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The Wake and Last Rites over H. Otley Beyer in Ifugaoland*

E. ARSENIO MANUEL

I. DEATH OF PROFESSOR BEYER

I had often surmised that Professor H. Otley Beyer would outlive his younger contemporaries and assistants. His constitution was rather tough. He had bruised himself and cracked his head on several occasions, either by bumping his head against doors and showcases, or by falling down the concrete stairway of the Watson Building, front and back. He had two serious falls. He ascribed his feat to strength accumulated in his younger years when he played football; he said he rolled down the stairs using his elbows, but without hurting himself much. His most serious fall was in 1964; he lost some blood, but he did not care to stay in the hospital. He used to tell us also that his parents lived to a ripe old age, and he would give us the assurance that everything was alright.

Professor Beyer was an obstinate man; he would sometimes listen to friends, but he did not care much about their counsels. I had the the impression that he feared surgery. He had for many years been suffering from hernia, but he would never submit to an operation, in spite of the assurance that it was going to be a minor one. Not until his doctor said that he would be dead in a few hours did he submit himself to the operating table. He had a cataract in his right eye; when he was still strong,

*I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness to Mrs. Lingngayu Beyer and William Beyer for the accommodation of my family in Banaue during the duration of the wake and thereafter. Also for the information that now and then was necessary to verify data and many other attentions. To Mr. Mauro Garcia go many thanks especially for the title of this paper and other things.

arrangements for an operation were postponed again and again until it was no longer feasible to operate.

He was still in good spirits before and after the symposium given by his friends and colleagues on July 13-14, 1965. He took us to the Swiss Inn, as he now and then invited many of us, to keep him company. I had the impression that he was lonely without someone to talk to in the evening. He had given up, several years ago, betting at the Jai Alai games and feminine company. There was no longer the detective story or dime novel tucked in one of his coat pockets to read snatches of between conversation or bettings. His eyes had unmistakably deteriorated.

Then when I returned from a field trip in Mindanao sometime in February 1966, Professor Beyer was already ailing at the U.P. Infirmary. His condition was not good. He had some difficulty recognizing people; his hearing had suffered considerably. He had fallen from his bed, I was told. His eyes appeared to have a stare of blankness.

After I returned from the Matigsalug country in western Davao in July 1966, I again paid Professor Beyer a visit. He was a more different man than the one I last saw. Communication with him was no longer feasible. He would grope in the room, trying to locate the door, wanting to get out, but two boys would hold him back. He had no more control of urination, though he would grab his food and eat voraciously. It appeared he was not losing his appetite, though his frame had shrank tremendously.

When Beyer finally gave up the ghost in the morning of December 31, 1966, it was an expected event. His body was taken for embalment to the Funeraria Paz where it laid in state in its parlor in Manila until the following day. In the afternoon of January 1st, his body was transferred to the Protestant Chapel in the Diliman Campus. Many friends and former students came to pay their respects. For the first time I saw Mrs. Beyer face to face. In previous occasions, when she came to the Museum, the Professor drove me off, but I did not feel offended. In his official record, it appeared he was a widower. I just saw Mrs. Beyer's back twice in postwar years, and never saw her in

Banawe where she lived. Besides Ifugao, her native language, she could speak Ilukano and some English. She did not care to eat, though she took some wine or liquor.

Flowers came and filled the back and sides of the coffin. President and Mrs. Marcos sent their remembrance.

On Tuesday afternoon, January 3rd, 1967, there was a necrological service in his honor. Dean Francisco Nemenzo of the College of Arts and Sciences, University of the Philippines, delivered a brief homage; he was followed by Mr. Á. V. H. Hartendorp who spoke on "Professor Beyer as a Colleague and Friend." Dr. Mario D. Zamora of the Department of Anthropology, U.P., spoke on "Professor Beyer, Anthropology and Humanity." President Carlos P. Romulo, in appreciation, read a "Tribute." Mr. William Beyer, the only son, delivered the "Response." Noel Velasco, of the Conservatory of Music, sang two songs. Rev. James E. Palm gave the benediction, assisted by Rev. Fr. Frank Lynch, a former student, who in his turn recited a blessing.

II. THE LONG WAY HOME

The following morning, of January 4th, at about six o'clock, after cramming all the bouquets into the funeral car, the cortege started from the U.P. Campus at Diliman and headed for Banawe in Ifugaoland. It was the wish of the deceased that he be laid to rest in the land of his chosen people. Many a time we wondered why Mrs. Beyer did not join the anthropologist in Manila. We learned later that she was welcome, but Mrs. Beyer felt she was out of place in the big city. After the war she built a cottage, a modern one, in Amganad village; she invited Professor Beyer in return to join her in her village, but the scientist was occupied in so many other things — teaching in the university, collecting Filipiniana, compiling an ethnographic series. There was indeed excitement in culture activities, and from 1926 onwards he became fully engaged in archaeological work, but there was not enough to make him happy and comfortable. I later found that feminine charms kept him company, and now Mrs. Beyer was going to have her husband for the rest of her life.

The cortege consisted of four cars. In a U.P. Station wagon were Dr. and Mrs. Mario D. Zamora, Mr. and Mrs. Mauro Garcia, two boys, Anacleto Manuel, my wife and myself. Mr. Mauro Garcia was the copy editor of the *Philippine Journal of Science* and Anacleto Manuel had been a trusted assistant of Professor Beyer since 1929 and through the war years. Miss Noriega had been his faithful secretary, and she did not like to be absent in this last rite. The National Museum was well represented by Director Galo B. Ocampo and Mr. Alfredo Evangelista, and several technicians fully equipped with two taperecorders, movie-camera, and other gadgets. Director Ocampo occupied a big car; his staff, was cramped in a landrover. Bill Beyer and members of his family and other relatives were in a red station wagon. On the way, we lunched at San Jose, Nueva Ecija by eleven o'clock, and took to the road immediately thereafter.

III. LINGNGAYU AND H. OTLEY BEYER

On the way to Santa Fe our station wagon had a flat tire, giving me an occasion to talk to Mrs. Beyer. We had another blowout near a school, and this time I asked Mrs. Beyer whether she and Mr. Beyer got married in church. She said no; her father opposed it. So they followed the Ifugao custom. She said Beyer spent two bagfuls of silver during the occasion. He gave a peso coin each to her closest relatives, both on her father's and mother's side, the amount diminishing as her relationship with them got farther — from a peso to fifty centavos, from twenty centavos to ten centavos.

Lingngayu, as Mrs. Beyer is called, does not remember the year she was married. Bill Beyer calculated that this must have happened sometime in 1910. But this informant was born on January 4, 1918. It appeared that Lingngayu was not yet having her menses then. H. Otley Beyer had just returned from Harvard, without any advanced degree. He had taken a picture of Lingngayu when she was yet a small girl, and now he must have been surprised to find her grown and desirable.

We drove on and, with the exception of flat tires, the trip to Bayombong was uneventful. We had a slight supper in Bayom-

bong, Nueva Viscaya, at seven o'clock in the evening. We finally arrived in Banawe at exactly eleven o'clock at night. Bill's station wagon and ours arrived later than Director Ocampo's car and the funeral car. When we arrived the coffin was already set in the receiving room of Bill Beyer's hotel, with all the flowers.

We were introduced to the town officials. Mr. Ramos was the mayor and hailed from the Ilokos. He came to Banawe some thirty six years ago and had come to speak Ifugaw. The town officials were sitting at one end of the room.

IV. BEYER'S FATHER-IN-LAW AND IFUGAO AUTHORITY SYSTEM

The following morning, January 5th, I sought Mrs. Beyer in the adjacent house where the cooking was being done and learned the following facts. Lingngayu was the only daughter of Gambuk by his first wife. Gambuk was a young but promising *mombaki* before the Americans came. He had some land in Amganad. "It was my mother," Mrs. Beyer explained, "Malayyu, who had land. My father liked her because she had crystal eyes [puraw ti mata] and a high nose like a Spanish mestiza." But Malayyu died when she (Lingngayu) was still a small baby and she had to be suckled by her maternal grandmother named Ultagon. In the village of Banawe, Gambuk saw another woman named Inhabian and he married her. Not knowing that his child had lived, he named his second daughter Lingngayu too.

Gambuk was the son of Tuginnayu, who was the village chief. He was the one believed and followed by the people [pattien ti tao¹] for he was a mabunget; he was feared and respected by the people; his words were law. Tuginnayu was the son of Attaban, also a mabunget.

Q: How was the position of mabunget transmitted?

A: *Tawidtawid*, inherited.

Q: Suppose he had five sons, who succeeded?

A: He will select the *mahapit* as the successor. Even a young boy who is seen to be dominant may be selected. While the son was still living he followed the orders of the father.

Q: What did the mabunget do in the village?

¹"People believe him" Whenever I go to Ifugaoland I use Iluko as medium of communication as I do not speak Ifugao.

- A: The mabunget directed the gathering of people, or assembly; told them what to do.
- Q: What was the power of the mabunget?
- A: If a man grabs a woman who is not his wife, or holds her hair, he may be fined or punished by death. If fined, one carabao may be given. If the fine is money, he distributes it among the relatives of the aggrieved person, both to his maternal and paternal relatives. In case of punishment by death, the people use a spear or bolo for killing the wrongdoer.
- Q: Suppose the other side retaliates?
- A: If there is retaliation, then *gubat* [war, feuding] may happen.
- Q: Who retaliates?
- A: A chicken is sacrificed: its neck is cut, and whoever is pointed at by the chicken is obliged to avenge. He is helped by others, however.
- Q: Where is Gambuk now?
- A: He died one year before the war, in Amganad.
- Q: Was there any *kanyaw*?
- A: There was a *kanyaw*, an eight day wake. Gambuk was seated in a death chair, the *hangdil*. His corpse smelled, but there were two keepers who among other things, drove away the flies. We paid for the service, two pesos a day. There were no relatives among the keepers for relatives are taboo. The keepers did their job day and night. *Liwiwa* was sung by men and women as they were gathered. Some villagers both young and old, sang the *Hudhud*. One singer, Inhaybung, an old woman, was the leader; the others followed. Imbangat, also an old woman, was also one of the leaders. Ipugung, already middle aged, was also among them. They did not sleep until the body was buried.
- Q: Who are the characters of this *Hudhud*?
- A: The characters of this *Hudhud* song were Mungngayu, male; Dunuan, brother of Bugan; and Aliguyun, brother of Aginaya.
- Q: Was the *Alim* sung?
- A: There was more singing of the *Alim* than the *Hudhud*. Kinadduy lead the singers.
- Q: Tell us something more about your father, Gambuk.
- A: He knew how to sing the *Alim*: he was the one who taught other people. He knew the *kanyaws*. He was a *mombaki*. He was a *managoho*. He was a *manalupe*; if he wanted to make a man sick, he could do it; he could make his enemy die through a *kanyaw*.

V. MARRIAGE, RESIDENCE, REMARRIAGE

At this juncture an old man approached us. He gave a five peso bill to Mrs. Beyer [early morning of the fifth]. Mrs. Beyer explained it was a contribution for the dead. In prewar years,

chicken or pig, was given. If the dead was a poor man, rice may also be given.

Q: Are there *nawotwots* [poor people] in Amganad?

A: There are only five persons who do not pay tax [buwit]. Nawotwots have no fields.

Q: Regarding marriage, may a brother and sister marry?

A: No. Brother and sister cannot marry.

Q: First cousins?

A: First cousins cannot marry, but offspring belonging to the third generation from the brothers and sisters can marry. This is rare, when it is necessary to preserve the property within kinship lines; even fifth cousins need the general approval of the relatives on both sides.

The girl may come from another village. *Momá* gifts ("engagement" animals, a minimum of five chickens or a pig, dressed and ready to cook, together with betel nut and leaf, in an eating basket) are brought to the girl's parents by a go-between. Marriage takes place in the house and village of the woman. Residence is determined by the couple after marriage; even if both have inherited lands, they may decide to stay in another village. The couple live in another house, although the father may build a house for them, or the man himself may do so. The Ifugao house is only a one-room affair, and the couple wouldn't like married children with them. Unless one of the parents has died, then the couple may be allowed to live with the surviving parent.

Q: What are the ways of getting a wife or husband in your society?

A: Any of the following:

1. *Monhahahpit*, the parental arrangement of the marriage of unborn children, in the presence of witnesses, provided they be born of opposite sexes and grow up to maturity.
2. Parents may also arrange the marriage of their children while under age provided they grow up to age.
3. A young man or widower visiting a young woman or widow in the *agamang* or girl's dormitory where courtship may start. The man may use a *jew's harp* for the purpose. After playing, he passes the *biong* to the woman to hear her response or if she has a daughter, then to her daughter, whoever is the more interesting of the two. If he is a widower, the young woman would not like him.
4. Remarriage of divorced persons, especially in cases of childless marriages.
5. An old man, a rich one, may be liked by a maiden (a poor one). If the old woman is rich, a young man may court her, although the latter may not inherit her property. People would ask, "Are you not ashamed?"
6. Man may use force (*piliton*) on a woman, and later the two may agree to marry.

- Q: When two brothers are married and one of them loses his wife, can the older brother succeed as husband to his brother's widow?
- A: No. For the widow would say, "Why, am I a pot which you can use for cooking?"
- Q: What happens to the widow?
- A: Other men may court her.
- Q: Even if she has children?
- A: Yes.
- Q: What happens to her if she married?
- A: *Multaan da* [ilk.], they impose a fine on her, called *gibu*, because she is taking another man. Parents of the widow are then obliged to give the *gibu* to the parents or relatives of the deceased husband; maybe ten *gamong* blankets and one carabao. Usually the new husband helps. The same thing happens in cases of a widower marrying.
- Q: Is a widow obliged to return the value of the *gibu*?
- A: In the future, she may return a pig to her brother who helped her.
- Q: If there are two children, with whom do they live?
- A: With the mother. If still young, they go to their mother, or live with their grandparents.
- Q: Suppose there is no *gibu*?
- A: The new man might get killed by the former husband's father. Or the widow's father may be killed if he does not give the *gibu*. If this cannot be accomplished, the new couple will be obliged to give up their first child to the relatives of the deceased husband.
- Q: Will the man's father take revenge on his son's death?
- A: No, since that was his fault. Why did he have to take a widow?
- Q: Who decides on the *gibu*?
- A: Prominent people of the village including men and women determine the *gibu*.
- Q: May an Ifugao take two women as wives at the same time?
- A: Yes, it is possible. But his father will have to give two *momas*.
- Q: Three wives possible?
- A: Possible. My son has three.
- Q: Can the Ifugao man keep them in the same house?
- A: No, for he will have difficulty keeping peace. But the two wives may stay in the same village.
- Q: Who, then, inherit the children of the first or second wife?
- A: The children of the first wife will inherit more than the children of the second wife. The latter will not have any inheritance if the property is just enough for the children of the first wife. But if the children of the first wife die, then the second wife and children by her may be given inheritance. Nevertheless, if the children of the first wife approve of giving them, this can be done.
- Q: Did H. Otley Beyer give any *moma*?
- A: Yes, the following:
1 carabao — given to Lingngayu's father. Beyer bought the animal. The carabao is called *moma*. This animal was slaughtered and the

meat distributed before marriage.

10 pigs were killed during the wedding ceremony which lasted for eight days. The rice came from Lingngayu's side.

+ chickens

+ ducks

+ 2 bags of silver given away by Beyer. The second bag was distributed by Gambuk to relatives. This is called *toop*.

Q: What did Beyer give you?

A: *Hinghing*, finger-ring, of gold, with a diamond. But the Japanese took it away from me during the war. There was also a bracelet of gold, also taken by the Japanese who saw my name and Beyer's on the ring. I boxed his face; then he fell down, and I killed him by twisting his arm; then I pushed him over the precipice.

Q: What else did the Japanese take from you?

A: The Japanese also got my album in Amganad. They saw the box containing my ring and necklace. Later, they burned our house. They were many. They stayed here.

VI. BEYER'S BODY BROUGHT AMGANAD VILLAGE

About nine o'clock in the morning of Thursday, January 6th, the body was brought to Amganad village where Lingngayu and Beyer were married. The flowers were left behind and the city people rode in two cars. The natives went ahead on foot.

From one side of the road we alighted and two husky men carried the coffin on a long pole down to Amganad village. There is an elementary school in the place and the pupils were in their rooms as we passed by. The coffin was placed under the very house that the couple occupied two generations ago, the only difference being that it was now with galvanized iron roofing, and there was another house almost its replica, side by side with it, so that the eaves almost touched. A mat of *runo* reeds was spread on the ground directly underneath the house, and the bier was laid directly on two pieces of wood placed on the *runo* mat.

