescribes a pig or a chicken with jars of rice wine offered to appease the vengeful spirits intending to inflict pain among the family and relatives. A warding off rite, honnga could be availed of, to cure the illness. Its performance even after death ensures the family of good physical and mental health.

The corpse is given its final bath, Amuhon done by the offsprings and relatives out in the open air since most traditional Ifugao houses are small. After the body is wrenched with water, it is ready to wear the death attire.

A death chair known as the haludagamong Tinoc folks and hangdil in Banaue is constructed. Two pieces of wood or bamboo are joined together in an X-chair. The dead is then seated with its head tied to the upper portion of the wooden structure. With G-string to hold the body in an upright position and tied to one of the house posts near the bamboo ladder or steps leading to the house, the hangdil holds the corpse until the burial day. The corpse's hands rest on the thighs. A male corpse wears the tolgue, also known as lenchum or the lendom, the Ifugao G-

string. The Binnalet or tapis with the black and white stripes is skirt to the females. In primitive times, the dead is bare-breasted for both male and female. Later generations are seen with white upper garment.

The poorest man who is left without any siblings is watched for a day but on the average, most Ifugao's would be honored with a five day wake lasting to ten days or even more for the rich and the affluent. The number of days would depend upon the number of married children haing houses of their own as the body is moved from one child's house to another throughout the wake. The more married children the dead man has, the longer the wake. In case offspring put up houses in different towns, said children may share in the expenses shouldered by a sibling. They may also have their sponsorship in the traditional family residence where the unmarried brothers and sisters together with the surviving spouse perform other death functions. The whole family move from house to house during the wake. The sponsors on burial day, lafun in Mayaoyao spend the most because of the expected heavy turn-out of mourners. Depending upon the sponsors' socio-economic standing, they can butcher either a pig or a carabao.

Helping the bereaved family in performing the varied death tasks of bathing, fixing the attire, swatting the flies and all manipulative and dreary activities attendant to death's welfare are watchers, monwahiwa who accepted responsibility to service the dead up to its interment. Their manifestation of concern, their night and day services of watch is reciprocated by the beareved family. In one to three days of wake, a watcher gets a chicken. Five days wake earns for the watcher a hen and five bundles of palay. Two watchers for an eight to ten days of wake would receive 20 bundles of page each.

With the dead in its appropriate attire and properly enthroned in its hangdil a daily requirement of a pig and some ducks are the family's preparation for the community folks and

conceived as a debt of gratitude so that the family beneficiary is expected as to dole out to relatives who would be similarly situated as they are, in some future time. They either share more or less than the amount they earlier received. Donating amounts or materials of similar quality or quantity implies payment to an earlier favor received, a gesture implying an end to this traditional mutual aid system.

Donations of blankets may also come from the family of one who is betrothed to a maiden or bachelor member or the bereaved family, in expression of the fiancé's sincere intentions of pursuing his marriage proposal. The future in-laws offer either the baya-ong, hape, or kinutaian, which are folded and placed on top of the corpse, the blanket offering cements the agreement of the couple, with the people around as witnesses to a future bond. Curious onlookers would count the number of folded blankets in anticipation of possible marriage celebrations.

Burial Rites and Practices

Interment comes either on the third, fifth, seventh, ninth or eleventh days wake. These are the traditional days when a corpse may be put to rest in the community burial ground. Before interment, the corpse is lowered from the hangdil to the atag or woven structure of rono where the appropriate death blanket is already spread out. A rich family would decide to provide its dead the kinutian, a prestigious blanket of the Banawe folks. Chili also known as baya-ong, a high-class shroud is used by the Lagawe folks accompanied with a hape, decorative attire placed across the body. The hape is red, white and black stripes material bereft of any figures or drawings of objects. A man of average means would be covered with pinogpogan, a predominantly red-stripped blanket or the llabhu with the blue and white stripes. A single blanket wraps the corpse. All other death shrouds earlier offered are neatly folded and placed

over the body. They are important requirements needed for transition to gain entrance to the new world spirits. About fifty years ago, the carcass is brought to its final resting place seated astride the neck of a son or male relative with its legs over the shoulders of the carrier similar to the way babies are carried around the neck. This primitive practice evolved to the more transposes the body from the hangdil to the cave.

On the way to the burial grounds, the folks admonish children to avoid sneezing, an act detrimental for travel. Dogs are prevented from joining their masters, last they bark along the way. Other foreboding sign like the sighting of a snake or a cat crossing the path is ominous that could possibly delay burial procedures in hours or even days.

Supported by the atag and carried by the sons or male relatives the dead is followed by kins and friends. People clap their hands on the way to drive unfriendly spirits who may be curious onlookers, if the deceased belong to the average socio-economic bracket. A rich man is accompanied with two brass gongs beaten along the way in a funeral march. The presence of gongs beaten along the way in a funeral march. The presence of gongs is an honor a dead man whose personal effort and industry has reached a substantial a socio-economic status in accordance with the community's stratification system. The solemnity of the function also inspires the young men and women to aspire for the good things in life and diffuse wealth for the common welfare.

The corpse is then entrenched within the atag and placed in the burial cave. The burial ground is a wide hallow, spacious enough for men to move around as they place the carcass in almost comfortable arrangement. It can accommodate 6 to 10 coffins. Curved in by the mountain sides where soil is impregnable to erosion to any external force, this final place is situated

away from the village, where the spirits could be among themselves playing the route from Tulpukan to this burial cave. Tulpukan actually exists in Ifugao believed to be frequented by ancestral spirits, callading, where only two trees stand forlornly.

The corpse is then interred in the cave in the company of relatives who have gone to their rest ahead. The corpse is interred late in the afternoon, a time when farmers are homeward bound to rest after a hard day's toil. Closing the small exit door with large stones arranged in formidable stone wall, the mourners depart from the burial site quietly.

A murdered victim deviates in some ways from those who die for illness. Also seated in hangdil and resting along one of the house posts, old folks especially the women move its head back and forth, admonishing him in loud voices to find the culprits saying:

Ifugao

English

Tigum nan mangat he-a
Ta etnod mo nan umabyan

Go after your murderers
Take them with you to where you are
supposed to go.

In G-string, he holds a pahol or gayong, spear on its right hand, ready to strike at his targets should they be seen around. There are few mourners as only close relatives earlier exposed to similar events are in attendance. Other community folks shun the affair because of what they consider a heinous and tragic death. Friends from distant towns who in the past were similarly situated come in uniform of G-strings striking their bangibang, as they dance their way to the bereaved family's residence. Their task is to bury the murder victim. The thundering sound of their bangibang would ward off evil occasioned by the act of murder and seal off abnormal and obnoxious cause of death. Coming from different directions, the prancing and savage-looking men, monhimong, converge in a confluence of pathways leading to the wake.

With each group is a leading recognizable because of a pahol, spear, on his right hand raised high above the head.

Designated by tradition to service the last rite of murdered victims, the morhimong bring the carcass to the burial cave, still dancing to the best of the banginbang. The corpse is seated on the hangdil, with its jaw resting on an x-structured bamboo support. There are no death blankets seen around to emphasize the foremost function of vendetta. The victim avenges its death before he could even rest. A victim of foul play is said to be restless, crying blood or eye for an eye. Rest would have to wait until vengeance in his. Exactly at noontime, the corpse is interred in the cave, still early enough for him to search for the perpetrators of the crime.

Post-Burial Rites and Practices

From the burial grounds, the mourners retrace their steps back to the burial house. On approaching the house, they pass by the burning rice straws. Swinging the right foot over the embers would chase malevolent spirits who can cause trouble among the living.

Binyon is observed on the night after burial. In a night offering, binyon requires the household to assemble in a container, hydo, the dead man's favorite earthly possessions of working tools, clothes, betel nut and its accompanying stuff, pagmamaan and prized heirlooms. With the door opened, the hydo is left inside the house near the ladder, the most accessible place where the owner, now a spirits claims it at its most opportune time any moment during the night. Watching in solemnity over the hydo are the old folks who stay inside, wide awake as they anxiously await for the claimant. The possessor materializes when an eerie presence is felt by the group, casting a cold spell among the watchers. The old folks especially those gifted with third eye claim to be witness of the frightening sounds. All is quiet. No one dare sneeze nor utter a

sound for fear of destructing the spirit who comes in haste to collect his belongings that would help him start a new life. Henceforth he is man's benefactor. If it should dispense with this role of protector wisely, its living relatives would have to remember him once in a while lest malevolent spirits mislead him by feeding him erroneous information.

Ngilin follow when the villagers rest from field work. Community folks stay in their houses doing light household activities. The rest days mean sorrow for the untimely demise of the neighbor. Folks are also fearful that accidents may occur to anyone working in the farm on the day of ngilin.

Agamid known also as lawit requires the bereaved family to kill a chicken where the bile sac apgo is inspected and analyzed. A favorable ritual reading brings satisfaction and peace of mind among the community folks while a vague interpretation fuels a problematic situation. The native priest may recommend the wisdom of exhuming the body for reasons known to close kins. The function of disinterring the corpse would allow some changes in the task earlier performed.

