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**NABALOI LAW AND RITUAL**

**BY**  
**C. R. MOSS**

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## INTRODUCTION

The following data on the Nabaloi Igorot of the sub-province of Benguet, in Luzon, are the result of more than twelve years of residence among these people. During the greater portion of this time the author lived among the Nabaloi, while a considerable part of his work has been with the neighboring Kankanay. At first the time spared from official duties was used to acquire a knowledge of the dialects, after which the customs and beliefs of the people were studied.

The first section, on general culture, is intended merely as an introduction, to give the general setting.

The second section, on law, consists wholly of statements made by the Nabaloi themselves, and is given in full in their language as well as in English. The translation has been kept as literal as possible, style being sacrificed in an endeavor to preserve the Nabaloi flavor as thoroughly as may be.

It was especially difficult to obtain the material for the fourth section which treats of ritual. Since the formulas and prayers are whispered during the ceremonies, they can not be understood, and the priests regard it as sacrilegious to relate them at other times. However, they were finally induced to do so if rice-wine and chickens were furnished for ceremonies to prevent the spirits from harming them. So far as possible the formula and prayer were obtained for each ceremony.

The author hopes to follow the present paper with a collection of folk tales.

## I. GENERAL CULTURE

### THE IGOROT

*Habitat.*—The people often collectively known as the Igorot inhabit the larger portion of the habitable area of the northern Luzon mountains. A large majority of them are included within the present limits of the Mountain Province. They are the highland people of Luzon, since the Negritos, who are frequently classed as mountain tribes, really live in the foothills.

*General culture.*—Unlike the lowland Filipinos, the Igorot were not influenced to any considerable extent by Spanish civilization, but clung tenaciously to the customs of their fathers. At the close of the Spanish régime, they doubtless differed little from their ancestors who lived there at the time Magellan discovered the Islands. While their lowland neighbors were adopting the Christian religion and Spanish principles of justice, the Igorot were still practicing their religion of animism and magic and following their old custom law.

*Culture groups.*—But while these people have certain marked cultural characteristics in common which set them off from the lowland Filipinos, there are also important distinctions between various Igorot groups. On the basis of these special characteristics of culture, they have been subdivided into separate tribes; but since these frequently merge one into the other, the exact territorial limit of each tribe can not as yet be accurately determined.

There is even some difference of opinion as to the number of tribes. For example, those who emphasize general culture rather than language as the basis of classification group all the Benguet, Amburayan, and the majority of the Lepanto Igorot, into one tribe.

The following rough classification is the one generally accepted, but it should not be inferred that the lines between the various culture groups coincide exactly with provincial or sub-provincial boundaries:

The Nabaloi, who inhabit the southern part of Benguet.

The Kankanay, who inhabit the northern part of Benguet, southern Lepanto, and the mountainous section of Amburayan. Amburayan is west and Lepanto is north of Benguet.

The Ifugao, who inhabit the sub-province of Ifugao, which is east of Benguet.

The Bontoc, who inhabit the sub-province of Bontoc, which is north of Lepanto.

The Kalinga, who inhabit the sub-province of Kalinga, which is northwest of Bontoc.

The Apayao, who inhabit the sub-province of Apayao, which is in the extreme northern part of the Mountain Province.

The Ilongot who live in the province of Nueva Vizcaya, which is east of the Mountain Province; and the Tinguian, who live in Abra, west of the Mountain Province, are also generally classed as Igorot.

*Dialects.*—The dialect of any one of the above tribes is not intelligible to a member of another tribe, but Ilocano is the intertribal language. Even members of the same tribe, living at a distance from each other, frequently find it difficult to converse on account of variations in the dialect. Of all the Igorot dialects, Nabaloi is probably the most uniform. Although there is some difference between northern and southern Nabaloi, a person from one section can understand a person from another section without difficulty.

#### THE NABALOI

*Territory.*—The Nabaloi are a tribe of Igorot, living in the southern part of the sub-province of Benguet. This territory is the most southerly of any occupied by the Igorot. On the south of the territory inhabited by the Nabaloi is Pangasinan, which contains a mixed population of Pangasinan and Ilocano—both Christian Filipinos. On the southeast is Nueva Vizcaya, also largely an Ilocano province; but the township of Kayapa, which borders Benguet, has a mixed population of Nabaloi, Kankanay, and a tribe of Igorot called Waks, which consists of only a few members. On the northeast of the Nabaloi is the sub-province of Ifugao, which is the home of the Igorot tribe of the same name. On the north of the Nabaloi are the Kankanay. A line from the southwest to the northeast, dividing the Kankanay from the Nabaloi, would pass between the barrios of Datakan and Kapangan in the township of Kapangan; through the northern barrios of the township of Atok; and through the southern barrios of Buguias near the Kabayan boundary. Approximately two-thirds of the territory of Benguet is inhabited by Nabaloi and one-third by Kankanay.

*The name Nabaloi.*—The Igorot of southern Benguet—especially those living around Baguio—call themselves “Ibiloi” or “Inibiloi,” and their language “Nabaloi.” The Igorot living in Kabayan and surrounding towns apply the term Nabaloi to all the Igorot living south of the Kankanay as well as to the dialect which they speak. The Kankanay also use the word “Nabaloi” to designate all the Igorot to the south of themselves.

## TEMPERAMENT AND CONDUCT

*Personal traits.*—The Nabaloi are sturdy, well built people, especially those who live in Kabayan and the other river towns. They are pleasant to meet, and most of them have a keen sense of humor. As a general thing they are honest, and nearly all who contract obligations intend to fulfill them; but due to the *manaña* habit, do not always do so promptly. They are more industrious than the lowland Filipinos, but this may be due to the greater necessity for industry in their elevated habitat. Hospitality and generosity are traits for which they are distinguished. They are docile and amenable to authority.

The Nabaloi are fond of society, and one of them is rarely seen alone. The men work and travel in groups; the women go to the fields in groups, and as a rule two or more of them work together. The girls are almost always with their mothers—a fact which may account for the absence of prostitution among them.

As regards cleanliness, Nabaloi differ—those living along the Agno river paying more attention to this “next to godliness” trait than the others. However, although they bathe frequently, they do not appear clean on account of the smoky fires around which they sit. The people of the river towns sweep their houses daily and their premises periodically. Some of the people living in the mountains rarely bathe, or clean their houses or yards unless forced to do so by officials.

*Etiquette.*—The Nabaloi are kind and considerate of one another, although an American visiting their towns will probably consider them wanting in formal politeness. The following statements by one of the old men seem to cover the more important rules contained in their code of etiquette:

When the old men are talking, the young men should not talk unless they are asked something.

If there is a ritual, the young men should not talk with the young women unless they are relatives.

The person who celebrates a ritual should not become intoxicated, but a visitor may become intoxicated if he wishes. We think it is well if they become intoxicated.

A person who takes rice in his hand should not put it back into the plate again.

If there is a visitor, the owner of the house should not eat first. The visitor should eat first, or they should eat together.

If a person is invited to the *pachit*, it is necessary for him to go if he can. If he can not go, he should tell the person celebrating the *pachit*. If one is invited to other rituals, it is not necessary for him to go if he does not wish to do so.

Before a visitor goes away, he should inform the owner of the house or his relatives.

No mantatabal nan kasisékên, agmakitatabal i badolaki num ageha era ibagan.

No guara manchilos, sūta badolaki agera makitatabal ni machikit num anchi būnatcha.

Sūta manchidos agmonbotung, num sūta makiadibay, sikatoi manbotung num piancha. Kwanmi maptung i panbotungcha.

Sūta too'n toka papnan agtopaodi i inapoi chi pinkan moan.

No guaray makiadibay, sūta makibali agmapangdū mangan. Sūta makiadibay mapangdū'n mangan ono manookob era.

No inabitcha'd namchita too, masapola makidau num mabodin. No agmakidau, to sodsoran sūta manchit. No inabitcha'd chi achūma manchidos, agmasapola makidau num agtopian.

Ampay onbaték i manadibay, ji to nin ikwan nūnta makibali ono sūta būnatto.

The Nabaloi have no regular form of salutation. People meeting generally pass without speaking unless there is something about which they wish to talk. Sometimes one will say to the other, *Tau daguanmo?*, "Where are you going?" This expression comes nearer than any other to taking the place of a formal salutation.

#### CULTURE DISTINCTIONS

Probably the most important distinction between the Nabaloi and all the other Igorot tribes except the Kankanay, is the power of the rich men among them. The Nabaloi are divided into two classes—the *baknang* or wealthy, and the *abitug* or poor. It can hardly be said that a middle class exists in any of the towns, but there is at present a tendency toward its development in Kabayan and Bokod. The tern *baknang*, however, is relative, and a man who would be counted rich in one settlement might not be so rated in another. In most communities a person worth more than two thousand pesos would be called wealthy, although some individuals are worth as much as fifty or sixty thousand pesos.

The authority of the *baknang* was formerly almost absolute, and often the power of a very rich man extended over a number of towns in which he owned rice fields, houses, or cattle. Although of recent years the supremacy of the wealthy has been breaking down through contact with American rule, they are still powerful. A poor Nabaloi will ask the opinion of his rich *apo*<sup>1</sup> before making a decision regarding the simplest matter, and when a *baknang* gives a command it is nearly always complied with. Generally only the wealthy are elected presidentes, and if a poor man does happen to be elected, he takes orders from the rich. Since they have violated more frequently than others the custom law against marrying near relatives, the *baknang* are nearly all related by both blood and marriage, so that the authority of different individuals rarely conflicts.

<sup>1</sup> A term of respect applied to a superior, or an ancestor.

The northern Igorot tribes prefer to look to the brave for leadership, and the wealthy do not stand out so distinctly as a class.

The custom of head-hunting—a characteristic culture feature of the northern Igorot—does not now prevail among the Nabaloi. While they have not taken heads within the memory of the present generation, they undoubtedly did so before the coming of the Spanish in 1829; and the *bindian*, which is held only in Kabayan, is a survival of the dance celebrating this event.

Other institutions found among some of the northern tribes which do not now exist in Benguet are communal sleeping houses for the boys and girls, and trial marriage. According to their traditions, the Nabaloi once had the communal sleeping house, but not trial marriage. There is nothing to indicate that they ever practiced circumcision, which is distinctive of Bontoc culture.

Without doubt the Nabaloi dialect and customs have been preserved in a purer form in Kabayan than in any other town. Although near the territory inhabited by the Kankamay, very little intercourse has existed between the two tribes, since the Kabayan people have always regarded themselves as superior to their less cultured neighbors. Ifugao bounds Kabayan on the east; but the inhabitants of the two areas have been enemies for generations; and, besides, they are separated by the highest mountains in Luzon. Practically all intercourse which the Kabayan inhabitants have had with the outside world has been carried on with the people living to the south and west; and on account of the greater distance, their dialect and customs have been less influenced by the lowland Filipinos than has been the case with the more southern Nabaloi towns.

#### FOOD AND DRINK

The poorer Nabaloi of the river towns generally eat rice<sup>2</sup> once a day, and either *camotes* (sweet potatoes<sup>3</sup>) or *gabi* (taro<sup>4</sup>) roots twice, while the rich have rice three times a day. The people living in the mountain towns use less rice, but they have in addition to *camotes* and *gabi* such vegetables as potatoes,<sup>5</sup> cabbage,<sup>6</sup> and beans.<sup>7</sup> Anything eaten with

<sup>2</sup> In stalk, *palay*; after it has been threshed, *bagas*; when cooked, *inapoi*.

<sup>3</sup> *Dokto*.

<sup>4</sup> *Abua*.

<sup>5</sup> *Patatas*.

<sup>6</sup> *Sipoljo*.

<sup>7</sup> *Dorias*.

rice is called *sedan*. The most common *sedan* among the poor are *gabi* tops,<sup>8</sup> but the rich generally have dried meat when fresh meat<sup>9</sup> is not available.

The Nabaloi eat all kinds of domestic animals except the cat;<sup>10</sup> all kinds of wild animals except the wild cat<sup>11</sup> and monkey,<sup>12</sup> and all kinds of birds except the crow<sup>13</sup> and hawk.<sup>14</sup> Hog meat is probably relished most and dog meat least. Animals which die of disease are always eaten unless government officials are present to prevent. The meat is cooked more thoroughly than at other times, and the ceremony called *salchi* is always celebrated before it is eaten in order that sickness may not result.

The greater part of the meat consumed by the Nabaloi is eaten at rituals. About the only exceptions in regard to large animals is when they fall from cliffs or die of disease, but dogs<sup>15</sup> and hogs<sup>16</sup> are occasionally killed for food when there is no ritual.

Other things which are eaten are chickens,<sup>17</sup> fish,<sup>18</sup> frogs,<sup>19</sup> snails,<sup>20</sup> and locusts.<sup>21</sup> A few wild plants are sometimes used for salad; the most important of these are called *natung* and *pako*. The principal fruits are the banana,<sup>22</sup> mango,<sup>23</sup> guava,<sup>24</sup> and *papaia*,<sup>25</sup> but they are not found in such large quantities as in the lowlands.

Boiling is the principal method of cooking. Rice is boiled rapidly until soft; the heat is then reduced and the water allowed to evaporate. All vegetables are boiled, *camotes*, *gabi*, and potatoes being peeled first. Meat is cut into small pieces and boiled slightly; occasionally it is broiled. After the wings and legs have been removed, locusts are either boiled or broiled. Snails are boiled after the shells have been cracked so that the meat can be sucked out. Fruits are eaten raw with

<sup>8</sup> *Pising*.

<sup>9</sup> *Apag*.

<sup>10</sup> *Pusa*.

<sup>11</sup> *Tabau*.

<sup>12</sup> *Aki* and *bakus*.

<sup>13</sup> *Kabang* and *wak*.

<sup>14</sup> *Būkau*.

<sup>15</sup> *Aso*.

<sup>16</sup> *Kuchil*.

<sup>17</sup> *Monok*.

<sup>18</sup> *Payidung*.

<sup>19</sup> *Tingi*.

<sup>20</sup> *Ngoso*.

<sup>21</sup> *Churon*.

<sup>22</sup> *Balat*.

<sup>23</sup> *Manka*.

<sup>24</sup> *Bayabas*.

<sup>25</sup> *Papaya*.

the exception of green *papaias*, which are boiled. Frying is not common as a method of cooking except when it is done for an American or a lowland Filipino.

Next to water the principal drink used by the Nabaloi is *tapuy*, which is made from rice. The rice is first slightly cooked; then left to dry in large flat baskets used for winnowing. A yeast made of rice meal and a plant called *bubud* is sprinkled over it, and after a few days the composition is put into a large jar with water, where it ferments.

It is poured from the jar through the fingers into a coconut<sup>26</sup> shell or glass. It is drunk in sips, and when one person has sipped the glass is passed to the next. As a general thing, the older a man is the more *tapuy* he drinks. Occasionally an old woman drinks, but young girls never do.

Another drink called *basi* is occasionally used, but not to any considerable extent. It is made from the juice of sugar cane.<sup>27</sup>

#### DRESS AND ORNAMENT

Nabaloi children generally go naked until they are four or five years of age, but when the weather is cold they wrap themselves in their thin cotton blankets.<sup>28</sup> At the age of about five years the boys begin to wear breech-clouts,<sup>29</sup> and the girls skirts.<sup>30</sup>

The men wear breech-clouts which are generally about ten inches wide and from four to six feet long. During recent years a large number of Nabaloi have become accustomed to wearing coats,<sup>31</sup> but not trousers.<sup>32</sup> Many of them wear imported hats,<sup>33</sup> but the majority still go bareheaded. Some men living in isolated barrios wear breech-clouts or American towels wrapped around their heads.<sup>34</sup>

The dress for women consists of a skirt and a loose-fitting jacket.<sup>35</sup> The skirt is ordinarily of three thicknesses sewed together in such a way as to suggest the weatherboarding of a house. Occasionally women wear American towels wrapped around the head, but more often they go bareheaded.

<sup>26</sup> *Niog*.

<sup>27</sup> *Onas*.

<sup>28</sup> *Olus* or *katab*.

<sup>29</sup> *Kobal*.

<sup>30</sup> *Atun*.

<sup>31</sup> *Baro*.

<sup>32</sup> *Kalson*.

<sup>33</sup> *Samdero*.

<sup>34</sup> Anything worn around the head is called *chingut*.

<sup>35</sup> *Saadi*.



The men wear their hair short and go "clean shaved." The beard<sup>36</sup> is pulled out with a kind of pincers. The women wear their hair hanging loosely down the back with bangs in front.

As a rule the men do not wear ornaments. A few of the people in the barrio of Carao wear leg bands<sup>37</sup> made of woven rattan, and occasionally a rich man has a finger ring.<sup>38</sup> Ornaments worn by the women are finger rings, earrings, bracelets,<sup>39</sup> beads,<sup>40</sup> and a mouth-piece<sup>41</sup> made either of gold or of copper which has been hammered into shape to fit over the teeth.

Tattoos are at present also regarded only as ornaments. The following information on this subject was furnished by one of the old men:

Formerly all the settlements had different tattoos so that the inhabitants of Kabayan knew from whence a man came if they saw his tattoo. Now we tattoo as we wish, and no one can judge from it in what town (the person lives).

If we wish to be tattooed, we get the man who knows how to do tattooing. He has needles fastened together; we call it the *panaktak*. He dips it into a mixture of soot and grease and pricks the arm.

We tattoo now because we think it is pretty. Formerly in Kabayan it was customary for all to be tattooed, but now only those who wish.

Nüntanda amina ili naninapidan i batakcha say i Kabayan amtara adabūan i too num ichamanchay batak. Niman mika i batak i kostomi, jut anchi kaonimaton num tua'n ili.

No pianmi manbatak, paodopmi sūta too ja amtato manbatak. Guaray chagum abadbacha; inkwanmi panaktak. I anungto'd bigo jut itaktakto'd.

Kamika manbatak niman tap kwanmi maptung. Nüntanda chi Kabayan kabiditan ja manbatak era'n amin, num niman sūta makapian niabos.

Nabaloi men are tattooed on the back of the hand; the women from about two inches above the elbows to the second joints of the fingers. They say that in former times the bodies as well as their hands of the men were tattooed. This seems to be substantiated by a mummified corpse of a man called Ano in a cave near the Buguias-Kabayan line. This body was tattooed almost all over. The people of Buguias say that Ano lived about ten generations ago.

Generally there are not more than one or two people in a township who know how to do tattooing. It is said that there is no one in Buguias who can tattoo, and that the last tattooing done there was by a Kabayan man about ten years ago. In all Benguet towns tattooing is done less frequently than formerly.

<sup>36</sup> *Iming*.

<sup>37</sup> *Banay*.

<sup>38</sup> *Singsing*.

<sup>39</sup> *Karing*.

<sup>40</sup> *Anas*.

<sup>41</sup> *Chakang*.

The common design for women is somewhat similar in the various towns, but those for men vary more. While the sun tattoo may be seen in any town, in some settlements the old local distinctive tattoos still predominate, as for example, the star tattoo in Batan.

#### HOUSES

The Nabaloi build their houses<sup>42</sup> on posts<sup>43</sup> about five feet from the ground. In some houses the posts extend to the roof<sup>44</sup> and the framework is fastened to them; but generally the posts extend only to the floor,<sup>45</sup> and are mortised into broad sills.<sup>46</sup> In the latter case the frame of the house rests on the sills. The majority of the houses are constructed of wood<sup>47</sup> with the exception of the roof, which is made of coarse grass.<sup>48</sup> In some towns the sides and floors of the houses owned by the poor are made either of bark<sup>49</sup> or bamboo.<sup>50</sup> Sometimes the bamboo is split into small strips,<sup>51</sup> which are woven together and used for siding.<sup>52</sup>

The only tools used in preparing the timbers and boards<sup>53</sup> are native axes, adzes, and bolos. A tree is cut down with an ax; square timbers are hewn out with the ax and bolo, after which they are smoothed with the adze. The boards are split out with axes and wooden gluts, and are smoothed with adzes. Sometimes the lumber for a building is floated on the rivers or dragged to the place with carabaos, but more often it is carried by men.

When the lumber is all in place and properly seasoned, the construction work is begun. The rafters<sup>54</sup> are first fitted to the joists, after which the posts are put into the ground. If the posts extend to the roof, the roof is put on next; but if the framework rests on the sills, the sills are first fitted to the posts, and the framework which supports the joists is next constructed. The joists are then fastened to the uprights

<sup>42</sup> *Bali.*

<sup>43</sup> *Tokod.*

<sup>44</sup> *Atup.*

<sup>45</sup> *Chital.*

<sup>46</sup> *Inaman.*

<sup>47</sup> *Kiü.*

<sup>48</sup> *Adut.*

<sup>49</sup> *Kolas.*

<sup>50</sup> *Bülo.*

<sup>51</sup> *Tidtid.*

<sup>52</sup> *Chinching.*

<sup>53</sup> *Chulong.*

<sup>54</sup> *Kolosod.*

by mortising, after which the roof is put on. The work of siding, flooring, and making the partitions<sup>55</sup> is done last.

No nails are used, but the timbers and boards are fastened by means of mortises and grooves, while the rafters are tied to the joists<sup>56</sup> with rattan.<sup>57</sup> In the siding, boards one foot by one inch alternate with others two inches by four inches. Grooves are cut in the latter and the former are fitted into them, so that the house has the appearance of having batten on both the inside and outside. The siding boards are always vertical.

The men do all the work connected with house building except to get the grass, which task falls to the women. The people as a rule work in large groups when shaping and transporting the timbers as well as when doing the actual construction. None of them are paid wages except two or three professional carpenters<sup>58</sup> who have charge of the work. The owner of the house is expected to give feasts from time to time, so that the value of the animals killed always exceeds what would have been paid the workers had they received regular wages.

The houses of the wealthy generally contain from four to six rooms—a large sitting room,<sup>59</sup> small bed rooms,<sup>60</sup> a small closet,<sup>61</sup> and a kitchen.<sup>62</sup> Frequently a separate house is used for the kitchen. The houses of the poor have only one room; but since the eaves always extend about three feet beyond the side, a part of the space<sup>63</sup> under them is sometimes sided and used as a place for sleeping. A part of the space under the eaves is used also as a place to hang the skulls of dogs which have been killed at rituals. Several hundred of these may frequently be seen under the eaves of one house. The overhead or garret<sup>64</sup> is always used as a place for storing rice bundles. The space<sup>65</sup> under the house is used for storing wood, tools, etc.; it is also utilized as a kind of sitting room and workshop.

The house is entered by means of a small ladder,<sup>66</sup> which is pulled inside during the night. The doors<sup>67</sup> are fastened by means of a sliding

<sup>55</sup> *Chinching*.

<sup>56</sup> *Baniwal*.

<sup>57</sup> *Bijūko*.

<sup>58</sup> *Alwagi*.

<sup>59</sup> *Guatro*.

<sup>60</sup> *Ogipan*.

<sup>61</sup> *Chuag*.

<sup>62</sup> *Dotoan*.

<sup>63</sup> *Palaktan*.

<sup>64</sup> *Balug*.

<sup>65</sup> *Adūongan*.

<sup>66</sup> *Taytay*.

<sup>67</sup> *Bagat*.

wooden latch<sup>68</sup> on the inside. A small hole through the door makes it possible to work the latch from the outside. The windows,<sup>69</sup> which are of wood, slide horizontally in grooves of scantling about three inches square, which are fastened to the outside of the house with wooden pegs.