At a lower level was a modern house with toilet facilities, kitchen, and rooms for guests, the very house that Mrs. Beyer asked to be built to lure Beyer back to her native village in later years. It stands on one of the mountain shoulders and has a good view of the lower terraces below. Most of the guests occupied this building. On a higher level was another house, and other

houses at other higher levels. This was certainly an ideal place for any anthropologist to spend the rest of his life in, especially perhaps two generations ago when there were no galvanized iron roofs. It captivated Beyer's heart completely. In later years when I accompanied Beyer to Banawe, he would shrink at the sight of white dazzling roofs and would say that bad times had indeed come to destroy Ifugao.

VII. GONGS, GONG MUSIC, DANCING AND A MYTH

After we had taken our lunch, some men started beating the gongs. Two men started playing on the gongs, one with his bare hands and the other with a drumstick. The first was kneeling on the ground, with the drum somewhat suspended from a string on his belt, the gong being supported partly by his thighs. The other player was standing. Then a third player using a drumstick joined the drummers.

All the drums were knobless, unlike the Mindanao gongs; besides, the surface looked pockmarked, unlike the Mindanao specimens I saw in the Manuvu' area of Davao and Cotabato which were smooth.

There is another distinction: the Ifugao gongs have vertical and shallow rims: the Mindanao specimens show incurving rims and have more depth. Also, the Ifugao gongs are very much smaller, generally speaking; I infer that they are intended to be carried in the hand or suspended on the belt; whereas the Mindanao gongs provided with two bores on the incurving rim through which cords are passed through are intended to be suspended on a beam of the house, and hence can be heavy and large.

The gong players I saw among the Ifugao at this particular occasion were three, each one having a gong to beat.² The Manuvu' can beat on just one gong to assemble people, or to announce the death of a person in the community; he does this usually with a large gong. The gong set is absent among the Ifugao. The Manuvu' gong set may consist of four gongs, in the

²I am aware that there could be as many performers as there are possibly gongs.

olden days, one of which is the bass; in contemporary times this may have six, eight or ten gongs, with the largest gong always a bass. Two players therefore are always required to play a Manuvu' gong set. In the olden days, at least one generation ago, the drum was always a feature in gong music; this has been dispensed with in the present time, though occasionally drum beating is a feature.

There was no such feature among the Ifugao during this occasion. Though I am not musicologist, Ifugao beating became monotonous after a few minutes of listening. The Manuvu' gong artist, with more gongs at his disposal, can have as many melodies as are traditional and he could also create new ones. Hence, with skill he can make variations which are not available to the Ifugao gong player.

There are other differences. Once the gongs are beaten, dancers come out into the open and soon. In Manuvu' gong playing this is not the case; it is only after the gong players have gained enough momentum and urge, somewhere in the middle of the playing, which may last half an hour, that dancers now feel the compulsion to take to the floor and dance. The Manuvu' gong melodies start from a low tempo and progress gradually to a brisk pace as the gong artists finish their music, giving us a picture of actual exhaustion at the end. This is not so with Ifugao gong music.

In both cultures drumsticks are used. But the Manuvu' do not use the bare hands on the gongs; they do, however, on a drum. The Manuvu' player would never beat against the inside of his gongs; this is possibly due to the physical build of the gong which, as described previously, is deep because of its wider rim. The Ifugao can do this because of their shallow gongs.

I saw one player using his hands, doing the beating with a clenched right fist; the left hand is open and made to slide over the gong surface. He varies the technique with both hands open, possibly because the player wants to relieve himself of the pain the performance entails. This can be inferred because he alternates clenching his right and left hands. The Ifugao drumsticks have no end-wraps; the Manuvu' always have them.

Meanwhile, I gathered the following terms used in the dance-music arts:

gangha	— gong in general.
binuhlot	— first class gong, so regarded because of the quality of its sound.
kalo	— middle class gong.
galamat	— low kind of gong made of poor metal which produces poor sound.
kong ngã	— beating the gong.
munggangha	— gong player.
patit	— handle of gong.
pulag	— drumstick.
gango	— any noise or sound.
magango	— resounding.
tayo	— dance.
tulun manayo	— three dancers.
dalikjik	— going with the rhythm, sequence of steps (for boys, mincing steps; for men, bouyant lifting steps).
hibat	— beating with a stick (the hibat is supposed to be a female gong).
gabbong	— playing for the priests, in which all players use drumsticks.
mambob	— beating with bare fist or hand; player using such hands.
tobob	— the male gong.

I got curious about Ifugao ensemble playing. What are the possibilities of group playing? In this occasion there was the reality of three gong players playing together. I was told more could play. With other musical instruments the combination of players possible, I learned, are: two players = 1 mambob + 1 hibat. If there are three players: 1 mambob + 1 hibat + 1 ah-hot.

There are certain taboos related to playing particular instruments although I did not have time to go into details. Drums are never used during planting. During harvest time, however, the *libbit* (drum with skin stretched over one end) is used; so also the *palipal* (clapper). The *ungngiyong* is the Ifugao mouth flute, which term is also used to designate the Bontok nose flute; though the Ifugao use a shorter flute. I got interested in the provenance of the gongs. The gongs used in this occasion, the three flat gongs, belong to Lingngayu who inherited them from her father. The Ifugao gongs came from Abra, costing 700 pesos each in money and pigs; they also came from Kandon, Ilokos

coast. Gambuk got these particular gongs used from Abra. Abra traders went to Bontok and sold the gongs there, and the Bontok traders would bring them to Ifugao in olden times. Lubuagan was another source of the gongs. This is all traditional information, of course. "Now we go to Abra; then, it was not possible because enemies were in the way," explained one of the old men. [I am squatting on a mat of reeds, *atag*, here on the ground where Beyer's coffin is resting]. I directed my questions to an old man whose name was Bindadan whom I calculated to be born about 1900.

Q: Why do you dance?

A: That is what Beyer likes.

Q: When do you have the dance?

A: We have it during harvest time, wake, and marriage. But we do not perform it during planting. It is believed that if people dance then rats will eat the rice plants; or the plants will not grow, nor bear grain well.

Q: The poor people, how can they perform the dance?

A: They borrow gongs.

Q: Who taught you how to dance?

A: Bugan and Wigan.

Q: Where did they come from?

A: We came from them. After all the people were killed, only Wigan and Bugan remained.³ They married and eight children were born to them:

Pangayiwan, male

Aliguyon, male

Amtalaw, male

Guminnigin, male

Ginnamay, female

In'uyay, female

Bugan, female

Addunglay, female

They were born and grew up in Gonhadan. The oldest, Pangayiwan married Ginnamay, and he gave a feast and called all his brothers and sisters. Five pigs were killed the following morning. They chopped the pigs and all ate. Afterwards they chewed betel and lime. Then they divided the meat and all the brothers and sisters were given a share. Aliguyon married In'uyay,

³ All the people were drowned after a flood and only two people were saved, a mother and a father, as narrated in H. Otley Beyer, "Origin Myths among the Mountain peoples of the Philippines," *PJS*, V. 8, D, No. 2 (April 1913) 85-117.

Amtalaw married Bagan, and Addunglay married Guminnigin. After dividing the heads of the pigs amongst themselves the couples went to their different places.

Another old man came and joined our group on the ground mat. His name was Talupa. He squatted with his buttocks barely touching the ground. When asked whether he was married, he answered that he had eight wives all counted, but he divorced one woman after another because no one could give him any children. He gave the momá requirement of one carabao and a pig, the equivalent of which was not returned every time he had a divorce! He said he had only two wives at any one time.

The beating of gongs would stop only for a while. After a few minutes, it was resumed and dancers would jump once more in a half-swirl into the yard one after the other to perform. They moved about generally in circles, though not in perfect circles. There appears to be no idea of dancers going in pairs. The right hand is always in a half-raised position, with the palm a little bit more raised upwards; the left hand kept at the side folded and moved (flapped to time as if it were a wing), and the face and eyes directed towards the ground. Dancers appeared to me to tumble into the yard as they joined the others trying to align themselves in a circle. At times they face one another in a direct line. When they get tired, they retire. Children at times join the line or circle of dancers. Hopping is practiced; they move on one foot, left or right. There is no separation of the sexes, but no one held the other in the dance act. One old woman started her dance with a bow, with raised hands; which was not typical, I was told.

VIII. IFUGAOS EATING

There was much activity around, each group doing something different. Observation could only be centered at one group at a time. I am making a sketch of the ground and the position of a number of artifacts, house posts, coffin, mortars, and people preparing food. I am sitting on one of the two stone mortars which, according to Bill Beyer, were made during the early part of the American regime. The two mortars have carvings around,

the Americans having taught the Ifugao how to carve and make relief on stone. My attention is now caught by the people at Beyer's feet.

They are all men. They are having their late lunch. They are squatting with their buttocks on the mat of runo or *bilaw* reeds. Another man is now joining the group. They crunch the bones of duck. Soup is served in cups. Two of the eaters have their hats on. A newcomer uses a spoon. The eaters are around two kinds of baskets containing rice, one a shallow basket, and the other much deeper. The meat is dumped on top of the rice. I wonder how they can eat all the rice.

One of them calls one of us, but they do not invite us to eat. Another eater starts using a spoon. One man begins digging at the marrow of a bone. Hands are extended to basket, the hand picking a handful of rice which is taken immediately to the mouth. The hand is unfolded into the mouth as its load of rice is caught in the cavity. They ate rather slowly. The Manuvu' eat much faster, possibly eight to ten times as fast. But the men didn't finish the two basketfuls of rice.

IX. BONES OF ANCESTORS

Something else attracted my attention. Just above these men, between two beams above the ratguards were three bundles. Wrapped in death blankets (*gamong*) were the bones of ancestors. The death blankets were a little faded. One of the bundles contained Mrs. Beyer's father's bones, Gambuk, and her mother's Malayyu; and the third was Malayyu's father's bones. A new death blanket covered the coffin of Beyer, draping it all over. On a table I saw an American flag nicely folded at the left side of the coffin. It was never used. I was told this was one of the flags brought over by the early Americans in Banawe.

There was pig being bound. Two men dropped it on the ground. It was already late afternoon. Three Ifugaos built a fire near one of the house posts, squatting; they were feeling the cold. Then another pig was added and a third one. After finishing our supper, I hurried back to the house beneath which Beyer lay.

X. CHANTING THE ALIM

All this time, with the gong beating, it was like market day. [I was recalling my boyhood years in the town of Santo Domingo, Nueva Ecija]. It was already dark, and the people were still dancing, eating, talking, walking back and forth; visitors took turns looking at the deceased, and the fly-keeper busy doing his job, driving away flies, although there were no flies actually this time. He wore a colorful headgear, with a feather stuck into it. He really looked the most attractive personality among the native people.

Above the din of music and noise, just above us, were male voices rising and falling at the same time. Bill told me they were about to start singing the Alim, one of the two epics of the Ifugao. Barton states that the chanting of the alim is one of the features of the *pokol*, an agricultural rite "performed in the house instead of at the granary." The alim, a ballad exclusively the privilege of those who performed prestige feasts and therefore attained the rank of *Kadangyan*, is chanted; this requires several hours (*The Religion of the Ifugaos*, p. 114).

As I picked my way up the ladder, at the doorway, I was told that the men were trying to rehearse the parts, their sequence, and what they were going to do. This was about ten minutes before seven o'clock in the evening of Thursday. Their recitation sounded like chanting to me, in a heavy way, rising and falling in patterns. I went up inside, and saw a National Museum man taping the whole epic.⁴

It was like hearing a beehive. In the room, there was small space for the chanters, for the house was half-full of bundles of rice, the sheaves piled one on top of the other. I occupied one end of a low pile, the other, in a corner, being occupied by the museum man, who had two taperecorders. I could lean where I was, against a higher stack of rice sheaves if I so desired.

Squatted on the floor were the singers or chanters. I sketched seven squatting positions at this initial stage. They seated themselves around two *pamahans*, one round with outer carving

⁴ Jesse Peralta; I did not know him previously.

containing *baya* or rice wine; the other square containing sacrificial material. At the back of the singers was a big jar of rice wine — from where, from time to time, during the first two hours or so, one of them drew wine, distributing the coconut cup to every participant, or whoever wished to have a drink.

At the other corner of the house was the fireplace, above which was a stackful of firewood. The chanters did not light the fireplace to warm themselves. They must have kept themselves warm from the periodic drinks they served themselves or received from one of their members. Later, instead of rice wine, I saw a bottle of gin being passed around, as they rested for a while from their chanting.

There were thirteen choristers in all.⁵ They squatted, their buttocks squarely set on the wooden floor, although the positions their arms assumed varied from time to time. They seemed to be singing in the same way and pitch, except one at the doorway who appeared to be the leader. If one closed his eyes, there was not much difference hearing a group of Catholic priests mumbling or chanting. At one time there was someone leading, at other times they chanted in unison. I would say that, the way they did it, this was chanting rather than singing because of the long drawn out notes which did not vary at all.

There are once more obvious differences between the Manuvu' and Ifugao in the singing of their epics. In the first place Alim singing is done by a group; Manuvu' epic singing is done by one solo performer, never by a group. The Manuvu' singer employs a number of melodies to vary the singing; the Ifugaw singers use one stylized singing. After sometime, Manuvu' singing becomes monotonous too, but Ifugaw singing after a few minutes becomes very boring indeed. The Manuvu' singer covers himself with a blanket, this being the tradition; the Ifugao singers have their faces exposed.

The wine seems to be part and parcel of the whole Alim chanting; betel chewing is the norm among Manuvu' singers.

⁵ Roy F. Barton stated: "In most rites the number of priests ranges from two up to fifteen — the greatest number I have seen participating in a ritual" (In his *The Religion of the Ifugaos*, 1946, p. 14).

Alim singing, it appeared to me, is an exclusive affair, not for the people to hear; for they, in this particular instance, were up the house away from the crowd; Tuwaang singing among the Manuvu' is for the people to hear, to appreciate. In Alim chanting, I did not hear any crowd participation at all; [however, it should be noted that the chanters were in a small house without an audience]; one can hear remarks of encouragement and appreciation from a Manuvu' audience during the whole night of epic singing.⁶ The Alim chanters perform other art forms during the chanting; at certain points, for instance, one of them would go down to the ground and dance for a while, afterwards resuming the chanting up the house. This is never done by the Manuvu' singer; although I was told of one singer who executed a dance with his spear (but this was not the norm).

XI. PARTS OF THE ALIM

I followed the chanting from the beginning, jotting the sequences as much as I could from any available informants. Later, I checked on the synopsis of the parts of the Alim chanted during the occasion, which are all reproduced below together with other complimentary activities.

I. The Chanting of Ummangal. Ummangal lived in Littatu. He went to the gathering place of the people in Kimbunnan and roamed around asking who among them was performing a ritual. People answered there was someone in Amganad. So he went there, saying it is good, for then the people performing it will be blessed with a good harvest. The ritual should be performed because it is for the people's good.

II. The chanting of Bugar, wife of Ummangal. Bugar came down from Littatu with a bamboo water container (*bayingying* in the Alim, but common name is *aluwog*). After filling the container she passed by Kimbunnan. She heard noise from a distance and was told that there was a kanyaw being performed. She repaired to the place and told the people that they were going to be blessed with their crops.

III. The Chanting of Kabbigat of Kiyangan. Kabbigat at midmorning asked his neighbors to pound glutinous rice for him, which will be made into rice wine, so that they could perform a baki. In this case, it will be in Amganad, in the house of Lingngayu, and because of this performance she will be blessed with a lot of pigs, and she will have a better life.

⁶See "Introduction" to *The Maiden of the Buhong Sky*, (1958), esp. pp. 11-12.

IV. The Chanting of Bugan, wife of Kabbigat. At midmorning in Kiyangan, Bugan asked her neighbors to gather sugar-cane and mill it, so that the juice could be added to the rice-wine to make it overflow. When the right time came, they were going to perform a baki for the good of the person offering it, so that he would be blessed with many chickens and prosperous life.

All of a sudden there was a beating of gongs, and three of the choristers jumped down to the ground and danced. Then they went up. Another chanter went down and performed a solo dance; then he went up. Then still another chanter went down and performed. When they were all in they resumed the chanting of the Alim. One chanter called out someone in the yard, while the others resting continued with their chanting. I tried to beat time. I discovered $3/4$ time as the nearest approximation, but this could not contain their chanting. There are some prolonged bars. I imagined lines which were chanted according to patterns. I asked one of them:

Q: Why do you dance?

A: We are dancing to the dead.

Q: Why?

A: That is our custom.

Q: Does the dead hear your gongs, the noise?

A: No.

Q: Why, then?

A: So that he would be overjoyed in the sky (*agragsak diyay langii*). So that his ghost (*al'alya*) will not be here on earth. [italicized words in Iluko].

One of the chanters was wearing a red-striped headdress, with feathers stuck into it. He was Panaton, a relative of Mrs. Beyer. I asked him:

Q: Why do you dance?

A: It is our custom; it pleases us (an approximation to *napintas kadakami*); it pleases the dead (*napintas kin natay*).

Q: Why do you sing the Alim?