The surviving spouse is extended to mourn by staying in the community most of the time during the periods of sorrow. During the wake, he refrains from eating food served to the people. His food is prepared in a separate kitchen to avoid contamination. In most cases he is contented with "coffee and rice" at least for the duration of the wake. He can eat meat of any animal specifically butchered for his consumption after the burial. The surviving spouse allows his hair to grow in an act of mourning. He shuns festivity. The native priest advises the bereaved family of the opportune time to end the mourning period. This begins a new outlook for the Ifugao family.

KALINGA DEATH RITUALS AND PRACTICES

The sub-province of Kalinga has eight municipalities, namely: Balbalan, Lubuagan, Pasil, Pinulpok, Rizal, Tabuk, Tanudan and Tinglayan. Kalinga has mountainous terrain except for the wide plateaus of Tabuk and Rizal. Rice is its principal agricultural product. The people are called Kalingas and they speak the Kalinga dialect.

Pre-Burial Rites and Practices

Kalinga death calls for the gathering of the clan to discuss the specific procedures to be followed for the wake. Close kins and neighbors are informed about death when somebody comes around the house with the message. Some villages are informed through announcements said three times at strategic parts of the community.

The arrival of close relatives signifies the start of the rituals. The body is washed and cleaned with water by the relatives. It is then rubbed with coconut oil to delay the hardening process. The customary attire is put on.

A death chair, sangadil also known as sangachin is constructed out of bulo, bamboo where the corpse is made to seat. A woman's hair is fixed around the head intertwined with bungi also known as bungul, heads as worn by Kalinga women around their head. The multi-colored ong-ong, necklace completes the accessory worn by the female corpse. A male deceased wears the G-string. Seated at the center of the house, the dead is supposed to watch the people in attendance. Villagers come to express sympathy to the bereaved family and honor its deceased member.

A pig offered right after seating the corpse in the dangles rite. Since this animal is an offering for the deceased, the immediate members of the family do not partake of the shangles but the visitors gathered for the wake are served from the animal butchered. Meat from shangles is considered unclean for the consumption of the bereaved family.

Wakes would last a day for infants who should be interred immediately because of its immaturity. Clothed in white, the body is laid to rest at once. Most families observe three to five days of wake depending upon the socio-economic status or the traditional wake practices. The decomposition of the body is also a limiting factor. During the wake, visitors are served dog's meat. The preference for dogs is explained by the fact that dog meat is tasty, so suited to the gloomy ambiance. Dogs can also ward off evil spirits. Chicken are also prepared for meals. People come to condole with the bereaved family and honor a dead old man during the wake. If the beast is killed as an offering for the welfare of the newly-dead, such food is unclean for the bereaved family. The exclusion scheme or abstention is also seen as an outward manifestation of profound grief.

Neighbors come and go especially during night time when visitors from distant towns would be off. Villagers eat in their own homes, so that only mourners coming from remote towns partake of the meals cooked in the family residence.

People manifest their deep expression of grief in a Kalinga ebin also known as sanget where the womenfolk in a strong emotional outburst pour their grief in cry saying:

Kalinga

Hima engkat katay no?
Eillam di anak no

English

What caused your death?
Watch over your children

Ta bubuyo di angos di an anak mo
Ama omuyon kan sadu umaya
Ajima kami pon li-uwang

So the life of your children would be
meaningful
Father, may you reach your destiny
Don't forget us.

The Kalinga talk to their dead believing that they become Kallading, ancestral spirits, the benefactor and protector of their living relatives. The spirit of the new-dead is conceived as influential and powerful custodian of life. Also understood as dispenser of the good blessing or fortunes, the old folks would entreat for his benevolence especially that of aiding the offspring to acquire positive values in life.

A window, tagimbalo, gives to her profound loss usually at the middle of the night in ebin. Covering her head with a towel, she cries out her sorrows and laments on the possible predicaments she would have to contend with, all alone on this world. Seen as a way to release pent up emotions, the tagimbalo even requests the newly-dead husband to take her along, said in frustration of their failed marriage.

At the wake relatives come with their donations, addang of any amount or in kind. Any consumable goods like gin, basi from sugar cane, palay or pagay is the Kalinga mutual aid system where close kins up to the second cousins are morally obligated to help one another financially in moments of sorrow.

According to Francis Bulivat, lawyer, of Balbalan, Kalinga.

According to Paul Leusen, aged 50, Provincial Auditor, Tabuk, Kalinga-Apayao.

Contribution may be made in individual capacity or by families. In instances where the adding is an animal, some parts of the meat, the choice cuts are given back to the donors in what villagers call pauli or kallating. The practice of returning portions of donations is the bereaved

family's way of expressing their gratitude and appreciation for the show of concern, manifested by the donors. The kallating or pauli is to the Kalingas as dapsoy is to the Benguets.

The Kalingas put on a mourning head band during and after wake. The surviving spouse dons a strip of white cloth on the head. Bereaved parents who lost a child are recognizable because of the band. Worn as a sign of grief, the unique mourning band is a means by which the spirits identify their patrons and occupants of the house.

Wake services of the aged especially the wealthy assume an atmosphere of relaxation and thanksgiving as people praise Kabunian for having bestowed a long and eventful life to the deceased. The dead man's heroic exploits and other successful ventures in life become favorite topics of discussion to impress in life especially to the young. Stressing their points through their chants, the salidumay, and danda-nag, these melodious dirges entertain the mourners throughout the night. Meanwhile rice and sugar wines and rice cakes also help brighten the mourners. The rice cakes are prepared by the maidens in the evening.

Once the donated animal is butchered and sliced open, the kallating and pauli are distributed to the owners who take it home in the evening. There are no written records of the dole-outs except stored memories of what other families did for them during a time of need. The concept of adding is seen as a two-way process of give and take, when recipients would also become donors as required by circumstances. The pauli is indeed proof of the donor's benevolence. Moreover the presence of pauli in the house informs the ancestral spirits about the aid extended to the bereaved family.

A peace pact holder committed to establish peace among tribes is honored by the villagers in death. When the pangat dies, his counterpart together with the tribe members join in

mourning for his demise. Due to the numerous expected visitors, neighbors help accommodate them owing to the fact that their stay may last up to burial day. Carabaos or cows are butchered to feed these out of town mourners. When large animals are killed, extra meat are shared to the villagers. Bangat is the name given to the uncooked pieces of meat for the community customarily given as a neighborly act. Done also in reciprocation of past favors, the issuing of bangat is a status symbol.

Burial Rites and Practices

On the burial day, the body is dissociated from the sangadi to lie down on a coffin or lapsac. The coffin is earlier prepared by the menfolk during the wake. This structure is usually made of bamboo slats arranged side by side for the floor and one on top of the other for its walls. The lapsac or bamboo mat occasionally used by the natives as walls also serve to enclose the corpse.

The ordinary death shroud uyos, is a dull-colored cloth woven by the natives of the place. It is used to wrap an old man and woman of an average social status. The wealthy is covered with the sinambituen with its red and white stripes. The selection of appropriate blanket is guided by the traditional practice in the family and the status as defined by the village stratification system. Death rituals performed in accordance with customs and traditions ensures the celebrants' peace of mind. On the part of the newly dead, adjustment to its spiritual world is facilitated.

The dead is properly attired and fitted into the bamboo coffin on its back. The old folks prepare for burial. With it goes several objects like a jar of water, a pot of rice, its favorite viand

wrapped in banana leaves and some beads specifically for the wealthy. The belief that the soul enters in a spiritual world necessitates the presence of objects necessary for travel.

The coffin is lowered to the grave with the strips of rattan. Then it is covered with soil. A more primitive practice is to keep the lapsac in the cave somewhere at the mountains sides. Over the mound are placed things like cigar stumps, several stems and pebbles to prevent malevolent spirits from eating the body.

Post-Burial Rites and practices

The sympathizers backtrack their steps to the ritual house for the uttong celebration. Among the wealthy, the uttong is a show of the family's economic affluence. Uttong consists of butchering animals seen as requirements necessary to start a new life. Each offspring is required to produce an animal as his contribution to the departing soul's provisions. The butchering of beasts may come in series depending on the number of offsprings who can afford the expensive offering. A grieving son or daughter can exhaust all possible means to produce the desired offering to win favors from the spirits believed to be generous patrons of blessings if pleased. Also seen as a final tribute to a [patron's, offspring's willingly] part with their money to participate in the array of butcherings. A poor man will have the least number of uttong, perhaps a small carabao. Kalinga widows and widowers mourn for at least a year. There are certain restrictions like mobility, festivity and marriage. After a year, a pertaining to death lifts all prohibitions pertaining to death. Life for the bereaved family comes a continuing struggle of existence.

DEATH RITUALS AND PRACTICES OF THE PEOPLE OF MOUNTAIN PROVINCE

Mountain Province is composed of three subdivisions namely: Central, Eastern and Western. Bontoc Municipality is its capital town. The Western side includes the municipalities of Sagada, Tadian, Bauko, Besao, and Sabangan. The Eastern area covers Sadanga, Paracelis, Barlig and Natonin. Bontoc poblacion is Bontoc Kankanaey and the dialect.