After a house has been completed, the ceremony called *diau*, described in the paper on religion, must be celebrated before the owner can occupy it; for if the *diau* should not first be celebrated, all the occupants would continually be troubled with sores. If a snake<sup>70</sup> or lizard<sup>71</sup> is seen crawling up the side of the house before it is occupied, no one will live in it unless it is moved to another place. If a Nabaloi has much sickness in his family, or bad dreams, he will move his house; but only in case he has been unable to propitiate the spirits of the house with rituals. Since Nabaloi houses are constructed without the use of nails, they can be taken apart and moved without injury to the lumber.

#### HOUSEHOLD FURNISHINGS

A box<sup>72</sup> for fire filled with earth<sup>73</sup> is placed in the house, and above it hangs a bamboo rack<sup>74</sup> on which rice is dried so that it can be threshed easily. The cooking vessels either hang suspended from hooks<sup>75</sup> or rest on stones.<sup>76</sup> In most houses there are blocks of wood<sup>77</sup> which are used as chairs<sup>78</sup> in the daytime, and as pillows<sup>79</sup> at night. People generally sleep on the floor with a deer hide<sup>80</sup> or cow hide<sup>81</sup> under them, and they use only thin cotton blankets for cover.

Some of the Nabaloi have plates<sup>82</sup> and spoons<sup>83</sup> which were purchased at stores, but the majority have only the wooden dishes made by themselves. There is always a large wooden vessel<sup>84</sup> used as a container of

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<sup>68</sup> *Tawa.*

<sup>69</sup> *Olug.*

<sup>70</sup> *Tilay.*

<sup>71</sup> *Apoian.*

<sup>72</sup> *Dota.*

<sup>73</sup> *Soodan.*

<sup>74</sup> *Sachangan.*

<sup>75</sup> *Chakadan.*

<sup>76</sup> *Chitmog.*

<sup>77</sup> *Balankana.*

<sup>78</sup> *Pūngan.*

<sup>79</sup> *Badat ni olsa.*

<sup>80</sup> *Badat ni baka.*

<sup>81</sup> *Pinkan.*

<sup>82</sup> *Kucharo.*

<sup>83</sup> *Pakong.*

<sup>84</sup> *Chūyo.*

feed for the hogs. There are also large wooden bowls,<sup>85</sup> sometimes divided into compartments for the various foods; large wooden spoons<sup>86</sup> with which soup is taken from the pots; and sometimes small spoons<sup>87</sup> for eating. A bamboo joint is generally used as a container for water,<sup>88</sup> and a coconut hull for a cup<sup>89</sup> or dipper.

In the northern towns large copper pots<sup>90</sup> are used for cooking *camotes*, and smaller pots<sup>91</sup> of the same metal for cooking rice. Around Baguio iron pots<sup>92</sup> are generally used. Under the houses of the wealthy may be seen large caldrons,<sup>93</sup> used for cooking purposes at rituals. The things to be cooked for food are kept in various kinds of baskets; and clothing and blankets not in use are hung on hooks suspended from the joists.

The things enumerated above are all that are generally seen in the houses of the Nabaloi; but the wealthy sometimes have beds,<sup>94</sup> chairs, and chests<sup>95</sup> for their clothing, as well as other articles of furniture of foreign manufacture. Their houses are also frequently lighted by lamps<sup>96</sup> instead of the pine torches<sup>97</sup> used by the poor for this purpose.

Under the house or in the yard may be seen the mortar<sup>98</sup> and pestle,<sup>99</sup> which are used for beating the rice out of the straw. When it is desired to make a mortar, one of the largest trees which can be found is felled. A block about two feet in length is cut off, and the end is hollowed out, principally by burning. Sometimes a large trough is used instead of the mortar. For a pestle, a pole about the size of the arm is rounded at the ends and trimmed down in the middle. The *palay* or rice in the head is put into the mortar and beaten; after which the grain is put into a large flat basket and cleaned by a circular motion which throws off the chaff.

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<sup>85</sup> *Sakdong*.

<sup>86</sup> *Idū*.

<sup>87</sup> *Chanom*.

<sup>88</sup> *Tasa*.

<sup>89</sup> *Abaduga gambang*.

<sup>90</sup> *Ooteka gambang* or *bayjat*.

<sup>91</sup> *Kanchero*.

<sup>92</sup> *Paljok*.

<sup>93</sup> *Katera*, or *chokodan*, which means a place for lying down.

<sup>94</sup> *Kakon*.

<sup>95</sup> *Kinki*.

<sup>96</sup> *Salang*.

<sup>97</sup> *Bayjoan*.

<sup>98</sup> *Dado*.

<sup>99</sup> *Payu*.

## AGRICULTURE

*Rice.*—It has been said that in agriculture the Igorot has reached his highest development. As one travels through Benguet he sees large numbers of terraced rice fields,<sup>100</sup> many of which are protected on the lower side by substantial rock walls<sup>101</sup> ten or twelve feet in height. The paddies built in Kabayan are more substantial than those in any other town.

A large amount of labor and time must be expended in the construction of even a small rice field. The soil is loosened by the men with crowbars or wooden sticks, and carried away in baskets by the women and children. The ground is then levelled, after which the men begin building the wall, while the women and children replace the soil. A rice field once constructed lasts almost indefinitely, since it is continually enriched by fresh soil which is washed down from the mountains. Some paddies which have been in use for two generations are said to be more fertile than when they were first built.

In the construction of ditches<sup>102</sup> for irrigation, the Nabaloi exhibit the highest skill. Often large dams are built, by which the water from rivers<sup>103</sup> is obtained. Sometimes the water of mountain streams<sup>104</sup> is carried for miles in ditches practically level, gulches and rivers being crossed by means of wooden troughs. The water generally empties first on the upper tier of paddies, while those below are irrigated by the overflow. All who use water from a ditch are supposed to contribute labor toward its construction and upkeep. Men, women, and children all work at ditch building.

Rice is planted in the seed beds during the months of November and December. About this time the work of preparing the fields is also begun. The ground is sometimes plowed by the men, but is more often dug up by the women with their hand spades. The women then pulverize the clods with wooden mauls; the water is turned on; and wooden harrows<sup>105</sup> are dragged over the field either by men or by carabaos. The transplanting is done during January and the first part of February. No ceremony is held either at the time of planting<sup>106</sup> or transplanting, but both must be done when the moon is waxing.

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<sup>100</sup> *Atol.*

<sup>101</sup> *Kolokol.*

<sup>102</sup> *Abaduga chanom.*

<sup>103</sup> *Padok.*

<sup>104</sup> *Soloso.*

<sup>105</sup> *Tanum.*

<sup>106</sup> *Kamas.*

During the two months following rice planting, water is kept on the fields, and the women generally weed<sup>107</sup> them twice. About the last of April the rice begins to head, and it is necessary to construct contrivances to keep the ricebirds from eating it. Sometimes the water power of small streams is used to keep in motion a net work of rattan supported by bamboo poles, or to cause large pieces of bamboo to make a loud noise by striking against each other. If the rice fields are not near the water, little boys and girls frighten the birds<sup>108</sup> away.

Rice is harvested in June and July. It is either cut with a small knife or broken, stalk by stalk. The women do the larger part of the harvesting,<sup>109</sup> but sometimes the men assist. There are important rituals connected with this work, which are described in the section on ceremonies.

In a few settlements two crops of rice are raised each year on the same land, but in the majority of places only one crop is obtained.

*Other products.*—*Camotes* or sweet potatoes, which are the principal food of the poor, are cultivated on the hillsides. In preparation for planting, the soil is sometimes loosened by the men by means of crow-bars, but more often this work is performed by the women with their hand spades. Sometimes wooden sticks are used for this purpose. The work of cultivating and harvesting is always done by the women; a man would regard himself as disgraced were he seen doing this work. *Camotes* are planted at various times throughout the year, so that on the same day a woman may plant in one field, cultivate another, and harvest in a third. It sometimes happens, however, that there is no rain for two or three months, so that the *camotes* do not mature. At such times the poorer people have to use dried *camotes*, which they generally have on hand for such emergencies.

*Gabi*, (taro), is a root plant larger than the ordinary turnip. There are two varieties, one which is planted on irrigated land and the other which is planted on hillsides. For the wet ground variety, the preparation of the soil is similar to that for rice fields. From the time this kind of *gabi* is planted until it is harvested, the ground is covered with water, so that cultivation is unnecessary. The cultivation of dry ground *gabi* is similar to the cultivation of *camotes*. *Gabi* as well as *camotes* are propagated by means of cuttings from the tops.

<sup>107</sup> *Büching*.

<sup>108</sup> *Ani*.

<sup>109</sup> A wet *gabi* field is called *kaloi*; a dry one, *napnapan*.

In the mountain settlements, beans, cabbages, white potatoes, a little maize,<sup>110</sup> and occasionally millet<sup>111</sup> are grown. After the fields have been prepared for planting, all the work is done by women.

The various kinds of fruits known to the Nabaloi grow without cultivation.

*Live stock and poultry.*—Cattle are raised by the Igorot and a considerable number sold to the lowland people, although not in quantities large enough to supply the demand. The wealthy Nabaloi own, on an average, fifty or sixty head each, but two or three of the very wealthy own about one thousand head each. On account of danger from rinderpest,<sup>112</sup> the owner divides his cattle<sup>113</sup> into small herds which he sends to various towns. Each herd is cared for by a poor man, who as a rule receives one calf<sup>114</sup> a year for taking care of about twenty head. No feeding is necessary at any time, since there is always sufficient grass. The expense of raising cattle is almost nothing, but losses from falling over cliffs and from contagious diseases reduce the profits.

The wealthy also own a number of horses<sup>115</sup> and carabaos,<sup>116</sup> which they use for purposes of draft as well as for food. Goats<sup>117</sup> and sheep<sup>118</sup> are not raised to any extent.

The hogs belonging to the rich are as a rule cared for by the poor on halves. For example, if a hog costs ten pesos and after being fattened sells for thirty pesos, the owner gets twenty pesos, while the man who did the feeding gets ten pesos. Hogs are fattened principally on *camote* vines and cooked *camote* peelings.<sup>119</sup>

Dogs are not often raised. Those used for food or rituals are generally purchased from the lowland Filipinos, and are killed after they have been fattened sufficiently. Many Nabaloi have watchdogs and hunting dogs. These are not used for food, but are kept until they die from natural causes, when they are generally buried. There has been a great deal of exaggeration regarding the amount of dog meat eaten by the Nabaloi.

<sup>110</sup> *Tigi.*

<sup>111</sup> *Sabog.*

<sup>112</sup> *Pesti.*

<sup>113</sup> *Baka.*

<sup>114</sup> *Kilau.*

<sup>115</sup> *Kabajo.*

<sup>116</sup> *Noang.*

<sup>117</sup> *Kanding.*

<sup>118</sup> *Kalnero.*

<sup>119</sup> *Chaschas.*



Practically every family has a few chickens which are used principally for rituals. There are only about a half dozen Igorot in Benguet who have other kinds of fowl.

The Nabaloi have free range for their live stock, so that it is necessary for all cultivated fields to be fenced. The fences<sup>120</sup> are of various kinds. Those around the rice fields are generally of stone or sod, while those in the mountains are more frequently constructed of wood in a manner similar to the "stake and rider" fence sometimes seen in the southern mountains of our own country. Advantage is always taken of the terrain, washes and precipices being utilized. Frequently large fields can be inclosed with only a few yards of actual fence. The range of cattle is always limited by putting fences across the tops of ridges where they might pass, or by gates across trails. The men build the fences unless they are of sod, when the women assist.

#### MINOR INDUSTRIES

*Blacksmithing.*<sup>121</sup>—The Nabaloi do less blacksmithing than the northern Igorot, and their work is not so good. The tools used are of the simplest kind. A large stone<sup>122</sup> fixed in the ground serves for an anvil, and the hammer is also of stone. The handle consists of two pieces of wood fitted into grooves on opposite sides of the hammer and held in place by rattan. Two vertical parallel pieces of bamboo, each with a wooden plunger wrapped with chicken feathers, serve as a bellows.<sup>123</sup>

With this crude equipment the following tools are made:

An ax<sup>124</sup> about six inches long and two inches wide at the cutting end. The other end of the blade is hammered square and fitted into a hole burned into a wooden handle. This is the only instrument the Nabaloi have for heavy cutting.

An adze,<sup>125</sup> which is a little shorter but slightly wider than the ax. The blade is fitted into the handle in the same way. The adze is used for smoothing house timber.

A long heavy knife<sup>126</sup> or bolo with a wooden or horn handle held in place by a network of rattan strands. It is carried in a wooden sheath which is fastened to the body with a belt. The bolo is used for light cutting, or instead of the ax when the latter is not available.

<sup>120</sup> The word *atol* is used for a sod as well as stone fence, while a fence constructed of wood or bamboo is called *alad*.

<sup>121</sup> *Salbit*.

<sup>122</sup> *Salbitan*.

<sup>123</sup> *Yabyab*.

<sup>124</sup> *Guasay*.

<sup>125</sup> *Chumpag*.

<sup>126</sup> *Atak*.

A hand spade<sup>127</sup> consisting of a long flat piece of iron about one and a half inches wide at the cutting end. The other end is square and fits into a wooden handle which has been made hollow by burning. It is strengthened by a network of *bejuco*. The hand spade is the principal tool used by women when doing agricultural work.

A small knife<sup>128</sup> with a fixed blade, used for peeling *camotes*, making baskets, and other light work.

A very crude spear<sup>129</sup> is sometimes made by Nabaloi blacksmiths, and occasionally a ploughshare<sup>130</sup> to be used on the old Filipino one-handed style of stock;<sup>131</sup> but more often these are imported.

*Basketry*.—All basket making is done by the men. The following is a list of the baskets made:

*Kiag*, a round flat basket for winnowing rice.

*Tapil* and *banadi*, large oval baskets for storing rice, coffee, etc.

*Kayabang*, a cone-shaped basket used by women for carrying *camotes*.

*Batit*, a large barrel-shaped basket for carrying locusts.

*Apajau*, a cylinder-shaped basket flaring at the top, used for fishing.

*Tapangan*, a small square basket used for measuring.

*Kalaukau*, a basket in which the wooden spoons are kept.

*Timpepi*, a rectangular basket of fine workmanship, used for containing clothing<sup>132</sup> of the rich. The *timpepi* is made only in the barrio of Carao.

*Passiking*, a basket shaped similarly to a knapsack, and hung from the shoulders in the same way. It is used for carrying food on a journey.

The *timpepi*, *tapil*, and *passiking* are made of rattan; the other baskets are made of bamboo.

*Cloth weaving*.<sup>133</sup>—No cloth whatever was manufactured by the Nabaloi in recent times until about 1906, when loom weaving was introduced into the schools. At the beginning of the American occupation the northern Igorot were making cloth on a very simple loom; but if the Nabaloi had ever done weaving, they had lost the art. Even now they buy the larger portion of their cloth from the Ilocano.

*Mining*<sup>134</sup> and *pottery*.—There is a limited amount of gold mining done by the Nabaloi. The panning process is used. Quartz is first pulverized and then worked as placer.

The only town where any pottery is made is Daklan, where the women produce a small water jar.<sup>135</sup> The large jars<sup>136</sup> used for *tapuy* are purchased from the Kankanay.

<sup>127</sup> *Sankab*.

<sup>128</sup> *Taad*.

<sup>129</sup> *Gayum*.

<sup>130</sup> *Danchok ni aracho*.

<sup>131</sup> *Kayo ni aracho*.

<sup>132</sup> *Panaganay*.

<sup>133</sup> *Manabul*.

<sup>134</sup> *Minas*.

<sup>135</sup> *Banga*.

<sup>136</sup> *Salau*.

## TRADE

The Nabaloi buy from the neighboring lowland provinces of Pangasinan and La Union, cotton cloth,<sup>137</sup> blankets, salt,<sup>138</sup> tobacco,<sup>139</sup> hogs, and dogs. Formerly coffee<sup>140</sup> was exchanged for these articles, but of late years money earned as wages, or received from the sale of cattle, has been paid. The towns located in the mining section sometimes pay in gold dust.<sup>141</sup> Cattle are frequently exchanged with the Pangasinan for old worn out carabaos, which are used for food. Formerly the greater part of the lowland trade was carried on with Naguillian, an Ilocano town located near the Benguet border; but at present Baguio is the principal meeting point for the Nabaloi and lowland traders.

Trade with the other Igorot tribes is unimportant, but the river towns sell some rice to the neighboring Kankanay. They are paid in money,<sup>142</sup> copper<sup>143</sup> pots, and gold dust.

Merchandise carried in or out of nearly all the settlements must be transported by men. For this purpose a light carrying frame<sup>144</sup> is used. It consists of pieces of bamboo fastened together with rattan, and has straps which fit around the head and shoulders and a small rope with which the load is held in place.

The Nabaloi are the best *cargadores*<sup>145</sup> of all the Igorot. Men sometimes carry their own weight for forty or fifty miles, but the load is limited to forty pounds when they are traveling with a person on horseback. If a *cargador* expects to be away overnight, he takes his food,<sup>146</sup> a light copper pot for cooking, a blanket, and sometimes a cow hide to be used for sleeping rug. The women rarely go as *cargadores* on long trips, but do considerable carrying around home. They use the *camote* basket, which has a strap to fit around the head, but no shoulder straps. Some of them frequently carry sixty or seventy pounds.

Formerly there were no bridges<sup>147</sup> or cables<sup>148</sup> across the large streams, and during the rainy season it was not uncommon for *cargadores* to be

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<sup>137</sup> *Abul*.

<sup>138</sup> *Asin*.

<sup>139</sup> *Tobako*.

<sup>140</sup> *Kape*.

<sup>141</sup> *Balitok*.

<sup>142</sup> *Pilak*.

<sup>143</sup> *Gambang*.

<sup>144</sup> *Chagi*.

<sup>145</sup> *Palistas*.

<sup>146</sup> *Balon*, food taken on a journey.

<sup>147</sup> *Taytay*.

<sup>148</sup> *Galangalang*.

delayed for days. Sometimes a rude cable was constructed by stretching a rope<sup>149</sup> of carabao hide across a narrow place in the river and fastening each end securely to a post or tree. The carriage was constructed of two carabao yokes, one of which was placed on top of the cable to serve as a runner, and the other suspended from it about three feet below to be used as a seat<sup>150</sup> for the passenger.

During recent years better trails<sup>151</sup> have been built, and means provided for crossing rivers. As a result, Nabaloi trade with the outside world has increased.

#### HUNTING AND FISHING

There are no large fish in the streams of Benguet, and only a few small ones. The Nabaloi generally fish with hand nets.<sup>152</sup> Larger nets are sometimes attached to rocks and the fish driven into them by means of a scaring contrivance<sup>153</sup> made of banana leaves. Sometimes the fish are poisoned by a plant called *toba*. A few Nabaloi use fish hooks during the rainy season, and during the dry season they turn small streams from their courses in order to get the fish left in the channel.<sup>154</sup>

The Nabaloi as a general thing go in companies of five or six to hunt deer, taking with them their dogs, spears, and nets.<sup>155</sup> The nets are stretched at places where the deer are likely to pass. Some of the hunters go with the dogs after the deer, while others stand at various places on the ridges of the mountains.<sup>156</sup> This method is also used for hunting wild hogs,<sup>157</sup> but these are more frequently caught by means of pits<sup>158</sup> dug near *camote* fields.

The people in the eastern part of the township of Bokod sometimes hunt deer<sup>159</sup> without using dogs. The hunters advance singing and beating their *bolos* against the wooden sheaths in which they are ordinarily enclosed. The deer hide in the bushes<sup>160</sup> and are surrounded and killed by the hunters. The Bokod people say they learned this method of hunting from the Waks of Kayapa.

<sup>149</sup> *Guanut.*

<sup>150</sup> *Tūngawan.*

<sup>151</sup> *Chalan.*

<sup>152</sup> *Balcho.*

<sup>153</sup> *Kalaskas.*

<sup>154</sup> This method of fishing is called *salop*.

<sup>155</sup> *Batung.*

<sup>156</sup> *Chūntog.*

<sup>157</sup> *Animālok.*

<sup>158</sup> *Bīto.*

<sup>159</sup> *Olsa.*

<sup>160</sup> *Doot.*

Birds are caught in various kinds of traps.<sup>161</sup> In some of the mountain towns, in addition to using traps, the Nabaloi construct small houses on the tops of ridges, leaving one side open. In the night fires are built in the houses, and men go below to beat the bushes so that the birds will fly to the light. It is said that in former times the people of Kabayan also killed birds with the bow and arrow, but this is not done at present.

Frogs are either hunted in the night by torchlight, or smoked out of the crevices where they hide in the daytime. Locusts are caught in hand nets, and snails and other mollusks are dipped out of rice fields with small baskets.

#### AMUSEMENTS

It is little wonder that Nabaloi children have few games, since they are taught to work at a very early age. Little girls are sometimes seen carrying small *camote* baskets before they begin to wear clothing. The necessity of work is impressed on them to such an extent that their most frequent amusement is playing work. They build and irrigate miniature rice fields near a brook. Sometimes they fence little *camote* fields and pretend to cultivate them.

The children living near rivers seem to derive a great deal of enjoyment from swimming and diving. Other amusements are walking on stilts and playing blindfold.

A favorite game played by the little boys is for one of them to be a horse, carabao, or cow; while the others try to lasso him. *Pagas* is a game played by the boys of one barrio against those of another. They beat each other with sticks until the boys of one side run away. *Dipay* is a game played by the larger boys. For this game *kalit*, large flat nuts which grow on vines, are used somewhat as marbles are used in America. About six *kalit* are placed in a row; the boys shoot at them with other *kalit*; and the one who knocks most of them off the mark on which they are placed wins.

I believe the games described above were the only ones known to Nabaloi children when the American government first began to establish schools for the Igorot; but they have been quick to learn American games, and enjoy them immensely.

*Cañaos* or rituals, in addition to their religious significance, should be classed as the most important amusement of Igorot men and women. Practically all the men become intoxicated at the rituals, and seem to

<sup>161</sup> *Apad*, a large trap on the ground for catching wild chickens; *solo*, a small trap of the same kind; *katig*, a trap for small birds attached to post; *bagodo*, a similar trap attached to the branches of a tree.

obtain a great deal of pleasure from the condition. The dancing and singing is intensely enjoyed by the men as well as the women.

Smoking<sup>162</sup> probably ranks next to rituals as a means of enjoyment. The Nabaloi smoke the strongest tobacco leaves obtainable, either rolled as a cigar or in pipes. They smoke very slowly and only a small amount of tobacco is used by each one. The women smoke a leaf<sup>163</sup> with a very little tobacco inside.

The men as well as the boys enjoy horse racing, and sometimes place wagers on their favorites. Cockfighting which has in the past been so popular with lowland Filipinos is not practiced by the Nabaloi; but gambling with cards<sup>164</sup> is rather common.