A: We want that we won't get sick. Now that Beyer is dead, we want that none of us will be taken a second time; so we sing the Alim.

Q: What is the relation of you singers to the widow?

A: Relatives.

Q: May nonrelatives participate?

A: They can.

Q: Who taught you the Alim?

A: The older ones, the earlier people.

Q: Did Beyer know how to recite the *baki*?

A: Yes.

I had a chance to ask the above questions in the Iluko language as the chanters were resting from their labor and were taking turns to drink. There was one chanter who wore a red-stripped headdress called *pungot*. Many wore red-stripped loin cloth which they called *wanó*. *Baki*, it was explained to me, is the general term for prayer; but the particular baki they are now chanting is the Alim. The choristers reassembled. They wanted to hear a replay of their chanting, but the taperecorder got stuck. I now continue with the parts of the Alim. As they resumed the chanting I noticed a change. The chanting sounded like a slow march or processional, the way it drags and the bass is punctuated.

V. Bummilaw of Lau. Bummilaw could not leave his place because of one tree which he could not leave behind, a *puhpuh* tree, which he was guarding. His neighbors therefore went to his place, visited him, and drank with him. [My original notes state Bummilaw got stuck to a tree and could not extricate himself.]

On the ground below the house a mixed group was humming *taltalya*.

VI. Bagan, the wife of Bummilaw, caught a fish which she raised until it grew tusks [but actually it was a pig which grew quite big]. People were afraid to catch it, so what Bagan did was to use it as a sacrificial animal. They would have a good life after that.

VII. Pugung of Kiddakid lived near a river. One rainy day a *bultik* tree drifted in the stream and Pugung picked it up and used it as a pole to help Bummilaw get out of Lau. But he could not do it, and he gave up.

VIII. Bagan of Kiddakid, wife of Pugung, saw the same kind of tree floating down the river and she picked it up for removing Bagan, wife of Bummilaw, from Lau. But she went home disappointed.

Down below some people were humming; one said, *taltalya*. I became curious and went down. I had been all along sitting in an awkward position for more than a couple of hours, and I wanted to relax my numbed legs. Then I went up again, possibly after an hour.

IX. Baltong. After Magguling came down from Abunian, her place in Ahha, she asked the kids in whose house the ritual was being performed. She was told it was at Pugaw. [Actually, any place might be named; but in this chanting the reference is Amganad.] Magguling talked to the person who was performing the kanyaw, and she was offered a shell of rice wine until they both got drunk. After they became sober, Magguling said that the person offering the feast would be blessed with plenty of rice and

animals, pigs and chickens. And Magguling went back to Abunian.

X. Kabbigat of Kiyangan, at midmorning, looked at his stack of rice. He said that he used to have more rice before, but that he was glad to have shared it with neighbors for work done. "Of this which is left I shall not give away anymore," he said.

XI. Bugan, wife of Kabbigat of Kiyangan, said that she used to have plenty of glutinous rice before in her granary some distance away, but she had given away part of it to neighbors for work done, to women who had helped in her chores.

XII. Ullagen of Pakkawel was the first man to teach the people of the use of loin cloth, the first one to weave. One day he visited Kabbigat and asked him why he had plenty of loose rice from the stalks. Kabbigat said that these loose grains dropped from the stalks which he gave away for services done by his neighbors. Then he went home, and told his people to bring loincloths to people who did not have them, and to barter a pig for them. They went to the place called Dugung, which had many pigs, and they brought home a fat one to Pakkawel. Bugan fed it well until it was full grown, when it was sacrificed.

XIII. Bugan, wife of Ullagen, was the first one to make skirts (*tolge*). She went over to Kiyangan and taught the wife of Kabbigat, also named Bugan, the use of the skirt. When she was there, she asked why Kabbigat had plenty of loose grains. These are left for our use, she said. When she returned home, she sent some people to Hagud with some skirts, for which they bartered with chickens. They chose a big young cock and brought it to Bugan. Bugan fed the cock with *mugmug*, tiny broken grains, until it grew big. When it was big, they used it in their ritual.

XIV. Second Baltong. Dinnundun of Ahha, from Abunian, had two hunting dogs. At midmorning, he went out to hunt; he was able to kill a wild pig, dressed it and put it in his knapsack, *bango*. On his way home he met Magguling who was carrying a small jar, Dinnundun said that it would not be necessary for him to share the meat with her, for he wanted her to come along with him and get married. They were married. From the skyworld, the couple came down to the earthworld, at Pahhadan; they saw some old men and asked them who was performing a ritual in the place. They pointed to two places, in one of which there was such a ritual taking place. On their way they stepped on sugar-cane peelings. When they entered the house, they had to step on some straw and sit in one corner. They drank again, with the wife of the person performing the *baki*. [In this case, Linggayu]. They blessed the performance so that they may have plentiful crops and animals and prosperous life. Then the two returned to the skyworld.

I noticed that some men had left the group. Out of the thirteen original chanters, only nine now remained. I went down once more as some five people were singing below the house on the right side of the coffin. They said they were singing *liwliwa* songs; *ragsak ti natay*, one of the singers explained in Iloko.

Ammo na met laeng idi, iso nga agragsak ta dijay langit: (he used to know it when he was alive, so he [Beyer] might be happy in heaven). One woman leader was singing alone then. Up and down now there is simultaneous singing and chanting, "so that the bringing of Beyer to Banawe would have some result after all, so that he might be happy; he seems to enjoy the celebration *kasla maayatan*, someone said in Iluko. I continue with other parts of the Alim.

XV. Bidbidan of Abunian [place where Kabunian lives] was bundling rice stalks saying, "I am bundling you because I have dreamed of you last midnight. Bugan, daughter of Liddum, was looking down upon me from above." And Bugan said to Bidbidan that it is only the rich people who can bundle rice, because they are the only ones who know how.

XVI. Bugan, the wife Bidbidan, also from Abunian, was also bundling stalks of rice and telling the stalks not to be sorry because, "I have dreamed of you at noontime." At this time the son of Liddum, Hinikgay, was looking down on Bugan and said that only the rich people can do the bundling of the rice, for they are the only ones who can take care of the rice.

That is the end of the Alim, which looks to me like detached pictures without a coherent story. It is like a diorama in a museum, with the viewer filling in the wide gaps.

Q: What is the meaning of Alim, I asked someone.

A: If there is a sick person, we sing the Alim because the person committed, it is believed, something wrong (why else would be be sick?), and by our singing he may recover.

Q: I thought you sing it during other occasions? While there is a marriage celebration, for instance?

A: No.

Q: When do you sing the Hudhud?

A: Same occasion, when there is someone sick. The two are like brother and sister: the Hudhud and the Alim. The Hudhud is also sung during the harvest, but not during the planting, for rats will eat the rice plants.

XII. THE DANNIW

I had gone to sleep in the other house situated at a higher terrace, possibly about four o'clock in the morning. My wife woke me up only to be able to catch a glimpse of the *danniw* ritual at sunrise. Two priests were holding bundles of rice in the house while singing. They sang two songs in the house called

danniw and *page*. Then they went down, and sang two more songs called the *babuy* and *buka* (bead). As they held the bundles of rice in their right hands, swinging them up and down in a to-and-fro movement, the two priests sang to three varieties of rice:

The *ayuhipan*,
The *ginnaungan*, and
The *dumminggay*.

The priests mentioned the names of the rice, saying the rice was brought down to earth. Now it has been harvested and bundled, and they wanted *Bedbedan*, the god, to witness the bundling.

XIII. SUMMARY OF THE ALIM

In the beginning Ummangal, one of the gods or high priests, is cited as having his abode in *Littataw*. As choristers chant, they call upon him to the place of the chanters. The people are giving him a pig as a sacrifice.

Bugan, wife of Ummangal, hears the singers and comes to their place. She is now present and is waiting for the sacrifice.

Kabbigat lives in Kayyangan. He is a rich man and a *mombaki* or priest; he owns all the houses, full of rice. Kabbigat has not yet started to pound rice, yet has already given rice to the people who asked for it, both to men and women. He also asked them to pound rice for him. He made rice wine for the occasion, for the offering of prayers.

The wife of Kabbigat, also named Bugan, knows how to make wine from sugar cane called *baya*. She gives *baya* wine to visitors.

Bummilaw is a man who gets stuck in the wax of the *puhpuh* tree. The wax is so sticky that he can not move and he remains there.

Bugan is also the name of Bummilaw's wife. Near the *puhpuh* tree is a watery place called Lau. Bugan comes to help her husband, but gets stuck in the sand. No one can help her out, for there are big fish that might bite the diver. So Bugan remains there.

Pugung is living in Keddaked village. He is praying for the rain to pour down so that the water can carry his stick named *bultik* to Lau because Pugung wants to help Bummilaw out. Pugung tries to dirve the stick into the sticky tree to get him out, but cannot. Same stick is driven into the sand to get Bugan out, but he does not succeed.

Magguling is a woman who starts on a journey carrying a jar filled with rice wine. She comes to Pah'adan village, where she meets an old man carrying a bamboo tube for containing water. She asks the old man where she can go. She is directed to the place where there is singing (the present place). She went up the house. She learns there is a sacrifice. She now asks the owner of the house for drink. She is given drinks, and blessed the

house. [Why is this part called *baltong*? Why does the lone singer stamp his right foot? It is said to welcome Magguling.]

Kabbigat lives in Kayyangan [maybe the same place as Kiyangan, said Joaquin]. He has granaries and pigs near his house. His house stands in the middle of his granaries. He distributes rice to the needy.

Q: What is the purpose of this song?

A: To ask Kabbigat to give the owner of the house more rice and pigs.

Q: What is the relation of the song to the dead?

A: [Mrs. Beyer explained]. Linggayu is the widow of Beyer and they have a son named Bill Beyer. Mother and son are performing the baki because it is our belief that if we pray we shall receive a blessing. We are trying to ask for a blessing. Bill and I are performing this so that our prayer will be heard.

Ullagen is a priest or god who lives in Pakkawel. He owns plenty of rice. He asks his neighbors to barter pigs for rice. These neighbors wear g-strings called *tinunwé*. They reach Dugung, a place in Linghaden. They get the best pig, bring it to Ullagen, where Bagan is waiting. Bagan is a good weaver, the only one who can weave the *tinunwé* for men, and the *inladdang* skirt for women. She also has rice of her own and she asks her neighbors to barter with her. The neighbors go out to barter her rice with chickens, and they get roosters for her.

Dimundun is a man with two dogs. He starts for Yabyaben mountain to hunt. The dogs bark at a wild pig. As the dogs run after the pig, Dumundun follows. Then he comes to a tree called *halinghingon*. Then he spears the pig, carries it and brings it to the place to divide it. He divides it and puts the pieces of meat in his *bango*. As he starts for home, he meets Magguling. Then the two start going to the place of singing. When Dumundun reaches the place he finds players and singers and he asks for wine. His wife brings out wine and they drink. He gives a blessing to the owner of the house.

Bedbedan is a god living in Kabunian. Bedbedan says there are no other men who know how to bundle rice stalks except the rich people. The poor do not know how to do it. So the rich people are the ones who stamp and sing. His wife is also named Bagan. [The rice bundle was placed here a while ago by a dancer, so the owner thought]. So the owner expects that the men who will bundle the rice will come and do the work.

XIV. THE GUHAD

Prayers performed by the seven men, who remained of the original thirteen; three of whom were drinking (one from a red plastic cup, a second from a salmon can, and a third from a coconut shell). They called on Liddum, who lives in the sky-

world, to drink rice wine with them, eat with them so that he will give his blessing. It was explained by Bill Beyer that the aim is to call the attention of the gods, so that participants could be possessed. There are two kinds of possession: partial, when the gods come onto them; and full possession, when priests gain unusual strength. One of the participants leaves with a cup and stamps his right foot on the ground, while four men continue praying.

XV. THE DUPYÁK

Two of the participants came down with cups of tapuy, dancing around the three pigs on the ground. This was about 8:15 a.m. They went around the animals once, holding cups of tapuy on their right hand. Another participant dances, spills tapuy around sacrificial animals to show Liddum that they are willing to sacrifice the animals. He completes his dance once around.

Three men come down, two with cups of tapuy. One offers a short prayer, followed by the other who spills part of the tapuy over the pig, which act *dupyakan na nan babuy*, to show Liddum the pigs are ready. This sequence in the rites involves four parts:

1. Linnawa, calling the spirits of ancestors, both paternal and maternal;
2. *Mon'ontad* or *Monkontad*, during which the priests inform Liddum, through *Mon'ontad*, a messenger, of what is expected in performing the sacrifice;
3. *Matungulan*, in which the chanting of the *Alim* is the chief feature;
4. *Bagol*, in which two men dance around and say *dupyak, iguhad mi Bagol*, in which *Bagol*, god of the Lagud world [the East], is asked to help Liddum, who is supposed to be the god of the Setting Sun.

XVI. KILLING OF THE SACRIFICIAL ANIMALS

A man sharpens a stick to a point. Then he wounds one of the sacrificial pigs on the side with a knife. This done he introduces the sharpened stick into the initial cut, thrusting it suddenly so as to hit the heart. Before doing so, a priest offers a prayer. One pig is brought up to the house.

XVII. HANGAL

Seven men chant over the pig, an eighth priest reciting faster than the rest, and later chanting in unison with the rest. One of them offers prayer after the chant is finished over the pig. Then men resume the chant.

One of the priests corrects a mistake, saying *tinok* or *tinek*. A sheaf of stalks is picked up and brushed against the side of the pig; afterwards, a cup of tapuy is spilled over the animal. Prayer is intended to mollify or change bad words that might have been said by the *ido* bird into good ones for the couple: Bill Beyer and his first wife and their three children (Sadamu, Powell, Lily).

The pig brought up the house has *dinayu* grass in its mouth, so that the deity for whom it is intended will know that the animal was not killed by accident. *Habal*, a sweet potato field, is mentioned, pointed to because it is an important source of food. Two other pigs are slaughtered below; their bile is inspected.

XVIII. PARTITION OF THE PIG

I noticed that certain priests received a bigger share than others. It was explained that those who did difficult parts in the prayers were given more substantial shares. The feast-giver had a hand in the division; he decided who among the priests were to receive more.

XIX. MONKONTAD, OR MON'ONTAD

This part was recited by Kidayan Butiek of Amganad, about sixty years old or more, before noon. He was sitting on one end of a pestle before a sacrificial bowl. He was mumbling names after names. He stopped now and then to receive cues from Linggayu or Mrs. Beyer and from a younger brother, who were dictating certain names. He drank rice wine while a leashed pig was squealing. Linggayu is now dictating the name of her ancestors citing, both from maternal and paternal sides. Then Bill dictates three generations of ancestors from his father's side. The ancestral enumeration was finished at 12:15 p.m.

Monkontad appears to be a member of a group of gods. The priest who recited the names of ancestors does not receive any remuneration for the service. That is his contribution to the ceremonies. The ancestors are mentioned so that they might come and participate in the celebration and drink. Spirit is now being called, *not for the deceased, but for the protection of the offspring, the grandchildren.* These dead relatives are also called so that they will help Beyer to get up to *Langit* (according to Linggayu), so that Beyer's spirit, called linnawa, will go to langit; so that it will not go to *dalom* [impierno, said Mrs. Beyer, *uneg ti daga*, under the earth]. The god of earthquake is Yomogyog, and he lives under the earth. By naming the ancestors and relatives Beyer is assured of passage to langit; they can prevent the god from the underworld from taking or grabbing him, with the help of Monkontad who is a good god.

The fourth pig is now being pierced with a sharpened stick. After singeing it over the fire, it is butchered, chopped into chunks and given to people who had had no share as yet.

XX. THE PRIESTHOOD

I interviewed one of the priests named Mutiek or Butiek, son of Dukyaw, to clarify certain matters.

- Q: From whom did you learn your baki?
 A: From Gambuk and Hangdan and Balugat, all of Amganad.
 Q: How long did it take you to learn your prayers?
 A: I was initiated at six first by Hangdan, then Gambuk.
 Q: Did you pay any fee?
 A: None. They said, "We teach you so that when we die there will be someone who knows."
 Q: Have you yourself taught others the baki?
 A: Yes, some. Buduy, Yogyog, Budluan, Bumanla (all dead). And Kinadluy, Kabbigat (now old and cannot work). Some died young.
 Q: Why do you call on Monkontad?
 A: That was how our old men told us.
 Q: What is the meaning of the pig in the ceremonies?
 A: It is to inform our ancestors that there is a dead man and that they should partake. We cannot see the spirits of our ancestors however.

XXI. ON THE ALIM

The Alim intrigued me without end. I did not know any literature on the subject and I have not come across a discussion of it even in the extensive material gathered by the deceased. The record of my interview with Kimmayong, leader of the singing the previous night, is as follows:

Q: Who taught you the Alim?

A: Bumannal, who died during the Japanese occupation. He came from Amganad and was already old when he died. I am his nephew. And Kabbigat taught Bumannal.