Pre-Burial Rites and Practices

Bontoc burial practices are dependent on the desire and wishes of the bereaved members of the family whose presence during the wake are mandatory. One of the important reasons for a prolonged wake is caused by the absence of an immediate member of the family.

When a person who has a family of his own dies, an elder prays the ngorab that would allow the bereaved family to participate in the death rituals. The corpse is then carried out of the affong or hut by the old men for the bathing rite which is a necessary preparation for the death attire and death entronement. Meanwhile the house is cleaned. Household equipment and utensils are properly fixed and positioned in places where they should not fall since any falling of things is considered a bad omen which may necessitate changes in plans earlier set by the family. The cadaver is given a bath and clothed in the traditional death attire. The sons and daughters and female relatives wash a female deceased. A male married deceased wears the chinagta, a white woven loin cloth with a tochong as the head-gear. A married female corpse wears the kayin, a dark woven cloth with also the tochong on her head. A karhu, a plain white hand woven material is chosen for the lawa females while a katsangyan woman wears the fayaong, a thin navy blue cloth, handwoven with embroidered edges. The logteb, aspecially handwoven white G-string or wanes distinguishes the male katsangyan from lawa. In olden times, the corpse both

men and women are bare-breasted without any top garment as was the practice even during their lifetime but recent times introduced the use of any white blouse for the females.

A pig or a chicken or both are butchered and offered to the Anitos, ancestral spirits, the chicken serving as manmanok to guide the old folks in choosing the appropriate functions to be done.

Before dark, close relatives construct the sangatchel or sangadil also known as sarapat, a traditional death chair. A sangatchel is made out of a matured bamboo specially fitted or tied together without using nails to form a chair. In the evening the corpse is enthroned on the sangatchel. The face is supported with a wide piece of cloth tied around the chin to keep the body in an upright position. The arms and legs are tied to the chair if necessary. The cadaver is properly fixed on the death chair so that at a distance he seems to be a seated man. As death enthronement rites come to end, another prayer, ngorab, requests the dead man's spirit to ward off evil believed to be abundant because of the occurrence of death in the community and spare his relatives, friends and all mourners of illness and diseases. It asks the Anito to permit the reign of peace throughout the wake so that she would be remembered in love by the villagers he was parting with. Standing in front of the seated corpse, an old man tasked to pray says the following:

Kankanaey

Ay ama, ipatulin din gawis
Si anak mo e apom
Ta adi da am-amag
si dakami

English

Father, Give us our offspring
Blessings in life
So there would be peace
among us.

An old man or woman who dies due to natural causes like old age, illness or accidents is enthroned in a sangatchel inside the house. A murdered man has its sangatchel against the wall

just outside the door, done so to allow his spirit to avenge should he spot his murderers around during the wake. Among Barlig folks, murdered victims are not placed in sangatchel. The corpse lies on a board and is interred the following day simple ceremonies. His chickens are all killed in act of burying all his misfortunes with him. With the corpse properly enthroned in the sangatchel a female pig is butchered as food offering for the dead. Food from the dangles is eaten by old people.

The sangatchel is prescribed only for the katsangyan, or kadangyan, the rich and the aged because they successfully accumulate earthly wealth. Their thriftiness and financial acumen recalled during the wake serve as inspiration to the younger generation.

Babies, children, men and women who die at young age are not enthroned in a death chair. They lie in mats inside the house. An old woman preferably a grandmother holds the young corpse in her arms during the brief wake. Interment could take place as soon as possible or early the next day. An infant or child is buried in a house yard or faangan. A special shaded place in the faangan is a good choice for the final resting place of a young dead who should be protected from the heat of the sun and from strong winds and rains. The young deceased is released on a quiet hour the following morning. The clothes of children who die are kept for some months after which they may be given away to relatives.

A pig or a chicken or both are butchered and offered to the Anitos, ancestral spirits to mark the setting of the sangatchel. The chicken serves as manmanok to guide the old folks in choosing the appropriate functions to be included in the death celebration. The entrails of the chicken is closely examined and interpreted as is customary for the native villagers. A chicken bile of clear liquid is delwai, symbolic of goodluck and sign of spiritual approval. An empty bile

sac is nakpit that forebodes evil which however could be averted. In such a case, another chicken is offered to appease the wrath of the unseen. Chickens are killed, pinicipican style, a slow death by whipping the wings and neck. An array of chickens may be needed to guide the death rites. The members of the bereaved family, the offsprings and the surviving spouse do not partake of the pig in dangles rite especially among the Sagada folks. To do so would be considered like eating the flesh and blood of one's own brother as the animals butchered are offerings to enable the spirit of the dead to live in another world.

The old folks gather around the dead to express grief in an an-anako, baya-o, liwliwa or salidumay. The liwliwa or salidumay is a group singing activity participated in by the mourners with solo and group parts. In the belief that old people most specially those with grandchildren have satisfactorily lives their lives, their wakes are marked with happy tones as seen in a liw-liwa herein written:

Kankanaey

Leader:

A-an-ak mo man-uga da
Maga'y mang-ila en daida

Maga'y mangitdo si eyat da
Ay matago ya maga'y maagi

Pango sin kutom di ap-apo
Ngem maga di mabalin tako

All:

Dali-daliliyan-daliyan
Daliliyan

Leader:

Gagayyem mo yan naey da
Manpakpakaasi ken sika si
kesas da,
pakawanem ta gabay ganak di
pabal-em ay masangbo de-em

English

Leader:

Your children, they cry
For nobody would mind
them
Nobody would teach them
Support and guidance
they need
But nothing can be done,
death is a part of
life

All:

Dali-daliliyan-daliyan-
daliliyan

Leader:

Your friends they're here
They seek your help
They ask forgiveness for
past mistakes
They ask for blessings
With God's permission

<p>itdo balabalang kankanang tubngalem di Kabunian ya enda bumaknang</p> <p>All:</p> <p>Siya si sin liw-liwa ha- - - - - wa (2x)</p> <p>End: (Narration by one of the oldest son or</p> <p>daughter)</p> <p>Elaem adi ay ay ama /ina ta Matagotago kami ay anak mo Sapay koma adi ta! Mangpakan</p>	<p>to get rich</p> <p>All:</p> <p>That is our liw-liwa</p> <p>(Narration by an old offspring)</p> <p>See to it father That we grow and prosper May our plants yield The best</p>
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Kami ya! Adi alan di peste
Manmula kami abe ya tama!

Salidumay

<p>Disso 3x des-so-des Ensalidom-ma-ay, dommiway Nagapuak as Tambowan Umeyak id Padang-an</p>	<p>I came from Tambowan Tired and exposed to the heat of the sun</p> <p>To visit fair Langayban Up and down the road With scorging heat from the sun</p>
---	--

Mang ila ken Langayban
Matimmatiked nan daan
Ya dadama san Agew

I find no shade
Still, I persevered
Thanks to kabunyan
For the blessings
received

Maid abes men lingayan
Dakpay kayet inanosan
Salamat ken Kabunyan
Tay nagnlayad si Longayban
Et nay kami na bendisyonan
Gabay ya an-ak i-man

English

Bontoc

Nay umey ka

Now you are going because
you must go

Tay nay umey ka

Look at the curve

Ilam nan nimosngowan

Where you have gone

Ta pat-tongan si fato

Put a stone so that

Tay no wad-ay a umonod

When a grandchild tries to
follow you

si apo

He will not see the way
and will come back.

Tatumoli

Because we say that you are a
good ancestor.

No tumoli si apo

Then there will be no cause

At kawis ka ay umey ay apo

of hatred towards you

Mid kayanyangam

In this valley that you

Isnan ili ya taynam

have left behind.

There are dirges sang to console the bereaved family. Baya-os relate some personal experiences of the dead man which are worth emulating. It can also express personal circumstances shared by both singer and the dead man where lessons could be drawn as seen in the following:

Kankanaey

Sin tiempón din gubat 1943
Wada's Domingo ay makitete-a
Ken apo na
Siyet nen sakit
Intangayan di Ipugaw
Enyey da id baey da ama na
Kanan dan natey et
Ngem din takeb na et ininpuos

Man ag-aga si ama na
Tan sina ey et es-esa ay anakda
Sin manbanbantayan da

Kanan di am-am-a ay galutan da
Sit menkali si Domingo
Kana en "Ama, sinon ya et
yo ken sak-en?"
Set bumala san teken e Ipugaw

Kanan da en peslen dan apoy

Tan natago's Domingo
Natago't naki-asawa
Wada din anak da
Ed dwani ay tiempo
Wada da isnan Guisad
Et din ta-wen na ed dwani 67
It sina'y san padas na sin biag
Siya din ibay-baya-o na
no waday matey

English

During the war in the year 1943
There was child named Domingo
Who was staying with his grandparents
Days passed by, Domingo became ill
The barrio folks brought him home
They told the people he's dead
But his breast was still warm

His father cried
Because here was his only son
The people watching over his body

Thought of bounding his body
When Domingo spoke and said
"Father, what are you doing to me?"
All were frightened and ran out of the house.