A favorite amusement, in which the Nabaloi often indulge while sitting around the death chair in the night, is solving riddles.<sup>165</sup> The following will serve as examples:

The trap on the cliff that will not spring. Rainbow.  
 The blanket of my ancestor will not wear out. The skin.  
 The knot of my ancestor will not untie. The tattoo.  
 (While) traveling, its tail gets shorter. The needle.  
 Its insides move; its body stays in place. The house.  
 A piece of coal rolled. The eye.  
 Unlock it to eat it. A species of snail.  
 The guava of my ancestor has no stem. An egg.  
 When it gives birth once it dies. The banana tree.  
 The leaves of the banana tree are crossed. Scissors.  
 Katig chi chipdas ja agmabkas. Būngdol.  
 Katab nan apok agmabos. Badat.  
 Kabot nan apok agmabas. Batak.  
 Manosoosok manka abos ikolto. Chagum.  
 Manakad i chalumto, pineñto i bankayto. Bali.  
 Pating ni oling akaliding. Mata.  
 Malbatan amput mangan. Noso.  
 Guavas nan apok anchi dakosanto. Ekdog.  
 No onanak ni pinsak, mati. Balat.  
 Būlong ni balat makapinpos. Kalti.

#### MUSIC<sup>166</sup>

*Songs.*—The songs of the Nabaloi are of four classes. The *badio* is an extemporaneous chant by a drunken man, composed generally from experiences in his life. The man makes a statement the last part of which is caught up by the women gathered around him and used as a refrain. Sometimes the *badio* consists of a debate between two drunken

<sup>162</sup> *Chūbāa*.

<sup>163</sup> *Pudpud*.

<sup>164</sup> *Manasūgal*.

<sup>165</sup> *Bodikay*.

<sup>166</sup> A paper on Nabaloi Songs, by C. R. Moss and A. L. Kroeber, has been published in this volume, pp. 187-206, 1919.

men, each with his own group of women who sing the refrain. After a ritual has started, the *badio* begins as soon as some of the men become intoxicated. Each man continues until he falls asleep. During a ritual, however, there are always enough drunken people awake to keep the performance continuous during the night.

The sacred songs are those sung in connection with ceremonies. Many of these, possibly all that are known to the Nabaloi, are presented in the section on ceremonies. Most songs of this class are undoubtedly very old, since they contain words which are not now in use.

The *dūjung* is chanted during the night by people sitting around the death chair of a rich man who has recently died. One man leads in telling the virtues of the deceased, and each statement which he makes is chanted by the others.

All songs not included in the above classes are called *kansion*, that is, Spanish "cancion." The term *kansion* is also applied to foreign songs. *Kansion* are frequently sung by the people when sitting around their houses in the evening doing some light work.

Each class of song must be sung only on its own appropriate occasion. The *badio* is never sung except by a drunken man; a sacred song is never sung except in connection with the ceremony to which it pertains; *kansion* are never sung when a ritual is in progress; and no Nabaloi could be induced to sing the *dūjung* except in connection with the ceremonies for the dead.

*Musical instruments.*—The musical instruments used at rituals are the *sulibau*, *kimbal*, *kalsa*, *pinsak*, and *kolas*.

The *sulibau* and *kimbal* are drums made of round pieces of wood about eight inches in diameter and three and a half or four feet in length. Sometimes a hollow tree is used, but more often a solid tree is hollowed out by burning. A deer skin is soaked in water, and while wet is stretched over the top of the *sulibau* or *kimbal*. The *sulibau* has a higher note than the *kimbal*. It is played with both hands while the *kimbal* is played with one hand only. It is struck twice while the *kimbal* is struck once. Those playing the *sulibau* and *kimbal* sit. The one playing the *sulibau* leads the music.

The *kalsa* and the *pinsak* are imported gongs made of brass or bronze. The *kalsa* has a high clear sound and the *pinsak* a lower coarser sound. Both instruments are beaten with wooden sticks called *pitog*. Those playing the *kalsa* and the *pinsak* walk around in the circle with the dancers keeping time with the music. The *kalsa* generally costs about thirty pesos and the *pinsak* twenty. Some of these instruments in Kabayan are said to have been used for five or six generations.

The *kolas* consists of two pieces of iron which are struck together by a man who walks in the circle with the dancers. Generally the hand spades for digging *camotes* are used.

The swiftness with which news travels in the Nabaloi country has led some to believe that communications are transmitted by means of musical instruments. Since the *sulibau* and *kimbal* may be heard at a distance of four or five miles, this could easily be done, but the people say that no musical instruments have ever been used for this purpose.

All the instruments which have been described are used at rituals, and are necessary for dancing; but there are others with which the Igorot amuse themselves during their intervals of leisure.

The *pakang* is made from a piece of bamboo by cutting loose a triangle at one end. The *pakang* is held in the right hand and struck on the palm of the left, which causes the triangle to vibrate. Only the women use this instrument—generally on their way to and from the *camote* fields.

The *kambatong* is made by cutting away one side of a joint of bamboo, and stretching a cord made from the hair of a horse's tail horizontally over the opening. It is held on top of a coconut shell placed on the stomach, and played with the fingers.

The *taladi* is a flute made from a joint of bamboo by boring holes in it. The performer moves his fingers over the holes while blowing in the end.

The *kading* is made by cutting a tongue in a thin piece of brass. It is placed between the lips or teeth, and the tongue made to vibrate with the fingers. Among some of the northern Igorot a sign language, especially of courtship, can be expressed on this instrument; but this is not true in Kabayan, nor, so far as I know, among any of the Nabaloi.

#### DISEASE AND CURE

The Nabaloi have few physical remedies,<sup>167</sup> but trust for the most part to their one universal remedy, the *cañao* or ceremony. A few years ago they did not care for American medicines, and none of them would go to the hospitals unless forced to do so. Now a great many ask for medicines, which they take; but in order that recovery may be doubly sure, they also celebrate the appropriate ritual.

The death rate among children is large, especially when they are very small. In Kabayan about one fourth die before they are a year old, and less than half reach the age of ten. It really seems strange that more babies do not die when the exposure to which they are subjected

<sup>167</sup> *Agas*.



is taken into account. Their only clothing or covering is a thin cotton blanket; and they are often exposed for hours to cold drenching rains while swinging from the shoulders of their mothers.

The adults are as a rule healthy and able to withstand an immense amount of hardship, due in part at least to the fact that the weaker ones die during infancy.

A few years ago more adult Nabaloi died of cholera<sup>168</sup> and smallpox<sup>169</sup> than from all other causes; but these diseases have been practically stamped out during the American régime. The last cholera epidemic in Benguet was in 1902; and due to the fact that the Nabaloi are compelled to be vaccinated on an average of once in three years, smallpox is now a thing of the past. During destructive epidemics the Nabaloi used to desert their homes and go off to the mountains; but this was not generally an effective means of getting rid of the disease, especially since they took with them their blankets and household utensils.

There is considerable dysentery<sup>170</sup> in Benguet during April and May. Chicken pox, although in light form, is frequent, and the same may be said of mumps. There have been a few local epidemics of typhoid, but they were not serious. Tuberculosis is rare, and would probably be unknown were it not contracted at Baguio through contact with lowland Filipinos. Coughs,<sup>171</sup> colds,<sup>172</sup> and malaria are rather common.

The Nabaloi have no remedies for the diseases<sup>173</sup> listed above except rituals, and it is quite evident that the ceremonies are more effective in spreading epidemics than in curing them. The rituals for the dead, where a large portion of the population of a village often sit around a corpse for weeks and sometimes months, offer especially favorable opportunities for contracting disease.

On account of their manner of living, the Nabaloi have many sores,<sup>174</sup> which they often try to cure by burning or by an application of charcoal.

If an upper tooth aches,<sup>175</sup> sometimes they tie a string to it, which has a stone tied to the other end. The stone is dropped, and the tooth pulled by its weight. If a lower tooth aches they hold a stick against it, and tap the stick with a stone until the tooth can be pulled with the fingers. It frequently happens that a back tooth which can not be extracted by either method is left to rot out.

<sup>168</sup> *Kolera.*

<sup>169</sup> *Bültang.*

<sup>170</sup> *Otoi.*

<sup>171</sup> *Okok.*

<sup>172</sup> *Naolug.*

<sup>173</sup> *Sakit.*

<sup>174</sup> *Bayang.*

<sup>175</sup> *Kutkut.*

If a Nabaloi is bitten by a snake, a cross is cut on the wound and the poison sucked out. A small chicken is then cut open and placed on the wound. When a limb is broken the bark is slipped off a tree and size of the arm or leg and the limb placed in it. A cut is sometimes bound with a banana leaf, but more frequently nothing is done.

#### KNOWLEDGE

*Cosmology.*—The old men say that the sky<sup>176</sup> is another world inhabited by people somewhat similar to the people on earth. The earth is supported by four huge posts, and there is another world underneath inhabited by people who have tails. Earthquakes are caused by the hogs of the underworld<sup>177</sup> rubbing against the posts which support the earth. The sun shines in the sky-world and on the earth in the day-time, and under the earth at night. They say that the sun moves, but do not attempt to describe its motor force.

The priests pray to the sun,<sup>178</sup> moon,<sup>179</sup> and certain constellations as well as to the stars<sup>180</sup> as a whole. The following constellations and possibly others are named:

*Bodays*, the belt and sword in the constellation Orion.

*Balikongkong*, the sickle in Leo.

*Pangal*, the triangle in Lyra including Vega.

*Tachong*, the head and body of the Scorpion.

*Tado*, the two pointers and the pole star.

*Wadwadan*, the part of the constellation of Boötes of which Arcturus is the center.

*Koros*, the cross in Canis Major.

*Mawua Balaya*, the five stars forming the circle in Auriga.

*Batakagan*, the bright stars in the constellation of Cassiopeia.

*San apon*, the Pleiades.

*Salabobo*, the Hyades.

Either Venus or Jupiter appearing as the morning star is called *Mamawas*.

*Divisions of time.*—The old men say that there are twenty-eight days in the Nabaloi moon or month<sup>181</sup> and thirteen moons in the year.<sup>182</sup> The seasons and the months to which they correspond approximately are as follows:

*Sitonud*, time for planting rice in the fields—January.

*Sikamas*, first time for weeding rice fields—February.

*Kapinchua kamas*, second time for weeding—March.

*Inakawa'n obda*, time between weeding and harvesting rice—April and May.

<sup>176</sup> *Tabun*.

<sup>177</sup> *Aduongan*.

<sup>178</sup> *Akou*.

<sup>179</sup> *Bolan*.

<sup>180</sup> *Talau*.

<sup>181</sup> *Bolan*.

<sup>182</sup> *Tauan*.

*Siani*, time for harvesting rice—June.  
*Dapas*, time following the harvest—July.  
*Sitonak*, time for planting *gabi* in wet ground—August.  
*Sinapnap*, time for planting *gabi* on dry ground—September.  
*Sikatig*, time for trapping birds—October.  
*Siacharo*, time for plowing—November.  
*Sipadag*, time for planting rice in seed beds—December.

The divisions of the day<sup>183</sup> with the time to which they roughly correspond are as follows:

*Daum*, time first fires are made—3-5 a.m.  
*Palpalbang*, time second fires are made—5-6 a.m.  
*Kakabasan*, time when breakfast is eaten—6-8 a.m.  
*Omonsiang*, middle of the morning—8-10 a.m.  
*Kasilan akou*, when the sun is high—10-11:30 a.m.  
*Kaakawan*, midday—11:30-12:30.  
*Nasbil i akou*, when the sun is sinking—12:30-4 p.m.  
*Siti molan*, time for feeding—4-6 p.m.  
*Mamachim*, time of sitting in the house—6-8 p.m.  
*Siditan ni ogip*, time of beginning sleep—8-10.  
*Adabas ni siditan ni ogip*, after time of beginning sleep—10-11 p.m.  
*Kawa ni adabi*, the middle of the night—11:30-12:30.  
*Akapanan ni adabi*, after midnight—12:30-3.

Expressions indicating short divisions of time are the following:

*Agmanpas i pinaychis*, less time than it takes to smoke a cigar.  
*Chua'n sopsop*, time for two whiffs of the pipe.

*Weights and measures.*—The following are the old units of measure used by the Nabaloi:

*Dokod*, length of forefinger.  
*Boko*, distance from end of thumb to first joint.  
*Kabang ni tochoan*, distance from end of thumb to end of forefinger.  
*Chipa*, distance between tips of middle fingers of outstretched arms. The *chipa* is used principally as the unit of measurement for house timbers.  
*Akop*, amount contained in both hands held together, or a double handful.  
*Tapangan*, a basket for measuring, of such a size that it contains a certain number of *akop*.

The *deta*, amount contained in a standard five-gallon oil can; the *kaban*, amount contained in four standard oil cans; and the Spanish *chupa* are of more recent origin.

The old unit of value is the *taynay* the amount of rice *palay* that can be held in the hand, the forefinger and thumb barely touching. The *batuk*, four *tanay*, was used for larger amounts. The value and size of rice fields are generally spoken of in terms of the number of *batuk* they will produce.

Gold dust is weighed in a balance called *talajo*. Mexican coins are placed on one side of the balance and the gold dust or other things to be weighed are placed on the other.

<sup>183</sup> *Akou*.

## II. LAW

## AS TOLD BY THE NABALOI THEMSELVES

*Nabaloi Text*

## THE TONGTONG OR COUNCIL

1. Sūta kadauiian ni Igodot dinka ni too no bayag. Sūta anumnuman i too i amangikwan ni kosto. Sikara mayingadnan impanamani too, tap chaka ikwan i pasing. Sikara mayngadnan anumnuman, tap sikara manumnum.

2. No sinachūūm i anumnuman i too eraka masinop num guara tongtongancha'n manbakal. Num sinop era, saman ikwan ni tongtong. No sinachūūm say tongtong chi Kabayan, chakala too ja ontongtong ni bakal, num no sinachūūm ootēk era. Masapol ja amput guaray chūa ni olaolay. Amina baknang ja too tomotongtong era, num kastamut i abitug num guara numnumcha tan asisēkun.

3. Sūta impanama mobadin ja sadatanchay kadauiian. No masadatan guaray tapuy ja kanun ni dalakay. Sūta kadauiian ja asadatan, masapol ja sochotan ni chachakal ja too.

4. Sūta angulpug ja sadatan ja kadauiian nūnta kabadolakik. No bayag kamon guaray badolaki onbasol tan marikīt, eraka machosa, jut eraka mapidit ja mamūno ni noang, baka ono kuchil, ja kanun ni too. Sūta tongtong pinanoontcha ji amankakotēk i animal, jut sigud num masadan ni kadauiian. Sūta impanama pinanonotcha i sigud amo num sadatan i kadauiian, jut sinop i too'n amin. Saman ikwancha olnong. Sūta karakdan ni too tinongtongcha i sigud num masadatan i kadauiian.

5. No sochotan ni tongtong i kadauiian, agmasapol i olnong, num masapol ja guara olnong num masadatan i kadauiian.

6. No agtongpalan ni too i datug ni tongtong, baganchay i too onchos a nan sikato ni kampol. No sinachūūm sūta tongtong i mangada ni kojunto jut, pansilbi era kanun ni too.

## II. LAW

### AS TOLD BY THE NABALOI THEMSELVES<sup>184</sup>

#### *English Translation*

#### THE TONGTONG OR COUNCIL

1. The custom law<sup>185</sup> of the Igorot was made by the people long ago. The wisest men said what was right. They were called *impanama*<sup>186</sup> of the people because they said what to do. They were called the *anumanuman* because they were wise.

2. Sometimes the wisest (men) met together when there were quarrels to be decided. If they met, that was called *tongtong*. Sometimes the *tongtong* of Kabayan were many people who decided quarrels, but sometimes they were few. It was necessary to have two always. All the rich (men) belonged to the *tongtong*, but also even the poor (men) if they had wisdom and were old.

3. The *impanama* could change the custom law. When it was changed, there was *tapuy* which was drunk by the old men. The custom law which was changed must be agreed to by the majority of the people.

4. The last change of the custom law was when I was a young man.<sup>187</sup> Long ago if there was a young man (who) had a fault with a young unmarried girl, they were punished and were forced to kill a carabao, cow, or pig which was eaten by the people. The *tongtong* decided that the animals were becoming few, and (that) it was probably well to change the custom law; and all the people gathered together. That they called *olnong*. The majority of the people decided it would be well if the custom law were changed.

5. If the *tongtong* followed the custom law, the *olnong* was unnecessary; but it was necessary to have the *olnong* if the custom law was changed.

6. If a person did not obey the decision of the *tongtong*, they would ask the people to punish him accordingly. Sometimes the *tongtong* would take his property, and use (it) as food for the people.

<sup>184</sup> All the texts on law were obtained in Kabayan, but the law of the various Nabaloi communities differs only in unimportant detail.

<sup>185</sup> Literally, "where you go."

<sup>186</sup> Literally, "made to be the fathers."

<sup>187</sup> Maslagan, the speaker, was about sixty years of age.

7. Guaray sakay ja tongtong chi Kabayan, sakay chi Gū saran, sakay chi Lū tab, sakay chi Pakso, tan sian amin chi achū ma ili. No sū ta too'n amanbakal num nan sinabadi i ilī cha, sū ta matongtong notda chū a'n ili, sikara ontongtong. No sū ta tongtong ni chū a'n ili ji agonkosto, no sinachū ū m sū ta too'd sakay ili bakalanchay too'd sabadi'n ili.

8. Amasinop i mantongtong num guaray manbakakal ja tongtong-ancha, num masapol ni olaolay ja masinop era ni pinsak ni maka tauan anchi manbabakal. Sū ta mangitongtong agera madagbū an. Sū ta tongtong eraka masinop chi kampola dū gad.

9. No agtongpalon ni too i kadauian, tap agtoamta, machosa ngorū chian.

10. Sū ta impanama eraka masinop niman ni sinachū ū m ja matongtong num guara bakal; num sū ta sakay ja amaabak agtotompalan ni olaolay, tap niman agchosaan ni tongtong. Niman guara dintug ni Amerikano, no chosaan ni impanama ondaŋ ja anmanchiklamo chi Baguio.

#### MARRIAGE

*Who can not marry.*—11. Say daki agmabodin asauwanto's inato, agī to, panginaanto, anak ni asauwato ji sakay ja daki, tan inasiguchanto bī i.

12. Say bī i agmobadina asauwanto's amato, agī to, pangamaanto, tan anak ni asauwato ji sakay ja bī i, tan inasiguchantoi daki.

13. Nū ntanda agmobadin asauwanto's anakto'n bī i ni agī ni amato ono agī ni inato. Niman mabodin, num kwanmi aligua'n maptung. Nū ntanda masapola aping manasauwa i apin; apin agmabodina manasauwa sabadi'n too. Niman mabodin, num kwanmi aligua'n mabtung.

14. I daki ono bī i mabodina manasauwa sabadi'n too, num agnak chung i manasauwacha.

*Engagement ceremonies.*—15. Say ama tan ina mabodina mamispis ni asauwa ni anakcha, num ootē k i anak. Sinachū ū m eraka mankaysing. Sinachū ū m num baknang i amacha, eraka mankaysing ni pinchū a: jut pinsak i ama ni daki, pinsak i ama ni bī i. No abitug i

7. There was one *tongtong* in Kabayan, one in Gusaran, one in Lutab, one in Pakso; and just so in all other settlements. When the people quarrelled, if they lived in different settlements, the *tongtong* of the two settlements decided. If the *tongtong* of the two settlements could not agree, sometimes the people of one settlement would fight the people of the other settlement.

8. The *tongtong* met to find out if there were quarrels to be decided; but it was necessary always to meet once each year, although there was no quarrelling. The *tongtong* were not paid. The *tongtong* met at various places.

9. If the people did not obey the custom law because they did not know it, they were punished just the same.

10. The *impanama* meet now sometimes when there is a quarrel to decide; but the one who loses does not always obey, because now the *tongtong* can not punish. Now there is the law of the Americans;<sup>188</sup> if the *impanama* punishes (them), they go to Baguio to complain.

#### MARRIAGE

*Who can not marry.*—11. A man can not marry his mother, his sister, his aunt, the child of his wife by another man, or his adopted daughter.

12. A woman can not marry her father, her brother, her uncle, the child of her husband by another woman, or her adopted son.

13. Formerly (a person) could not marry the daughter of the sister or brother of his father or of his mother. Now he may, but we think it is not good. Formerly it was necessary for a twin to marry a twin; a twin could not marry another person. Now he may, but we think it is not good.

14. A man or woman may marry other people if their marriages are not completed.<sup>189</sup>

*Engagement ceremonies.*—15. The father and mother can select the spouse of their child when the child is small. Sometimes they make *kaysing*.<sup>190</sup> Sometimes if the fathers are rich, they make *kaysing* twice; once the father of the man and once the father of the woman.

<sup>188</sup> The general civil and criminal law of the Philippines applies to the Igorot. However, one Nabaloi seldom institutes civil proceedings against another. Practically all disputes which might be made the basis of a civil action are still decided by the influential men.

<sup>189</sup> If neither of the parties are already married at the time.

<sup>190</sup> The word "*kaysing*" is used not only to denote the ceremony, but also to express the relationship between the parents of the betrothed. The ceremony is sometimes celebrated when the children are only a few months old. Its primary purpose generally is to cement friendship between their fathers—especially after they have quarrelled.

amacha, pinsak i kaysingcha. Chaka panchūa gastos. No baknang i sakay, ji abitug i sakay, sūta baknanga too sikatoi mangikan ni kaysing.

16. Say kaysing eraka mamūno i baka ono noang, tan, makaamta ni tapuy. Anchi mambūnong ja manibūnong.

17. Sinachūūm anchi kaysing para anak num ootēk era. No aginkaysing ni amato num ootēk, sūta daki mabodina pispisantai asauwato, jut dagantoi kalon.

18. Masapola mamūno i noang ono baka ni kalontō, tan mangada ni tapuy. Anchi mambūnong ja manibūnong.

19. No say baka ono noang num ōnkaga num chanchani'n būnoancha ni kalon ono kaysing, agmabodin ja manasauwacha nūntana tiēmpo. No onpatok i chakadan num idoto chi bakas ono apag, omanang chi kalon ono kaysing.

20. No agkosto'n daki sūta bī, num nakchung i kaysing ono kalon, baychantoi amato gastos ni kaysing ono kalon num anchi basūl sūta bī. No agkosto ni bī ja asauwatoi daki, sikato ono si amato baychantoi i gastos no kaysing ono kalon.

21. No anchi baka ono noang ni amacha, sakay ja baknang i aknanto, jut sūta daki tan bī ja manasauwa i otongantocha. Era manobdacha son sikato inkud mabachan. Sinachūūm agcha kakchungan i bayadto ni chakal ja tauan.

*Marriage ceremony.*—22. No makchung i kaysing ono kalon, sūta bī amangian chi bali amato inkud mangidin era. Sūta daki agtoacholan i bī num agera mangidin.

23. No mangidin era būnoanchay kuchil ja iakan nūnta ama ni daki. No chachani būnoanchay kuchil sūta mambūnong ibūnongto, jut inkwanto:

“Sikama Kabigat ja angipalsūa ni sikami too; iay i tapuy; panooko-bantayo. Mangilin si . . . . . tan . . . . . Ilintugmoi sikara,



If the fathers are poor they make *kaysing* once. They divide the expenses into two parts. If one is rich while the other is poor, the rich man therefore gives the *kaysing*.

16. (At) the *kaysing* they kill a cow or carabao, and get *tapuy*. There is no *mambunong*<sup>191</sup> to pray.

17. Sometimes there is no *kaysing* for children when they are small. If his father did not celebrate the *kaysing* when he was small, the man can choose his wife and celebrate the *kalon*.

18. It is necessary to kill a carabao or cow for *kalon*, and get *tapuy* (rice wine). There is no *mambunong* to pray.

19. If the cow or carabao bellows when being killed for *kalon* or *kaysing*, they can not marry at that time. If the *chakadan*<sup>192</sup> makes a noise while the rice or meat is cooking, the *kalon* or *kaysing* will be repeated.