Q: How long did it take you to learn the Alim?

A: I learned it during the Japanese occupation. I was already married.

Q: Did you pay any fee?

A: There was no fee for learning the baki and Alim.

Q: How many kinds of Alim do you know?

A: There is only one kind of Alim I know, and it has different parts as follow:

- I. Ummangal ad Littatu [Ummangal of Littatu];
- II. Bugar in Ummangal ad Littatu [Bugar, wife of Ummangal of Littatu];
- III. Kabbigat ad Kiyangan [Kabbigat of Kiyangan];
- IV. Bugar, Kabbigat ad Kiyangan [Bugar, Kabbigat of Kiyangan];
- V. Bummilaw ad Lau [Bummilaw of Lau];
- VI. Bugar in Bummilaw [Bugar, wife of Bummilaw];
- VII. Pugung ad Keddaked [Pugung of Keddaked];
- VIII. Bugar in Pugung [Bugar, wife of Pugung];
- IX. Kabbigat ad Kiyangan [Kabbigat of Kiyangan];
- X. Bugar in Kabbigat [Bugar, wife of Kabbigat];
- XI. Ullagen ad Pakkawel [Ullagen of Pakkawel];
- XII. Bugar in Ullagen [Bugar, wife of Ullagen];
- XIII. Bummilaw ad Lau [Bummilaw of Lau];
- XIV. Bugar in Bummilaw [Bugar, wife of Bummilaw];
- XV. Bidbidan ad Kabunian [Bidbidan of Kabunian];
- XVI. Bugar in Bidbidan [Bugar, wife of Bidbidan];
- XVII. Magguling Kabunian;
- XVIII. Dinundun ad Ah-ha

It should be noted that this particular Alim is longer than the *Inohag* version actually sung during the wake (*miibun*, which also includes the gathering of people during the bone ritual). The above version is called *Dinupdup* according to Kimmayong (longer by two parts than the *Inohag*) chanted during the *Gotad*.

XXII. THE SINGING OF THE HUDHUD

The singing of the Hudhud started at about 2:30 p.m. According to Bill Beyer the characters of the Hudhud he knows are Dulnuan and Aginaya, his sister; and Aliguyon and Bugan, his sister. As the story develops Dulnuan marries Bugan and Aliguyon marries Aginaya at the end. Bill Beyer mentioned Mr. Alfredo Bunnol, now teaching at St. Joseph College, San Jose, Nueva Ecija, as a well versed singer of the Hudhud.

The singing group was composed of the following women: Apolonia Ugayan, a maiden; Bittuon, married; Immayya, married; Malayyu, married. All women. When asked who taught them the Hudhud, one answered Haybong, who is still living in Kababuyan. Indudun, a female singer now in Kababuyan, is the daughter of Hummiwat (now deceased). Ultagon, another female singer, was mentioned.

Malayyu led the singers; sometimes, she performed short solo parts. She chewed at intervals; so did Bittuon. The name "Beyer" was mentioned many times. I am not sure whether this was just in the preliminary part of the epic singing. Immayya led at other times. Other singers joined the singing, as they pleased. They were also free to withdraw; but Malayyu was always there whether the group expanded or diminished.

In the evening we took our supper. There was much dancing. The yard, the embankment, underneath the houses, were full of people. There could have been more than two hundred. There was a continuous beating of the gongs. Dancers, individually and in groups, took turns dancing. A bonfire was lit.

There was now a group of ten women led by Malayyu singing the Hudhud. But the gong music entirely drowned out the Hudhud singing.

There was another group playing bingo between the two houses. Players were using English numbers. Bill Beyer informed me bingo was introduced to Banawe three years ago.

XXIII. THE HUDHUD STORY

A young man sees a young woman dancing and becomes curious about

her being alone. She attracts him and he becomes interested. He takes her necklace and puts it in a basket for betelnut. The girl asks if he really loves her. The boy says, "I should not have taken it. If I am not handsome, I am going to give back your necklace." The girl keeps quiet. The boy and girl go to a jar of wine, and the boy serves the girl, and both drink.

The house where they go to, is owned by an old man and an old woman. It is already afternoon. The girl tells him they should go home, the afternoon being late and there is a long way ahead. They pass by a house and are given a chicken. The boy divides a betelnut and offers it to the girl. When they are about to part, they divide the chicken, and the boy tells the girl they are going to have their wedding. The girl accepts the proposal and they part. The girl is Bugan, and the boy is Aliguyon.

When Bugan arrives home her mother notices that the necklace is not with her anymore. So she knows that her daughter will soon be married. The mother is named Lingan and the father Pangayiwan. Bugan is tired and lies down, a little bit tipsy. Mother puts a blanket over her.

Aliguyon, too, arrives home. He throws himself down and sleeps. Mother inspects his basket for betelnuts, but instead sees a necklace. She is happy that her son will soon be married. The mother asks whose necklace is in the basket. His companions answer that it is Bugan's. The mother, after cooking, wakes up her son and tells him that they are going to eat.

The same thing happens with Bugan. Her mother wakes her up to eat. Their place was in Gonhadan. She asks her for the name of the boy. She says he is Aliguyon. After eating, the girl goes to her sleeping place. She sleeps, and it seems it has not been a long time because the chickens are now crowing.

After eight days Aliguyon tells his mother to call for help. The mother asks that each family deliver two chickens to the house. In the past his mother was very helpful to the people. Their place was in Hulditan.

There is a kanyaw. The chickens are cooked and eaten. After eating Aliguyon tells his mother to select the best for them to take to the house of Bugan. Aliguyon leads the way.

In the house of Bugan the same preparation is being made. The only difference is that Bugan does not leave the house; instead her grandfather leads the way. Midway, the two groups meet and they talk to each other, then they continue on their separate ways.

Aliguyon's group arrives at Bugan's place, and the girl's group reaches Aliguyon's place. Each group feasts. After eating, they return home and meet again on the way. One group says that they can not withstand the talk in the house because the girl's mother keeps on talking. The other group says the same thing, because the mother of the boy does the talking. Aliguyon tells the girl's mother that on the fifth day Bugan will be taken to their house for the proper ceremonies.

The day comes. The girl's mother calls the grandmother to accompany them. It is not long before they reach the bathing place, and Aliguyon tells Bugan and the grandmother to take a bath. After bathing they go to the stone where they used to sit and Aliguyon offers her a betelnut. As they

are chewing betel, she shouts to her son. "Why do you let Bugan stay under the sun?" It is the girl who answers that it is alright, for how can they come to the house without being warmed by the rays of the sun?

So they continue on their way to the house, and they are received by Aliguyon's mother. Aliguyon's mother embraces Bugan, telling her that this is the only time that she will feel the heat of the sun because from that time on she will be staying in the house. They chew betel once more. It is not long before Aliguyon's mother has prepared the food. After eating they chew betel again. The girl's grandmother tells them that she is going home, she also tells her granddaughter to keep on knitting. But Aliguyon says there are many people who can do the work and they can pay them, for his mother has plenty of rice. The girl's grandmother says it is alright.

After that Aliguyon's mother divides the properties, for she is going to leave the house and live in the other house. The next day Aliguyon tries to bring out a box of betelnut and sweeps the ground beneath the house. He shouts to the neighbors who are single to come to accompany Bugan.

In the beginning Aliguyon's father had no child. So he went to the forest and he carved a figure out of a tree and gave half of his breath to the wood. From that time on the figure had life. And this was the young man who met Bugan.

One day the father is already old and is feeling weak and is thinking of taking back his breath from that wood. And Aliguyon is also feeling that he is getting out of breath because his father is going to take it away from him. So he divides plenty of betelnuts to be put into the bag of the girl, telling her that he is going to collect some money lent by his mother a long time ago. And the girl tells him not to stay long, for the money does not belong to them. Aliguyon says Yes.

Aliguyon starts on his way, crying, because he knows that he will turn into wood once more. He goes to the place where he used to stay with Bugan and climbs up the mountain where his father carved him. There he chews betelnut. He hangs his bag of betel, removes his bolo and puts it down and sticks his spear into the ground. He climbs the tree from whence he was taken and he becomes part of the tree again.⁷

Two years pass and Bugan is already tired of waiting. She tells her mother-in-law that she is going home. And she is told not to tarry any longer and allowed to leave right away. So Bugan starts for home. She reaches the place where Aliguyon had sat and tries to look up the mountain where Aliguyon went, for she thinks that it will be shorter that way. As she goes up the mountain she sees beautiful birds. She asks them to give her some feathers. The birds say that it will not be proper because Bugan's

⁷ In a folktale entitled "Bulhulyun and His Treasure" contributed by Jose Cacliong in *Folktales of Mountain Province Retold for Children*, Grade V, produced by the Division Curriculum Workshop, Baguio City, 1960, pp. 61-62, a similar imaginative motif of breathing life into woodcarvings by wishing it of God is narrated, and the old man character of the story is also childless.

beauty will be covered. She tries to explain her side, and so the birds give their feathers. And she becomes the most beautiful of all the birds.

There is at that time, a man named Guminnigin Mandulayang of Aglayan village who goes to the forest to cut wood. In the forest he sees a beautiful bird up a tree. He climbs the tree where the bird has alighted in order to catch it. But the bird cannot be moved. So he goes home, takes a chicken and brings it up to that mountain to perform a kanyaw. After saying his prayer, he climbs up the tree; but just the same the bird cannot be moved. After that he brings a pig and offers it, but without success. He repeats the sacrifice until he has but a few animals left, and the presence of the bird up the tree becomes known to the people. Many people climb the mountain to see the bird.

The father Amtalaw who had carved out Aliguyon from a piece of wood later regains his health and a child is born to him whom he names Aliguyon. They always bring him to gatherings, but later on the people of his mother tire of him and tell him to go along. As he reaches the place they call Dakdakon the boy finds out that there are many people assembled. He asks them where they are going. They tell him that they are going to see the *latbang*, the beautiful bird. He tells them he is going with them.

As they march towards the place, Guminnigin tells Aliguyon that if he ever takes the bird he must give it to him because all his pigs had been sacrificed for that bird. But Aliguyon tells him that if the bird liked him, Guminnigin could have taken the bird a long time ago. So he climbs the tree and with one touch he takes the bird from the tree, and he brings it down. He takes it home and brings it to the gatherings.

He dances with the bird and the brother of Bugan, Dulnuan, comes also to that gathering. As Aliguyon stops dancing he goes to the side of Dulnuan who tells him to give the bird to him so that he may dance with it. But as he is going to give it to him, it turns into a woman who tells the brother: "Is that the way you try to find me?"

So they go home afterwards. On the way, at Kakdakan, they separate, and when they arrive, they continue their ceremony because Bugan thinks that the man was the first Aliguyon. As she is trying to sleep, she hears other people say that the man is not the real Aliguyon. So from that time on Bugan is feeling bad. And Aliguyon asks her why. And she tells him because he is not the real Aliguyon that brought her home. And so the mother tells the real story, that the first man was carved out of wood, but the girl tells the mother never mind, for she needs the first Aliguyon. At that moment Dulnuan comes and he asks "Do you like a man of wood?"

So Dulnuan goes to their house and Aliguyon tells Bugan that if she likes he will go and take him. So he goes to the forest and takes him. And he gives him once more one-half of his breath, and gives him another name, Buliyu. So they go home. And Bugan is happy to have him back again.

[At this point, one of the women squatting is pointed to as the source of this Hudhud. She is old and called Kuyappi Nginhena, born in Lugu village, now within the municipality of Banawe.]

[At this juncture also, Bill snapped some pictures of a group including Malayyu, Kuyappi, Ginappad, Dulduli, and Bittuon. We learned that Kuyappi was taught by Dinayyu, an aunt of hers, who knew plenty of songs. Ginappad and Dulduli were both born in Amganad and taught by Kuyappi. Bittuon was born in Nabyun, in the vicinity of Amganad and she was the one who taught Malayyu. Kuyappi, we were told, knows plenty of Hudhuds.]

So Dulnuan tries to go and begin the main ceremony. During the night he tells Aliguyon to shout only to the good people to come over and drink, for the bad people might do something against the law (*bumatingalgal*). When it is midnight, all are already sleeping. And Dulnuan tells Aliguyon: "Why are your people like this?" And Aliguyon says: "It is because they never drink and a little wine will keep them drunk." After saying some prayers, Dulnuan goes out and dances. As he is dancing many people come out to see him dance. He tells them not to bring out their children because some accident might happen and this might be a hindrance. So all of them go to their houses and remove the obstruction and peep. After that they eat and Dulnuan goes home. As he is on his way, he meets Dulwihan holding some meat.

Dulnuan tells Dulwihan that should he reach the house he shouldn't eat. And each one goes on his way. Then Dulwihan reaches the house. When the people see him coming, they spit out the rice from their mouths, and try to bring some firewood. When he reaches the house, Dulwihan places down the meat, takes the axe and splits the wood. After splitting the wood he returns the axe and goes home. He tells them it is for them to feed the people, for they will be looking for narra and if he returns it will be to bring a *hagabi*.

When he reaches home, they go to the mountain where Bugan turned into a bird and where Aliguyon was carved from a tree. After arriving there, they try to cut down a tree. They make small huts for the people to stay, taking them two days. On the second day, in the afternoon, the tree is about to fall, but Dulnuan asks the tree not to fall yet until next day at sunset. And he tells some people to leave to inform the people that the *hagabi* is about to be finished and that they are going to bring two pigs for butchering.

When they are through eating, they start going down with the *hagabi*. Near the village, Dulnuwan calls for some wovencloth to cover the *hagabi* before bringing it into the house. Then they bring it to the house, and they place it beside the *hagabi* which was made when his mother was married. The next day they have a big feast.

The next day they play *kanyaw*, for it is the end of the ceremony. Then they tell the people that on the fifth day Dulnuwan, the brother of Bugan, will go again to the house of Aliguyon to take the sister of Aliguyon, who is Aginaya, for his wife. So Dulnuwan and companions go home to Gonhadan to make rice wine for the next wedding. On the fifth day, he goes to the house of Aginaya and stays there until the third day when he brings Aginaya home with him. When Dulnuwan brings home Aginaya, Aliguyon goes again to the house of Dulnuwan and tells them that he is

also making a hagabi. And he goes to a place known as Lovong of Bittuwon (beyond the sea?). There he fashions a hagabi. Afterwards, they send one pig for them to eat. After eating they bring the hagabi to the house of Dulnuwan and the next day they make a kanyaw and end it. Aliguyon goes home and Dulnuwan stays there with his new wife.

[As session with Malayyu and Lily Beyer ended visitors and students (Cora Manuel, Erlinda Abad, Mrs. Aurora Lim, and Amor Manuel) arrived. It was about 10:30 a.m.]

XXIV. RICE POUNDING

Men were pounding rice between the two houses, using the two carved stone mortars. The pounders were performing by twos and by threes, using both hands. They were doing some tricks with the pestle and mortar, reminiscent of Ilukano rice pounders in my birthplace, Santo Domingo, Nueva Ecija. The following deviations from the normal pounding were noted:

- muntikuk, tikkuk* — hitting the mortar (on the rim, side with the pestle handled horizontally) with the pestle.
pakkuk — hitting one another's pestle.

Intriguing is the relationship of the gong beat and the rice-pounding beat, point I am leaving for ethnomusicologists to elucidate. There were two groups of pounders who may be in twos or threes. But there was only one group of gong players, and this group was composed of three.

XXV. ON EPIC SINGING

Malayyu said that epic singing may be done at the same time with rice pounding or going playing. There is no tabu regarding synchronic performances. Hudhud singing may be done in the day, when there is a dead person; or it may be done during the harvest when the singing is also during the daytime. The leading singer starts a few lines, then others join in, following the same lines.

The song may also be recited in parts. The song may be sung solo. It may be led by a man, like Pugung of Amganad. There is no Hudhud singing during the planting. The singing is done in harvest time while it is going on in the field. There is no Hudhud singing while pounding rice. While fixing the terrace walls or

weeding, a story from the Hudhud may be told. Here are examples of the vocabulary used:

<i>mangtung</i>	— special priest who performs; specialized.
<i>guade</i>	— poison
<i>lingab</i>	— any hole in an embankment, terrace, large or small; hole or shelter for ducks; cave.
<i>Lubu'</i>	— hole in an embankment or terrace for depositing the dead; after a year remains are exhumed and cleaned; sometimes two years.
<i>libutan</i>	— wrap, e.g., the skeletal remains
<i>polag</i>	— removing the bones from the hole and cleaning and dusting them (no water is used when bones are completely dry); bone cleaning.
<i>utúng, mitung</i>	— ceremony of ancestor-calling; only a few ancestors are mentioned; the spirits of the deceased ancestors are called.
<i>dilli</i>	— blanket
<i>gamong</i>	— death blanket
<i>uloh</i>	— blanket for the living (a) <i>bayyaung</i> , used by well-to-do; (b) <i>hape</i> , by the common people
<i>amaphodan</i>	— manners, behavior
<i>pangat</i>	— custom, practice, which is followed without questioning
<i>tugun</i>	— advise, counsel
<i>maphod</i>	— good (as tasty, beautiful)
<i>haynitaguwan</i>	— (a) rank, as a person in the community; (b) as human being.
<i>ubi</i>	— chicken coop
<i>libong</i>	— ratguard (an independent piece fitted onto the post)

XXVI. THE DANGLI

I was told that the *dangli* (animal, pig or carabao, or duck, but not chicken, sacrificed to the ancestors) is a continuation of the celebration honoring Beyer: from the butchering of pigs, four of them, to today's performance, the slaughter of a carabao. The animal was being readied for the sacrifice by two men leading it.