They thought of putting off the fire

Because Domingo was alive
He lives and married
They begot children and
lived happily
Over there at Guisad
He is now 67 years old
This is his unforgettable experience
This is the content of his
Baya-o he gave in wakes.

There are times when obstinacy and waywardness of the deceased are subjects in the dirges, done so to point out that evil does not pay. Some baya-os disclose of malaise inflicted by

the deceased toward his own family or other people which folks use to explain some of his misfortunes in life. Such baya-os advise the young people to reject and renounce vices and to embrace the good and valuable.

Burial Rites and Practices

Burial day for most inhabitants in the Mountain Province takes place on the second or third day of the wake. The variation may be caused by the desire of the bereaved family for more days of mourning or for the failure of some close relatives to arrive on time.

Interment is usually done early dawn, mid-morning or early evening. In the remote past, villagers bury their dead during the wee hours of the morning when the surrounding is most still. The kawabao blanket is used for people who die young without any children. The number of offsprings is looked into in considering the status of a deceased. The more dependents a man has, the higher status is his family. The rich or kadangyans go for the pinagpagan, however the luxury of choice is also determined by the traditional practice in the family. An offspring preferably uses the same type of burial blanket as that of his parents for identification purposes. The practice of wrapping the corpse with the death shroud or keeping it foiled in the coffin is acceptable.

Before sunset on the eve of burial day, the corpse is transferred from the sangatchel to a coffin or a mat wrapped in a fachala, a death shroud or its appropriate final blanket. An old man takes hold of the head as close kins move the corpse to a mat or a coffin. With the legs flexed or bended on the knee so that the dead man would feel at ease, and wrapped with the desired blanket, the corpse is carried out of the house early in the morning, head first, to the village or family burial grounds. The inhabitants maintain burial caves or sites located a good distance

away from the house usually at the sides of a mountain. A distant land owned by the family may also be chosen as the final resting place for a man. A dead man may, during his lifetime intimate a thrown away in a nearby brook where it rots among the water debris. The traditional coffin is a dugout log or sawed lumber from the hardest tree grown in the forest. Measuring about the size of the corpse, the whole log is divided lengthwise in two, the thick hallow encasing the body while the other half serve as cover.

Acting as pall bearers are the close male kins of the deceased who carry the coffin or the body wrapped in a mat from the house to its final resting place. All relatives closely surround the coffin helping in lifting or at least touching it, a gesture believed to insure that blessings of good fortune remain intact within the family or clan. Helping in carrying the coffin is also a practice viewed as an antidote to the possibility of luck diffusion to the mourners. People residing along the route are warned ahead of time of the funeral procession. Dogs are kept away from the pathway so that the dead man's spirit could concentrate on his journey and distraction like the barking of the dogs, crossing of a black cat or crying of relatives are avoided.

Sliding the coffin into a free space to be among good company of relatives who have gone ahead from this life, the head is placed towards the rising sun. At this point in time, rocks are placed on top of the coffin's lid to keep it firmly in place. Sometimes, the coffin is placed on a high rock or wedged at the side of a cliff. The dead man's siblings turn their backs towards the coffin, lest the anito recognize them and request aid from them. An expression of sadness, as in the wailing of their living relative at this moment may also distract the soul who is about to depart on its journey. The parents or a dead child do not attend the burial service of their young offspring. In the absence of burial caves, a community cemetery is located among the hills or

meadows. Away from the villages, the ab-abi-ik, souls, continue a kind of existence among themselves.

All ritual offerings form the utong, the earthly treasures that accompany the departing soul. The uttong is perceived as packages necessary for travel. Affirming this belief is the people's practice of placing a pot of rice, a cup of wine and a plate of meat over the grave as an old man prays saying:

Bontoc

Sa kano ga napata-a chi
Nalpanalpas kano ay ipunpuncha
Si Ina chay chi
Yaket igeg cha san
Kinsan nay chi
Igey cha chi ya masip-it

English

Then, it was dawn
The burial of their mother was done
And they brought that
What was hers to take along
They brought and
It was gone.

The cleansing rite participated in by all the mourners who accompany the body to its final resting place follows. In a symbolic act of catharsis, each participant wash their hand in a basin placed at their disposal in the ritual house, or take a bath in the river on their way back to the family's abode. This act of cleansing would free the participants of all dirt including the malas, bad luck, that may have been acquired during the wake.

Post-Burial Rites and Practices

Back in the bereaved family's house, close relatives and friends bring in their donations, tulong or supon. Donations consist of money or in kind like palay, chickens or pigs as practised in the towns or Tadian or Barlig. The palay usually comes in an awit, a wide-mouthed basket carried by the women on their heads. The palay is threshed out in a long wooden structure.

Sabangan folks living within the vicinity of the wake act as host to the visitors and friends coming from [variant] towns. They offer the guests the hospitality of their house. It is customary on their part to dine in their individual houses, so that only mourners from other town partake of the meals prepared by the bereaved family. Such show of generosity shows respect for the orphans and a way of condoling with them. It is after burial that all people partake of the food served in the funeral house. The money coming from the su-pon is counted in the presence of the inhabitants. In a way, the amount collected reflects the measure of the villagers' esteem and respect for the dead and the bereaved family. Expressing thanks and gratitude for the help extended to them, a representative of the bereaved family may announce family plans about the money. In most cases, the rationale for su-pon is that of an aid to meet the basic needs of the family in mourning until such time when the elders would believe that the mourning period can be lifted.

Ngilin, also known as tengaw is the community rest day that happens a day after the burial. The inhabitants stay in their respective houses. Extraneous tasks such as field work are avoided this day in deference to the supposed solemn departure of the ab-abi-ik would find rest and peace in the land beyond.

The arawit is done two days after burial in the house of the bereaved family and children having their own houses. The arawit requires each household to slaughter a chicken as an offering to the deities or spirits to thank them for the serenity that pervaded throughout the wake.

In some barrios of the municipalities of Barlig, the cob-cob-fu also known as catchiw rite follows three days after burial. The cob-cob-fu is a community picnic or outing by the river side, done as a reawakening process to instill a deep sense of community life among the living who

are just witnessed a member extirpated from the ground in death. The whole village, children and adults converge in a river to catch fish and gather anything edible. The colcolding on the river rocks, the wading, small fishes in the river bed, the kut-ti, shells from the ricefields, and the wild edible plants from the river side, all of which are symbolic of vigorous life and growth in the community speaking of the vast resources of the barrio that can sustain life for its members. This food-gathering activity rekindles hope and strength in the man, areas in life believed to have a dimmed and dulled during the wake. In the evening of this day, the people gather in the ritual house for meals as invigorated villagers.

A day before the catchiw, relatives honor the dead man's spirit as the most revered benefactor. In an offering of alis, especially done in Bontoc ili, each offspring butchers a pig to ask the spirit for a peaceful and prosperous life. The alis also allows the villagers to move from house to house as close relatives of the deceased share their pig offering to the community folks. It is recognition of the anitos as a benefactor and patron of the living that struggling affluence and good fortune becomes the rationale of the alis rite.

In the town of Besao, a ritual of pig with two chicken is held after thirty days counted from death. This after-a-month rite would facilitate the attainment of the peace for the dead, at the same time providing the starting point for the surviving offsprings to pick up where they have left. They may until this rite resume their day to day activities.

The surviving spouse in an act of sorrow, ties a fiber around her neck for a month and is called amfaro. With the dropping with the fiber, he is called ampanis or balo and ellocas or adasang if a widow. The balo oradasang wears black or dull-colored clothes for a year. She does not cut or trim her hair.

Chapter 6

BELIEFS OF THE CORDILLERANS REGARDING THEIR DEAD

This chapter presents the different Cordillera beliefs that are associated with their practices. The traditional beliefs adhered to by most of the tribal groups find outward manifestation in their rituals and activities.

Apayao beliefs

Belief in the existence of a world after death. The food offering and several objects interred with the body support the idea that there is life after death. The ashes of langpa leaves strewn over the coffin is supposed to protect the dead from strong rain in the next world. the pag-anido or warming the grave, done after interment is a function to aid the dead as it adjusts to its new environment.

Belief in good and evil spirits. The Isnegs ward off evil caused by bad spirits by placing libno herbs inside the death attire. The herbal aroma keeps evil beings away. The stones directed at the bereaved family's house to drive malevolent spirits away would facilitate the dead's achievement of peace.

Belief that offering animal sacrifices ushers in good luck for the celebrants. Members of the bereaved family would always share in burial expenses because they hope to be beneficiaries of the benevolence of ancestral spirits.

Benguets Beliefs

Beliefs associated with the dead blankets. A prosperous and successful life bestowed on the living is partly viewed as having been generated by the spirit's benevolence resulting from its

achievement of peace in its new life. Degrading poverty, illness and irritability are widely deemed as malediction, an admonition or a reproach brought by dissatisfaction and error during the wake. Mental illness is also blamed on the erroneous choice of death blankets.