20. If the man does not want the woman after the *kaysing* or *kalon* has been completed, he must pay her father (his part of) the expenses of the *kaysing* or *kalon* if the woman has no fault.<sup>193</sup> If the woman does not wish to marry the man, she or her father pays the expenses of the *kaysing* or *kalon*.

21. If their fathers do not have a cow or carabao, a rich (man) furnishes it, but the man and woman who marry owe (for it). They work for him until the debt is paid. Sometimes they do not finish paying for many years.<sup>194</sup>

*Marriage ceremony.*—22. When the *kaysing* or *kalon* has been finished, the woman remains at her father's house until they celebrate the *mangidin*. The man does not lie with the woman before they have celebrated the *mangidin*.

23. When they celebrate the *mangidin*, they kill a dog, which the father of the man furnishes. When they are ready to kill the dog, the *mambunong* prays and says:

"You<sup>195</sup> Kabigat who created us people; here is *tapuy*; let us drink and eat together. . . . . and . . . . . are celebrating the *mangidin*.

<sup>191</sup> Literally, "the maker of prayer."

<sup>192</sup> The three rocks on which the pots sit while cooking is being done.

<sup>193</sup> A few years ago it was comparatively easy for the influential men to force compliance with this regulation, and as a result practically all who were betrothed when children married. More recently a large portion of the young men have refused, and the pressure which could be brought to bear was not in all cases sufficient to compel them to pay the expenses which had been incurred for the *kaysing*. The celebration of the *kaysing* is becoming rare, and will doubtless soon be a thing of the past.

<sup>194</sup> This is one of the principal means by which the rich Nabaloi rule the poor.

<sup>195</sup> Pokjus, a *mambunong* who is a Kankanay by birth, but has lived in Kabayan for about twenty years, is the authority for the prayer. The text is a mixture of Kankanay and Nabaloi.

jut no makanak ja mangilin. I kasakasatcha; onbakhknangcha; ipalaladcha.

“Mabiag kami'n too iay ja insingputmi ja mangilin. Mabiag kami'd kalotoan; mabiag kayo'd ngo'd inaykayang, jut badbaranjokami tan tang-ga kami'n kayo'd inaykayang.

“No onbakhknang kami ji guara kakchulanmi matawaalkayo'd inaykayang, jut panookobantayo.

“Nanpanbūnong na pandū, kalajo; panookobantayo. Sikayo i nantaud ngia ja mangilin; pakatobtobi ja kami num guara kolangmi.”

24. Jut būnoancha i kuchil, jut sūta mambūnong i būnongto moan ingis ni pilmero.

25. Ikojuncha chanom chi tasa chima kadan ni dakub, jut sūta daki anasauwa manginom, jut inquan sakay ja abakol, “Panginomka say onpaladka tan onpatang i karadkadmo.” Sayjay i chaka pasing, tap abayag inkwan nan Kabigat ji sayjay i pasing num manasauwa.

26. Jut say too mangan tan maninom era ni tapuy, jut inanbodio era. Inkwancha ji mankasat tan onpalad sūta manasauwa.

27. No chakala tapuy, sinachūm kaonpikot i too ni todo'n akou. No makado'n akou, say daki masapol ondau chi padok alontoi ataktoi; jut masapol sūta bīi ondau alantoi sankab tan kayabang. Adopan ni abakol. No onbūday era itoroto'n sūta abakol son sikara i madmad. Sūta nanasauwa manchadop, jut i madmad cha, “Ingistaka i chanom makabay: agmakatchang tautauan ji agmatī; ipalalad.”

28. Sūta bīi ojonantoi kaybang tan sankab ja singa anmandokto para asauwato, tan sūta daki alantoi atakto ja singa anmangadat tan mangio para asauwato.

29. No onolicha sūta daki mamasan ni bēlbēl ja ootēk chi balicha. Toka ikojun chi būday ja sinangat ni bali. No kaddato ni akou, chaka taboyad atop ni bali, jut chaka batbayi nodtan inkatod kadopokto ono matan i bali. Nakchung may ngilin, jut son sikara san asauwa may too.

*Bad omens.*—30. No babtēkan ni otot ni chital ni bali, num guara mangidin, masapol ja mapinchūa moan. No guaray mabue ja ngangano, masapol ja mapinchūa moan i mangilin. No ontayab i kabang chi bali

Keep them straight; and may they who are celebrating the *mangidin* have children. May they have luck; may they be rich; may they have long life.

"May we the people here who have performed well the *mangidin* be alive long. May we live long on earth; may you also live long on high, and guard us and protect us, you on high.

"If we become richer so that we have pigs, (we) will call you on high, and we will eat and drink together.

"*Mambunong* of the past, come; let us eat and drink together. You were the first to celebrate this, the *mangidin*; add to what we have said if there is not enough."

24. Then they kill the hog, and the *mambunong* prays again the same as before.

25. They put water in a cup in the place of the door, and the man (who) is marrying drinks, and an old woman says, "Drink so that you will have long life and so that your health will be good." This they do, because long ago Kabigat commanded that this should be done when there was marrying.

26. Then the people eat and drink *tapuy* and sing the *badio*. They say that those marrying will be lucky and live long.

27. If there is much *tapuy*, sometimes the people will remain for three days. On the third day the man must go to a brook carrying his *bolo*, and the woman must go carrying her hand spade and *camote* basket. An old woman goes with them. When they go out of the house the old woman teaches them the *madmad*. Those who were married wash their faces and pray the *madmad*, "May I be like you, water; lucky, that does not break from year to year, that does not die; but lives long."

28. The woman carries on her back the *camote* basket and hand spade as if she were getting *camotes* for her husband, and the man carries his *bolo* as if he were making a fence and getting wood for his wife.

29. When they return the man takes a small pine tree to their house. He puts it on the ground in front of the house. On the third day they put it on the top of the roof of the house, and they leave it there until it is rotten or the house is moved. The *mangidin* is finished and they are husband and wife in truth.

*Bad omens*<sup>196</sup>.—30. If a rat runs over the floor of the house while the *mangidin* is being celebrated, it is necessary to repeat it. If anything is broken, it is necessary to repeat the *mangidin*. If a crow flies over the

<sup>196</sup> Other bad omens: a lizard crawls up the side of the house; the bridegroom sees a snake cross the road; certain bad dreams; the screech owl is heard near where the *mangidin* is being celebrated.

ono onkerol, masapolja mapinchūa moan ngilin, mani matammi ja say kalaching agchapiān. No manasauwa era ji agera mangidin moan, nabitug era ni olay tan mati era ni magono.

*The wealthy.*—31. No baknang i daki, mamūno's kuchil tan mangada ni tapuy ja kanun ni too inkato'd tadon akou ja kakchung ni ngilin. No makaddo moan madnabnabera. No baknanga pasia sūta mangilin, masapol ja mansabnab moan num maykadima'n akou, jut mamūno ni animal ja para too. Jut masapol ja mansabnak moan num kanun. Jut mansabnak moan num kawado. Masapol ja angipasial ja daki'd sabadi'n dūgad ni dīma'n akou. Sayjay kwanmi baat. No onoli masapol ja mamūno ni kuchil ja para too, tan masapol moan ja mamūno ni kuchil num maykadima'n akou.

*Duties and rights.*—32. Sūta bīi masapol ja tongpalantoi ni asauwato, anmandokto, tan manobda'd wangan. Sūta daki masapol ja mangiū, mangadad, mandaka ni bali, tan manomkal ni panaganay. Masapol ja mangacharo ni payū. Sūta bīi masapol ja manian nodta ikwan ni daki.

33. Sūta daki i makaampta ni amin ja kokoacha. No inpatawīd amato sūta kokoa'n ni bīi, agmabodin ja idako ni daki num agpian ni bīi. Sūta daki i makaampta ja paobda ni payū ni asauwato tan num sepay onobda. No guaray kabadjo ni bīi, mabodin pankabadjoan ni daki ankun agpian asauwato. No guaray payū ni bīi, agmabodin ja idako ni daki num agpian ni bīi, num mabodin ja idako i pagui ja inapitcha. No manbakal era maypoon ni kokoa, dintugan ni dalakay.

34. Mabodin ja bachasan ni daki i asauwato num agmanongpal, ono guara basūtlo, ono agtodagan i obdato. Agmabodin ja bachasan ni daki i asauwato num anchi mankabūl. No bachasantoi i asauwato ji anchi mankabūl asina ni bīi.

*Remarriage.*—35. No matay i daki, sūta asauwato agmabodina mangasauwa ni sakay ja tauan. No mangasauwa i magono, say kalaching ni asauwato būnoanto. Asauwato'n daki agmabodina mangasauwa ni maka tauan ja inkati ni asauwato. Nūntan da masapol manochay ni ipata tauan ja pangasauwato. Sūta balo ni bīi mankabas ni kūlibau ni chūan bolan. No agtongpolan matajang.

house or it thunders, it is necessary to repeat the *mangidin*; because we know that the spirits of the dead are displeased. If they marry and do not have the *mangidin* again, they will be poor always and will die soon.

*The wealthy.*—31. If the man is rich he kills a hog and gets *tapuy* which is consumed by the people, after three days from the completion of the *mangidin*. On the third day he will celebrate again. If those celebrating the *mangidin* are very rich, it is necessary to celebrate again on the fifth day and to kill animals for the people. Then it is necessary to celebrate again on the sixth day. Then to celebrate again on the eighth day. It is necessary for the man to make a short journey to another place in five days (after the last celebration). This we call *baat*. When he returns, it is necessary to kill hogs for the people, and it is necessary again to kill hogs the fifth day afterwards.

*Duties and rights.*—32. The woman must obey her husband, get *camotes*, and work in the fields. The man must get wood, make fences, build the house, and buy the clothing. He must plow the rice fields. The woman must live where the man says.

33. The man takes care of all their property. If the woman's property was inherited from her father, the man can not sell it if the woman does not wish. The man takes care of the working of the rice fields of his wife, and (says) who shall work (them). If the woman has a horse, the man can ride it, even if the woman does not wish (it). If the woman has a rice field, the man can not sell it if the woman does not so desire, but he can sell the rice which it produces. If they quarrel about their property, the old men decide.

34. The man may whip his wife if she does not obey, or has a fault, or does not do her work.<sup>197</sup> The man can not whip his wife if she has no fault. If he whips his wife when she is not at fault, the woman may get a divorce.

*Remarriage.*—35. If a man dies, his wife can not marry for one year. If she marries soon, the soul of her (dead) husband will kill her. The husband can not marry until one year after his wife dies. Formerly it was necessary to wait for four years. The widowed woman must wear *kulibau*<sup>198</sup> for two months. If she does not do so she will have sores.

<sup>197</sup> Wife beating is not common among the Nabaloi. The author has never heard of a single instance.

<sup>198</sup> White cloth with a black border.

## DIVORCE

*Causes.*—36. Say daki mabodin ja isinato i asauwato; num agtodagan ja amina obdato, no makiachol ni sabadi'n daki, no agmakeian chi balicha, tan num mabakal.

37. Mabodin ja isina ni bī i asauwato ; num agtodagan amina obdato, ono bachasan ni daki ji anchi makabūl, ono mabakal i daki. No mabii i daki, agmobadin ja isina ni bī, mani sūtan kanshat ni daki.

38. No achi anak, ono amarakas, ono eraka matay ja amin, sūta daki ono bī mabodin ja mansina. No sinachūm guaray tagtaginap ni daki ono bī ja ngauau, jut numnumto i agpian ni kalaching i pakieianto sonan asauwato. Sūta dalaki, chaka i dintug ji mansijan era. No tagtaginapan ni daki ono bī ji guara minmūtok chi balicha ji indatoi katabcha, ono ikaman, tan piniketo'n impanchūato, masapol ja mansijan era.

39. No inpaachum sūta bī ni sabadi'n daki nūnta anung i pangidīncha, sūta asauwato ankun agtoamta anung i pangidīncha, agmabodin ja isinato. No guara too ja inaychum era nūnta nangilin, agmabodin ja makikan nūnta apag chi nangilin. No kanunto mababajang.

*Allotment of children and property.*—40. No guara anakcha, sūta dalakay tan būnatcha i manongtong num sepay mangada'd sikara. Sūta bī i mangada i ankokonting ja anak ankun sikatoi nanbasūl. Sūta anakambalug chaka tongtonga num sepa onala, num chaka sochoto ngorūchian si inacha.

41. Sūta guaguachay i alanto'n anak, sikatoi guaguacha kokoacha; num sūta sakay ootēk i toka alan kokoa. Sūta dalaki i kaontongtong. No anchi anakcha, sūta bī i mangada nūnta kokoa ja tauwidto, tan sūta daki alanto ngo sūta kokoa'n tinawidto. Sūta achūma kokoa chaka paningus.

DIVORCE<sup>199</sup>

*Causes.*—36. A man can divorce his wife if she does not do all her work, if she lies with another man, if she does not live at their house, and if she is quarrelsome.

37. The woman can divorce her husband if he does not do all his work, if the man whips her when she is not at fault, or if the man is quarrelsome. If the man has commerce with another woman, the woman (his wife) can not divorce him, because that is the custom of a man.

38. If there are no children, or if they are born dead, or if they all die, the man or the woman can get a divorce. Sometimes the man or the woman has a bad dream, and he thinks the souls of the dead do not wish him to remain with his spouse. The old men decide that they shall be divorced. If the man or woman dreams that some one came to their house, took their blanket or mat and tore it into pieces, it is necessary to be divorced.

39. If the woman had commerce with another man before the *mangidin*, her husband can not get a divorce, although he did not know it before the *mangidin*. If there is a person who had commerce (with the husband or wife) before (their) *mangidin*, he does not eat the meat at the *mangidin*. If he eats it, he will have sores.

*Allotment of children and property.*—40. If there are children, the old men and near relatives decide who shall have charge of them.<sup>200</sup> The woman keeps the small children, even if she is at fault. The larger ones decide who will have them, but they generally follow the mother.

41. The more children (one) takes, the more property he (gets); but the other gets a little of the property. The old men decide. If there are no children, the woman gets the property which she inherited, and the man gets also the property which he inherited.<sup>201</sup> They divide the other property<sup>202</sup> equally.

<sup>199</sup> Divorces are very common among the Nabaloi. At least half the people of Kabayan who are more than thirty-five years old have been divorced. Divorces will doubtless be less frequent in the future since the young people are showing a tendency to choose their own spouses and to disregard the betrothals previously made by their parents. The larger proportion of divorces occur before any children are born.

<sup>200</sup> I know of no cases where the father has taken any of the children. The only question the old men and relatives really have to decide is regarding the division of property and the payment of debts—especially such as have been contracted for the celebration of the *mangidin* or *kalon*.

<sup>201</sup> The husband and wife keep their property separate before children are born. After the birth of children, the property of the two spouses seems to be more or less subject to a partnership arrangement.

<sup>202</sup> This corresponds to the provision regarding the property of the conjugal community under the Spanish civil law.

## PARENTS AND CHILDREN

42. Sūta ama ono ina mabodina bachasancha i anakcha num agmanongpal. Sūta ama ono ina anchi mabodinancha ja onbūno ono mangilako ni anakcha. No asauwan ni daki i bīi ja guaray anakto, sūta aanak masapol ja tongpalancha. No asauwan i sūta daki ja guaray anakto, masapol ja tongpalan era nūnta aanak son sikato.

43. Sūta ama tan ina i masapol ja onajoan ni anakcha num kokonting era. No agonkalapay i ama tan ina ja manobda, masapol ja sūta anakcha i onajoan sikara num abitug era.

44. No tagibian i anak ni sabadi, masapol ja sikatoi tongpalan ni nganga. Sūta ama tan ina nūnta tinagibicha, anchi bibiangcha son sikato. No onoli sūta nganga son amato tan inato, sikara makaamta son sikato. No onoli sūta nganga son amato tan inato, sikara makaamta nan sikato.

45. No anung i pangasauwa ni anakmi, agmiaknan ni kokoa. No mangasauwa era ji maysia era'd asawara, mīka akni era ni kokoa. No sinachūūm num agonkalapay i ama tan ina ja manobda, chaka iakana amin i kokoachad anakcha, num masapol ja tadakanan era ni anakcha.

## LAND AND WATER

46. Sūta chaga kokoa nūnta too ja angobda ni pilmero. Sūta too kakoato sūta chaga i chaga nan amato ono apoto.

47. No dagan ni too i payū chi chaga ni sabadi'n too, palabos i achuntoso ni sakay ja tauan, jut odian ni maka chaga. Sūta too ja nandaga ni payū, alantoi amin sūta pagui ja inachunto ni pimero'n tauan.

48. No achinan ni too i payū ji dintugan ni inpanama ja payū ni sabadi'n too sūta payū, sūta too ja nangchun, mabodin ja apitanto sūta pagui num alan ni maka payū i kagachūa.

49. Sūta too ja apangdū'n angolokol ni chanom, sikatoi makakokoa. No kinodokol ni too i amin ja chanom chi padok ji guaray sadadi'n



## PARENTS AND CHILDREN

42. The father and mother can chastise their children if they do not obey.<sup>203</sup> The father or mother can not kill or sell their children. If the man marries a woman who has children, the children must obey (him). If a man who has children marries, the children must obey (his wife).

43. The father or mother must support their children while they are small. When the father and mother are too old to work, it is necessary for their children to support them if they are poor.

44. If a child is adopted<sup>204</sup> by another (person), it is necessary for the child to obey him. The father and mother before it was adopted have no control over it. If the child returns to its father and mother, they take charge of it.

45. Before our children marry, we do not give them property. When they marry and live with their wives, we give them property. Sometimes when the father and mother are too old to work, they give all their property to their children, but their children must support them.

## LAND AND WATER

46. The land is the property of the person who works it first.<sup>205</sup> The man owns the land (which was) the land of his father or ancestor.

47. If a man makes a rice field on the land of another man, he is permitted to use it one year and then he (must) return (it) to the owner of the land. The man who made the field gets all the *palay*<sup>206</sup> it produces the first year.

48. If a man is cultivating a rice field, and it is decided by the *impanama* that the rice field belongs to another man, the man who planted it can harvest the rice, but he must give the owner of the field half.

49. The man who first makes a ditch for water is its owner.<sup>207</sup> If a person has used all the water of a brook, and there is another who

<sup>203</sup> The Nabaloi are very lenient with their children, and rarely punish them severely.

<sup>204</sup> There is no ceremony connected with adoption, but a large number of Nabaloi children live with others than their parents. If a poor man has many children, some of them live either with relatives or with some rich man. Even a wealthy person who has a number of children will sometimes send one of them to another wealthy person to rear. The one with whom the child lives is regarded as in *loco parentis*.

<sup>205</sup> Ownership of land said to have been once planted in *camotes* is recognized, although it has neither been cultivated nor fenced at any time during the last three generations. Ownership of timber land is not recognized around Kabayan.

<sup>206</sup> Rice on the stalk.

<sup>207</sup> The large irrigation ditches are generally the joint property of a number of owners. The Nabaloi have very little trouble with each other over their land, but disputes concerning water for irrigation are frequent.

too ja mandaga ni payū ji isokdatto i kolokol nadto achaan, iakan ni inpanama i chanom nodta mapangdūna kolokol.

#### INHERITANCE

50. No matī i daki sūta asauwato alanto'n amina tinawīdto nan amato ono būnato. Jut sūta achūūma kokoa ni daki insilingcha. No guara anakto sūta abayan i bingayan ni anakto. No anchi anakto, sūta amato tan inato num mobiday era, sikara i onala ni kokoato. No atay i amato tan inato ji guara agī, sūta agī ja guara anakcha, sikara mandasin ja mangida i kokoato, num sūta achūūm ootēk i alancha. Sūta ama ono agī agmabodin idakocha i payū, num masapol ja baybay-ancha sūta anak ni agī ni atī. Mobadin ja idakocha sūta achūūma kokoa, num kawancha i sinapolancha jut mansilbi ni anak.

51. No anchi anakto, amato, inato, apoto, agito ono anakcha; alan sūta pangamaanto ono panginaanto tan anakcha i kokoato. No matī i sakay ja pangamaanto ono panginaanto ji guara anakcha'n bibiag, alan nūnta anakcha sūta kokoacha ja kojun amacha ono inacha. No anchi būnatto nayasop, sūta nabtan ja bunatto imangada ni kokoa.

52. No matī i too ja guara anak, sūta kapangotoanan ja bīi ono daki amandasin ni tauwīd sinachūūm. Sūta aanak i daki tan bīi imayingus ni payū. Amandasin i dadaki ni animal, num amandasin ngoi bibīi ni pilak. Sūta aanak ja tagibi makeda era ni kokoa, num agmayingus nūnta anak ni atī. No chakal i kakoato, sūta anakto'd sakay ja bīi makeda ni ootēk, num aligua'n payū.

53. Sūta assauwato agmangada ni tauwīd ni daki, num kagachūa nūnta sinapolancha'n san asauwa, sikato makeda. Ngorūchian sūta asauwa ni bīi mangada ni bali. Num sūta bīi guara anakto sabadi'n daki, sikara agmabodin ja makeda era nūnta kokoa ja inatngancha, num agmobadincha ja mangada nūnta kakoa ja tauwīd ja atī.

54. No makchung i siling chaka bingayay kokoa. No agontolok i aanak, kabingayan dalakay i kokoa.

makes a rice field and makes a ditch above the old one the *impanama* will give the water to the one who had the first ditch.

#### INHERITANCE

50. If a man dies, his wife will get all she inherited from her father or relatives. Then some of the man's property will be used for *siling*.<sup>208</sup> If he has children, what is left will be divided among them. If there are no children, his father and mother, if alive, get his property. If his father and mother are dead and he has brothers and sisters, the brothers and sisters who have children will get the larger part of his property; but the others will get a little. The parents or brothers and sisters can not sell the rice fields, but it is necessary to keep them for the children of the brothers and sisters of the dead man. They can sell other property, but they must keep what they receive (for it), and give it to the children.

51. If there are no children, father, mother, grandparents, brothers or sisters, or their children, uncles or aunts or their children will get the property. If an uncle or aunt who has children living is dead, the children will get the property which would have been the property of their father or mother. If there are no near relatives, the distant relatives get the property.<sup>209</sup>

52. When a person who has children dies, the oldest boy or girl sometimes gets more of the inheritance. The children, male and female, get the same (value) of rice fields. The boys get more animals, and the girls get more money. The adopted children get a part of the property, but not the same (amount) as the children of the dead man. If there is much property, the children by another woman get a little, but no rice fields.

53. The spouse does not get any of the inheritance of the person, but she does receive half of what they earned while married. The wife generally gets the house. If the woman (wife) has had children by another man, they (the children) can get the part of the property which they helped to earn; but they can not get the property which the dead man inherited.

54. When the *siling* has ended, they divide the property. If the children do not agree, the old men divide the property.

<sup>208</sup> A very expensive ceremony celebrated after a person dies but before he is buried. See part IV.

<sup>209</sup> The Nabaloi inheritance law is based on the principle that the property should go to the next generation. Parents, brothers and sisters, and uncles and aunts may hold it in trust only.

55. No guaguachay alan nūnta sakay ja kokoa nan amacha ni kabidayto ja ooték i alan i achūūm, guaguacha atngi moan i alan nūnta achūūm num matī si amacha.

56. Sūta bagaan agmabodin makeda ni kokoa. No sinachūūm sūta okob mabodin ja makeda ni kokoa num matī sūta apocha num bilang i baknang.