From here, it was only a few meters' distance, the man holding the nose-rope stopped. A *mombaki* recited something while drinking. This *mombaki* was called *mangtung*, and was Dumngalon from Pugu village. He called the names of spirits of the dead, I was told, to accompany the deceased. Then after he

was through, he called the people to kill the animal. A man delivered the first blow, directing his strength at the right flank. This was followed by others hitting the animal in different places. The animal immediately collapsed. There was a flashing of blades under the sun, one participant after another trying to slice a chunk. This is the famous *ginnat* ritual, a free-for-all for the carabao meat. A woman was preventing a man from slicing off the head. As one man succeeded in chopping off a part, he stacked the pieces through a sharpened stake. Another man succeeded in carrying off one leg and a woman was covering it with a reed mat to prevent others from partitioning it further. Dogs had a feast on the small pieces of meat that were detached. Another man was now staking his pieces of meat, including a piece of liver, on a pole, while the others were still madly seizing, slicing, chopping off a piece here and there.

Someone near me remarked that Beyer would be happy because he knew this custom so well. Suddenly a leg was pulled under the house and two others were trying to get a slice of the big leg. Another man finally detached a big part of another leg and ran with it, while two or three followed him to get a share. A woman threw a stick at the man without hitting him. The man with the leg now ran down the terrace, still followed by two men; he ran on one of the dikes, and I feared someone might fall down the embankment. When I returned to the yard, I saw not a shadow of the carcass — it was gone in exactly thirteen minutes from the time the first blow was delivered. Only dogs were busy licking the remnants and blood. I had never seen a more gory scene. (Then I asked questions again.)

Q: What is the function and meaning of this ritual (*ginnat*)?

A: Only the well-to-do perform this ritual. It is done to show that the deceased was not selfish during his lifetime. The poor and rich share alike. It is also done for prestige, to show that one is not stingy. The sacrifice of the animal is for the deceased . . . that there should be no distinction between relatives and nonrelatives during this occasion.

Q: Is there any choice part of the animal that is reserved?

A: Yes, the internals like the heart and liver. The large intestines are least liked.

Q: Which parts are reserved for the priest (*mangtung*)?

A: One heap of hind leg.

Q: Why?

A: This is the tradition since the beginning.

Q: What other participants have reserved portions?

A: The man who secured the animal, fed it and brought it to the feast. He gets one of the front legs. If there are two, this portion is divided.

XXVII. IFUGAO CARVINGS ON THE HOUSE WALL PANELS

The scramble for meat apparently had exhausted the people. No one was interested anymore in beating the gongs nor in dancing. The yard in the first place was dirty with smelly faeces and the ground looked bloody. It was already time for lunch and we ate. After lunch I was attracted to the ancient house in which Beyer lived all through the early years whenever he was in Amganad. Now it is covered with galvanized iron roofing; that is the only difference. It is still well-preserved, and so I busied myself with its frontage.

The *bulol* figure on the left panel is that of a woman because of its slit and breasts. I was told the *bulol* could either be male or female. The figure was carved out on the panel, not nailed onto it, and is standing on a pedestal which is also part of the panel. I was also told that the *bulol* on the panel here had a mainly decorative function. In a ricefield, it had another function.

XXVIII. NABYUN VILLAGE

I later joined a group which was interested in seeing two *bulols*. These belonged to Bill Beyer's mother and they were kept in the rice granary in Nabyun village. The National Museum people photographed the figures. One was female and the other male. They looked new to me or at least postwar but since they were kept in the granary and not exposed to the elements, it is possible that the appearance is deceiving. The granary had an iron roof.

At one end of the village which was on the shoulder of a hill the houses were more clustered. Each yard was fenced and there was a short gate between the yards. The fences were high.

The houses in this village were made of mixed materials. The walling was made of (a) wood panels; (b) sawali or woven bamboo, amugawon, or (c) a mixture of wood and sawali.

XXIX. NAMING SYSTEM

I was informed that the following ways of naming children was practiced by the Ifugao people:

1. Father or mother gives the name of the child;
2. Besides uncles and aunts give names too.
3. Name is taken from a grandparent, from either paternal or maternal side.

By asking specific instances of naming, I recorded the following:

1. Landieng, a 2-year old son, has no ancestor by that name.
2. Baganni, a 5-year old son, from mother's side.
3. Liguatan, a father, name taken from mother's father.
4. Name can be taken from a visitor.

Names are not taken from a mountain but from a tree or a plant. Names are not after an animal, but after a visitor.

I asked questions again —

Q: Do Ifugao change names?

A: There is no specific rule, but a child may be renamed if he grows up and does not like his name. A sickly child may be renamed. For example, Mrs. Beyer's first name was Linggayu, which was changed to Indulnu, and when she grew up and was no longer sickly, she changed again to her first name.

Q: May the name of a grandfather who was killed be used for a grandson?

A: Not usually, because he may also be killed. But if it is already given, this is not withdrawn; he may take revenge later, if he is brave.

XXX. SWEET POTATO FIELD

I had time to make only one sketch of the sweet potato field. The soil level is raised about a foot above the bed of the draining canals. I was told it is easier to dig the tubers later. It was later in the afternoon when I got back to our village.

XXXI. TATTOOING

For the first time I saw an old man with tattoo. I requested

him to strip off his jacket for a photograph. He condescended. Later we requested him to tell us something about tattooing. He also condescended and Mrs. Lim and myself had a session with him.

His is Kinadduwi Dagadah, born in Huyuk, and is older than Beyer. I learned that he is the same man whose photograph appears in the Beyer albums. In fact a large enlargement of his picture hangs against one of the walls, taken when he was still in his prime, long before the war. Kinadduwi is also one of the priests who married Beyer to Linggayu, the other priests being Gambuk Dulawan, Beyer's father-in-law, Bumannal Ambohnnon, and Tundadi Pa'ya. He said he performed the baki with one pig and two chickens, and Beyer paid the priests with money.

He did not remember any Hudhud singing, nor Alim singing; but there was a kanyaw which lasted for eight days (cf. recollection of Linggayu recorded earlier), during which four pigs, one carabao, chickens and ducks were butchered. The marriage took place, he said, in the same spot where we are now. The kandangyans at this time were Tuginnayu Linlingon and Angayon.

Q: How old were you when you were tattooed?

A: A boy of 15-16 years old.

Q: Did you have companions?

A: There were many other boys who wanted to be tattooed, and I was among them.

Q: How is tattooing done?

A: The performer draws the design first, then the incisions are made, the soot of pine tree is applied (taken from the bottom of jar or pot). It is like being vaccinated (informant had been vaccinated, he told us).

Q: Who was the tattooer?

A: Ligmaya tattooed me. There were many people who knew how.

Q: How many days did it take to finish?

A: Five days. First my breast was tattooed, and this was done in one day. Next the sides, in the second day. Then the arms, in the third day. Thighs and hips in the fourth day, and lastly the neck in the fifth day. I was lying down when it was being done.

Q: Any rituals?

A: None. No pig nor chickens were offered. There were no prayers.

Q: Why did you like to be tattooed?

A: I liked it. *Maphod* [it is nice, beautiful].

Q: Did you pay the artist?

A: Yes, ten bundles of rice a day, or fifty bundles for the work.

Here is the vocabulary I gathered:

<i>bato</i>	— design, tattoo mark
<i>inap (appat)</i>	— fernlike, like the leaf of the appat plant (a fern), which is one of the designs on his body.
<i>pinippiwong</i>	— cross like design, like a flying bird in the sky; also one of the designs on this informant's body. Translated by someone in the crowd as swallow.
<i>kinulkulippo</i>	— like a shell; name taken after shell.
<i>ginulgultu</i>	— like the membranous whitish material inside fresh bamboo which is crepelike.
<i>hinangngadel</i>	— a native design found on wine jars (red or black), archlike.
<i>kinahkahhu</i>	— doglike.
<i>hinulluhlung</i>	— [informant cannot recall.]

In tattooing three needles are set in a row and bound. This is the tool used in pricking the body. The needles are not sterilized (put in the fire). The soot is taken from the bottom of a pot and this is mixed with sugarcane juice and a little water; this is the material used for blackening. The mixture is not boiled.

Q: Any god or spirit of tattooing?

A: None.

Q: Why do you like to have tattoos?

A: People with tattoos are regarded highly by the people. Only those who can pay in terms of rice may have tattoos. I had several companions when I underwent the operation. Women like men with tattoos.

Q: Between two men, one with, and the other without a tattoo, who will be selected by the maidens for a husband?

A: The man with a tattoo.

Q: Why don't you have any tattoo, Bandaw? (son of chief informant).

A: It is painful to undergo it.

Q: Your father, did he have any tattoo?

A: [Chief informant once more answering]: Yes, the same design.

Q: What about his wife?

A: His wife had a tattoo, but the design was different. Women have tattoos on the arms only. [Someone said, however, that there is a woman in Puitan with her body fully tattooed].

XXXII. THE BATANGAL RITUAL

There were simultaneous activities going on in the evening of January 7, 1967. Bill said specific bulol gods will be mentioned,

so the matungulan gods. The purpose is to assure the relatives left behind by the deceased that they will not get sick. The following activities regarding the batangal ritual were noted:

I. Gong Playing and dancing.

We were told that gong players cannot stop beating the gongs whenever there are dancers on the ground. The players are under the eaves or house. Then I asked the following questions:

Q: Do Ifugaoes dance by twos?

A: If they are not shy.

Q: Is there any concept of partners in the dance?

A: None. But a young man seeing a young woman dancing may join the dancing. No two persons will agree to dance together.

Q: Are a man and woman paired?

A: No. Gong playing drowns out all other activities.

II. *Liwliwa* singing by a group of men and women.

Q: Why are you made happy when there is a dead person?

A: To comfort the bereaved left behind.

Q: What is the content of the *liwliwa*?

A: Exchange of words. A man or a woman starts the singing, and another replies. This is the custom when the deceased is old. When young people die, people become sad, because he should have grown older before dying. Men may also sing courtship songs during the *liwliwa*.

III. *Alim* singing up the house done by old man, called *batangal*.

IV. *Inuhag*, a ritual of many kinds involving the butchering of two pigs, etc. This is the time for young people to exchange love songs.

Q: But the participants are old?

A: They want to enjoy themselves.

Q: Why do you make yourselves happy?

A: We are happy that the old have died, since they are going to die anyway.

Q: Why are the singers almost all women?

A: Some of the women pretend to be men.

Q: What is the difference between *inuhag* and *liwliwa*?

A: In *liwliwa* anyone may start it, while the others join later. In the beginning it may just be an exchange of pleasantries. If there are unmarried people, persons of opposite sexes may exchange love songs. Love play. Singer expresses his experience to woman. For example, even if his feet hurt, he will continue walking just the same because of tender memories of someone (who may be in front of him). Singers also remember things that happened between the deceased and the widow, singing them.

After the participants in the gong playing and dancing had exhausted themselves, and the liwliwa singers had nothing more to sing, there were but the Alim singers left chanting up to possibly three o'clock in the morning. When I asked Mrs. Beyer why she was not participating in the liwliwa, she said: "I am thinking of the past and I want to think alone."

The same Alim was sung as in the first night. It was explained that the first Alim should really have been performed when Beyer was still alive, so that he could recover from his ailment. It was done just the same to comfort the surviving relatives. The same Alim was sung for a second time, for if this were not done some *banig* (ghost, Iloko term *al'alya* was used) will be jealous and bring them sickness.

Informant Joaquin said there may be sixteen Alims in Amganad, and more than twenty in Kababuyan up to Burnay.

XXXIII. POOR MAN'S WAKE

A man is considered poor when he has no land; he lives only in an abong of lunu hut and eats sweet potato. When he dies a pig may be killed or chickens, but there is

No Alim singing,
 No Hudhud singing,
 No liwliwa singing,
 No tapuy drinking.

After a wake of three nights, he is buried. A kadangyan when he dies may entail as many as five pigs and one carabao at least. A second class kadangyan may have a vigil of eight days and nights.

XXXIV. BEYER IN THE EARLY DAYS

The house under which Beyer now lies was the house of Lingngayu's grandparents on her mother's side for her father's parents' house was in Huyuk village. The newlyweds lived in this house after their marriage for six months, after which they had a house built in the next lot, which structure was burned during the Japanese occupation. Beyer redeemed her parents' ricefield

which was then mortgaged. Mrs. Beyer informed us: "Whenever Beyer came from Manila, he lived in our house. He came collecting. His messenger was named Kulungay of Banawe." Beyer took a picture of her, she said, pointing to a girl of about eight. She was married at fifteen.

XXXV. BEYER'S FATHER-IN-LAW, LOCAL ORGANIZATION AND CUSTOM LAW

Gambuk was Beyer's father-in-law. He was like a judge. Whenever someone committed wrong, he was the one who investigated the trouble. He was *mabungot*. He was *mangihapit*, a go-between, he was the one who investigated cases. The aggrieved party reported to Gambuk and would demand *multa* or damages. This demand was carried by the mangihapit to the wrongdoer. The aggrieved person made a threat that if the wrongdoer did not comply he would hold him responsible for the result of his action.

Amganad is a *bubli*, meaning village; but Dauyan is a *bububli*, part of a village. But when people refer to a particular place, they call it by name, like Dauyan. *Hinagkun* or *hinaggun* is neighbor, or neighboring house, or its people. *Hahaggun* refers to the neighborhood. The head of a village may be referred to as *ulun di tagu* (head of the people). In Amganad, Hiyadan was the head (chief), when Gambuk was a young man.

- Q: In the case of a house being burned to whom is the case reported?
 A: To the ulu. The mangihapit investigates and the ulu determines the fine (*multa*).
 Q: What is *multa* in Ifugao?
 A: *Haliw*.
 Q: Who determines the *haliw*?
 A: The aggrieved person.
 Q: Who is the *mun'alun*?
 A: He is the person who goes from the aggrieved person to the wrongdoer.
 Q: Who were the *mun'aluns* then when Beyer was in Amganad?
 A: Gambuk.
 Q: Was Hiyadan also a *mun'alun*?
 A: He was also a *mun'alun*.
 Q: Suppose a *payo* (ricefield) owner steals water from an upper landowner, to whom is the case reported?
 A: They will fight.

- Q: Has A the right to kill B?
 A: Yes.
 Q: What is law [I used linteg, Iloko term] in Ifugao?
 A: *Yandong*.
 Q: What is divorce?
 A: *Munhiyan*.
 Q: Who decides munhiyan cases?
 A: The parents, or the couple.
 Q: Who decides cases of boundary disputes: [pogpog: boundary]
 A: The mun'alun or mangihapit.
 Q: Any difference between the two in power?
 A: They are the same.
 Q: What are the grounds for divorce?
 A: (1) If the couple is childless.
 (2) If there happens to be someone killed in the family of one of the spouses by any member of the other's family.
 (3) Infidelity on the part of the woman. (If on the part of the man, he might be killed by woman's husband.)
 (4) If bad words are said within hearing of relatives of couple, and there was someone present of the opposite sex.
 Q: May laziness on the part of the wife or husband be a ground for divorce?
 A: No.
 Q: What about sickness:
 A: No. No man would leave a sick wife; if he does he will be talked about, and no woman will ever take him again. His reputation suffers.

This is the vocabulary I got regarding the particular conversation:

<i>puóng</i>	— one paddy with dike.
<i>payó</i>	— the ricefield consisting of the several puongs.
<i>tupyéng</i>	— stone wall
<i>banong</i>	— dike where people pass
<i>alak</i>	— passageway of water, canal
<i>myong</i>	— forest

XXXVI. BEYER'S BODY BROUGHT BACK TO BANAWÉ

On Sunday morning, after breakfast, preparations were made to transport Beyer's body to Banawe town. Two loops were prepared and a pole. Two natives carried the bier down from Dauyan up to Tablobob, and another set of carriers replaced them there.

Bill explained that the path we were taking was the passage-

way General Aguinaldo took in his historic escape to Palanan. The gong players accompanied the cortege, beating what sounded to me like a processional march.