Beliefs associated with animal sacrifices. Animals killed during death ceremonies are believed to accompany the dead on its journey to the next world. the carabao prescribed for katdu informs both the living relatives and the ancestral spirits of the occurrence of death. The internal organs are subjected to an indigenous interpretation. A missing or defective organ is a sign of repudiation of the unknown and portends evil. In such a case, the donor looks for alternative offering which should be better than that which is rejected that could satisfy the cravings of the spirit. An offering is imperfect if its value is not commensurate with the donor's financial capability or is given in hesitancy. After the inspection and the interpretation, the meat is prepared for food for all people.

The pair of chicken and a dog, prescribed for the ocat rite have specific functions. The rooster crows along the way, a belief to facilitate travel time to eternity ensuring the arrival of the spirit to its destination with the least possible delay despite its heavy load. The dog barks at malevolence who might distract the convoy on its solitary trek to oblivion.

Beliefs associated with opo. The opo is a pawit or gifts sent through the deceased of the ancestral spirits of the donors. The dapsoy is a receipt of opo. Animal opo for the day are consumed on that specific day.

The prescription for immediate consumption of the day's offering except the heads of livestock has relation to the belief that the ancestral spirits are the recipients of the opo and not the people. It is feared that if kept, opo can be scrupulously stolen by strangers, thus in a way

defeating its purpose its purpose as food offering. While the head of the animal is tied to the pine pole or pangawan for the next day's breakfast, it also informs the ancestral spirits of the number of livestock killed for the day so that the wake is either far or almost over. The ropes or guanet used to tie the animals kept inside the house near the coffin as concrete evidences of the opo. Belief runs that the deceased takes along with her the animal opo still with ropes and animal in tow, on its journey to its destination.

Belief in the power of ancestral spirits.the Benguets believe in the power of ancestral spirits to intercede in their behalfs. Inhabitants offer animal sacrifices to please them. If they are happy and contented, man's offering is reciprocated with blessings in community peace and prosperity. They can also be misled by bad spirits into believing that they have been forgotten by their relatives which can spell trouble for the community folks. Given their vulnerability for trouble especially when teased, the inhabitants try all means to be within their graces most of the time.

Belief that death is a journey towards a spiritual world.the dead person's attire and blanket with the earthy treasures it brings along with him would make him recognizable to its ancestors. The presence of familiar objects once used by ancestral spirits facilitates travel time and entry into the world of the spirits. The ancestral spirits could recognize friend or foe at once.

Mountain Province Beliefs

Beliefs relating to death and burial are as follows:

Beliefs in the existence of a soul and a life after death.Death to the inhabitants means a separation of the soul from the body; as the body joins the company of the ancestral spirits called

anitos. The anitos believed existing in a world of their own are considered powerful to change the people's lives either for good or for bad.

Beliefs that a murder victim could avenge his own death. A murder person is seated in a sangadil outside the house. This arrangement would allow the victim a full view of all people coming for the wake. This is his chance at avenging his own death by causing trouble or even death to the perpetrators of the crime.

Belief that death attire and blankets are for identification purposes. The traditional garments are worn by the dead. The death blankets should be of the same type as that of his dead ancestors so that the new dead could be admitted easily to the world of its ancestors.

Belief associated with early interment. As in man's journey where he starts early in the morning, so is with the death journey. The Bontocs bury their dead in the morning in a similar manner that one starts travel early in a day.

Belief associates with animal offering. The people or Bontoc offer animal sacrifices known as uttong, immediately after internment. The animals killed are concomitant to spiritual existence.

Ifugao Beliefs relating to Death

Belief in the immortality of the soul. The soul is believed to continue in existence in the world of its ancestors. In time the soul of the new-dead becomes one of the callading or ancestral spirits. The callading are considered man's benefactors. Animals butchered during the wake and the offerings in binyon are practices supporting the belief of the soul's continued existence.

Belief in appropriate death attire and blanket as requirements needed to enter the next world. In the world of ancestral spirits, a new dead can be identified by its benefactors through its attire and blankets. If properly attired, it gains entrance to its new world at once.

Belief in the existence of ancestral spirits in a place called Tulpukan. Tulpukan is a place in Ifugao known to be frequented by ancestral spirits.

Belief in the power of murder victims to avenge their own death. The Ifugaos plead with murder victims to cause to the culprits or perpetrators of the crime of murder. Victims of murder cannot rest unless their death is avenged.

Belief in the messages associated with the condition of animal entrails. The Ifugaos associate a bile sac that is buguhan ornuhumwit with spiritual approval of wake activities. Slaughtering of animals could be endless if bile sacs are either nakupo or nalikpan.

Kalinga Beliefs Relating to Death

Belief in the immortality of the soul. The soul of the dead joins the world of its ancestors, the kallading. The kallading are considered benefactors and protectors of the living. Prayers are often addressed to the ancestral spirits requesting them for their intercession. Food offering is done to honor good spirits and win favors for the living. The Kalinga mourning band worn in the head makes the bereaved family recognizable to the ancestral spirits who are expected to be pleased with the animal sacrifices offered.

Belief in the existence of bad spirits. Hovering during the burial rites are evil spirits who are out to cause trouble. The souls of the dead are faulted for sickness or bad luck. Things like cigar stumps and pebbles placed over the grave are supposed to frighten the bad spirit. The Dead

man's spear and axe is placed in front of him so that he may have something to protect him from evil spirits.

Belief that murdered victims could not rest in peace if their death is not avenged. There is a clamor for vengeance when death is caused by foul play. It revolves upon the members of the clan to avenge the crime committed to a dead relative.

Belief in the power of ancestral spirits. Death from sickness is believed to be caused by neglected ancestral spirits who may be harboring ill-feling toward their living relative. It is for this reason that many animals are killed for the uttong. The sacrificial animals should appease the wrath of the ancestral spirits.

Belief that the uttong facilitates the dead's attainment of peace and rest. The uttong, an immediate post-burial activity of animal slaughterings by the bereaved family is performed to secure for the dead its well-deserved rest.

Chapter 7

VALUES THE CORDILLERANS ATTACH TO DEATH AND BURIAL RITUALS AND OTHER PRACTICES AND BELIEFS

The old folks of the Cordilleras are profoundly obsessed with the responsibility of transplanting their traditional rituals to the younger generations, who are often made as participant-observers. At least they themselves wish to depart from this life in ceremonies they consider appropriate and in accordance with their personal beliefs. This obsession and consuming desire of transmitting that cultural heritage is expressed in the following bad-iw lines lifted from a dirge formulated by an old man during a wake.

Ibaloi	English
Say on naynay ngo rashan	That there be a continuity of life in peace
Olnos ni Kaidi-an	That which demonstrates sounds sense of values
Enshawawat Kabunian	That which is given from above

The justification of the efforts of the old folks to transmit to the young their practices is some values presented in this section arranged according to provinces.

Values Derived from the Apayao Death Practices and Beliefs

Strengthened family ties. The presence of the members of the family is a requirement before death rites commence. Each member feels important in participating in the wake activities as each has a definite task to do during the wake.

Development of desirable traits. The donations called tulong or alos collected from the community during wakes promote community awareness, cooperation and altruism. Since these donations help the bereaved family cope with its financial obligations, community folks are encouraged to give in order to help a neighbor in sorrow.

A surviving spouse develops strength of will power and character in her desire to keep mandated abstentions and other prescriptions during the mourning period.

Respect for and obedience to elders. The community folks who are given the task to monitor coffin construction, burial and other wake functions are often consulted for advise and approval. Their observations and conclusions about wake activities are final.

The multa imposed on neighbors who force a surviving spouse in mourning to do a restricted activity shows the extent towards which the old folks are respected.

Disadvantages Arising from Apayao Death Practices and Beliefs

Given the tremendous effect fueled by the advances of science and technology, the following are viewed as negative values.

The practice of acquiring loans to spend for burial rites is a deterrent factor to progress. Wakes could attract loan sharks.

Long wakes become a health hazard for the community. The practice of waiting for th members of the family to be assembled before wake rites begin could result in body decomposition which is hazardous to health.

Values Derived from the Benguet Death Practices and Beliefs

Strengthened family ties. Death ceremony commences with the presence of at least the adult members of the family not only for the purposes of discussing the procedures but also a moral obligation imposed of them to honor a dead member of the family for the last time. Death rites end with the family assembled in a show of cooperation and unity. The sabosab, the madmad, and sindad are among the many specifics urgently mandating individual presence.

Development and enhancement of a deep sense of community. The feeling of being an important member of the village exists. It is manifested when villagers assume important tasks as in food preparation where visitors are expected to eat ahead of all others, the meat-sharing scheme where each family receives bundles of meat cooked and uncooked and the oporites where neighbors bring in their donations without expecting any returns.

The meat-sharing scheme particularly those given out to the community members on katdu and burial day renews and strengthens community relationship. Meat from wakes informs each recipient of somebody's demise. It also establishes and affirms active community memberships.

Development of desirable traits. The responsibility of hosting wake celebrations demands thriftiness and modest ways of living if a sponsor would properly honor the dead in accordance with customs and tradition. The idea of ultimately shouldering burial expenses for parents requires strict financial planning. The knowledge that neighbors are indispensable partners in ritual activities make the villagers cooperate with one another in many functions, as seen in their planting, harvesting and other daily chores.