*Wills.*—57. No ikwan nūnta too ni kabidayto ji pamosoto'n amina kokoato ni sakay ja anakto num matī, agmabodin ja mosanto num guara agito. Idintug ni dalakay ji makeda sūta achūūm. Agmabodin ikwan ni too num sepay mangada ni kokoato num matay, num mika sochota sūta kadaiian.

58. No mati sūta asauwa ni bīi, bingiancha kokoato ingus kokoa ni daki.

#### DAMAGE TO PROPERTY

59. Say too num maptung i alad ni omato, jut no madasin i animal ni sakay ja too, jut no chachalanchay pagui, dokto ono abua, say makakojun ni animal masapola baychantoi apilchi. No aligua'n sigud i alad agtobaychan. Sūta dalakay ikwanha num pīga i baychanto.

60. No poalan ni too i bali ni sabadi'n, numnumancha'n basūlto, masapola baychanto. No poalanto ja chisgrasia, numnumancha'n aligua'n basūlto, agmasapol baychanto. Say anak ni sakay ja too ji poalantoi bali ni achūūm, agmasapola baychanto.

61. No onbolos i kabadjo ni sakay ja too ji būnoantoi ni kabadjo ni sabadi'n too, agtobaychan.

62. No būnoan ni aso ni sakay ja too i kalneroni achūūm, say makakojun ni aso agmasapola baychantoi kalnero, no abūnoi aso. No agtokosto ja mabūnoi aso, masapola baychan. Sēdan ni too i aso'n mabūno.

#### CONTRACTS

*Purchase and sale.*—63. No maydakoi payū, kītaka mangada ni tapuy. Mangodop ni too'n makiinom. Amaykwan ni too i kabalin

55. If one has received much of the father's property while he was living, and the others received little, when the father dies the others will receive the larger part.

56. Slaves<sup>210</sup> could not get any property. Sometimes household servants receive a part of the property when their master dies, if he is rich.

*Wills.*<sup>211</sup>—57. If a man while alive says that he will give all of his property to one of his children when he dies, he, (the legatee), can not take it if there are brothers and sisters. It would be decided by the old men that the other (children) should get a part. A man can not say who will get his property when he dies, but we follow the custom law.

58. If the wife dies, they divide her property in the same manner as the property of the husband.

#### DAMAGE TO PROPERTY

59. If a person (has) a good fence (around) his field and an animal belonging to another person breaks in and destroys rice, *camotes*, or *gabi*, the owner of the animal must pay the damage. If his fence is not good he is not paid. The old men say how much shall be paid.

60. If a person burns the house of another and it is thought to be his fault, it is necessary for him to pay. If he burns it by accident and they think it is not his fault, it is not necessary for him to pay. (If) the child of one man burns the house of another, it is not necessary to pay.

61. If the horse of one person gets loose and kills another person's horse, it is not necessary to pay.

62. If one person's dog kills another person's sheep, the owner of the dog does not have to pay for the sheep, if the dog is killed.<sup>212</sup> If he is not willing to have the dog killed, it is necessary to pay. The dog which is killed is used for food by the people.

#### CONTRACTS

*Purchase and sale.*—63. When a rice field<sup>213</sup> is sold we get *tapuy*. The people gather together to drink. The people are told about the

<sup>210</sup> It is not probable that any slaves are held by the Nabaloi at present.

<sup>211</sup> Probably the first written will ever made by a Nabaloi was drawn up by the author in February, 1917, for Akop, a rich Igorot living near Baguio. He has been married twice and had seventeen children. His purpose in making the will was to protect the children by his second wife.

<sup>212</sup> About ten years ago the author owned a flock of sheep in Kabayan. One of them was killed by a dog belonging to one of the wealthy Igorot. The Igorot took possession of the dead sheep and brought the dog, which he proposed to kill and give in exchange, stating that this was the *kadawian*.

<sup>213</sup> Rice fields are seldom if ever sold except when the owner dies, and does not leave enough personal property for *siling*.

ni tolag, say kamon guaray bakal numakay, sūta too'n kayittayo'n anginom ni tapuy taksiancha, num tongtongan ni dalakay. No bayag num guaray maydako'n kabadjo, noang, baka, ono kampolni mika dagay ingis ngiay, num niman mika pasing num mandako dami'n payū bangut.

64. No idakomi i kabadjo, noang, baka ono kuchil, no onong sūta animal notda dagad ngorūchian, sūta angilako mangikan ni guanut nūnta anomkal. No paniakantoi guanut nūnta anomkal, kwanto, "Alan iay guanut ja awatanmoso nūnta binomkalmo'n baka, jut niman sikam i makaamta."

65. No idakoi ni too aligua'n kojunto, masapol ja iolitoi bayadto nūnta anomkal. No idakoi too i animal ji amtato'n amansakit ji agtoikwan ni manomkal, sūta anomkal mabodin ja iolito, jut odiantoi bayad.

*Gifts.*—66. No guara iakan ni too kampolni sabadi, toka iakan ni kanshat, ji mabayag ji pianto'n adian, mabodin ja pasingto, ankun nakchung ja inda nūnta sabadi'n too.

*Leases.*—67. Kadauian ni olaolay num payisoi payū para kagachūa ni pagui. No sigud i payū, sūta mangiso, sikatoi makaampta ni pinadag. No ngaau, sūta makako jun ni payū i makaamta pinadag. Sūta mangiso, sikatoi makaamta ni noang tan diminta. No sūta makakojun ni payū i makaamta ni noang, sūta mangiso baychantoi abangto. Sūta mangiso masapola idaucha i kagachūa ni pagui chima bali ni makakojun. Agkami mangiso ni payū ja para pilak. Agkami mangiso ni payū num bidang ni taynayan. Kamika mangiso olaolay ja kagachūa ni pagui.

68. Agkami mangiso ni doktoan. Sinachūum mika patanum ni abitug i dokto chi chagami, num acha era manbayad.

*Debts and interest.*—69. Nūntan da no angotong i too ni sampolo'n pesos, masapola manbayad ni tado'n pesos ni tinauan ja patang. No agnanbayad ni tado'n pesos ni pilmero'n tauan, no maysanara tauan, otangto moan it ado'n pesos ja patang ni sūta sampolo pesos, jut pesos moan ja patang nūnta tado'n pesos agtobinaychan. No masachat sūta sampolo'n pesos ni chūa'n polo'n pesos, ankun agbaychan agcha dinataan moan. Niman no paotangmi sampolo'n pesos, pesos tan salapi niabos i patang ni maka tauan ta, guara dintug ni Amerikano niman.

70. No bayag kamon otangan ni too i sakay, i tongtongancha i inpanama say achūuma kokoato mabodin ja panbayjadto, num niman guaradintug ni Amerikano. Agmi alan ni kokoa ni achūum niman ankun guara otongcha. Nūntanda no mangotan i too ji tongtongancha ji manbijad, no agkosto ja manbayad, tongtongancha achūum ja

agreement so that if there is a quarrel afterwards, the people who were our companions drinking the *tapuy* will be witnesses if the old men decide. Long ago if carabaos, cattle, horses, or anything was sold, we did like this, but now we do so only when we sell rice fields.

64. When we sell horses, carabaos, cattle, or pigs, if the animals are to remain at the same place, the seller gives a rope to the buyer. While he is giving the rope to the buyer, he says, "I give you this rope to show that you have bought the cattle and (that) now you control them."<sup>214</sup>

65. If a person sells other than his own property, it is necessary for him to return the price to the buyer. If a person sells an animal which he knows is sick, and does not tell the buyer, the buyer may return it and get back the price.

*Gifts.*—66. If a man gives anything to another as a gift, and long afterwards he wants to take it back, he can do so, even if the other man has taken it.

*Leases.*—67. (It has been) the custom always to rent rice fields for half of the *palay*. If the rice field is good, the renter will furnish the seed. If it is poor, the owner of the rice field furnishes the seed. The renter furnishes the carabao and tools. If the owner of the field furnishes the carabao, the renter must pay for its hire. The renter must take half of the *palay* to the house of the owner. We never rent rice fields for money. We do not rent rice fields for a certain number of bundles (of *palay*). We rent always for half the *palay*.

68. We do not rent *camote* fields. Sometimes we let the poor people plant *camotes* on our land, but they do not pay.

*Debts and interest.*—69. Formerly, if a man owed ten pesos, it was necessary for him pay three pesos a year for interest. If he did not pay the three pesos the first year, the next year he owed again the three pesos, interest for the ten pesos, and a peso again interest for the three pesos he did not pay. When the ten pesos increased to twenty pesos, although it was not paid, it did not increase again. Now if we lend ten pesos, one peso and a half only is the interest for one year, because there is the law of the Americans now.

70. Long ago if a man owed another, the *impanama* would decide that some of his property could be taken for payment, but now there is the law of the Americans. Now we do not take the property of others, even if they owe us. Formerly when a person owed a debt and the *tongtong* decided that he should pay, if he did not want to pay, they

<sup>214</sup> It seems to be a principle of Nabaloi custom law that title is not vested in the buyer until payment in full has been made. At any time before payment has been completed, the vendor, after returning what he has received, has the right to demand the return of the thing sold.

mamotos ni mangida ni kokoata ja iakan ni too ja angotanganto. No anchi kokoato ni too ja mabodina maada, panobda ja too ja angotanganto inkud nakchung i otangto. No abadug i otang, kolang i obdato ja panbajadto ja amin, num i baychan i patangto pilmero.

71. No too guara otangto ji matī, masapol ja baychan ni anakto. No anchi pilakcha, ono ngaranto ja panbayad, manobdacha ja panbayjadcha. Nūntan da eraka manobda ni chakada tauan, num niman eraka ondau chi Baguio. Nūntan da say inpanama, chaka padita i manobda tan manbayjad ni otongcha, num niman guara dintug ni Amerikano.

72. No manobday too ni achūūn ja mabayjag ni otangto, sūta angatonganto masapol aknanto i kanunto, kobal, katab, tan tobako.

#### HOMICIDE

73. Nūntanda no būnoan i sakay ja too i sabadi'n too, ji anchi basūl nūnta too abūno, sūta bimūno chaka bachasa, jut chaka ibayjat. Sinachūūm chaka pansowi, ono iikutcha'd takday. No sinachūūm chaka ibayjat chi panga ni kayū, tan no sinachūūm chaka ibayjat chi bali ja disang. Asancha apasa num chachani matī. Jut sēkatancha, jut ibayjatcha'd panga ni kayū ni kobal ono guanut. No atī apascha jut inosalcha jut sinidingancha.

74. No būnoan ni too i sabadi ji bimūsol sūta abūno, tano sikatoi apangdū ja anat onbūno sūta too'n amūno ni sabadi, i makaampta ni amin ja siling, num sikato agmachosa.

75. No manbakal i chadwa'n too ji būsolcha'n chūa ji būnoan sakay i sakay, sūta maka būno, chaka ibayjat inkato'd matī.

76. No manbakal i chadwa'n too'n abotung, ji būnoan sakay i sakay, chaka ibayjat inkato'd matī.

77. No ondau i too'd bali ni sabadi'n too ji bakalanto sūta maka bali, ji būnoan nūnta maka bali, ageha chimosa, num sikatoi makaampta ni siling.

78. No būnoan ni too i amato, inato, ono anakto, amachsa ngorūchian ja ingistoi pamūnoto ni sabadi.



ordered others to take (some of) his property and give it to the person he owed. If the person had no property which could be taken, they caused him to work for the man he owed until (payment of) his debt was completed. If his debt was large and his work was not enough to pay it all, he paid the interest first.

71. If a man who had a debt died it was necessary for his children to pay (it).<sup>215</sup> If they had no money or anything (else) to pay, they worked for (its) payment. Formerly they worked many years, but now they go to Baguio. Formerly the *impanama* forced (debtors) to work and pay their debts, but now there is the law of the Americans.<sup>216</sup>

72. If a man works for another a long time for his debts, the creditor must furnish him his food, breech-clouts, blankets, and tobacco.

#### HOMICIDE

73. Formerly if a man killed another man, and the man killed was not at fault, the man doing the killing was whipped and then hanged. Sometimes they hanged him feet up, or they tied the rope to his arms. Sometimes they hanged him to the limb of a tree and sometimes they hanged him in a house which was not occupied. They took him down when he was almost dead. Then they tied his neck and hanged him on the limb of a tree with a breech-clout or rope. When (he was) dead they took him down and put him in the *asal*<sup>217</sup> and celebrated the *siling*.

74. If a man killed another man, and the man killed was at fault because he was the first to try to kill the man who did the killing, (the slayer) furnished everything for the *siling*, but was not punished.

75. If two men fought and they were both at fault, and one killed the other, they hanged the one doing the killing until he was dead.

76. If two drunken men fought, and one killed the other, they hanged the slayer until he was dead.

77. If a man went to the house of another man and fought and killed the owner of the house, they did not punish him; but he furnished the *siling*.

78. If a man killed his father, mother, or child, he was punished just the same as if he had killed another (person).

<sup>215</sup> According to the Nabaloi custom law, there is no statute of limitation which runs against a debt once contracted. Some Nabaloi claim payment of debts which are supposed to have been contracted in favor of their great-great-grandfathers.

<sup>216</sup> There is no doubt that the Nabaloi were more successful in enforcing payment of alleged debts before American laws became operative than they have been since.

A record of debts due was formerly kept by a system of notches made with a *bolo* over the door.

<sup>217</sup> Death chair. See the account of the *siling* in part IV.

79. No onan ni too i asauwato ja amakeachol chi sabadi'n daki, ji būnoanto sūta sabadi'n daki nūntana tiēmpo, agmachosa. No būnoanto asauwato, agmachosa. Agmasapol ja mangakan ni gastos ja para siling nūnta'n sabadi'n too ono asauwato.

80. No agtobuno sūta asauwato tan sabadi'n daki nūntana tiēmpo, ji mabajag sikatoi būnoa, chaka ibayjat inkato'd matī. No onan i too i asauwato ja amakeachol chi sabadi'n daki, ji būnoanto era nūntana tiēmpo, agmachosa, tap amanbungut ni basūl nan asauwato. Satan i toka panangauwi. No mabayag asanto būnoa, toka dibki ni bungutto.

81. No onan ni bī i asauwato ja amakeachol chi sabadi'n bī, ji būnoantoi asauwato tan sūta sabadi'n bī nūntana tiēmpo, agmachosa. Agmiamppta i bī ja onbūno i asauwato tap inkeachol ni sabadi'n bī.

82. No būnoan ni too'd Kabayan i too'd sabadi'n ilī ja sūta akkayjum chi Kabayan, sūta tongtong chi Kabayan, dīmau nodtan era. Sūta tongtong chi Kabayan tan tongtong chi sabadi'n ilī nantongtong era. No i Kabayan i naka basūl, chaka ibayjat chi sabadi'n ilī. Sūta too'n naybayjat ono ikabayan anchi chaka iakan ja ankun kampolni chi būnat ni atī. Anchi chaka iakan ni too nodta sabadi'n ilī. Ankun Baknang sūta bimūno ni sabadi, chaka ibayjat ngorūchian. Agmabodin ja baychantoi biag nūnta atī chi bunatto ono too, num baychanto sūta siling.

83. No būnoan ni too i sabadi, ji agkosto nūnta būnat ni atī ja machosa, agmachosa, num sikatoi makaamppta nūnta siling ni atī.

84. No būnoan iKabayan i too'd sabadi'n ilī ja aliguan kayjum ni iKabayan, sūta too nakabūno, agchosaan ni iKayaban ankun basūlto. No guaray ondau ali'n too nodta sabadi'n ilī ja maypangkup sikatoi, kabakala era ni iKabayan.

85. No būnoan ni too'd sabadi'n ilī ja aligua'n kayjum ni iKabayan, i too'd Kabayan, ji achidan ni iKabayan; sūta atakto ono kayangto

79. If a man saw his wife lying with another man and killed the other man at the time, he was not punished. If he killed his wife, he was not punished.<sup>218</sup> It was not necessary for him to furnish the expenses of the *siling* for the other man or his wife.

80. If he did not kill his wife and the other man at the time, but killed them long afterwards, the people hanged him until he was dead. If a person saw his wife lying with another man and killed them at the time, he was not punished, because he would be very angry at the fault of his wife. That would make him insane. If long afterwards he should do the killing, he should have forgotten his anger.

81. If a woman saw her husband lying with another woman and killed her husband and the other woman at the time, she was not punished. We do not know of a woman who killed her husband because he slept with another woman.

82. If a person of Kabayan killed a person of another town which was friendly to Kabayan, the *tongtong* of Kabayan went there. The *tongtong* of Kabayan and the *tongtong* of the other town decided. If the inhabitant of Kabayan was at fault, they hanged him in the other town. (Neither) the man who was hanged nor the inhabitants of Kabayan gave anything to the relatives of the dead man. They did not give (anything) to the people of the other town. Even if the person killing the other (was) a rich man, they hanged him just the same. He could not pay for the life of the dead (person) to his relatives or (to) the people, but he paid for his *siling*.

83. If a man killed another man and the relatives of the dead (man) did not wish that he be punished, he was not punished, but he bore the expense of the *siling* of the dead person.<sup>219</sup>

84. If an inhabitant of Kabayan killed a person of another town which was not friendly to Kabayan, the person who did the killing was not punished by the inhabitants of Kabayan, if he were at fault. If the people of the other town came here to capture him, they would fight with the inhabitants of Kabayan.

85. If a Kabayan person was killed by a man of another town which was not friendly to Kabayan, and he (the murderer) was captured by

<sup>218</sup> Adultery among Nabaloi women is not common. The old men say that it was even more rare in former times, since the men always killed their wives if they were unfaithful, but that now they only divorce them.

<sup>219</sup> With the exception of acts which might endanger the safety of the community as a whole—such as violations of taboos, etc.—it seems that crimes have always been regarded by the Nabaloi as private rather than public offenses. If the injured party does not want the criminal punished, he is not punished. The only action taken by the community is to assist the injured party to inflict punishment according to the custom law. It is very difficult even now for the Nabaloi to understand why the Provincial Fiscal sometimes insists on preferring charges after the matter has been settled to the satisfaction of the injured party.

i pamūnora'n sikato. Jut no chakal i chanom, chaka itabok i bakdangto'd chanom. No mamtēkda'd ilito, ji agiekan ni kaydianto ni iKabayan, kabakala ni iKabayan i too nodta sabadi'n ilī.

86. Sūta too'd Kabayan, chaka ibayjat i bīi ja ingistoī daki num maningis i basūlcha. Cha moan kayibajat i aanak num onbūno ni sabadi'n aanak. Num būnoan aanak i naama, cha bangut kabachasa.

#### RAPE

87. No piditan ni daki ja achaman i bīi ja guara asauwato, kapidita ni tongtong ja mangikan ni achūma kokoato ja para kanjau, num agbūno ni asauwato. No anchi kokoato mangotang ni baknang, jut i obdato son sikato inkatod nakchung i bayadto. No pinidit sūta bīi, agmobadi'n ja isijan ni daki'n asauwato. No inachaman ni daki i bīi, sūta daki masapol i mangikan ni gastos ja pansijanancha.

88. No piditan i balodaki ja achaman i marikit ji balasang era'n chūa, kaydintug ni tongtong ji manasauwa era. No piditan ni daki ja guara asauwato ja achaman i bīi ja balasang, kapiditan ni tongtong ja aknanto sūta bīi ni baka, noang, ono kuchil ja para kanjau.

#### ABORTION AND SUICIDE

89. Anchi intanungmi ja bīi ja amūno ni anakto ja anung i ibūdayto, ono bimūday. Numnummi imaysagamg, num agmaychosa.

90. No anat būnoan ni too i angulto, agmachosa, num chaka isagang tan bidina. Sūta kalaching ni too ja binūto angulto, agondau chi kadan ni kalaching ni achūm.

the inhabitants of Kabayan, they used his own *bolo* or spear for killing him. Then if there was much water, they would throw his body into the river. If he ran away to his own town and was not given up by his neighbors to the inhabitants of Kabayan, the people of Kabayan would fight the people of the other town.

86. The people of Kabayan would hang a woman as well as a man, if their faults were the same. They also would hang children if they killed other children.<sup>220</sup> If children killed grown people, they were only whipped.

#### RAPE

87. If a man forced a woman who had a husband to have commerce, he was compelled by the *tongtong* to give some of his property for a *cañao* if he was not killed by the husband (of the woman). If he had no property, he borrowed from a rich man and worked for him until payment (for it) was completed. If the woman was forced, the man (who forced her) had to pay the expense for the divorce.

88. If a young man forced a young woman to have commerce, and they were both single, it was ordered by the *tongtong* that they marry. If a man had forced a woman who was unmarried, he was always ordered by the *tongtong* to give her a cow, carabao, or hog for a *cañao*.

#### ABORTION<sup>221</sup> AND SUICIDE

89. We never heard of a woman who killed her child before it was born, or (when it) was born. We think she should be scolded, but not punished.

90. If a man tried to commit suicide,<sup>222</sup> he was not punished, but they scolded him and advised him. The soul of the person who kills himself will not go to the same place as the souls of other (people).

<sup>220</sup> This does not seem to be according to the general Nabaloi idea of justice. Some of the old men said that they did not believe any children had ever been hanged in Kabayan, but two of them stated that their grandfathers had told them of an instance where a boy about twelve years of age had been hanged for killing another boy a little younger.

<sup>221</sup> The Nabaloi say that they never practice abortion. This is probably true since they all want children and often mutually consent to a divorce if no children are born.

<sup>222</sup> Literally, "to kill one's own body." The common method of committing suicide is to tie a breech-clout around the neck, bend down a small pine tree, and tie the other end of the breech-clout to its top. Strangulation results when the tree springs back in place.

## ASSAULT

91. No manbakal i chūa'n too, kapidita era ni tongtong ja mangiakan ni baka ono noang ja para kanjau. No agangasauwa i anakcha, eraka mankaysing. No abitug era baknag i makaamta i noang ono baka, jut idagbūan nūnta too inkatod mabaychan. Sūta gastos ni kanjau, chaka paningus ankun agbimasul sūta sakay.

92. No kinakbig ni sakay i sakay ja too ji agtobinalsan, sūta sakay ja tinmapang ni sakay mandasain ni gastos, num sūta sakay masapol ja baychantoi achūum. No nankayjum era sūta chadwa'n too chogos, agpiditan era ni tongtong ja mankanjau.

## WITCHCRAFT

93. No bayag guaray chosa nanmantala. Chaka sēkuti būklou ni guanut, jut kakojora ni sansiskay ja too i ngoro ni guanut inkatod matay sūta nanmantala. Sūta gobernador i Kastil i inpayisalchung ni būno nan mantala. Agmichosaan i nanmantala niman tap guaray dintug ni Amerikano.

## SLANDER

94. No guaray too'n inalnalanto i sabadi'n too, chaka chosoa ni baras. No agkosto'n ni achūma too i kachasato, agmachosa.

## THEFT

95. No kibotan ni too i animal ni sabadi, masapol ja baychanto ni mamintado'n chūbdi num sūta bayadto nodta makakojun. No iolito i kinibōtto, masapol ja baychanto ngorūchian ni maminchūa'n chūbdi num sūta bayadto.

ASSAULT<sup>223</sup>

91. If two men fought they were forced by the *tongtong* to give a cow or a carabao for a *cañao*. If their children were not married they celebrated the *kaysing*. If they were poor, a rich man furnished a carabao or cow, and they would pay the man until payment was completed. The expenses of the *cañao* were divided equally, although one of them was not at fault.