I noted a number of terms as we moved slowly through this mountain pathway and scenery, stopping only at two places to rest:

<i>awón</i>	— path
<i>wanti</i>	— trail built by man and wider than <i>awón</i>
<i>gulit</i>	— design, any mark
<i>wa'el</i>	— stream
<i>wangwang</i>	— river
<i>ab'abpung</i>	— small hut
<i>hina'ammá</i>	— family, when father is present or stressed
<i>hini'inná</i>	— family, when mother is present or stressed
<i>higib</i>	— a house or a group of two or more houses isolated from the village
<i>tungo</i>	— day when work in the field is forbidden; the day after the death of an Ifugao is <i>tungo</i> , during which certain things are taboo.
<i>hogong</i>	— sign of the <i>tungo</i> , a term used in Banawe.
<i>wadwadan</i>	— marks on the way leading to the village observing a <i>tungo</i> , the sign being made of runo and dongla plants; an Amganad term.

I saw a man burying a heavy and big chunk of stone in the middle of his field. I was told that the Ifugao would usually do this to increase the acreage of his land. But at what expense of energy, for a meter square of ground!

XXXVII. "THE ORIGIN OF MONKEYS"

George Baguio, one of my informants, told me two folktales along the way. As we were walking I could not take notes. The first one was "The Origin of Monkeys" and the other was the "The Monkey and the Turtle." I pieced the parts of the first tale together from memory —

There was a son too small to munch his sugarcane. So he approached his mother and asked her to whittle off the hard rind. The mother was busy and told him to go to his father. The boy went to his father and asked him to pare off the hard rind, only to be referred to his aunt. His aunt was also doing something, and so she told him to go to his uncle — who referred him to his grandmother, who referred him to his grandfather, and who in turn told him to go back to his mother who was still busy doing something.

The boy, tired of going from one relative to another and receiving no help, was disappointed. He left with a heavy heart and told his relations he was going away. In his despair he beat himself with a stick of sugarcane which stuck in his hind part. This became part of his body, his tail. The story explains the origin of monkeys.

The second tale I am unable to recall without committing mistakes.

Upon arrival at the Inn, we rested for a while. The coffin was placed now on a stand, in its former position in the receiving room. Visitors and guests sat in chairs or sofas, the natives in the porch or outside it. Then the latter picked up their gongs once more and some dancers performed.

Before noon, Malayyu and several women squatting on the bare cement porch sang the Hudhud once more. A number of visitors came, including Fr. Omer, who had been in the country for more than thirty years. Sisters of the Congregation and school officials came, and one of the teachers became drunk.

Father Omer offered a prayer and a blessing while the native fly-keeper was doing his job beside the bier. Now and then Mrs. Beyer would step on one of the boxes to look at the face of her husband. She had refused to take her meals since she learned about the death of Professor Beyer.

XXXVIII. ON THE ALIM WITH GAHAL DANGO AS INFORMANT

Gahal Dango, who was born in Banawe, a boy when Beyer came [1905], served as the informant now.

Q: How many songs constitute the Alim?

A: When a pig is sacrificed sixteen Alim songs may be chanted; if three pigs, twenty four songs; if there is an eleven-day feast, called *imbayá*, and omens are interpreted, twenty six songs may be chanted to complete the Alim. Each song has a story, but each is joined to the other.

Q: What are these stories?

A: These stories are as follows:

1. Ummangal
2. Ummangal and Bugan
3. Kabbigat and Bugan
4. Bummilaw and Bugan
5. Pugong and Bugan
6. Magguling [alone], when the Baltong is recited.
7. Yubyubin and Bugan

8. Wakkaten and Bugan
9. Dullugen and Bugan
10. Ullagen and Bugan
11. Dinnundun [alone], when the second baltong is recited.
12. Bedbedan and Bugan
13. Danniw [alone]
14. Page
15. Babuy
16. Buka
17. Hangal, after the sacrificial pig is killed
18. Hangal
19. Balay
20. Habal
— *When there is imbayá:*
21. Ké'palen and Bugan
22. Bitbitan

Note that the informant could not come up to his promised twenty six songs. The Alim may be finished in two nights of chanting. The informant is from Banawe and he says that in Kababuyan village, Alim chanting is longer.

XXXIX. ON THE ALIM

Ramon Dulnuan's listing, with the assistance of Bindahan Kinggingan, over seventy years old and native of Banawe, offered the following amplification of the Alim:

- 1—2. Ummangal and Bugan
- 3—4. Kabbigat and Bugan
- 5—6. Bummilaw and Bugan
- 7—8. Pugung and Bugan
- 9—10. Makgulieng
- 11—12. Yubyubin and Bugan
- 13—14. Wakkaten and Bugan
- 15—16. Dullugen and Bugan
- 17—18. Ullagen and Bugan
- 19—20. Dinnundun
- 21—22. Bedbedan and Bugan
- 23—24. Danniw and Page (2 outside the house)
- 25—26. Danniw and Babuy (2 outside the house, below the stairs).

If there is an imbayá feast, the following stories are added:

- 27—28. Ké'palen and Bugan [outside the house]
- 29—30. Bedbedan and Bugan [inside the house]

Q: Why do they go outside the house and chant there?

A: So that the god Maknongan will see them performing the Alim.

- Q: Who is your supreme god?
 A: Wigan, who created man. Maknongan also created man.
 Q: Was there any coffin in the olden days?
 A: None. The body was seated in a hangdel, from three to eight days; sometimes from ten to fifteen days. The *napuhi* or poor have a three-day wake, and the death blanket is called hape, while the kadangyan have a five to eight day wake called *chinli* or *bayaong*. More than this period is purely a chinli feast.
 Q: When is the Alim chanted?
 A: (a) For the recovery of illness, and (b) when there is a *pinhudán* — a person wants to show to the people that he wants it. It may be chanted even by poor families, provided there is a sacrifice of a pig, when sixteen songs are chanted. In this instance songs 11—12, 13—14, 15—16, 27—28, 29—30 are omitted.
 Q: Why are these songs omitted?
 A: Because there is only one pig sacrificed. If three or more, the chanting may be completed.
 Q: Can a single person sing the Alim?
 A: He may know it, but he sings it with others.
 Q: Are there any teachers of the Alim.
 A: There are. Some of them are: Likyayu, male, in Bokós village [he is the best, according to Bill Beyer]; Battun, male, in Angadal village; Gahal, male, in Angadal village; and Bindadan, male, in Banawe.
 Q: How is the Alim taught?
 A: During such occasions, by listening. Interested persons do not pay any fee.
 Q: May the Alim be chanted during a marriage celebration?
 A: If there is a sacrificial animal; otherwise people will get sick.

Ramon Dulnuan as the informant now:

- Q: Did you have any Alim singing in 1966?
 A: Yes, in my house.
 Q: Who were the singers?
 A: Bindadan, Likyayu, Hangdaan, Dugalon, Dimmuyung, Limmang, and others just accompanying the singers.
 Q: What was the occasion?
 A: The occasion was *apúy*, a fire sacrifice or performance, or *pinhudán*. *Apu chi pake*, fire for the rice, is done, for the Ifugao smoke the rice for preservation purposes. When the owner starts to pound the palay, then it is called *apuy chi pake*; when owner touches the reserved palay, the purpose is to lengthen the life of the reserve, so that it will not be easily consumed. When half consumed, the second *apúy* is performed, and a sacrificial chicken or pig is once more killed. The Alim may then be sung, though in the first stage the Alim may not be sung. This is classified as *pinhudan*.
 Q: On what date?

- A: October 1966. Started late in the afternoon and finished late in the afternoon on the following day. In Puitan.
- Q: How many pigs were sacrificed?
- A: Five.
- Q: Did you complete the Alim?
- A: No. The last four songs for the imbayá were omitted.
- Q: Was there anyone sick in the family?
- A: None.
- Q: Did you witness other occasions for singing the Alim in 1966?
- A: Three others: in the house of Pablo Pumihek, for the recovery of his sick son, August 1966, in Puitan. Then in the house of Hangdaan, in Puitan, for the recovery of the lingering illness of a son, also in August 1966. And lastly in the house of Baddangre Batangúg, in Puitan, for the recovery of a sick wife, in November 1966.
- Q: Were there others?
- A: Yes. But we were not informed and could not be present.

XL. ON THE ALIM AND HUDHUD WITH BINDADAN AS INFORMANT

- Q: How many times did you have occasion to sing the Alim or be present when there was singing?
1. In Banawe, house of Ramon, April 1966, the occasion was an *ulpi* after planting; classified as *pinhudan*. Chief singer: Bindadan; Likyayu, Dimmuyug and others.
 2. In Banawe, house of Balinganga, July 1966, during the first day of harvesting, in order that he may have a good harvest. Chief singers: Bindadan, Bituon and others.
 3. In Banawe, house of Buyagawan, Sept. 1966, occasion was *yobyob*, a performance during old age, because Buyagawan's mother was already old, though not sick.
 4. In Banawe, in the house of Dinamling, Sept. 1966, during the wake of Dinamling's father called *hongá* (*nauluhan na*), because they failed to perform the Alim when he was sick, the son being in Baguio City, being a security guard in the Antamok mines. Chief singers: Bindadan, Likyayu, Gahal, Batuna and others.
 5. In Banawe, in the house of George Pepe, October 1966, for the recovery of his sick son, and this is called *hongá*. Chief singers: Limmong of Puitan, Bindadan, Damuyan of Banawe and others.
 6. In Puitan, in Ramon's house [see *supra*]
 7. In Amganad, in the house of Beyer, in 1967, during his wake. Chief singers: Kimmayong, Gumidlu, Bindadan, Ginniling, Tuginay, and others.
- Q: What is the difference between the Alim and the Hudhud?

- A: The Hudhud is only performed during:
1. The harvest, when a person harvesting is rich. It is sung to pass the time only.
 2. When there is a dead person, who is rich, to kill the night.
- Q: Why?
- A: A rich man usually employs many harvesters and in order to entertain these people they have to sing the Hudhud.
3. There may be many versions of the Hudhud. The Alim has only one, because it is taught.
- Q: During what other occasions is the Alim chanted?
- A: During the *liyah*. One must be *maliyah*, baptized, to be able to sing the Alim. If you have the interest to be a prayerman, you have to be baptized, and this is done during a kanyaw when there is an Alim singing.
4. The pig is more important in a kanyaw than a carabao. The carabao is only butchered for its meat. The Alim cannot just be sung when a carabao is killed. There must be a pig. The carabao is not slaughtered during the harvest because it eats grass, and the palay belongs to the grass family, and the animal may eat the *linnawa chi pake* [. . . di . . . , in Amganad], the "spirit of the rice". The pig does not feed on grass, nor on chickens.
- Q: Can the Hudhud be sung by priests?
- A: No.
- Q: Who sing the Hudhud?
- A: Only women, and old women, not young ones. The Alim is sung only by men who already have children or are already in the middle age.

XLI. ON THE ALIM AND HUDHUD WITH ISABEL HUMIWAT AS INFORMANT

Isabel Humiwat, informant, she was born in Anaw, Burnay, Central Ifugaw, before World War II, finished 2nd year high school, in Lagawe, 1953; married July 29, 1955, has five children.

- Q: How many times have you heard the singing of the Alim?
- A: Last year, 1966, two times.
- Q: What was the occasion?
- A: During harvest time, in August, in Banawe.
- Q: Why did you perform the Alim?
- A: Because we were harvesting our rice.
- Q: What is its relation to the singing of the Alim?
- A: Because we butchered one pig for the women and men who harvested. So that, according to the old people, we may have a good harvest.

- Q: Did you sing the Alim just before harvesting?
A: Suppose we were going to harvest tomorrow, the men sang the Alim in the evening, and in the following day the women harvested.
- Q: Why didn't you perform the Alim two months before the harvesting?
A: Because the purpose would then be different.
- Q: Why?
A: The Ma'mongan would bless the palay so that we would get more palay.
- Q: Who sang during the occasion?
A: The men: Bindadan, Aggahar, Ramon. I don't remember the rest.
- Q: Who was the chief singer?
A: My uncle, Bindadan.
- Q: What was the other occasion of the singing of the Alim last year?
A: When there was a sick person, in the house of our neighbor Angelina, an Ifugao woman, in Banawe. Her daughter was sick.
- Q: What was the purpose of the singing?
A: They sang the Alim, butchering one pig, so that the sick daughter would get cured. This is our belief.
- Q: Did the daughter get well?
A: She got well. But I do not know whether the singing of the Alim cured her, because she also stayed in the hospital.
- Q: Who were the singers of the Alim that time?
A: Diyyadi, Bindadan, Aggahar, Buyyagawan, and others.
- Q: Who was the chief singer?
A: Diyyadi.
- Q: Who are the Alim singers in Anaw?
A: Bi'uyay, an old man, and others. One of the best singers, named Ganu, died in middle age.
- Q: What about in Lagawe, who are the Alim singers?
A: Luis, but he is already very old.
- Q: Can you summarize the story of the Alim?
A: I am sorry, sir, but I do not know. I was not so interested.
- Q: Have you heard the Hudhud?
A: When I was a small girl in Anaw I used to hear it. But since I came to Banawe, in 1955, I have not heard it.
- Q: Did you participate in the singing of the Hudhud then?
A: I did not.
- Q: What is the difference between the Alim and the Hudhud?
A: The Alim, they say, can cure sickness, while the Hudhud cannot. Men and women can sing the Hudhud; sometimes some women know the Alim, like my grandmother Linggayu in Binnulu, Piwong. Dumaan of Munpolya can sing the Alim, according to Talupa, brother of Linggayu. Poor people cannot just sing the Hudhud; it is shameful to sing it if they are poor.
- Q: When do you sing the Hudhud?
A: In the house or in the ricefield of a rich man or woman.

- Q: Do you mean to say that poor people do not know how to sing the Hudhud?
- A: They do.
- Q: If the poor people know how to sing it, why then don't they sing it?
- A: They can sing it, but not in their field or house.
- Q: Why?
- A: Because they are poor, and the Hudhud is only for the rich people.
- Q: May the Alim be sung in the house of a poor family?
- A: Informant asked Apichul Pungdinglan of Banawe, who said, "Yes."
- Q: Does not the singing of the Alim entail much expense?
- A: Yes, at least one pig is needed.
- Q: Do you think a poor family can butcher a pig?
- A: Yes. [Mrs. Beyer said that in Amganad a poor family could not afford to buy a pig for the Alim in the olden days. But now, informant says, poor families can.]
- Q: Can you request Apichul to summarize the Alim?
- A: He knows the story, but he wouldn't give the summary because he will get sick.

XLII. VISITORS IN THE AFTERNOON

Among the visitors with whom I had occasion to talk to were the following:

Mr. Venancio Uyan, Division Supervisor, Quiangan, Ifugao. M.A. in Ed., U.P., 1957. He wrote: *A Proposed Program of the High School for the Improvement of Ifugao Economy*.

Mr. Albert Dumar, head teacher, Banawe Central School, Banawe; BSE, Congress College, Agoon, La Union, 1963. Mr. Dumar told us there was a collection of folklore, from 1955—1956, consisting of about 220 + pages, including songs with musical transcription. See Mrs. Lopez, Academic Supervisor, Baguio, Benguet Division, Baguio City.

Mr. Raymundo de Leon, Pangasinan; Academic Supervisor, Division of Biak, Bontok. He wrote on Ifugao Culture.

XLIII. ALIM SINGING DURING THE BRINGING OF THE HAGABI AND OCCUPYING A NEW HOUSE

Nakayayyu of Bocos village came early today, January 10, and gave Mrs. Beyer a 5-peso bill as his contribution.

Q: Who is older, you or Beyer?

A: We are of the same age. I was a young unmarried man when Beyer

- came. When Beyer left for Manila, Egan replaced him; Egan was lame. I saw E. Aguinaldo in Banawe. [Mrs. Beyer said Gambuk speared a Spaniard who told him to leave his child on his back].
- Q: I pointed to a piece of furniture near the widow. The people said it is a hagabi. When that is brought to the house there is kanyaw they said. Do you sing the Hudhud then?
- A: The Alim only. There is a ten day feast. They sing at the end of the feast.
- Q: How many times did you sing the Alim last year?
- A: Many times. I cannot remember, but many times.
- Q: When there is a new house, do you sing the Alim?
- A: The relatives of the owner foregather and we do the baki; when we sing the Alim, we kill one pig.

XLIV. BEYER'S BODY BROUGHT TO CATHOLIC CHURCH OF BANAWÉ

At about 8:10 a.m. Father Omer came, offered a short prayer and blessed the body before bringing it to his church. There was a long procession. The public school children were dismissed from their classes and they attended the procession and services. There was Mass for the deceased, and the body stayed in the church until the following day.