Respect and obedience to elders and other senior citizens of the community.The most requested groups to initiate bad-iw or liwliwa are the elders. The old folks preside over the rites that they become the undisputed mentor in wake services. Many offspring yield to the clamor of the old people only for the purpose of pleasing them.

The cathartic value of burial practices. The performance of the customary death rites is a form of catharsis in the sense that release of pent-up emotions that have existed between a relative and the dead find wakes as venues of release. A specific example in point is when a wayward child asks forgiveness and is deemed forgiven by a dead parent during the wake. Laments said during the wake lighten individual burdens. Appropriate celebrations generate contentment and peace of mind for the celebrants and relatives as well as the whole community.

Disadvantages Derived from the Benguet Death Practices and Beliefs

The wake practices have adverse effects in the light of the concepts of modern civilization and successful living. Listed below are some unpopular effects of the customary practices of the Benguet.

Benguet wakes are too expensive that a family could suffer a substantial financial setback. The slaughtering of large animals could amount to thousands of pesos which could have been utilized for the purchase of other basic needs like housing and education.

Wake rituals actually hinder progress, thus, in society's march to progress, some Benguets are left behind explained by their resistance to change. Wake rites prefer the perpetuation of age-old practice, indeed a degenerating activity. The expense component of wakes particularly explains the existence of poverty and poor educational output level in Benguet.

The lengthy funeral wakes of seven to nine days subject the members of the family to a gloomy ambience which could be psychologically hazardous. Added to the expenses is the painful atmosphere that saddles the family. Still faulted of the lengthy wake is the possibility of losing one's job or loss at business ventures owing to the practice of watching the dead for a long time.

Values Inherent in Ifugao Death Practices and Beliefs

Fostering of close family ties. The Ifugao family comes together to discuss wake procedures and functions appropriate for their dead relative. Death service commence with the presence of key family members.

Development of deep sense of understanding, tolerance and cooperation. There is flexibility of death functions demonstrated by the practice of moving the corpse from one house to another. This is done in an attempt to honor the dead in specific houses. The members of the family and relatives exercise magnanimity for the hassle that accompanies mobility. It is difficult for people experiencing extreme anguish to transfer venues of wakes because of adjustment problems, yet the Ifugaos seem capable of the problematic arrangement.

Manifestation of the people's profound sense of obligation as demonstrated in tongol. The tongol, the Ifugao's mutual aid system, is deeply rooted in their customs and traditions that for tongol to prosper, donors treat donations with great sensitivity so that tongol is not equated as a settlement or liquidation of past favors.

Respect for one's commitment and enshrinement of one's "word of honor". The practice of betrothed couples to donate a death shroud to a dead parent of a fiancée suggests strong sense of

duty and commitment. Through such action, the young Ifugaos are extra careful of making pronouncement or in choosing a mate.

The presence of preventive values in bangibang. The specter of revenge and formidable death rites for murdered victims in bangibang keeps young Ifugaos away from murder-prone situations.

Disadvantages Derived from the Ifugao Death Practices and Beliefs

The blanket-offering prescribed of betrothed Ifugao couples limits exposure for the young Ifugaos since engaged couples should have ample time before the wedding to decide and choose a wife or a husband.

The bangibang rites with fearful movement and frightening ambience inspire and encourage revenge.

The expensive practice of seating the dead in hangdil and moving it from one house to another is a health hazard.

Values Inherent in the Mountain Province Death Practices and Beliefs

Cultivation and development of a deep sense of community membership. When neighbors come together in a collective show of oneness and unity to ease the plight of a bereaved family, the actions speak of a formidable group. The neighbors invite visitors coming from distant towns for meals and night accommodations to lighten the bereaved family's responsibility of lodging the visitors. It lessens family expenses. The supon or tulong portion helps the bereaved family to cope with financial problems as proceeds from supon may be used

to defray wake expenses. The catchiw is an affirmation of belongingness as each and every individual member is mandated to join in the picnic.

Development of strong will and sacrifice. When the bereaved family is subjected to restrictions as in food abstention, limited mobility and other restrictions attendant to mourning, the will power is strengthened. The ability to forego habitual activities demands sacrifices on the part of the bereaved family.

Development of desirable traits. Prescribed activities required of the individual are duly performed. The catchiw mandates fishing and gathering of shells that teen children are expected to do. The participation of the young provides opportunities for development of cooperation, patience and obedience.

Disadvantages Derived from Mountain Province Wake Rites

The practice of scolding the dead for infractions committed during its lifetime is unbearable for the bereaved family which at that moment does not think ill of its deceased.

The catchiw requiring presence of community members for a day's picnic by the riverside lengthens the wake rites even prompting the school children to be absent from their classes.

Values Derived from Kalinga Death Practices and Beliefs

Altruistic value illustrated by the meat-sharing scheme. The meat-sharing where each family is a recipient of pieces of meat, banggat, speak of favorable community relations.

The kallating, choice parts of the beast that is butchered and given back to the donors expresses the recipients' deep appreciation of the relative's gesture of help.

Cathartic value in ebin. The ebin, an expression of profound sorrow and mental anguish in a cry relieves unexpressed desires and pent-up emotions which could cause psychological damage on the relatives.

Attainment of peace and contentment. The butchering of animals in uttong rites, results in the peace of mind and the contentment of the donors fueled by the idea that each offspring has satisfactorily fulfilled the dead man's final requests. The uttong is performed purportedly for the dead's attainment of eternal peace.

Development of strong will and sense of commitment. The prohibition mandated of the bereaved family as food abstention on dangles rites strengthens personal sense of commitment and develops will.

Development of deep sense of community relationship. The villagers function as co-sponsors of the wake since they help in food preparation and all other activities attendant to the wake, which reflects cooperation and a deep sense of community relationship.

Disadvantages Derived from Kalinga Death Practices and Beliefs

There are also practices among the Kalingas that negate progress in the light of modern advances made by science and technology some of which are listed below.

Extravagance seen in the uttong. The uttong, the dead man's provision for the next world, where many animals are butchered particularly by wealthy families in their attempt to please the ancestral spirits is very expensive. This shows economic affluence depletes the bereaved family of the much needed resources.

The sangatchel component where the body is enthroned 3 to 5 days is a health hazard for the mourners and the community as a whole.



Chapter 8

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This study entitled, “Death and Burial Rituals and Other Practices and Beliefs of the Cordillerans,” is a descriptive-survey that looked into the existing structures, beliefs, taboos, idiosyncrasies, and other traditional practices of the people of Benguet, Ifugao, Bontoc, Apayao and Kalinga associated with their dead. The significance and implications of these century-old acts to the village people were delved into in this study.

Specifically, this study sought to answer the following questions:

1. What are the rituals and other practices of the Cordillerans regarding death and burial?
2. What are the characteristics of these rituals and other practices?
3. What are their beliefs regarding the dead?
4. What are the values that the cordillerans attach to their death and burial rituals and other practices?

The data-gathering technique was mainly participation-observation of the actual various burial rites in the Cordilleras and interviews with the well-known community resource persons. The old folks, the acknowledged mentors or Amantusho, mumbaki, darorabet and individuals with first-hand experience on the subject became the appropriate knowledgeable people approached by the researcher. Recording devices like the camera and tape to capture momentous and ritualistic events proved to be of substantial help in the data-gathering process. There was no major problem met in collating data because the researcher became both a vibrant participant as well as an interested keen observer. The interviewees demonstrated full

comprehension of their subject field thus establishing their credibility at the same time manifesting profound aspiration for ethnic culture to flourish and develop. The bad-iw songs salidumay, baya-o that were tape-recorded, and analyzed, articulated the significance and meaning behind the rituals.

SUMMARY

1. There are a number of burial and death practices common to the tribes living in the Cordillera area. Each specific undertaking is relevant to the purpose of the day. The activities start immediately after the person's expiration and continue up to the last day of wake.
2. The rituals are religiously adhered to by the people indicating the presence the presence of a relationship between the dead and the living. The kind of relationship whether one of harmony or hostility conditions the inhabitant's way of life.
3. The burial activities are means of communication to the dead relatives mostly done to seek their blessings and assistance, to ward off evil and to secure for the dead an everlasting place of rest and peace.
4. The death blankets and death attire speak of the man's quality of earthly life; the criterion based on wealth, age and prestige.
5. The baya-o, salidumay, dan-danag are expressions of lament, sadness and praise. It is an individual eulogy, a prayer that is sang and a tribute to a dead man's life. The beauty and significance lies in its implications seen in context. It is also an articulation of the old folks' cherished aspirations of making the traditional culture a legacy to the up-coming generation.