92. If one (person) hit with the fist another man, and he did not hit in return, the one who hit the other paid the majority of the expenses, but the other had to pay some. If the two men at once became friends, they were not forced by the *tongtong* to give a *cañao*.

## WITCHCRAFT

93. Long ago witches were punished. They tied the neck with a rope, and a man (at) each end pulled the rope until the witch was dead. The Spanish Governor caused the killing of witches to be stopped. We do not punish witches now because there is the law of the Americans.

## SLANDER

94. If one person lied about another person, they punished (him) by whipping. If it was not desired by the other person that he be punished, he was not punished.

THEFT<sup>224</sup>

95. If a person stole an animal belonging to another person, it was necessary to pay three times as much as its value to the owner.<sup>225</sup> If the thief returned it, then it was necessary to pay twice its value.

<sup>223</sup> The Nabaloi rarely engage in personal encounters except when they are intoxicated.

<sup>224</sup> The Nabaloi rarely if ever steal from a person living in their own town.

<sup>225</sup> The old men say that it is necessary to inflict severer punishment for stealing animals, on account of the greater difficulty of detecting the thief. An animal may be stolen in the early part of the night, taken to another village, and be entirely consumed before the next morning.

In 1907 a cow belonging to Kamora, a wealthy Igorot of Kabayan, was stolen by some Igorot living in Tinak, a mixed Kankanay and Ifugao settlement near the Benguet-Ifugao boundary. The cow was killed near Kabayan and a part of it carried away. The next day Kabayan men who were hiding captured two of the thieves who returned for the remainder of the meat. Fifteen Kabayan men then went to Tinak taking with them the two Ifugao who had been captured. Payment of three times the value of the cow was then demanded, but the Tinak Igorot at first refused to pay anything. They prepared to fight, but desisted when they saw that some of the Kabayan men had revolvers. They then agreed to pay the value of the cow, and consented for the men who had been captured to be sent to Baguio where they would be tried in the Court of First Instance. The author witnessed the events narrated above.

96. No angibot i too ni pagui chi payū ni sabadi, masapol ja baychanto ni maminchūa'n chūbdi num sūta bayadto.

97. No angibot i too ni kojun ni sabadi ji anchi pilakto ja i bayadto, masapol ja i obdato nodta makakojun ankod nakchung i bayadto.

98. No pinchūanto'n angibot, amabachas, tan toka baychi ni mamintado num sūta bayadto.

99. No angibot ni kojun amato, amachosa ni baras bangut. No abadug sūta anak i daki mabodin ja mangada sūta amato ni sabadi'n too ja onbaras sikato.

100. No agkosto nūnta makakojun ni akibot ja machosa, agmachosa.

#### GAMBLING

101. Sūta nasogal agera machosa, num kayisagang era ni būnatcha, num naabak era. No naabak i too ni sūgal ji agtopian ja baychan, kapiditan ni tongtong ja manbayad. No anchi pilakto, i obdato nodta angabak.

#### FORCIBLE ENTRY OF DWELLINGS

102. Sūta too no ipilita'n onsakub chi bali ni sabadi'n too ji agpian ni makabali, piditan ni tongtong ja mangiakan ni kuchil nodta makabali. Sūta makabali masapol ja būnoanto sūta kuchil para too.

103. No guaray alan nūnta too'n ngangano nodta bali, masapola baychanto ni mamintado'n chūbdi num say bayadto.

104. No agpian nūnta makabali i panbayadto, agmasapol ja baychanto.

#### PROCEDURE

*Evidence.*—105. No dintugan ni tongtong i bakal, sūta too'n amanbakal chaka issodsod i kababalin ni bakal. Sūta achūma too ja makaamtacha, moan kaisodsod i kababalanto. Pilmero sūta taksi kwanto, "Ankun matijak totogua ikwanko." Eraka masasakay ja masomadcha.



96. If a person stole *palay* from the field of another, it was necessary to pay twice as much as its value.

97. If a person stole the property of another and had no money with which to pay, it was necessary (for him) to work for the owner until the payment was completed.

98. If he stole the second time, he was whipped and he paid three times its value.

99. If (a person) stole the property of his father, he was punished by whipping only. If the son was large, the father could get another man to whip him.

100. If the owner did not wish the thief to be punished, he was not punished.

#### GAMBLING<sup>226</sup>

101. They did not punish the gambler, but his relatives would scold him if he lost. If a person lost at gambling and did not wish to pay, he would be forced by the *tongtong* to pay. If he had no money he worked for the winner.

#### FORCIBLE ENTRY OF DWELLINGS

102. If a man forcibly entered the house of another man when the owner of the house did not wish, he was compelled by the *tongtong* to give a hog to the owner of the house. The owner of the house had to kill the hog for the people.

103. If the man took anything in the house—he had to pay three times as much as its value.

104. If the owner of the house did not wish that he be made to pay, it was not necessary that he pay.

#### PROCEDURE<sup>227</sup>

*Evidence.*—105. When the *tongtong* decided a quarrel, the persons quarrelling told about the quarrel. The other persons who knew would then tell about the quarrel. The witnesses first said, "Although I may die, what I shall say is true." They testified one by one.

<sup>226</sup> The Nabaloi love a game of chance, and some of them who were formerly rich now have practically nothing on account of losses at gambling.

<sup>227</sup> Another method for determining guilt is to kill a chicken and examine its gall.

106. No guaray taksi ni chūa'n amanbakal, mangabak sūta wawachay taksito. Nāningus i taksi ji maypoon ni kokoa i chaka panbakali, chaka paningus num sinachūūm. No sinachūūm ji guaray taksi ni piig ji anchi'd piig sūta, anchi taksito, toka kakchūway kilat.

*Kilat.*—107. Sūta danchok ja amodsokan chaka potipoti ni dimobid ono abue sūta nayasop chi modsokto. Sūta too'n amanbakal eraka manaskang ja ontūngau. Sūta adakay i mangitolnak ni danchok chi toktok ni amanpidat, jut toka talpaa i danchok ni takdayto. Sikatoī toka pasing chi sakay ja too. Sūta too ja marada i toktok amaabak. No makikilat i too inkwanto, "Sikama akou pabūdaymoi chala'd toktok ni bimasūl." No kakchūwan ni sakay ja too i kilat, kayitolok ni tongtong ni olaolay.

Akikilatak ni pinsak. Guaray inakan nan amak ja pilak sonan ama nan Jakjak chi Atok ja anat i tomkaltoi kuchil. Ama nan Jakjak agto inakan i kuchil son amak. Atay era'n chūa. Dīmauak chi Atok, nak siningul i pilak, num agpian Jakjak ja manbayad. Anchi taksimi, jut diningtug ni tongtong chi Atok ji mankidatkami. Acha-chakal i chala nan Jakjak, jut masapol ja baychantoi otongto.

*Wrestling.*—108. Sinachūūm no ikwan ni sakay ja too ji guara otongto ni achūūm, jut ikwantoī anchi otangto; nantokog era num ikachung ni abang. No koman ni too ji impaotangto ni too'n achūūm managamis, masapola baychan i otang. Inkwan ni sakay, "Sikama akou mangabakak ni abang ta iay impaotangko." Inkwan ni sabadi, "Sikama akou mangabakak ni abang, tap anchi otangko."

*Bagto.*—109. No sinachūūm kakakchūwa ni too i bagto. Eraka managada ni chūa'n dokto ja naningus i balatto. Chaka todadjoa. Sūta too'n amanbakal. Sūta too'n amanbakal manbinodat era'n ontūngau ni anuma chīpa'n bitan. Sūta adakay i amangkalan sikara ni sakay ja dokto. Eraka manibayosa chūa, jut inkwan, "Sikama akou, no sikak i bimasūl, maknaak ni dokto." Sūta amanboka i amapangdū ja mangidpig ni dokto. Jut sūta sakay ichapigto ngoi doktoto. Sūta onkana ni sakay i amangabak. No anchi mangobak, chaka ipinchūa moan. No mankenana era'n chūa chaka ipinchūa moan. Amadintug i bakal num maknay sakay ji agmaknay sakay.

*Bakal ni bakas.*—110. No guaray nanbakal ni kinibotcha ja achūūm, numnuma ni too sikara angalkal ni bakas. Maningus i bakas ja

106. If there were witnesses for the two quarrelling, the one having the most witnesses would win. If (the number) of witnesses were equal and they were quarrelling about property, sometimes they divided it equally. Sometimes when there were witnesses for one side and none for the other, the one without witnesses would ask for *kilat*.

*Kilat*.—107. They wrapped near the point an iron, which was sharp-pointed, with a string or (a piece of) *bejuco*. The men who were quarrelling sat near together. An old man put the iron on the head of (one of) the persons quarrelling, and hit the iron with his hand. Then he did the same to the other man. The man whose head bled more lost. When the *kilat* was used, the persons (being tried) said, "You the sun, cause the blood to come out from the head of the one who is at fault." If one asked for the *kilat*, it was always agreed to by the *tongtong*.

I was tried by *kilat* once. My father gave to the father of Jakjak of Atok money (with) which to try to buy hogs. The father of Jakjak did not give the hogs to my father. They both died. I went to Atok. I went for the money, but Jakjak did not wish to pay. We had no witnesses, and the *tongtong* of Atok decided that we should be tried by *kilat*. The blood of Jakjak was more, and it was necessary for him to pay the debt.

*Wrestling*.—108. Sometimes when one person said there was a debt due by another and the other said there was no debt, they agreed to decide by wrestling. If the person who claimed the debt from the other won at wrestling, it was necessary to pay the debt. One said, "You the sun, may I win at wrestling because the debt is due me." The other said, "You the sun, may I win at wrestling because I do not owe the debt."

*Bagto*.—109. Sometimes a person asked for the *bagto*. They took two *camotes* which were the same in weight. These were weighed on a balance. The persons quarrelling sat back to back six *chipas*<sup>228</sup> apart. An old man gave them one *camote* (each). They both prayed and said, "You the sun, if it was my fault, may I be hit with the *camote*." The complainant was the first to throw the *camote*. Then the other also threw his *camote*. The one hit by the other lost. If neither was hit, they threw again. The quarrel was decided when one hit (the other) and the other did not hit (him).

*Bakal ni bakas*.—110. When there was a quarrel about stealing something, the suspected persons chewed rice. The same amount of

<sup>228</sup> Distance from finger tip to finger tip when arms are outstretched.

mayakan nūnta too ja numnumacha. Inkwancha'n amin "Sikama akou, kalkalankoi bakas ja sigud ta aligua'n basūlko." Nangingkas i impangalkalcha. Jut inkojun i bakas chi chūlong; binitbit ni anongtong. Sūta sakay ja aganalkal sigud, sikatoi naabak son sikara. No anchi sangi ni sakay son sikara, agera mangalkal ni bakas, num sabūk ni ampatanga chanom.

*Sabuk.*—111. Imarakchakchay chanom. Amin son sikara inkwancha, "Sikama akou, agmaatangan i takdayko tap aligua'n basūlko." Inkojuncha i takdaycha chima chanom maningtug chima agpal. Sūta naatungana pasia sikato naabak.

*Buyon.*—112. No sinachūūm niman num guaray akibot, paodopmi i mambūnong, toka sapola angibot ni būyon. Iktantoi danchok ni dinobid, jut agchiantoi ngoro ni dinobid. Mansibok jut inkwantoi, "Panbidangtoi danchok num sepay angibot." Inkwantoi ngaran ni numnuma too angibot. No onbilang i danchok num ingadantoi ngaran i too, sikatoi angibot. No itoro'n i danchok ja angibot, totogua. Toka ipūgno, ta amtato'n Kabūnian i impawidang ni danchok ja sikatoi angibot.

## ACTUAL CASES

### I

Nūnta kabadolakik, tiempo ni Espanjol binongbong ni būsol i noang nan Babay ja bī. Sūta'n anongbong ni noang numnummi nanbali chi Palatang. Dinukkukcha jut indara da.

Tinongbak ni achūūm ja iKabayan jut inchulchay apat chi chalan. Namtēk i achūūm. Binūnod era ni iKabayan jut inakadcha'd balicha. Idi inmūtokcha era chi balicha, inbalodcha sēdira kolba, jut intalocha era.

Nūnta naykadon'n akou mimūtok i asolok num san deson too'n iPalatang ja mangibūdos ni kayitcha. Inchil ni too iKabayan apata polo tan pito, sum namtēk i asoloka dīma'n polo. Binando bado'd era ni iKabayan i takday tan sēdi nūnta būsol ja inchilcha, jut intakudcha era takod ni balicha.

Apalado' chakal era i būsol ja kaontakot i tongtong ja manosa son sikara. Amaga ni iKabayan i binkara son gobernador chi Trinidad, jut amaga's gobernador ni soljaro para alan ni būsol.

rice was given to each person who was suspected. All of them said, "You the sun, may I chew the rice well because I am not at fault."

They chewed the same length of time. Then they put the rice on a plant: it was examined by the *tongtong*. The one of them who had not chewed well lost. If one of them had no teeth, they did not chew rice, but were tried by *sabuk* or hot water.

*Sabuk*.—111. They boiled water. All of them said, "You the sun, may my arm not be scalded because I am not at fault." They put their hands to the wrist into the water. The one who was scalded very much lost.

*Buyon*<sup>229</sup>.—112. Sometimes now when there is stealing, we bring the *mambunong* (and) he finds the thief by *buyon*. He ties an iron with a string, and holds the end of the string. He prays and says, "Cause the iron to show who did the stealing." He calls the names of the persons suspected of stealing. If the iron moves when he calls the name of a person, he is the thief. If the iron shows who did the stealing, it is true. He confesses because he knows that Kabunian has caused the iron to show that he did the stealing.

#### ACTUAL CASES<sup>230</sup>

##### I

When I was a young man in Spanish times, the Busol stole a carabao belonging to Baybay, a woman. We think those who stole the carabao lived in Palatang. They cut it into pieces and took (it) away.

Some of the inhabitants of Kabayan hid and caught four (Busol) on the road. Some escaped. The inhabitants of Kabayan tied them, and took them to their houses. When they arrived with them at their houses, they fastened their feet (in) stocks and kept them.

Then on the fifth day more than a hundred people—inhabitants of Palatang—arrived to release their companions. The people—inhabitants of Kabayan—captured forty-seven; but more than fifty ran away. The people of Kabayan bound the hands and feet of the Busol whom they had captured, and tied them (to) the posts of their houses.

(There were) so many Busol that the *tongtong* were afraid to punish them. The inhabitants of Kabayan sent a messenger to the Governor at Trinidad, and the Governor sent soldiers to get the Busol.

<sup>229</sup> Also used to determine the ceremony demanded by an occasion.

<sup>230</sup> The material is practically inexhaustible. The data regarding the few cases recorded here were furnished by Maslagan.

Idi nachil era sūta iPalatang anchi baybayagto, i dīmau moan ali achūūm ja iPalitang chi bali nan Bungdi, jut binūra's Bungdi, Chūmay ja asauwato tan anakcha. Pinutolchay toktok nan Bungdi ja indara, num agcha inda toktok nan asauwato tan nganga. Tatdo sūta busol.

Inchil ni iKabayan era sūta būsol chi Gūsaran. Kinanta ni tongtong ji makadod i takdaycha tan sēdira, jut maytabnak era'd chanom. Chakala chanom. Nalnud era i būsol.

## II

Idi tado'n tauan adabas indakok i barok tan bakut sonan Kameo. Agtoak binaychan. Idi apalabas i sakay ja tauan nak tinungay num kwanto i binaychanto. Tinongtong ni dalakay ji mabagto.

Indak i sakay ja dokto jut indango nan Kameo i sakay ja dokto ja ingisto'n badug. Sūta dokto asokok chi taladjo. Timūngaubak jut timūngau's Kameo chi apata chīpa'n balau. Nanbinodo'd kami.

Jut nanibayjosak tan nanibayjos si Kameo. 'Nanpig si Kameo, jut kinatoak. Jut nanpigak jut shinpigko. Tinongtong ni dalaki ji baychantoak ni Kameo ni kagachūa.

## III

Nūnta kabadolakik quan si Banig ji akibot i pilakto. Sī Banig guaray pilakto'n pesos ja insēkotto'd kobalto. Makiogip si Banig chi achūūm chi bali.

Tinongtong ni dalakay ji amina too ja amaogip nodta bali manalkal ni bakas. Napang era ni sanpopolo'n ja kalkalancha. Amina too kinalkalcha'n pasia kojuncha num abos si Ngios ja agto kinalkal i kojunto.

Inamta ni tongtong ji si Ngios i angibot ni pesos, jut simpolcha'd kobalto.

## IV

Nūnta kabadolakik guaray tado'n bīi pinakpakancha i angibot ni abua, num agmatongalan num sepay sakay ja angibot.

Tinongtong ni tongtong ji manukchunck i chanom. Maytabok i abua'd chanom chi banga. Pinidid ni tongtong i sansiskay ja bīi ja manabat ni abua'd banga.

Kinabat ni chadwa'n bīi abua'd banga, jut agnaatangan i takdaycha. Si chūay kinabattoi abua'd ampatanga chanom jut naatūngan i takdayto. Inamtaan ni tongtong ji si Chūay i angibot ni abua.

Not long after (these) inhabitants of Palatang were captured, some who were inhabitants of Palatang came again to the house of Bungdi, and killed Bungdi, Chumay his wife, and their child. They cut off the head of Bungdi and took it, but they did not take the heads of his wife and child. (There were) three (of) the Busol.

The inhabitants of Kabayan captured them—the Busol—in Gusaran. The *tongtong* decided that their hands and feet should be tied, and (that) they (should be) thrown into the river. There was much water. The Busol were drowned.

## II

Three years ago I sold my coat and (some) cloth to Kameo. He did not pay me. Then after one year I asked him for his debt, but he said he had paid. The old men decided that there should be the *bagto*.

I took one *camote* and Kameo also took one *camote* which was the same in size. The *camotes* were weighed on the balance. I sat down, and Kameo sat down four *chipas* distant. We were back to back.

Then I prayed and Kameo prayed. Kameo threw and hit me. Then I threw and hit (him). The old men decided that Kameo should pay one half.

## III

When I was a young man, Banig said that his money had been stolen. Banig had money—a peso—which was tied in his breech-clout. Banig was sleeping with others in a house.

The old men decided that all the people who were sleeping in the house should chew rice. They were given ten (grains) each to chew. All the persons chewed their parts well except Ngios, who did not chew his part.

The *tongtong* knew that Ngios had stolen the peso, and they found it in his breech-clout.

## IV

When I was a young man there were three women who were accused of stealing *gabi*, but it was not known which one was the thief.

The *tongtong* decided that water should be boiled and a *gabi* root put into the water in the pot. The *tongtong* forced each woman to take out the *gabi* root from the pot.

Two women took out the *gabi* root from the pot and their arms were not burned. Chuay took out the *gabi* root from the pot and her arm was burned. The *tongtong* knew that Chuay had stolen the *gabi*.

## III. BELIEFS

## AS TOLD BY THE NABALOI THEMSELVES

*Nabaloi Text*

## THE SOUL AND SPIRITS

1. No mobiday i too, sūta adiāto kaonbatēk sinachūūm. No agonoli, matay.

2. No atayda num mansiling, sūta adiāto kwan ni kalaching. No ambulingut ji maapsod ni toon' atī, kwanmi angul ono banig.

3. Amina animal guaray adiācha num mobiday era. No matay era, sūta adiācha kaondau chi bali ni kalaching ni makakajun ono chi bali ni kalaching ni būnatcha. Agmaonan i bonig ni animal.

4. Katab, abul, pilak, tan makan guara adiācha; sūta kaala ni kalaching num guaray manchidos.

5. Sūta kaajongan nanbali chi inayakayang. Say sakay ja too guaray sakay ja kaajonganto. No onbūday i nganga, kaonbūday kaajonganto ngo, ja onwadwad sikato inkato'd biagto. No matay i too, matay ngo kaajonganto. Say kaajongan guaray anakcha'n ingistoi karakal ni anak ni too.

6. Say amdag, ampasit, timūngau, tan achūūm ja apasikīt sikatajo agera onsakub in angultay.

7. No guaray aping sūta sakay anak ni ampasit. Agmitongalong i anak ni ampasit. Say aping ingisto'n aping asauwanto. No asauwan ni aping sabadi'n too aligua'n aping, sūta ampasit onbungut, jut būno-anto.



III. BELIEFS<sup>231</sup>

## AS TOLD BY THE NABALOI THEMSELVES

*English Translation*

## THE SOUL AND SPIRITS

1. While a person is living, his soul (*adīa*) goes away sometimes. If it does not return, he will die.

2. When he dies and the *siling*<sup>232</sup> is celebrated, his soul is called *kalaching*. When it is dark so that the dead person is met, we call it *angul*<sup>233</sup> or *banig*.

3. All animals have souls while they are living. When they die their souls go to the home of the spirits (*kalaching*) of their owners, or to the homes of the spirits of their relatives. We do not see the ghosts of animals.

4. Blankets, cloth, money, and food have souls, which are taken by the spirits of the dead when there are ceremonies.

5. The guardian spirit (*kaajongan*) lives in the sky. Each person has one guardian spirit. When a child is born, his guardian spirit is born also which guards him through life. When a person dies, his guardian spirit dies also. The guardian spirits have the same number of children as the people.

6. The *amdag*,<sup>234</sup> *timbangau*, *ampasit*, and others which cause sickness, do not get into our bodies.

7. If there are twins, one is the child of the *ampasit*. We do not know the child of the *ampasit*. A twin should marry a twin. If another person not a twin marries a twin, the *ampasit* will become angry and kill him.

<sup>231</sup> The information for this section was obtained around the death chair of Kidau. The informers were Pokjus, a Nabaloi priest; Kamising, one of the oldest and richest men in Kabayan; and Maslagan, who is said to be the best versed in the old Nabaloi customs.

<sup>232</sup> A ceremony held after a person dies, but before he is buried. See the section on the *siling* in part IV.

<sup>233</sup> At least some of the Nabaloi do not regard *angul* and *banig* as the same. The soul of a person who has recently died may go into his body long enough to appear to the living. In some mysterious way the body itself leaves the grave. This apparition is designated by the term *angul*. *Banig* refers to the shade or soul of the dead person, which sometimes appears in immaterial form.

<sup>234</sup> The *amdag*, *ampasit*, and *timbangau* are malevolent spirits which harm the people. See the descriptions of the ceremonies so named, in part IV.

8. No onbūday i nganga, mīka ikojun i posugto'd tubang, jut pakitangmi jut mīka idūong chi apoian say gichaman ni amdag. No mateo i posugto, sūta maka posug malibay.

9. Inkato'd agkayboka ni bankay, agondau i adīto'd Pūlag, num amanian chi nayasop num maramay siling tan okat. Sūta adīa ni atay ja too toka alay adīa ni animal ja insilingto.

10. No sūta too ja masapol ja manikan ni siling num agto dagan, kakogipto ni adīa ja atay ja masapol ja mamūno i animal tan takcholato ni tapuy. No agtotompalan i siling onsakit ni magono, jut matī.

11. No anchi kokoa nūnta atī ono sūta būnatto ja insiling ni atī, masapol ja mangiakan i achūūm ni kuchil tan tapuy.

12. No kolang payisiding nūnta too ja makaampta i siling, pakogipan i adīa ni atī inkwan ni ngaran i masapol ja mabūno. Ankun inkwanto, "Pianko moro kabadjo."