XLV. ALIM SINGING ONCE MORE WITH VENANCIO UYAN AS INFORMANT

1. Alim is sung when there is a sick person and the ceremonial offering called *dinupdup* is performed involving no less than six pigs (or maybe eight pigs with a carabao), in one night. Informant had not witnessed the Alim sung during the *hagabi* installation.
2. During *uyauy*, *bumaya* or *baya*, prestige feast, when a person wants to be known as a *kadangyan*, the Alim is sung. Mr. Uyan explained: "When our mother Aginaya died sometimes in July 1945 in Burnay; Aginaya had been sick for a time, and the *hongá* was performed, during which the Alim was sung. A chicken was killed and this celebration is called *gutud*, the counterpart of the *dinukduk* when a pig is butchered by the rich. When our mother died, everything was scarce, there was no food, people had no g-strings. We were four brothers and one sister: Nanglegan, Dullawon, Bugan (sister) and myself (Venancio is his Christian name, Timmakdeg his native name). Nanglegan mortgaged one half of his ricefield to celebrate the death-feast called *dangli*, Dullawon wanted to have my carabao for the occasion. But I did not agree, saying I had children and I wanted to bring the animal to Quiangan for plowing my field. There was a five

day celebration. I bought one pig. As long as I was there, the carabao was spared. After that our mother was buried. Then I left for Burnay; that very night the remains of our mother were dug up and my relatives performed and continued the *dangli*, just to remove the shame on the family."

XLVI. ON CUSTOM LAW

With Judge Cristobal Rebolledo of Banawe as informant.

Q: What do you do when there is trouble in Banawe?

A: When the case is not serious, I call the parties and tell them to settle the case by themselves. Before hearing a case, we let them settle their cases alone.

Q: What do you consider serious cases?

A: Murder, homicide.

Q: What do you do with the less serious cases?

A: Examples of less serious cases are thefts, in which I ask them to settle themselves if the parties are willing; also cases when there is wounding. Spilling of blood, however, is serious to Ifugaos, but if they are willing to fix the case the court will not interfere.

XLVII. EARLY YEARS OF BEYER IN BANAWÉ

Nakayayyu once more as informant, while he was pounding betel. He was about five years old at the end of the Spanish period. When Americans came he was named policeman in Quiangan under a certain Tom; the corporal was Kimmayung of Banawe. There were six policemen, and he served for three years. After that period he became a lineman under Dossier. After serving thirteen years as lineman, he became a priest. He learned priesthood from Mangalib, of Bokos, and Balugat, also from that village. "I studied for a long time; I did not pay them." Beyer, he said did not perform any *baki*. Barton married a Dukligan woman and had a daughter named Maria Barton who was killed during the Japanese occupation. At the time of Beyer's stay in Banawe, he was somewhere else.

Among Beyer's helpers was Balugat, a priest, now deceased. There was Dammuki, already old when helping Beyer; and also Bulangon who was already old. Attaban, another priest, and Gambuk, also served as Beyer's informants. Beyer had a house built near the present school house [of Banawe]. He was not yet

married then. By about 1912 when there was a military governor, he was already married to Lingngayu. He resigned as teacher and left for Manila, leaving Lingngayu pregnant. From that time on Beyer used to visit Lingngayu only. Beyer's pupils are now all deceased. Beyer collected snakes, centipedes, crabs, spiders, with Gallman, about 1912. He paid the boys and collectors.

XLVIII. KADANGYANS AND EPIC SINGING WITH
NAKAYAYYU AS INFORMANT

- Q: Who are the *kandangyans* of Bokos?
 A: [Refused to answer, laughing]. Someone answered, Nakayayyu. Juan Candelario, an Ilokano who married an Ifugao woman named Indongdong, daughter of Manglib who was a *kadangyan*. Tagtagun, and Kimmayong Yogyog.
 Q: What are the prerequisites before one can be a *kadangyan*?
 A: One should have many ricefields and many animals (pigs, chickens).
 Q: What do you do to become a *kadangyan*?
 A: *Agpakan ka ti babuy ken manuk. Agkanyaw ka. Dayta nabati, gumatang ka ti talon.* [In Iloko]. You have to feed people with pork and chicken. You have to perform the *kanyaw*. What remains, you spend it in buying lands. Five pigs have to be killed a day in a feast called *imbayá*.
 Q: How many times do you have to celebrate *imbaya* [*bayá*]?
 A: Twice, during your lifetime.
 Q: Is the possession of the *hagabi* required?
 A: Among Quiangan Ifugaos, yes. But I am not from Quiangan.
 Q: When you have a new house, what are the requirements?
 A: Three pigs are necessary for the performance of the *hogóp*.
 Q: Do you then sing the *Alim* or *Hudhud*?
 A: The *Alim*.

XLIX. CULTURAL ADAPTATION IN THE HESTER HOUSE

I could not visit him yesterday, so I tried my best to see Mr. Hester at about two o'clock p.m. The Hester house is a jewel in any sense. Parts were started in 1961 and completed in 1966. There were one Ifugao carpenter and two assistants employed. July 18, 1966 was the formal occupation of the house.

In the evening of 17th, there was a singing of the *Alim*, at about eight o'clock, with resting at intervals until ten o'clock the following day. Then there was a sacrifice of three pigs, the

ritual of the palay and the sugar cane. The singing was taped. Mr. Hester showed me the tapes. The Alim is contained in reel 1, both sides; reel 2, one side; reel 3, part of Alim; reel 4, part of Alim. Hester has five tapes in all, which record the Alim and other rituals and prayers. The woodcarvers were Yogyog, and his father Dango (whom Hester regards as first class). A lad by the name of Andres and Ruben Mandili have also contributed specimens of their art. Mr. Hester showed me also Ifugao overcoats made of wood thread or fibers; these are still made and worn in Kambulo and Bataad. He said Barton recorded the Hudhud at Lagawe. Hester does not know of any collection of Banawe Hudhuds.

L. BEYER'S BODY TRANSFERRED TO THE TOWN HALL

Beyer's body was removed from the Immaculate Conception Church later in the afternoon after some more prayers and blessings and transferred to the Town Hall. The coffin was placed on a platform at one end of the hall which is elevated. A mixed group of singers now dominated the scene, singing hymns and paeans. Mr. Uyan said the group is composed of Protestants and Catholics. There was also a large native group. The mixed singers were seated on long benches. In the middle of the hall was a long table where old and young were playing cards while there was singing going on. The choristers were singing from a psalm book, and they seemed to relish their performance.

At the right side, squatting near the many windows leaning against the wall, were the natives. They seemed to be doing nothing at this time. There was no more gong playing, nor dancing. There were priests among them, but they seemed to be through with their participation. By their silence, they seemed to have lost interest. I noticed the flowers which adorned the Diliman Protestant Chapel had remained fresh, and they were placed around the bier. I did not see any town officials yet, and it was already about nine o'clock p.m.

More groups formed on the floor playing cards, on my left side as I faced the bier. People and children were moving back

and forth. The coffin keeper, with his headdress of feathers, sat leaning against a post and was doing nothing. In Bill's Inn he kept his job driving flies from the coffin. In the olden days he really was kept busy driving away flies from the decaying body, but now the coffin was covered and there were no flies to be seen nor could these alight on the body nor be a nuisance, yet the keeper was doing his job as had been the custom.

The mixed group suddenly stopped singing, though still full of zest. Now the Ifugaos on my right side composed of men and women, braced up, and sang their *liwliwa* songs as if not to be outdone. They must have sung for half an hour when Mr. Cappleman arrived. This gentleman led the people on the benches in prayer and religious reading, while the card players seemed not to be bothered.

Then I came upon Mr. Adriano Apilis, whose name sounded familiar, although I never had the occasion to meet him. He is the author of "Nabukyag," published in the *Philippine Magazine*. He said that he got the material from his grandfather, who was born in Tugawe, Hapaw side of Banawe. He was born in Gubang, Banawe, March 14, 1915, and finished a Normal course in La Trinidad, where he also had an agricultural training.

LI. INSTALLATION OF BULOLS

The bulols represent Wigan and Bugan. The ceremony of welcoming them into the granary is called *agamid*. They get the bulols from expert makers. After performing a *kanyaw*, the bulols are made. The bulols are moved from the place of their makers to the village of their owners.

On the way every person who had held a *kanyaw* before installing his own bulols is supposed to perform a *kanyaw* when the bulols pass his village. The first *kanyaw* is performed at the place of origin, and then by every person along the way who had performed it previously.

He invites the people carrying the bulols to his house, where he brings out wine and performs *kanyaw* by killing a pig and chickens. The priests ask the gods to bless the bulols. The same ritual is performed should there be other persons who have

bulols and performed kanyaw before, until the bulols reach their destination. The idols are paraded with the beating of gongs. The idols are decorated: a g-string for the male bulol (Wigan) and a skirt for the female bulol (Bugan).

In the *ratangan* or yard of the owner the figures are deposited; and there is a blessing of the house by one of the *mombaki*. There is a recitation of how the bulols were received or treated along the way in each station.

Concluding the narration of the trip is a recitation that at last the figures have reached the house of their owners, and an expression of wholehearted welcome by the couple, now owners of the bulols, in which the bulols are asked to stay with the owners to protect them from all adversities and to help them progress in their aspirations — in their economic activities by giving them plenty of animals, good harvest, and good luck, besides many children; they are also asked to guard them from all hardships and possible attacks from their enemies.

There are other *mombakis*. The second *mombaki* may describe the bulols and express deep gratitude for their owners so that prosperity may come to them. And so on with the other *mombakis*. These greetings and prayers are always followed by native festival dancing, sometimes culminating in an exhortation. The festivities last ten days, from the moment the carvers have selected the narra tree from which to cut the branch there is a celebration in the house of the owners, though there is no drinking of wine yet, without the blessing or *gapa*.

On the seventh day wine is served to visitors; this seventh day is called *opalan*, which means some people will not be getting two long poles, and two priests with assistants will be singing the Alim. On the eighth day, called *dapuy* or *chapuy*, the people gather sugar cane, two sticks of which are called *dulu*. These two sticks are carried by two men and fastened longitudinally below the floor of the stairway. The ladder is removed, and the two priests will chant the *dulu* in front of the ladder, blessing the two sticks of sugar cane. On the same day the other canes are milled and the juice is mixed with the wine made by the owner and his neighbor.

The next day is called *lutang*, to give way for the fermentation of the mixture. The ninth and tenth days are called *ila*. Two men will be sent out holding a gong each; starting from the house owner, they beat their gongs calling for relatives selected by the owners, informing them that there will be *kanyaw* the whole night long under the house. The following morning, called *gotad*, all people will be coming to attend the feast by dancing, drinking wine in plenty. People are in festive attire. The bulols are still standing where they were first placed in the yard.

In the afternoon, all people, except those invited and the dead drunk who cannot manage to go home, must leave the place. But these drunken people will leave at dawn as a courtesy to the owner, as this day is called *hida*, during which they will not pour out the wine of the owners which is to be offered to the invited relatives. Usually the owners will butcher from eight to ten pigs of all sizes, in addition to a carabao, or even more, depending on the economic status of the owners. The meat is divided equally among the relatives.

After three days the *mombakis* will again gather to cook the heads of the slaughtered animals, anoint the bulols with blood preparatory to their deposition in the granary where they will be kept forever. The two canes are removed and placed inside the granary along one side of the beam, preferably the right side, where they are fastened.

This ends the *kanyaw* for the bulols. These bulols are taken out once every year during the harvest to be annointed anew with sacrificial animals. The bulols are considered sacred; they are now idols representing Bugan and Wigan, goddess and god of harvest and family.

Should any member of the family get sick and cannot recover with the performance of a small *kanyaw*, the images or idols are brought out of the granary and three or five pigs are sacrificed. The *mombakis* officiate and the singing of the *Alim* is done. There is a performance of the *gopa*, the blessing of the sick so that he will recover, after which the idols are returned to their former places.

Q: Is it the same *Alim* that is sung during the celebration bringing

- the bulols and when there is a sick member in the family?
 A: Yes.

LII. THE LIWLIWA, OTHER SONGS AND PRAYERS

[SAME INFORMANT]

- Q: When is the Hudhud sung?
 A: In Quiangan and Burnay the people sing the Hudhud during the harvest. They sing the Hudhud more than they do in Banawe.
 Q: What is the liwliwa?
 A: A song which is romantic in nature. Sometimes it starts courtships between singers. Another kind is a prayer called *holdong*, led by either a male or female person who is by custom ordained for the purpose.

The leader starts a song of prayer and will be joined by others in chorus. The *appoh* is sung in a prayer form, started by any person and chorused in by a group; they call for evil spirits who may be responsible for the sickness of any member of the family. As soon as one of the singers is possessed by the spirit, the man or woman identifies herself as the cause of the sickness which may be due to the identified spirit, *bibiyo*.

Pakko is the song sung when singers are calling the spirits who have caused the sickness. A singer in the group who is handsome will debate with the spirit who has married the spirit of the sick (and now with children) to offer the spirit whatever he likes (chickens, animals, jewelry). The animals are butchered and the jewelry only brought out.

After eating, the priests will sing another *liwliwa* sending away the spirit, the chief priest sweeping the dirt from the house. Then he will take the wooden bowl, the wine container and pour out the remnant of the undrunk wine from the bowl outside the house through the door and while doing so he pronounces a prayer saying that the owner of the *pa'o* has fulfilled his obligations. Therefore the spirit and others within the house must now leave the house and look for other persons who have not fulfilled their obligations.

- Q: Is there a difference between *pa'o* and *holdong*?
 A: They are synonymous.
 Q: Is not the Alim sung during the *holdong* or *pa'o*?
 A: Sometimes the Alim is sung first, then the *pa'o*. But often the *pa'o* is sung alone.
 Q: In what other occasions is the Alim sung?
 A: In special *kanyaws*: (1) one special *kanyaw* is offered when the celebrant desires to acquire more wealth; (2) for the sake of prestige or popularity, so that he will be recognized as one of the richest persons in the community or one of the *kadangyans*. Three or five pigs are offered in a ceremony called *dinupdup*.

This means that he wants to be elevated to the kadangyan class, or above the other kadangyans. The person has to perform ten kanyaws, the tenth of which is called hagabi, wherein the sitting bench is brought to the house. This is placed under the house, on the east side. This means that he has qualified as a full kadangyan; and (3) all the rest of the kanyaws are performed during sickness or at the pleasure of the kadangyans. There are people who never complete the ten kanyaws. They die or become impoverished.

Q: Why was the Alim sung during the death of Beyer?

A: There was no kanyaw with Alim singing performed during the time that he was sick. This kind of kanyaw or Alim called *honga* is called *patnud*, meaning it is performed as if the deceased were ill. It is a mock Alim.

In front of us people are now saying a Rosary for H. Otley Beyer. I see a cross now placed on the coffin.

LIII. THE KANYAW, ALIM, AND RITUALISM

[SAME INFORMANT]

Q: How many times have you performed a kanyaw?

A: Five times. First, when my mother was sick in 1934 I had a kanyaw performed in the house. This was called *dinupdup*, when three pigs and ten fowls were killed for her recovery. The Alim was sung; then the gopa was recited in the middle of the kanyaw. The principal priest recited the gopa blessing all the attendants outside the house, saying: I bless you all outside. The priest shouted. Then another priest standing by the side of the ladder returned the gopa blessing.

In another kind of gopa, the priest recited a story — that a long time ago their great grandfather made a long journey, at last reaching a beautiful lake. In the lake were many different fishes. At the side of the lake grew a baliteon tree, the branches of which spread wide over the country laden with fruits. In the tree were many different kinds of birds.

Upon his return home, there was great prosperity among the people. The products, rice, animals, and population increased.

After the recitation of the story, a second priest outside received a cup of wine from inside and poured it over one of the ratguards (*livong*) in front, asking Kabunian, the god of plenty, to bestow prosperity over the couple celebrating the kanyaw and to bless them with many children.

Q: What are the different rituals or parts of the kanyaw?

A: The whole kanyaw consists of the following:

1. (a) *Ohag* with Alim chanting; or

(b) *bagol* without singing the Alim, in which the priests just pray and pray. This is shorter than *ohag* with Alim.

2. *gopa*, performed after either ohag or bagol.
3. *danniw*, that part in which one of the two priests holds the *ungot* (coconut shell drinking cup) and the other priest holds a bundle of rice, each priest standing on either side of the ladder.
4. *dupyak*, a stage in which all the sacrificial animals are tied up, one priest after another sticking a pointed sliver, dancing and pouring wine over the animals. Every time a priest dances around the animals, a spirit is called. Three powerful spirits are usually called: (1) *the Dayagan himalatu*, one with fire in his mouth and power to cause illness; (2) *Yangaan hi dimmali*, who has long ears, and power to keep the spirit of the sick a prisoner in any place or mountain; and (3) *the Bulalakaw hi tikkang*, who eats the ears of deceased persons if the corpse is not well guarded under the house. He eats the ears at night. He has similar powers as the first two. Other lesser spirits are danced to and called.
5. *golot*, one by one the pigs are killed by piercing them with a sharpened runu stick, hitting the heart. Then the animals are singed.
6. *hangar*, the pig over which wine has been poured is taken and placed near the stairs. They insert *onwad* plant into its mouth so that the plant will be blessed because it is kept bundled with the sugar cane. The runu stick is pulled out and thrust back and forth as the priest sings. Its meaning: the blessing of all ricefields, kaingins, forests of the celebrant by naming all these places.
7. *lagim*. Singeing the animals over the fire and burning their hair. Then all the pigs are placed under the house where they are opened up. The most important act is taking out the liver and interpreting it. A good sign is a gall bladder well filled with bile and the color must not be dark. A bad omen is a semi-empty bladder or full but with dark contents resembling decayed matter from a deceased animal; this foretells misfortune either for the members of the family or for their products and harvests.