6. The burial expenses depend on the financial status of the bereaved family, with most members willing and others coerced in sharing the expenses.
7. The Community-based burial practices are expressive of the rural people's community orientedness, a fact explained by the presence of countless friends and relatives almost daily throughout the wake despite a lot of inconveniences.
8. The old folks and other ritual mentors consider it their esteem duty to teach and impart the traditional death practices. They direct and manage burial solemnities solely to teach what to them is right and proper.
9. There are various beliefs adhered to by the people regarding their death and burial rituals and practices which guide the Cordillerans' way of life. These beliefs are regulative in the sense that they serve as significant determinants to the rituals and procedure prevailing during the wake. The kind of wake given a person, ranging from the simple to the average and to the more elaborate ones is one of the factors considered in the cordillera society's stratification system.
10. There are rituals attached by the people to their death rituals and practices which influence to a great extent the behavior of the cordillerans. These values serve as social control and social pressure. Manifestations of these values are deeply rooted in their performance.

CONCLUSIONS

On the bases of the foregoing findings, the following conclusions are reached:

1. There are burial practices that are of common applications to all the ethnic people in the Cordilleras as there are variations mostly occurring in the expenses and terminologies used during the wake.
2. Excessive and elaborate rituals force the inhabitants to spend beyond their meager income leaving them with no alternatives but to utilize their work and source animals for the prescriptions.

The ba-diw, baya-o, salidumay, dan-daneg, liw-liwa are paramount legacy of the elders to the young generations. They are replete with ideas articulating values and significance of ritual solemnities. They are the Cordillera culture in chants.

The burial practices are indigenous system of interaction carried on by the inhabitants that directly condition their attitudes, outlooks as well as their socio-economic life. Their collective responses to the wake functions help reinforce group cooperation and solidarity.

3. The cordillerans have many beliefs on their dead. These beliefs rationalized their various practices. Among their significant beliefs are the following:
Beliefs in the immortality of the soul, belief in the power of ancestral spirits to influence the life of the living and beliefs in the presence of the evil spirits.

There are values that the Cordillerans attach to their death and burial practices. Among the favorable ones are community cooperation and the peaceful atmosphere. The negative ones are those that hinder progress and development as in the expensive and lengthy death practices.

RECOMMENDATIONS

In light of the conclusion made, the following recommendations are offered:

1. Students of the Cordilleras should be knowledgeable about the varied death practices and beliefs of their people in order to be in a better position to appreciate their cultural heritage.
2. There is a need to incorporate the cultural values identified in this study in the curriculum of the cordillera schools.
3. There is a need to minimize expensive death practices in order to lessen the economic burden incurred by the families concerned.

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APPENDICES

INTERVIEW GUIDE

A. What are the death and burial practices of the people of the Cordilleras?

1. What do you do when somebody dies?
2. What specific activities, rituals and practices are done before interment? At the time of interment? After interment?
3. What attire is worn by the dead?
4. What death shrowds or blankets are used by the dead? How is the death blanket arranged in the coffin?
5. What animal sacrifices are required?
6. What prayers are said?
7. What chants or dirges are sang?
8. What symbolisms are seen during the wake?

B. What are the characteristics of these death and burial practices?

1. How are the rituals and other practices performed?
2. Why do you perform these rituals and other practices?
3. Who assists the bereaved family in times of death?
4. How is the death attire put on?
5. Describe the position of the dead in the coffin? On the death chair?
6. How is the death shroud used?
7. What construction materials are selected for coffins? Why?
8. How are the animal sacrifices prepared?
9. How do the neighbors and friends participate in the death rites?

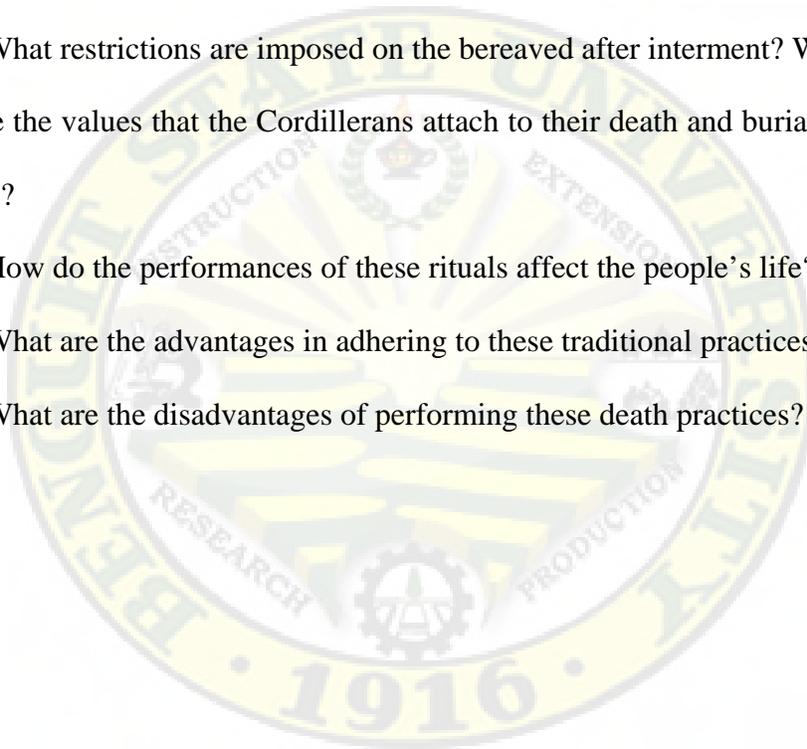
10. Who gives donations? Why are they given? Ahat is done with these donations?

C. What are their beliefs on the dead?

1. Why are the rituals and other practices adhered to by the people? What beliefs are attached to these rituals and practices?
2. What happens after death? Where does the soul, ab-abi-ik go after death?
3. Why are animal sacrifices offered?
4. What activities or functions are imposed on the bereaved after interment? Why?
5. What restrictions are imposed on the bereaved after interment? Why?

D. What are the values that the Cordillerans attach to their death and burial rituals and other practices?

1. How do the performances of these rituals affect the people's life?
2. What are the advantages in adhering to these traditional practices?
3. What are the disadvantages of performing these death practices?



Appendix B

NATIVE WORDS USED IN THE RESEARCH WORK

Apayao

Akin. Apayao tapis or skirt which is dark in color.

Alos. Also known as tulong, donation of money or in kind during a wake.

Anito. An Isneg ancestral spirit.

Anuputan. A man's tobacco tucker worn around the waist.

Bisnag. A game of endurance played by slapping the exposed thighs of a playmate as long as players could endure the pain. It is played during wakes.

Darorahit. An Isneg man knowledgeable about rituals who performs ceremonies associated with the people's belief.

Ikamen. A mat

Kaduduwa. A soul of a dead person

Libino. An aromatic leaf of a common plant believed to ward-off evil

Multa. A punishment or a fine imposed on violators of village laws

Pag-anido. A warming rite mandating relatives to build fire near the grave

Tagdag. A bamboo bier

Benguet

- Apay. Green cogon grasses spread at the house frontage used as placemats and for slicing and cutting meat. It is where ritual interpretation is done.
- Ba-diw. An Ibaloi dirgrave chant spontaneously organized and arranged by the singers who draw the singer's lament and his thoughts about the rituals
- Bagiw. Also known as bandala. It is the lowest type of death blankets
- B'tet. A large bottle-shaped container used for trapping the spirit of a new-dead
- Binongkod. A piece of cloth serving as belt or binder
- B'tek. Four bundles of palay
- Bukdow. Neck of an animal and some meat cooked in the kitchen during the wake
- Caring. A ritual string bracelet constructed out of a local tree bark worn by the orphans for identification purposes
- Costa. A head gear with black red stripes
- Dapsoy. Slices of meat given to donors coming from distant towns during the wake
- Eten. A generic term for skirt
- Kambal. A loose blouse worn with the tapis. It may have different color from that of the tapis
- Kintoman. A native red rice usually harvested in July to August
- Nginoso. Orphans

Paw-it. A hand-carried gift

Pinagpagan. A predominant red death blanket

Sabusab. A cleansing rite which requires the killing of the pig spiced with ginger and rice wine

Sec-kot ni dubib A tie-knotting ritual done to record wake expenses

Senie-si. Longated slices of meat hang out to dry under the sun symbolizing death

Shenget. A generic term for a head gear

Shindi. Also known as dinli or dilli, a type of death blanket

Binadibubo. Also known as kobal, wanes, a G-string for the dead

Sinai. Also known as Alladang, Endashang, a predominantly black death blanket considered prestigious

Sindad. Boiled meat

Ifugao

Amuhon. A bath

Atag. A device or structure made of rono used to transport the dead from the house to the burial site

Bangibang. Wooden beating instrument; a ritual procession formed during the burial ceremony for murdered persons

Binnalet.	A tapis; a skirt
Dimungo.	People who come to condole with the bereaved family
Haludang.	Also hangdil; an Ifugao death chair
Haydu.	Also yakyak; a square strainer
Hape.	A decorative attire worn over the clothes
Hongnga.	A ritual to ward off evil spirits believed to cause the illness of a person
Ignob.	A ritual that imposes on murder victims to bring along with them in death their murderers
Kallading.	Ifugao ancestral spirits
Kinutian.	A prestigious Ifugao death blanket
Lafun.	Burial Day
Llabhu.	A death blanket with blue and white stripes
Mombaki.	An Ifugao native priest knowledgeable about the rituals. He performs ritual ceremonies
Monhimong.	Avengers
Monwahiwa.	A professional woman caretaker for the dead who watches the corpse and protects it from flies and dirt
Pahol.	Also gayang, a spear