13. No makehung i panbodka ondau i kalaching chi Pūlag; alanto i adīa ni animal ja abūno. Akidauto moan ni adīa ja kanun ni too tan adīa ni chindig ja indibotto.

14. Sūta kalaching ingistoi i kaychidmang ni bankayto nūnta kabidayto. No adakay, adakay ngo kaychidmang ni kalaching. No nanbarato, nanbuchungoi kalaching. No manobda ni kabidayto, manobda ngo kalachingto. No mayinomda ni chakala tapuy, mayinom ngo i kalaching ni chakal. No matayjak, sūta kalachingko, mayboka i chakal ja tapuy.

15. Ansamakcha i tapuy ja amayakhan sikara, num guara ngo tapuycha. Amtami tap no mankogipkami, amaoni era ja amanginom ni tapuycha. Guara ngo apag tan paguicha.

16. Guara chinamagmi ja too kono'd Kabayan no bayag asingau chalan, jut mimotoktoi bali ni kalaching chi chūntog. Inūnanto, kono ja guara'n amin chi bali ni kalaching i amina kanakana ja ingistoi guara sikatojo.

17. Num matī i too ja mapangdū num sūta asauwato, amput manasauwa moan era chi Pūlag. No aminchūa'n bimali, sūta asauwato ni pilmero sikato asauwanto. No matī i too, anchi asauwato inkatod agkatay ni asauwato.

18. Sūta kalaching agmabiag ni olay. Sūta kalaching ni baknang, agchochokay ni biagto num num sūta kalaching ni abitug. No onapopoda sūta kalaching mangaychan ni bubūdo. Amtammi, tap agmi moan era kokogipan.

8. When a child is born we put the cord in a bamboo and seal it; then we put it under the firebox so that the *amdag* will not see it. If the cord is lost its owner (the child) will be forgetful.

9. Until the body is buried, the soul does not go to Pulag,<sup>235</sup> but stays near to attend the *siling* and *okat*.<sup>236</sup> The soul of the dead person takes the souls of the animals which were used for *siling*.

10. If the person who should give the *siling* does not do so, he is made to dream by the soul of the dead that it is necessary to kill animals and get *tapuy*. If he does not obey (regarding) the *siling*, he will become sick soon and die.

11. If the dead person or his relatives have nothing for the *siling* of the dead, it is necessary for others to give hogs and *tapuy*.

12. If the man who is in charge of the *siling* does not give enough for the *siling*, the soul of the dead will tell what is necessary to kill. It might even say, "I want the white horse."

13. When the burial is finished, the soul of the dead goes to Pulag, taking all the souls of the animals which were killed. It takes also the soul of the rice which was eaten by the people, and the soul of the blanket which was wrapped around him.

14. The *kalaching* looks the same as the body when alive; if an old man, old also will look the *kalaching*. If he wore a coat, the *kalaching* will be dressed in a coat. If the living man worked, his *kalaching* will work also. If they drank much *tapuy*, the *kalaching* also will drink much. When I<sup>237</sup> die my *kalaching* will ask for much *tapuy*.

15. They love the *tapuy* which we give them, but they have also their own *tapuy*. We know because we dream (that) we see them drink their *tapuy*. They have also meat and rice.

16. We have heard that a man, of Kabayan it is said, long ago lost his way, and arrived at the home of the *kalaching* in the mountains. He saw, it is said, that they had everything at the home of the *kalaching* (which) we have.

17. If a person dies before his spouse, then they will be married again in Pulag. If he has been married twice, he will marry his first wife. He will not have a spouse until his spouse dies.

18. The *kalaching* do not live always. The *kalaching* of the rich live longer than the *kalaching* of the poor. When they are very old, the *kalaching* change to butterflies. We know it because we do not again dream of them.

<sup>235</sup> A mountain ten thousand feet above sea level, east of Kabayan on the Benguet-Ifugao border.

<sup>236</sup> A ceremony held after a dead body has been put into the coffin. See part IV, "Okat."

<sup>237</sup> Kamising speaking.

19. Sūta kalaching ni maptungo too tan ngauau i too saksakay i dūgad ja chakachabi. Sūta maptungda chiay, maptung moan dadman; sūta ngauau chiay, ngauau moan dadman. Nabosto bangun sūta mabūno angalcha ja napil i dūgod ja daguancha.

20. Kankanayon da chakatoka adibayja ni kalaching. Amtammi tap chakamika totabbali num maogip kami. No sinachūūm kwanchay naangang era, jut sikatoi kakasapoli ni kandau. Totogua eraka ondau chi kanjau.

21. Amaypalkingi i atay num maydau chi boka, tap say agmakadau i adia ni mabiday. Inkwan ni amatayo ji sayjay i pasing.

22. Ngauau i katī chi nayaragua'd bali, mani sūta kalaching agtoamptay chalnanto'd kadan ni silingto.

23. Sūta asauwa ni atī masapol ja manian chi inaydaum chi dokob say agmasiangan. No masapol ja onboday chi dokob intapontoi katab, insadingtoi tachong chi dūpato. No masiangan mabayjang joi agmakchung i silingto.

24. No mayboka sūta atī ji anung i silingto, ikojuncha chi asal batit ja singa sūta bakdangto. Sūta batit sikatoi masabosak.

25. No makchung i siling, ondau sūta balo chi inadaum. Manian ni maka bolan.

26. Sūta balo ni panianto'd dokob ono inaydaum, mabodin maki-tabtabal ni chūūm num ondau era chiman kadanto. Sūta adia ni atī agmanian chīma dokob ono inaydaum ja kadan asauwato.

27. Mika kasidati i ngarantayo num matay i asauwami. No agaksanaran i ngaranko num matay i asauwak, sūta kalaching ibag-ancha's Maslagan. No sadankoi ngaranko ni Bito, anchi's Maslagan. Jut sūta kalaching agtoampta's Bito.

28. No matay i inami, amami, agimi, ono anakmi, mī moan kasadati ngaranmi say agchakami sapolan ni kalachingcha.

29. Sūta nanpanposos kaontūngau chi būngot ni too, num guaray mangangan. Sūta nanpanposos onkeron chi bali ni kalibian num sakay ja too. No sakay ja too, panangaucha ni sinachūūm i nanpanposos ono panpososto. Kamika mantabon num maogip kami say agondanum i nanpanposos. Pasasancha kīta num anchi katab. Agmi kosto'n manakad ni kalibian num anchi silau. Kamika ontakot ni nanpanposos ono inamdagan.

19. The *kalaching* of the good people and the bad people go to the same place. The good here are the good again there, and the bad here are the bad again there. Only those who kill their own bodies go to another place.

20. Often we are visited by the *kalaching*. We know it because they talk to us when we sleep. Sometimes they tell us they are hungry. Then it is necessary to celebrate a ceremony.

21. We beat sticks when the dead are carried to the grave so that the souls of the living may not follow. We were told by our fathers that this should be done.

22. It is bad to die away from home because the *kalaching* does not know the road to the place of his *siling*.

23. The spouse of a dead person must stay inside of the *dokob*,<sup>238</sup> so that the sun may not shine on him. If it is necessary to go out of the *dokob*, he wraps a blanket around him and puts the rain protector over his face.

24. If the dead person is buried before his *siling* is finished, we put an image like his body in the death chair. (With) the image therefore the *sabosab*<sup>239</sup> is held.

25. When the *siling* has been finished, the widow or widower goes into the house. He remains one month.

26. The spouse staying in the *dokob* or inside the house can talk with others, but cannot go to them. The soul of the dead does not stay in the *dokob* or inside the house with the spouse.

27. We change our names when our spouse dies. If I did not change my name when my wife died, the *kalaching* would ask for Maslagan.<sup>240</sup> If I change my name to Bito, there is no Maslagan. And the *kalaching* does not know Bito.

28. If our mothers, our fathers, our brothers or sisters, or our children die, we also change our names so that their *kalaching* can not find us.

29. The ghosts of suicides sit on the mouth of a person when he has nightmares. The ghosts of suicides make a noise in the house during the night if there is (only) one person. If there is one person (only) the ghosts of suicides sometimes cause him to become insane and commit suicide. We cover our faces when we sleep so that the ghosts of suicides will not smother us. They strangle us if there are no blankets. We do not wish to walk in the night if there is no light. We are afraid of the ghosts of suicides or the *amdag*.

<sup>238</sup> An apartment curtained off with blankets under the house, where the surviving husband or wife stays during the death ceremonies.

<sup>239</sup> The prayer spoken during the death ceremonies.

<sup>240</sup> The speaker.

30. No guaray atay ja nayasal, agchalnan ni chūron. Kasachachaja ni kalaching.

OMENS

1. Idi atī i akou ono bolan, amtammi i matay i baknang ono guara bitil.

2. No mangbūngdol num guaray manchilos ja too, masapol ja mansabnak moan. No ichūman ni too i būngdol num banbonal chi sabadi'n bali, agmasongpal. No ichūman ni too i būngdol num guaray atan animal chi sabadi'n dūgad, masapol ja iolito. No agtotongpalan, sūta būngdol papigot era.

3. No machup i apoi ni mangidin ono masodokan ni welo'n akou, sūta bīi onoli moan nan amato, jut mangidin moan. No machup moan i apoi ni kapinchūa ni mangidin ono masadokan ni welo'n akou, sūta daki tan bīi agmobadina manasaucha. Sūta daki masapola manganap ni achūūm ja bīi.

4. Agmi achupan i apoi ta no onsakub i kalaching ja amonobda ji anchi apoi, mabugut era jut pasakitcha sakay ja too. Jut say onsakub i inamdagan ja mangada ni adīa num guaray apoi.

5. Achūūma Igodot agchapatiina inamdagan ono kalaching ja sakitancha era num machup i apoi. Chaka achupay i apoi, num no onsakit era agcha aachupan i apoi.

6. Sūta apoi agmachaap ni kalibīan num guaray onatan amanbiaki.

7. No guaray makdab ja kayū ono mapodiga bato ono mabakguad ni otot, masapol ja onoli. No itoito'n chalanto, ngau i kasatto.

8. No onan ni ananakad i makduba kayū ja binatang ni sabadi'n too, masapol ja mamatan ngo say magasat.

9. No ēkidūngantoi tutut ja mansaul chi patak ni abuan, magasat; num no patak ni awadi, boisit, num guara'd naykayang, magasat i biakito.

10. Numnummi ja guara pūojrum onbalanga kolpot i i ichamanmi, ono num mankakotoi manok chi būongan.

30. When there is a dead person in the death chair, the locusts will not pass by. The *kalaching* keeps them away.

#### OMENS

1. When the sun or moon dies<sup>241</sup> we know that a rich man will die or that there will be famine.

2. If the rainbow appears while a man is celebrating a ceremony, it is necessary to celebrate it again. If a man sees the rainbow while he is moving to another house he must not do so. If a man sees the rainbow while he is taking animals to another place, it is necessary to return them. If he does not do so, the rainbow will cause them to become thin.

3. If the fire goes out during the *mangidin* or within eight days thereafter, the woman will return again to her father, and will celebrate the *mangidin* again. If the fire goes out the second time during the *mangidin* or within eight days thereafter, the woman and the man can not marry. The man must find another wife.

4. We do not put out the fire,<sup>242</sup> because if the *kalaching* should come to smoke and (find) no fire, they would be angry and would cause some person to become sick. Then also the *amdag* will not come in to get the soul if there is fire.

5. Some Igorot do not believe the *amdag* or *kalaching* would make them sick, but let the fire go out. They put out the fire, but when they become sick they do not put out the fire.

6. The fire should not go out during the night when (one) is to start on a journey to trade.

7. If a tree or a rock falls from the bank or a mouse runs on a log, he must return. If he continues on the way he will have bad luck.

8. If the traveler sees the tree which is cut down by another man falling, it is necessary that he shall cut also so that he will have good luck.

9. If he hears the *tuttut*<sup>243</sup> talking on his right, he will have good luck; if on his left, he will have bad luck; but if it is overhead, his luck in trading will be good.

10. We think that there will be a typhoon when we see the clouds turn red, or when the chickens under the house catch lice.

<sup>241</sup> Refers to eclipse.

<sup>242</sup> Kamising stated that the fire in his house had never gone out since he had married, about forty years ago, except when the *kosday* was celebrated and *new fire* obtained.

<sup>243</sup> A species of screech owl.

## IV. CEREMONIES

## SPIRITS AND DEITIES

In order to understand the various ceremonies celebrated by the Nabaloi, it is necessary to know something of the spirit belief on which they are based. Insight into this is given by the prayers, formulas, folk lore, and statements of the priests.

The beliefs reveal to us a reason for a large number of the rites performed; but there are some things connected with rituals which seem to be based on no reason whatever, and the priests themselves can not tell why they are done.

Undoubtedly all Nabaloi ceremonies had their origin many generations ago. In some of them prayers, formulas, or songs are related in a language which differs greatly from the dialect in everyday use by the people. The speech used in the set formulas of the Nabaloi and the neighboring Kankanay is far more similar than are the colloquial dialects of the two tribes. This fact tends to prove that their ceremonies may have had a common origin back in the distant past. Since the essential things to be said or done were handed down by word of mouth as literally as possible by the priests to their successors, it is evident that certain features might have been retained after the beliefs which gave rise to them had become obsolete. Everything must be done in the manner in which it has previously been done, and, if there is no other reason, the fact that it has always been done in this way is sufficient.

The Nabaloi concept of the unseen may be roughly described as a combination of polytheism and animism. While it is true that some have a vague idea of *Kabunian* as the supreme ruler of the universe, this idea seems to be of recent origin and was doubtless borrowed from the Christian Filipinos.

In Kibungan, a Benguet Kankanay town, where the people have had very little contact with the outside world, *kabunian* is used as a collective term to denote all the deities. The Kankanay always use the plural of the personal pronoun to refer to this word, while the Nabaloi use the singular.

In the Kankanay dialect as spoken in Kibungan the word seems to be composed of three parts. *Bungi* means "to pray," or "prayer." In Kankanay as well as in Nabaloi "n" and "ng" are often interchanged, so that *bungi* may have been *buni* originally, or *kabunian* may have



been *kabungian*. It thus appears that the word *kabungian* literally means in Kankanay "those to whom prayer is offered." Although the Nabaloi word for prayer (*bunong*) is not so similar to *buni* as the Kankanay term, the prefix and the suffix are used in the same way, and it is not unreasonable to suppose that the Nabaloi previously used *kabungian* as a general word to designate all the deities.

There are a number of deities, or culture heroes, who lived in the miraculous past and benefited the people on earth and whose souls at death ascended to the sky-world, where they still reside. The sixteen whose deeds are commemorated by the *bindayan* song were great warriors; but there are others who are supposed to have taught the ceremonies by which sickness could be cured, and whose names the *mambunong* calls when celebrating these ceremonies. Among the Nabaloi and possibly the Ifugao, Kabigat is regarded as the greatest of these hero deities, while the Kankanay as well as the Bontoc give the first place to Lumawig.

The old men say that there are seven Kabigats: Kabigat of where the water rises in the north; Kabigat of where the water empties in the south; Kabigat of where the sun rises; Kabigat of where the sun sets; Kabigat of the sky-world; Kabigat of the underworld; and Kabigat of the space between the earth and sky. As to whether the above are all one personality manifested in seven different places, or seven distinct personalities, they do not say.

The heavenly bodies are gods and are objects of worship, though probably not of sacrifice. Some say that formerly the sun was regarded as the most powerful of the deities, and the fact that he was always appealed to in ordeals seems to indicate that he was the god of justice. If the Nabaloi previously conceived of a supreme ruler, which is doubtful, he was identified with the sun. Even now the old men frequently use the word for sun (*akou*) and Kabunian interchangeably.

The other constellations to which prayer is offered are the moon, the Pleiades, the Hyades, the Scorpion, the Sickle, the Pole-star with the two pointers, the conspicuous stars in the constellation of Boötes, Venus, Jupiter, Mars, and all the stars collectively. Although other constellations are recognized, no reason is assigned to explain why they are not worshipped.

The thunder, the earthquake, the typhoon, and the clouds are objects of worship. In two or three ceremonies other inanimate things are addressed, as the pot in which the meat is cooked, or the rack in which the rice is dried. It is not probable that the *mambunong* believes that either the pot or the rack has any power, but he reasons that the mere

repetition of the formula which has been used in the past will cause the deities or spirits to do the things desired.

Certain ceremonies are given to persuade the *adia* or soul of a living person which is voluntarily staying away to return, or to induce malevolent spirits which are holding it in captivity to release it. The soul of a living person may wander away or be captured, while the person continues to live; but if it is not induced to return, he will become more and more emaciated until he dies. While the soul of either the husband or the wife is absent no children will be born. While one sleeps his soul often goes off on a visit; but, unless it is captured, it will always return before he awakens naturally. If he is suddenly awakened, it may be away at the time and not return. The Nabaloi have a horror of being awakened by others.

The southern Nabaloi say that the soul of a living person may enter into an animal. In one instance, an old woman near Baguio fed a tame mouse for several months, saying that it was her soul. In some of their folk tales incidents are narrated in which one's soul is recognized in a monkey. The northern Nabaloi say that the soul of a person never enters animals.

The largest amount of sacrifice offered is primarily for the *kalaching* or souls of the dead. They cause those who should give ceremonies to become sick as a reminder that they are hungry; then sacrifice is made to effect a cure. They appear in dreams so that the people will know that they are hungry; then sacrifice is made to prevent sickness. The spirits of the dead are invited to eat with the people at all the important ceremonies, and the spirits of the dead *mambunong* are always extended a special invitation. They are supposed to remember the prayers which they prayed while alive, and to be able to bring to bear on the need of the present, power of the mysterious past.

The spirits of the dead are not always content to have their visitations felt by means of dreams or sickness, but occasionally make a bodily appearance. One rich man in Kabayan who died in 1908 was seen on divers occasions by various people, and three or four ceremonies were necessary to induce him to stay away.

There are a large number of malevolent personalities other than the spirits of the dead. The following are objects of sacrifice and prayer:

The *kakaising* are spirits living in the high mountains. Their malevolence seems to be confined to the rich, whom they often make sick.

The *amdag* are spirits which travel with the wind. They carry nets with which to catch souls, and use the screech owl as the hunter

uses his dog. The Kankanay call the screech owl the dog of the *amdag*. In one instance, a whole village moved to another place on account of the noise made by these birds.

The *ampasit* are spirits which live in the timber near the villages. They do not travel as the *amdag* do, but each locality has its own *ampasit*.

The *timbangau* live in the water. Like the *ampasit* they are confined to limited localities and harm only those who go near them.

The *pasang*, eight in number, inhabit the space between the earth and the sky. They travel from place to place to perform their malevolent deeds.

The *ampasit*, *timbangau*, and *pasang* are the children of a brother and sister. They all cause sickness, and in addition the *pasang* prevent the birth of children.

The children of Badiwan and Singan are spirits living in the rice fields, which decrease the water for irrigation by causing it to sink into the ground. They receive help in doing this from their parents who live in the sky. Sometimes these spirits with the aid of Badiwan and Singan cause the owners of the fields to become sick.

Worship is also accorded to Maseken, the old man, and to Akodau, the old woman, of the underworld. They do not seem to be conceived of as spirits, but as people. There are many others who inhabit this region, but they are not the objects of prayer.

The *kaajongan* or guardian spirits, which live in the sky, remain to be mentioned. When a child is born a personality which watches over him through life is also born in the sky. Formerly a ceremony called by the same name was celebrated in Kabayan, and offerings made to the *kaajongan*. The last time this ceremony was celebrated was in 1909, and it is said that it is not probable that it will ever be held again.

The spirit belief of the Nabaloi has very little connection with morality, although they could hardly be called an immoral people even from the standpoint of civilization. While a person may be visited by the displeasure of the unseen for not celebrating a ritual on the proper occasion, or in a few cases for violating a taboo, his fate after death is not determined by his acts while alive. The only exception is in the case of a suicide. A man may be a murderer, and at death his soul will go to Pulag with the others; but if he is a suicide, his soul is condemned to wander.

## PRIESTHOOD

The Nabaloi generally approaches his spirits and deities through the medium of a *mambunong* or priest. The word *mambunong* literally means "the maker of prayer." There are two classes of *mambunong*. One class, which is composed for the most part of women, officiates at the *pachit*, *chawak*, *bayjok*, and *kosday*; and the other, composed of men, officiates at all the other ceremonies. There are on the average two men and one woman *mambunong* to about five hundred inhabitants.

Each priest practically appoints his successor, since he selects the one to whom he teaches the correct procedure and the spoken ritual. For the *pachit* class the teaching is all done in secret, and no one knows who the successor will be until the old *mambunong* is dead. There is no secrecy regarding the student *mambunong* of the other class of ceremonies. Any one of them may be employed in case he has learned the procedure sufficiently well to approach the deities and spirits in the correct way.

A person may engage any *mambunong* he desires. Sometimes for sickness the services of a Kankanay *mambunong* are procured after the Nabaloi priest has failed to effect a cure.

The priesthood is recruited from the ranks of the poor. With the rich the *mambunong* are a joke; but when a rich man has sickness in his family, or there are other occasions for a ceremony, he does not fail to avail himself of their services.

The profession is not a paying one. When hogs are sacrificed, the priest gets one fourth of one hog. The meat which he receives is not regarded as sacrifice, but may be sold. For officiating at the smaller ceremonies fifty centavos is the fee generally paid.

## PURPOSE

Rituals are celebrated to produce various results. The more important of these are to cause the giver to become rich, be lucky, and live long; to cause agricultural products to grow; to cause injury to befall an enemy or to fend off harm from the giver; to cause children to be born; and to prevent or cure sickness.

By far the larger number of ceremonies are celebrated to prevent or cure sickness, although they may incidentally serve other purposes. Sickness is not believed to result from natural causes. Neither is it attributed to the wrath of deities justly offended; but to the necessity of the souls of the dead for food and clothing, or to the inimical work

of malevolent spirits. Human beings called *manmalasik* or *manmantala* may be in league with these spirits, and instigate them to cause sickness or other injury.

#### DIVINATION

When a person or some one of his family becomes sick he calls in the *mambunong* to determine the cause and the ceremony to be celebrated to effect a cure. This may be done by either or all of three preliminary ceremonies called respectively *bakno*, *sabat*, and *buyon*.

When the *bakno* divination is used, the *mambunong* holds a cup of *tapuy* in his hand while praying as follows:

Kabigat chi inaychalum, Kabigat chi pankabkobi ni chanom, Kabigat chi pankadinoki ni chanom, Kabigat chi badolan, Kabigat chi ditopan, Kabigat chi inaykayang akou tan bolan, anjo chi bakno i apansakiti si—.

Kabigat of the underworld, Kabigat of the place where the water rises, Kabigat of the place where the water empties, Kabigat of the east, Kabigat of the west, sun and moon, show us by the *bakno* what caused the sickness of—.

The *mambunong* then looks at the *tapuy* and determines the cause of the sickness and the ceremony which must be given to cure it. For example, if he sees in the *tapuy* many people dancing in a circle, spears, shields, or anything else which indicates the *bindayan*, that ceremony must be celebrated. However, if the person who must bear the expense is poor, the *mambunong* never sees signs which indicate any of the expensive rituals.

If one of the costly ceremonies must be given, the *tapuy* is covered and allowed to stand for about one hour. The cover is then removed, and the *mambunong*, by looking at the *tapuy* again, determines the number of animals that should be killed.