The belly and ribs are cooked and put in the iron vat with one liver, which is the best, and some intestines. When cooked, the meat and liver are scooped out and placed on the *huup* or basket for cooked rice. Everyone plays his part in the *kanyaw*. All the spirits called in the previous stages of the celebration are called to come and participate in the feast.

8. *gunob*. The principal priest takes two feathers, partly saturated with the blood of the sacrificial animals, or the runu stick used in killing the animals, which he uses in asking the gods to bless those who are present, so that their bad dreams in the past may be collected together and thrown into the streams, and they should be spared physical harm, such as being wounded

by stakes planted along the path while making trips and in their return.

9. *pa'i*. Division of the meat: the hind legs are for the relatives of the celebrant. The ribs and forelegs are divided, one half of which is given to the chief priest, who receives the largest share. The chief priest is called *mangohag*. The remainder is divided among the other priests and the helpers. The neck is divided among the neighbors, present or absent. The lesser priests are called *mangtung* or *mon'utung*. The workers or helpers are given the cervix (those who prepared the rice, wine); they are called *mon'amhol*; they are also paid, besides. The hind legs are divided between the husband and wife. The nearest relatives of either get the largest share of the leg, or the best portion. If the celebrant is a widow or widower without child, the share will be given to his maternal and paternal relatives.
10. *ahiw*. Calling other important gods and goddesses and other spirits who have not yet partaken of the food. After this the *mon'ahiw* priest who said part of the prayer eats a little, for it is believed that the minor spirits may cause illness. The chief priest stands with his meat leading, and the other lesser priests follow immediately for fear that the spirits will follow the leader. The chief priest, after arriving in his house, performs a small *kanyaw* with three or five chickens before cooking his share of the meat so that he will be favored in his profession — if that was his first time to lead a *kanyaw*. This is called *agamid*. He at the same time will ask the gods and goddesses and spirits to favor him before he cooks the meat. But if the bile of the animals sacrificed is bad, he will discontinue the ritual. It will bring him more bad luck or death.
11. *haang di ulu*, cooking the heads of the sacrificial animals. This ritual is performed the day following the *kanyaw* if this was performed for the recovery of the sick, or three days afterwards for general purposes.

Q: Are there other kinds of *kanyaws*?

A: Yes, the *kanyaw* related to rice production.

LIV. HONGAN DI PAGE, KANYAW RELATED TO RICE PRODUCTION

1. *ponhopnaan*. One small chicken is killed and offered after which the rice seeds are sown in the bed. This is optional.
2. *bolnat*. One chicken is killed and offered, after the ricefields have been prepared, to bless the seedlings. If the owner wants to plant the following day, he distributes the wages or calls his neighbors saying they are going to plant the following day. Food is prepared.
3. *bogé*, transplanting. Done by women.

4. *ulpi*, offering of thanksgiving, observed by everybody in the locality who has finished planting his or her ricefield. The whole community participates.

A rich man is selected in the locality to start the *ulpi* called *holyat*. *Holyat* is the term which means that everyone should perform the *ulpi*. As soon as the selected person has put out his wine in the house, a man shouts the *guway*, "we are drunk here"; he does this three times. After this ritual the neighbors perform their *ulpi*. The priest now goes from one house to another to perform the *ulpi*, to bless the plants.

5. *tungo*, taboo. No one is allowed to go to the fields or *kaingin*. Everyone stays at home, and enjoys eating. After the *kanyaw* is finished they get two feathers of a chicken and stick them into two *runus* in the field selected, usually the seedbed. These *runus* are stuck about two feet from the paddies or rice dike. This announces that the field owner has performed his or her own *ulpi*. The following day is called *dolna*.
6. *dolna*. All the priests go to the river or spring to take a bath to clean themselves of the dirt that accumulated on their bodies during the previous days while going from house to house.
7. *hagophop*. Two months after planting, when rice plants have grown and covered the water, *hagophop* is performed by butchering two or five chickens depending on the status of the field-owner.
8. *hanglag*. Three and a half months after planting, when plants are flowering and starting to develop grain, *hanglag* is performed. The number of chickens or animals butchered depends on the social condition of the person concerned. If he is rich, he makes the wine for the poor during periods of scarcity.
9. *ahilotá* or *udól*. When the rice is *ahilotá* or *udól*, the period for the poor to harvest their rice has come. Chickens are the only animals customarily killed. And when all the ricefields are ripe, the average families can harvest their ricefields, but the number of harvesters are not many (it may reach up to ten), and they are not allowed by tradition to wear white or colored, glaring clothing, otherwise they will be despised. The wealthier than average families now prepare their wine in anticipation of the harvest.

During the *tona'*, *ulnub*, and *umatlu*, the upper class butchers a pig and prefers to sing the *Alim*, rather than the mere *bagol*.

The first to harvest is the *tumona'*. He must be the richest, because he will have to employ all the people in the community. The apparel may be any color, that is, whatever the people have. On the second day called *onub*, it is the turn of the next selected person in the locality; preferably one who was successful in previous years — good harvest, less deaths. Sometimes the *umolnub* is the same person as the *tumona*; if parts of his ricefields were not yet ready for harvest. The third day is *umatlu*. During the *umatlu*, one, two, three or more persons harvest. Then everyone follows without any further distinction.

10. *ahihu'ap*. After the harvest comes the *ahihu'ap*, meaning the closing of the *intip*, the sacred box; all participate except the *tumona'*, the *umolnub*, and some superstitious few of the *umatlu*. Before the *ahihu'ap* the *tumona* and the *umolnub* will perform a small *kanyaw* called *toldag*, when the two *bulols* (which had been brought down after the sacrifice of a chicken whose blood is used in anointing them) are put back into the granary.

When the harvesters are in the field, the *tumona'* and the *umolbub* butcher a chicken and use the blood to bath the images, a ritual which is called *lame*. Then they perform the *toldag* beside the granary. Everybody then performs the *hu'ap*, closing the sacred box. The *tumona'* and *umolnub* do not eat any vegetables, legumes, shellfish, fish, and any other product of the field which is *nalangsi* (fishy smell) because the *bagol* will come back and do harm to the owners of the field, the *tumona'* and the *umolnub*.

11. *inyapuy*. The *inyapuy* may require two or three chickens. The above average family can eat vegetables like beans and fishy foods after the first *inyapuy*, which is called *luat* — the opening of the store of *palay* above the fireplace for the first time.
12. second *inyapuy*. During this time the priest or prayerman can perform *gummay*, shout "we are drunk here". More wine is prepared during this stage. The above average families will open their main stores. The *Alim* can be sung, for families who have sung it in the past and have a pig to sacrifice; otherwise the singing of the *Alim* is optional.
13. third *inyapuy*. People performing this will have to prepare enough wine because many people will attend it. Only very few can perform this. Afterwards, the rich people will perform *inyapuy* as they wish, before opening the next layer of *palay*, after the previous layer has been consumed, and so on.

LV. LAST HOMAGE PAID H. OTLEY BEYER

It was planned earlier to hold necrological services in Banawe. This was done in the town hall in the morning of January 11th. The opening remarks by Judge C. J. Rebolledo was followed by six eulogies delivered by Mayor Andres Morales, Provincial Board member, Gaspar Ponchinlan, Provincial Secretary Alfredo Pacyaya (who chanted his eulogy), the writer, Division Supervisor Mr. Venancio Uyan, Assistant Provincial Treasurer Isidoro V. Bandonil, and concluded with a response from Bill Beyer.

After these speeches Father Omer gave his last blessing and a short prayer. Two officials now carried the coffin to Bill Beyer's place, below his house, on one of the shoulders of the Banawe

slope. Father Omer once more blessed the body. A group sang hymns as men closed the coffin. I heard someone sob. Then the bier was raised to the elevated shed with bamboo flooring, the shed being covered with a bright-striped death blanket. Father Omer once more read from a book. By 11:30 a.m. people were climbing up to the Inn, leaving Beyer in his open-air resting shelter with iron roofing completely dominating the rice terraces below.

LVI. PUN'AN'ANAMUTAN

This is the ritual of bringing back the widow or widower home to her or his village, which is done with gong playing. Literally it is the ritual of arrival of the widow or widower. Upon reaching home one chicken is killed and relatives eat. If the bile of the chicken is bad, a pig will be bought and butchered (which animal is called *pungpung*). Prayers are offered to the gods for whatever help they may give to the widow who had undergone mental and physical anguish and exertion.

LVII. LAWIT

Tomorrow Mrs. Beyer is going to kill a carabao, I was told, and this ritual is called *lawit*, a ritual sacrifice offered to certain gods requesting that the widow recuperate and acquire vigor again, her linnawa, soul, will be called back, for it is feared that it has gone somewhere wandering. [Carabaos are usually offered only to ancestors, not to gods because it is munlanghi.]

LVIII. UTUNG

Utung — *Utung* is the ritual of calling the spirit of the departed while his linnawa, soul, is still lingering around. This is done the day following the *lawit*. It can also be done two or three days later. A chicken or pig is sacrificed, asking the mightier and lesser gods to send the soul of the departed to his home, in this case, to Amganad, the place where Mrs. Beyer lives.

After that the priest calls the soul of the departed by name, calling him until the priest is actually talking as if he were the

departed. During this time the widow will talk to the priest, who is now representing the husband, asking him to report any property belonging to the couple unknown to the widow, and to point its location (like money which maybe inside or outside the house, money or anything of value lent to anybody which he had not made known to the widow during his lifetime), and requesting the spirit for his protection over the family which he left behind. Finally, she asks his spirit if there is something more that he wishes to reveal, and if there is none, he can leave them in peace and go to Kabunian, the place of the Almighty, who is also identified as Kabunian.

The spirits of people who are murdered go to Kabunian [heaven] which is the kingdom of all people killed. Those who lost their heads have them replaced with coconut shells; and those who die, because of natural sickness join the kingdom of whoever caused the sickness. If the sickness causing the death of a person is due to marriage with an important spirit, then he joins the spirit wherever it is. If it is due to the ancestors, he will join the spirits of the ancestors. This information is revealed by the soul or spirit of the deceased during the utung, in answer to one of the questions asked: "Who got you?" The spirit of the deceased will then answer the interrogator; if the cause of the death is due to one of the ancestors, he will say so. If it is Kabunian himself, he will also say so.

The relatives of the deceased can also talk to the spirit of the deceased during the holdong and utung. The holdong involves singing and calling of ancestors to aptake of the wine. The soul can appear before the *mama'o* or priest responsible for the sacrifice offered.

Q: Are Ifugaos not afraid of spirits?

A: Not in this instance. But if there appears a ghost called *banig* (an apparition in the form of a big duck, dog, or man), the person loses his composure and becomes afraid. Parents also scare children by mentioning the banig: "I am going to give you to the banig of Beyer."

LIX. MOURNING CUSTOMS AND PRACTICES

Q: Any sign of mourning?

A: In case of the death of a child, boy or girl, the parents wear two rings of woven or braided rattan on each forearm as a bracelet; another ring of the same make around the neck and a fourth one around the head are also worn. These are used for a period of one month, *ohay bulan*, which is from the first appearance of the moon to its disappearance. These mourning ornaments are removed after the appearance of a new moon. Then the mourners take a bath and change clothes.

During the mourning period the mourners cover up their brass or gold ornaments. They do not use their fingers for pointing, but their thumbs. The mourner's name is never called at all, but by *nanguhu*. Mrs. Beyer now is called *nabalu*, and when one calls her it is *ambalu* in place of *Lingngayu*.

The purpose of this practice is to differentiate who is the mourner from the nonmourner because there may be several women with that name. The *ambalu* wears a different headgear. In addition to the rattan around the head, neck, wrists, she wears a woven cloth over the head; this covers her head, ears and one-half of the back. In the case of the *nabalu*, it is not only one month, but one year, that she is supposed to be in mourning. If the widow is young, the *balu* or mourning may last a quarter or half of a year provided the widow gives some money or animals or household tools (*bolos*, axes) to the relatives of the deceased husband. This is shortened to give time to the widow to regain her health, so she can attend to all her children — if any — or be remarried after a certain period, removing her *balu* signs.

In case of remarriage, it is a strict custom and tradition that the widow pays in the form of money or personal property the relatives of the deceased. This is the *gibu*, which terminates all the relationships between the deceased and the widow, allowing her to remarry. Father and mother of the deceased will divide the *gibu* and distribute it to the relatives, like the distribution of meat.

Q: May the widow be given to a brother of the deceased?

A: This is not the custom. But if there is any property acquired by the spouses during marriage and the brother does not like to spoil the property, he may marry the widow by giving up the *gibu*.

Q: Suppose the surviving spouse is the husband, may he marry a sister of the deceased wife?

A: In the same manner.

Q: Suppose the widow has one boy and one girl?

A: It depends upon the uncle or aunt of the children, that is, brother or sister of the deceased. But such a marriage is seldom practiced because it is frowned upon by the public. It is not an honorable act, because people will say, "As if there is no other woman." Should the widow reveal the amount demanded by the relatives of the deceased, the *gibu* will not be accepted, and hence she will not be free to remarry.

Should the widow remarry without fulfilling the requirement of the gibu, the relatives of the deceased will demand its fulfillment from the widow and second husband three or four times the value of the regular gibu which is compulsory; this should also be given within a limited period called *haliw*. *Haliw* is different from gibu because it includes a punitive amount. Should the *haliw* remain unmet by the widow and second husband, this can be the beginning of trouble. The aggrieved party can take the life of any of the relatives of the widow in satisfaction. This is in accordance with traditions, following failure to meet the fine.

Q: What relatives can be killed?

A: First, any brother of the widow (seldom the sister); and secondly any male cousin. The reason is to remove the shame that the widow had inflicted when she remarried without giving the gibu.

Q. Can the father of a widow be killed?

A: If the widow's father is too old to work, he may not be killed.

LX. ON POLYGYNY

Q: Is it possible to have two wives in Ifugao?

A: Yes, if permitted by the first wife, it is possible to have two or three. The man supports the three equally, dividing the meat equally. If the meat is small, only the first wife gets it if she comes from near the man's village, and so on with the second and third. If the man must give a blanket or money or anything in kind it must be equivalent to the cost of the blanket corresponding to the social standing of the wife. If poor, the equivalent of the blanket corresponding to her social standing; if rich, the cost of the blanket corresponding to her station.

Q: In Banawe how many have two wives?

A: At present, I do not know of any man. It is becoming obsolete and dishonorable. Mr. Cappelman used to have two wives. He abandoned Andrea Humiwat, an Ifugao woman, his first wife with two children. He is supporting these children however in their education. She is now Mrs. Kayong. His second wife is Aurora. He did not pay any fine. William Beyer has three. One of them is in Mayawyaw; she is the third and has one son named Jimmie.

LXI. ALIM SUNG DURING MARRIAGE

Q: During your marriage did you have any singing of the Alim?

A: During my marriage in May, 1933, to Mary Dulnuan (pure Ifugao) in Dukligan, a barrio of Banawe, the Alim was sung and called *nangohag*. The chief singer was Ganu Putang, who died during the war, of Dukligan, including other singers like Ganu Bak'onwa, now deceased, and one of the best; Bay'e Bantiyan, now deceased,

and Binwag Nabolka, also deceased. On the part of my wife the singers were headed by Ganu Putang, Chungalaw Umila, and Inumna Lagkit, now all dead.

The singing of the Alim was during the *Alun* (which is called *moma* in Banawe). The Alim was sung during my marriage because my wife came from the famous family of Dukligan. If rich *mangohad da* (they will perform the kanyaw through the ohag).

The ceremony lasted one night and the following day. At night the Alim was sung, the same Alim as the one sung during the hongga, the only difference being that at the end the priest will say: "This is performed as an Alim for the prosperity of the couple." If it is done for the recovery of a sick person, that is said at the end. So there is only one Alim. But there are many Hudhuds. Hudhud has a complete story and is mythical [I am not versed in the Hudhud].

LXII. OUR RETURN HOME

On January 12th, Bill Beyer's children were missing their classes in Manila. We woke up quite early, breakfasted. At about five o'clock we were on the road, leaving Mr. Alfredo Sevilla and Henry Beyer behind because they could not be accommodated in Bill's wagon. The way was foggy; nevertheless, our driver drove fast. We breakfasted in Bayombong, lunched in San Jose and were back home in the U.P. Diliman Campus by 7:00 o'clock in the evening.