Page. Palay

Pagmamaan. Betel nut-chewing paraphernalia

Pinagpangan. A predominantly red-striped death blanket

Mountain Province

Ab-abi-ik. Soul of a dead person

Affong. Anative hut

Amfaro. A widow

Anito. An ancestral spirit

Awit. A large container usually carried on the head

Baya-o. A kankanaey dirge chanted by village folks whose theme suits the occasion

Chinangta. A white G-string

Cob-cob-fu. A community picnic by the river done after a wake

Faangan. Bontoc front yard, a space in front of the house

Fachala. A death blanket of the lowest type

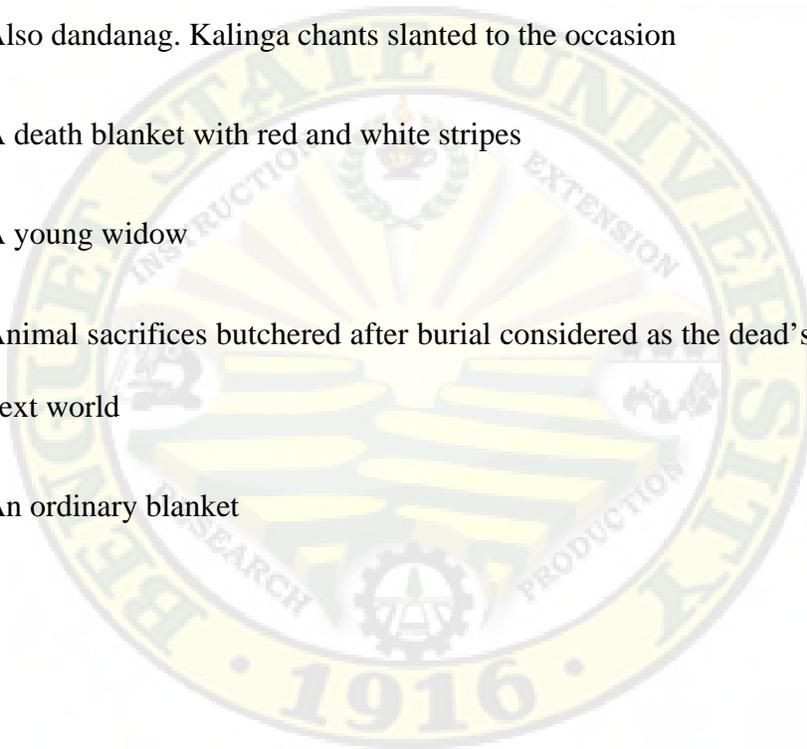
Fayaong. A thin navy blue cloth with embroidered edges used as skirts by the rich women

Kadangyan. Aso Katachangyan, the rich people

Kayin. A dark woven cloth used as skirt by the poor

Logteb.	A G-string worn by the rich
Manmanok.	A rite requiring the killing of chickens whose entrails are subjected to analysis, done to guide wake activities
Malas.	Bad luck
Ngilin.	A village holliday in deference to a death of a community member
Pinagpagan.	Also known as alladang. A death blanket for the rich
Sangatchel.	Also sangadil, sarapat. A death chair
Supon.	A donation in kind or money during the wake
Tochong.	A head gear
Uttong.	Animal sacrifices considered the dead man's provision as it travels to the next world
Kalinga	
Addang.	Donation in kind like palay, wine, any animal or money during a wake
Bangat.	Uncooked meat distributed to the community folks and other mourners
Bulo.	A native bamboo
Bungi.	Also tugol. Beads worn by Kalinga women around the head
Dangles.	Also shangles. Meat offered for the dead
Ebin.	Also sanget. Strong expression of sorrow done as one cries over the corpse

Kallading.	Ancestral spirits believed to be man's protectors and benefactors
Lapac.	A mat constructed from woven bamboo strips
Pagay.	Palay
Pangat.	A village leader who is usually a peace pact holder
Pauli.	Also Kallating. Choice parts of the meat given back to donors
Salidumay.	Also dandanag. Kalinga chants slanted to the occasion
Sinamituen.	A death blanket with red and white stripes
Tagimbalo.	A young widow
Uttong.	Animal sacrifices butchered after burial considered as the dead's provisions to the next world
Uyos.	An ordinary blanket



Appendix C

List of Key Informants, Their Ages, Occupation, Address

Apayao

Aliteng, Dorotea	52	Businessman	Calanasan
Cadag, Pedro	57	District Supervisor	Calanasan
Olas, Loreta	50	Teacher	Conner Apayao
Olas, Minyong Benguet	60	Farmer	Conner Apayao

Aniban, Legaspi	52	Manbunong	Kapangan
Anipo, Colay-an	60	Farmer	Buguias
Aping, Ensa	66	Farmer	Bokod
Aroco, Todiano	70	Former Mayor	Kabayan
Baniwas, Calis	71	Manbunong	Bokod
Bangsalan, Magdalena	74	Former Nurse	Bokod
Basatan, Eugene	63	Ex-Barrio Captain	Bokod
Bias, Luisa	75	Ritual Mentor	Itogon
Bias, Nadnaren	78	Ritual Mentor	Itogon
Caliag, Timel	70	Manbunong	Bokod
Cosalan, Saria	65	Houekeeper	Kabayan
Julian, Andres	55	Farmer	Kapangan
Estong, Ambrocio	60	Manbunong	Kabayan
Fernando, Victorina	75	Civic Leader	Bokod
Molintas, Carmen	71	Retired Ge. Educ. Supervisor	Kapangan
Molintas, Wright	65	Retired Treasurer	Bokod
Sabaoan, Kiliman	78	Farmer	Kapangan
Olas, Kiwag	65	Ritual Mentor	Bokod
Suayan, Terio	73	Ritual Mentor	Bokod
Tero, Josefa	78	Housekeeper	La Trinidad
Layon, Matilde	100	Housekeeper	Kibungan
Pacito, Willie	55	Farmer	Buguias
Punso, Apesa	60	Farmer	Buguias
Sallatic, Raymundo	50	Farmer	Kibungan

Ifugao

Amanawe, Elspit	50	Nurse	Tinoc
Camhit, George	51	Treasurer	Banawe
Dumapis, Peter	50	Businessman	Banawe
Himiwat (one name)	60	Mumbaki	Lagawe
Ngayaan (one name)	60	Wood Carver	Mayaoyao
Niwane, Maria	55	Housekeeper	Banawe

Pelogna, Roy	56	Retired Nurse	Banawe
Landawan, Tinda-an	54	Farmer	Tinoc
Mountain Province			
Bagano, Juliet	50	Professor, BSU	Tadian
Baniwas, Rosa	64	Farmer	Sagada
Carling, Alfredo	66	Businessman	Sagada
Conrado, Tito	80	Mambuni	Tadian
Depalog, Juaquin	60	Farmer	Bontoc
Fernando, Gertrude	60	Teacher, DECS	Sagada
But-amen, Edad	65	Housekeeper	Bontoc
Forosan, Dalmacio	66	Retired Laborer	Barlig
Ulad, Ambrosio	67	Farmer	Bauko
Ulad, Songgop	68	Farmer	Bauko
Banyao, Juanito	55	Laborer	Natonin
Wanawan, Teresita	52	Government Clerk	Bontoc
Kalinga			
Bestre, Felomina	65	Retired Teacher	Tabuk
Buliyat, Francis	43	Lawyer	Balbalan
Donggui-is, John	55	Provincial Board Member	Tabuk
Donggui-is, Lorenzo	63	Former Mayor	Poswey and Tabuk
Leusen, Paul	50	Provincial Auditor	Tabuk
Molintas, Oliver	36	Barrio Captain	Tabuk
Saunding, Monica	75	Farmer	Rizal, Kalinga

Appedix D

CURRICULUM VITAE

Name: Sonia M. Celino
Date of Birth: June 29, 1942
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Institutions Attended:

Elementary: Daclan Elementary School (1995)
Secondary: Saint Louis Center, Girls High, Baguio (1959)
College: Saint Louis University, Baguio (1963)
Graduate: University of Baguio (1983)
Master of Arts in Education
Doctor of Education, 1990

Present Position:

Assistant Professor IV
Benguet State University
College of Teacher Education
Department of Agricultural Education

Professional Experiences:

Elementary Grades Teacher
Bokod District, DECS, 1963-1970
Tuba District, DECS, 1971-1974
Cooperating Teacher
Ilang Elementary School, La Trinidad District, 1974-1984
College Instructor
Benguet State University
College of Teacher Education
Department of Agricultural Education 1984-Present

Civil Service Eligibility:

Teacher Eligibility, December 1965

Membership in Societies:

Philosophy of Education Society of the Philippines
Folkloric Society of the Philippines
Philippine Public School Teachers Association
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Adviser, Benguet Student Federation
Adviser, Student Catholic Action, BSU Chapter