When *sabat* is the method selected for determining the cause of sickness and its cure, a stone or a piece of iron is suspended by a string. The *mambunong* prays the same prayer as the one used for *bakno*, and then calls the names of the various rituals; as *pachit*, *batbat*, *kapi*. If the stone or iron moves at the mention of a certain ritual, that one must be celebrated.

In the *buyon* a stick is set on end, the same prayer is prayed as in the *bakno*, after which the various ceremonies are named. If the stick falls when a ceremony is mentioned, that ceremony must be celebrated.

There is probably a good deal of deception practiced by the *mambunong* in the divination ceremonies, since all three methods invariably result in showing the necessity for a ritual.

## PLACE

Each ceremony must, in order to be effective, be celebrated in its appropriate place. The larger number are held in the yard belonging to the person bearing the expense; some are held inside the house; and in a few, part of the rituals are performed inside and part outside. The *okat* and *tabwak* are held at the graves, and the *pungau* in the field.

## SACRIFICE

Each ceremony in which sacrifice is offered requires its appropriate animal, and other indispensable things. Other animals may be used in addition; but the priests say that they are only for the food of the people, although incidentally the souls of everything consumed at rituals are taken by the gods and spirits just as if they had been formally offered. The *pachit*, for example, could not be celebrated without hogs, money, and *tapuy*; and, although cattle, carabaos, and horses are also used, the ceremony could be celebrated without them.

For the majority of rituals, either a hog or a chicken must be sacrificed; but there is one which requires a carabao, two which require dogs, and one which requires either a horse or a dog. In a very few ceremonies there is a choice, within limits, of animals which may be used for sacrifice.

The people eat with the spirits and deities the food which has been sacrificed. They eat the material part of the food, while the spirits and gods eat its "soul" or immaterial part. There is no ceremony in which the eating is left entirely to the latter.

The offerings are made on the basis of a bribe and not as a matter of duty. The *mambunong* asks the deities to cure the sickness in return for the food given, or to make the people rich in order that they may be able to celebrate the ceremony again. It is to the benefit of the deities for the people to be rich if they will celebrate ceremonies, and therefore the deities, for selfish reasons, will cause them to become rich.

## SPOKEN RITUAL

The spoken ritual by the priest may be either a petition or a sacred story. Both are designated by one word *bunong*. In large communal or semi-communal ceremonies the petition is more important, while in nearly all private ceremonies no petition is offered except that addressed to the dead *mambunong*, who are asked to supply such parts of the ritual as may have been forgotten.

There are certain things which must be done by the priest while praying, such as holding the chicken to be sacrificed, stroking the dog to be killed, or bending over a cup of *tapuy*. He must also assume the correct attitude. In nearly all ceremonies he squats; in one or two he stands; but in none does he sit or kneel. If he does not assume the correct posture or do the exact things which should be done, his prayers will not be effective.

In nearly all the private ceremonies magic is relied on almost entirely for the cure. A sacred story is told, the situation is generally to an extent at least reproduced, and the names of the chief actors called. The priests seem to think that merely telling the story and reproducing the situation will either actually or symbolically produce the results. What has happened once will happen again under the same conditions.

#### DANCING AND SONGS

Dancing is regarded as a form of worship. As a general thing it forms a part of the public or semi-public ceremonies, but not of the private ceremonies.

The most common Nabaloi dance is the *tayo* or *tayau*. One man and one woman dance in a circle. The woman has a blanket wrapped around her, and the man has from two to six blankets hanging from his shoulders. With each step which the man takes his body sways and his hands move in unison with the music. The woman moves both feet simultaneously to the side. She sways her body but does not wave her hands or arms.

In the *bindayan* dance the men as well as the women move their feet sidewise. A more complete description of this dance is given under the ceremony of the same name.

The dances which are done by one man in connection with such ceremonies as the *palis* and *sagausau* are a modification of the *tayo*. The music is faster, and the dancer springs farther from the ground with each step.

The sacred songs sung in connection with the rituals to which they pertain are also regarded as a part of the worship. As a rule they must be sung by a certain number of people and at a certain stage of the proceedings. They are never sung at other times.

## OMENS

While ceremonies are being celebrated, the *mambunong* is always on the lookout for omens. Certain things, such as a crow flying overhead, a lizard crossing the floor, or the appearance of a snake or screech owl, may show that it is necessary for the ritual to be repeated.

## TABOO

During the celebration of a ceremony and for a specified number of days thereafter, certain things are taboo for the giver. The character of the taboo and the length of time it must be observed is not the same for the various ceremonies.

The giver of one of the large public ceremonies may not work, bathe, or visit, and for a specified number of days after the rituals have been completed may not receive visitors. Certain signs are displayed in front of the house to show that a ceremony has been celebrated and to warn away intruders. In addition to the above there are special ceremonies for some of these rituals.

For the majority of private ceremonies there is a taboo against eating certain kinds of food, most often meat and red pepper.

The state of a person at the time a ceremonial taboo is in effect against him is denoted by the term *piju*.

## MATERIAL EFFECTS

Fully half of the gross income received by the Nabaloi is spent for ceremonies. Many of the wealthy are becoming skeptical about their necessity, and a few have expressed a desire that the government enact a law prohibiting them. The writer was told by one of the younger *baknang* that he had no faith in *cañaos*; but that if he did not continue to follow the custom, he would lose all of his influence as well as the respect of the people. The general opinion is back of the *mambunong* in this matter, and sometimes enormous pressure is brought to bear to cause ceremonies to be celebrated. It is by means of the ceremony, or *cañao* as it is called in the Philippines, that the poor get a large part of their food, and the rich their authority.



## CLASSIFICATION OF CEREMONIES

The Nabaloi practice about forty different rituals, besides the several forms of divination already mentioned. The majority are held for the purpose of curing either a specific kind of illness or disease of any kind caused by a specific class of spirits. Other rites have to do with war and peace, witchcraft, birth and death, and rice agriculture. Souls of the dead, spirits, and gods are prayed to in every rite; the majority add the recital of a narrative formula. Prayer and formula are almost invariably spoken by the *mambunong* priests. The spirits addressed are numerous and various, but several recur in the prayers of a number of ceremonies. Dances, and special songs, are parts of certain rites, but by no means of all. The adjoined table is intended both as a key to and summary of the accounts of particular rituals which make up the remainder of this paper. This table shows the purpose, associated spirits, formula, dance, and song of each ceremony, and indicates its duration, required sacrifices, and usual cost to the giver of the rite, as an index of its importance.

## BINDAYAN

As soon as it is decided to have the *bindayan*, many jars of *tapuy* are prepared by the relatives of the sick person, and all the people living near must prepare and furnish free of charge at least one jar each. When the *tapuy* is ready, the rice pounded, and the animals to be killed brought to the house, the *mambunong*, four *olol*, and a few of the nearest neighbors are invited.

About dark they go outside of the village to a place where they camp for the night. They take with them their spears, shields, two or three jars of *tapuy*, a pot of uncooked rice, a few pieces of bamboo, and a cock which has pretty feathers. When they arrive at their camping place, the *mambunong*, holding the cock in his hand and squatting near the *tapuy*, prays as follows:

Kabigat chi inaychalum, Kabigat chi pankabkobi chi chanom, Kabigat chi pankadinoki chi chanom, Kabigat chi badolan, Kabigat chi ditopan, Kabigat chi inaykayang, akou tan bolan; sikayo indatongjo iay bindayan, ian dagami niman. Antginkami'ni toton ni angba; pinasichako i ngaran ni kimasikasil.

Kabigat of the underworld, Kabigat of the place where the water rises, Kabigat of the place where the water empties, Kabigat of the east, Kabigat of the west, Kabigat of the sky, sun and moon; you created the *bindayan*, which we are celebrating now. Help us to remember the song; help us to remember the names of the brave head takers.

The *mambunong* then calls the names of dead ancestors, and continues to pray as follows:

Sikayo dindinkayo ni bindayan, ian dagami niman. Atngimkami ni toton ni angba, panisachakjo i ngaran ni kamasikasil.

You celebrated the *bindayan*, which we are celebrating now. Help us to remember the song; help us to remember the names of the brave head takers.

After the prayer has been finished, the cock is killed, and while it is cooking the *olol* make their headgear of bamboo and feathers.

After eating they begin to sing the *angba*, and continue to do so all night, stopping long enough at intervals to sip *tapuy*. The song is as follows:

Sinoi kanangi pandū?	Who was it did this first?
Si Maodi maksil,	Maodi a head taker,
Ya mayingittoi būsol,	Who fought with the Ifugao,
Mayingittoi kadaloi,	Fought with the enemy,
Mahantoi maata i būsol,	Ate uncooked the Ifugao's (flesh),
Mahantoi dadalaan.	Ate it bloody.
Sinoi kanangi kadūa?	Who was it did this next?

The stanza is repeated fifteen times by substituting the names of the following heroes: Amdagan, Kabigat, Balitok, Moan, Bulian, Gatan, Lumawig, Wigwigan, Wigan, Montes, Daongan, Bangon, Bangan, Obag, Obagobagan. The men whose deeds are celebrated were once brave warriors, but are now gods. The song then proceeds:

Kalasykoi ambanau.	My shield was broad.
Kankoi pankalasyko;	I wished to use it as a shield;
Ya dinongyas ni būsol,	But it was broken by the Ifugao,
Dinongyas ni kadaloi.	It was broken by the enemy.
Kalasykoi ootëk.	My shield was small.
Kankoi pankalasyko;	I wished to use it as a shield;
Ya dinongyas ni būsol,	But it was broken by the Ifugao,
Dinongyas ni kadaloi.	It was broken by the enemy.

The stanza is repeated twice by substituting for *kalasyko taladko*<sup>244</sup> and *balongotko*.<sup>245</sup>

The song then proceeds:

Kakaonkoi, kakaong;	My fighting dog, fighting dog;
Kanko pankabaonko.	I wished to use as a fighting dog.
Inanbodio ni bonog;	He changed into a minnow;
Inanbodoi ni balasi.	He changed into a fish.
Tomotomkoi, tomotom;	My hunting dog, hunting dog;
Kanko pantomotomko.	I wished to use as a hunting dog.
Inanbodio ni bonog;	He changed into a minnow;
Inanbodio ni balasi.	He changed into a fish.

<sup>244</sup> Boulders loosened and held on the side of a mountain by vines. When the enemy were seen coming up the mountain, the vines were cut and the boulders rolled down hill.

<sup>245</sup> A net made of rope, and placed in a narrow pass through which the enemy must come.

CLASSIFICATION OF NABALOI RITUALS

NAME OF RITE	DURATION, DAYS	SACRIFICE							SPOKEN RITUAL				PLACE					DANCING	SONGS	COST TO GIVER (in Pesos)	PURPOSE AND DISTINCTIVE FEATURES				
		Buffalo	Hogs	Dogs	Fowl	Rice	Property	Tapiay	Prayers	Formulas	SPIRITS OR DEITIES ADDRESSED				Mambunong	House	Yard					Field	Grave		
Bindayan	3	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	Maodi, Amdagan, Kabigat, Balitok, Moan, Bulian, Gatan, Lumawig, Wigwigan, Wigan Montes, Daongan, Bangon, Bangan, Obag, Obagobagan, Sun, Moon, and souls of dead	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	Bindayan by all, tayau by a couple	Angba	200-600	Formerly head hunting celebration. Now given to cure sickness or in fulfillment of a vow		
Pachit	5-30	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	Kabunian, Kabigat, Meseken, Sun, and souls of dead	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	6 old men, then tayau	Bantagian and Tomongo	500-5000	Formerly celebrating peace. Now to appease spirits and prevent or cure sickness. Incumbent on the wealthy who wish to retain their prestige		
Chawak	2-5	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	Same as in pachit	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	Same as pachit	Same as pachit	100-500	Same as pachit		
Bayjok	1	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	Same as in pachit	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	Same as pachit	Same as pachit	50-100	Same as pachit		
Batbat	1	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	Kabigat, Sun, Moon, Stars, Scorpion, Boötes, Hyades, Sickle, Bugar, Amdayon, Balitok, Baliwan, Lumawig, Thunder, Earthquake, Storm, eight pasang (Inkaton, Kamayon, Chudimay, Bugar, Bumulos, Tumadangan, Indulno, and Tomobladan), and souls of dead	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	Tayau		50-100	To cure sickness caused by souls of the dead
Saad Kapi	1	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	Same as in batbat	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	Tayau		5-40	To cure sickness caused by souls of the dead	
	1	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	Kabunian, Kabigat, Bugar, Sun, Moon, Stars, Scorpion, Boötes, Hyades, "Chakdigan" Clouds, and souls of dead	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×			40-100	To avert sickness of which the giver has been warned in dreams	
Kiad	1	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	Kakaising, and souls of dead mambunong	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×			100-400	To cure sickness caused by kakaising	
Ampasit	1-	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	Ampasit and souls of dead mambunong	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×			2-5	To cure sickness caused by ampasit	
Pasang ni mansikit	1-	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	Pasang and souls of dead mambunong	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×			2-5	To cure sickness caused by pasang	
Timungau	1-	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	Timungau and souls of dead mambunong	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×			2-5	To cure sickness caused by timungau	
Amdag	1-	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	Kabigat, Amdag, souls of dead mambunong	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×			2-20	To cure sickness caused by Amdag	
Tawal	1-	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	Soul of the living person and spirits of the underworld	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×			1-2	To cause the soul of a living person which has gone away or been imprisoned by the inhabitants of the underworld to return	
Tingiting	1-	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	Kabigat	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×				To bring back souls of the living which have gone away in fire	
Palis	1-	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	Amdag	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	Angba		3-5	Against witchcraft	
Sagausau	1-	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	Kabigat, Amdag, souls of dead mambunong	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	By one man		1-5	To cause injury to an enemy or to avert injury from the giver	
Buang	1-	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	Thunder and Agamayo, his wife, and souls of dead mambunong	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×			1-2	To cure deafness	
Nansaang	1-	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	Kabigat, Sun, Moon, Stars, Pleiades, pointers, and north star, Sickle, Amdayoan, and souls of dead mambunong	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×			1-2	To cure headache	
Palis chi kabunian	1-	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	Kabunian, Kabigat, Amolis, Dada, and the Amdag	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	By one man	Angba	3-5	To cure headache and toothache	
Dosad	1-	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	Souls of dead mambunong	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×			20-40	For pains in the chest	
Sigop	1-	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	Akodau	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×			1/2	For coughs	
Kolos	1-	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	Souls of dead mambunong	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×			2-15	For diarrhoea	
Basil	1-	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	Kabigat	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×			3-100	For sexually caused disease	
Sabosab	1-	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	Kabigat, and souls of dead mambunong	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×			10-20	To counteract quarrels and to cure sores	
Diau chuntog	1-	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	Souls of dead mambunong	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×			1-2	To cure sores and itch	
Diau kasib	1-	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	Kabigat, Thunder, Wind, and souls of dead mambunong	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×			1-2	To cure sores and itch	
Gangau	1-	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	Souls of dead mambunong	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×			2-10	To cure rheumatism	
Tamo	1-	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	Tamo	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	By one man	Agsanga	2-30	To cure insanity	
Pasang	1-	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	The pasang	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×			2-3	To cause the birth of children	
Padad	1-	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	Souls of dead	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×			2-3	To divine and avert death	
Sibisib	1-	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	Iru, Balitok, Kabigat, and souls of dead mambunong	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×					To cure wounds
Abasang	1-	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	Kabigat and souls of dead mambunong	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×			2-3	At birth of children	
Siling	1-	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	Sun, Moon, and souls of dead	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×			40-2000	To give the deceased property and food	
Okat	1-	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	Sun, Moon, and souls of dead	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×			5-25	To induce the soul of the dead person to go away	
Tabwak	1-	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	Souls of dead	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×			15-40	To cure sickness caused by the soul of a dead person	
Kosday	1-	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	Souls of three dead mambunong	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×			10-40	To cause the crop to grow. New fire is produced by the kalidi	
Tawal ni payu		×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	Badiwan, Singan, Madona, souls of dead mambunong	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×			each man	10-50	To cure sickness and cause rice to grow
Pungau		×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	Kabigat, Bugar, Thunder	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×			1/2	To increase the rice at harvest	
Bakak		×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	Rocks on which pots sit, and rack above the fire	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×			1/2	To prevent sickness from the eating of new rice	
Salchi		×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×		×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×					To prevent sickness from the eating of carrion	

## Chorus:

Maksil kami, dadan;  
 Mayingit kami dadan.  
 Sikatoi imbangonmi;  
 Sikatoi imbaknangmi;  
 Sikatoi inkadangnami;  
 Sikatoi ipalaladmi.

Head takers we, brave;  
 Fighters we, brave.  
 Therefore we awoke;  
 Therefore we were rich;  
 Therefore we were powerful;  
 Therefore we lived long.

## The song goes on:

Amonin i dadan,  
 Amonin i apotan.  
 Makalabtoi daguay;  
 Makalabtoi sabwan.  
 Ya mahanto maata;  
 Ya mahanto dadalaan.

The civet cat is brave,  
 The civet cat is active.  
 It climbs the *daguay*;<sup>246</sup>  
 It climbs the *sabwan*.<sup>246</sup>  
 It eats raw meat;  
 It eats it bloody.

## (The chorus is repeated.)

Amonin maladabi.  
 Mayingittoi kadaloi;  
 Mayingittoi kadaloi.  
 Mahanto maata;  
 Mahanto dadalaan.

The civet cat travels at night.  
 It fights the enemy;  
 It fights the enemy.  
 It eats raw meat;  
 It eats it bloody.

## (The chorus is repeated.)

Kalpot chi kadūngtogan,  
 Dakligimi, manosil.  
 Pankanbosil, kanbosil,  
 Ikasilim, i maksil.

Clouds of the mountain,  
 Hide us, the pursuers.  
 You cause the moving stones, moving stones,  
 To roll down, head taker.

## (The chorus is repeated.)

Kagoang gagassokli,  
 Pasalongka'd Loo;  
 Mokadi ososdanga  
 I impigpig olo.  
 Gawanga wanga wakwak,  
 Sapay yoka panoni?  
 Yokadi ososdangi  
 Angigaya gayangmi,  
 Angigaya gayangmi.

Crow flying,  
 Go north to Loo;  
 Go look down at  
 The hanging head.  
 Croaking crow,  
 What are you looking at?  
 Go look down at  
 The body we beheaded,  
 The body we beheaded.

## (The chorus is repeated.)

Bangol ali'd ditopan,  
 Kamang wilau, wilau,  
 Tonangia abloan  
 Intanumko'n abua.  
 Ayo! I silau di Sagod,  
 Ya kaon bidbulag,  
 Kaon bidabutato.  
 Kaka, amo, silsilwi,  
 I angigaya gayangmi,  
 I angigaya gayangmi.

The wild boar coming from the west,  
 Walking from side to side,  
 Was cutting off  
 The *gabi* I planted.  
 Oh! There is the torch of Sagod,  
 Traveling in line,  
 The light shining.  
 You can see, probably,  
 The body we beheaded,  
 The body we beheaded.

<sup>246</sup> Species of trees.

(The chorus is repeated.)

<p>Ayo ikan di baybay, Sinēdan ni maksil, Sinēdan ni mayingit. I ikan ali'd galigto; Ya nantago ni maksil, Ya nantago ni maksil.</p>	<p>O see the fish of the ocean, The food of the head taker, The food of the fighter. The fish from the end of the world; Coming for the head taker, Coming for the head taker.</p>
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(The chorus is repeated.)

<p>Makbot di kadongtogan, Maklis ni kaagaun. Sepay agakpankabnol? Ya dingongas ni būsol, Dinongyas ni kadaloi? Kalau di kadongtogan, Maknol ni kalibian. Sepay agakpankabnol? Ya dingonyas ni būsol, Dinongyas ni kadaloi?</p>	<p>The buck deer of the mountains, Bleating at midday. Whom did I not cause to bleed? The beheaded Ifugao, The beheaded enemy? The calf of the mountains, Bleeding at night. Whom did I not cause to bleed? The beheaded Ifugao, The beheaded enemy?</p>
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(The chorus is repeated.)

About four o'clock in the morning the *olol* find a fern tree. They thrust their spears into it, and then cut it down and carve a part of it to represent the head of a man.

A little after daylight the *olol* and any others who may have joined them put on their head bands, and start to the house of the person giving the *bindayan*, singing as they march. One of the *olol* carries the head in a basket strapped to his back. When they reach the village, they are joined by others carrying spears and shields; and the whole party proceeds the rest of the distance, dancing, with the *olol* leading. The old men, the *olol*, and the *mambunong* continue to sing the *bindayan* song until they reach the house. As they approach nearer they are joined by others, some of whom are beating *sulibau*, *gansas*, *pinsak*, and *kimbal*.<sup>247</sup> The onlookers shout the old war cry, "O-ay, o-ay; whu-i, whu-i, whu-i!" They then ask the *olol* whose head they took, and the leader answers, "We took the head of the *busol* named . . . . ."

The men and boys then dance four times around a large circle, some of them, but not all, carrying spears and shields. The war cry is shouted as each round is completed. The *olol* then put the head on a pole in the center of the circle, and the spears and shields are stacked around it. Then the dance is continued all day.

The men dance in one direction in the outer circle; the women dance in the opposite direction in a circle inside the one formed by the men;

<sup>247</sup> *Sulibau*, *gansas*, *pinsak*, and *kimbal* are musical instruments used at dances. See part I.

the little boys dance in the same direction as the men in a circle inside the one formed by the women; and the little girls dance in the same direction as the women in a circle next to the head.

The *bindayan* is the most pleasing of all the Nabaloi dances. Not only the feet but the hands and body are moved in unison with the music. At times the men crouch like tigers ready to spring upon their prey, uttering guttural sounds; they curse the head for the wrongs its people have done them; and then they wave their spears or hands high in the air as if rejoicing over a fallen foe. The old men continue to sing the *bindayan* song, which is punctuated at intervals by the cry of "O-ay!" Young girls stand on the outside of the circle holding cups of *tapuy* from which the dancers pause to drink, until large numbers fall out of line completely inebriated.

About noon preparations are made for dinner. Rice is pounded and put into large caldrons to cook. A hog is tied, and after the regular prayer by the *mambunong*, is killed and cooked in another caldron. While the rice and meat are cooking the *mambunong* prays again. After the people have finished eating, the dance is resumed and continued until about six o'clock, when the *tayo*, a dance in which only one man and one woman take part at a time, is substituted. The *tayo* continues all night.

The morning of the second day the *bindayan* dance is resumed at the place where they danced the first day. About eight o'clock, the men and boys get their spears and shields and dance around the head four times, while the war cry is shouted with the completion of each round. Then the head is transferred to a pole in the yard in front of the house. A hog which will be used for dinner is tied and left in the yard so that each person may touch it with his foot, before the dance begins.

The men and boys then dance four times around the head with their spears and shields. The spears and shields are then stacked around the pole, and the women and girls also begin dancing. The proceedings from this point on are the same as on the first day until about seven o'clock in the evening.

The *olol* then take off their headgear, and the men get their spears and shields and put them in the house, where they must remain five days before their owners can take them. The majority of the people now go home, but the *olol* and a few others stay and dance the *tayo* during the night.

In the morning another hog is killed with the regular ceremony. A part of the blood is wrapped in an *abua* leaf by the *mambunong*; a hole

is made in the leaf and the blood is permitted to drip on the face of the person giving the *bindayan*, and on the faces of his near relatives. During this time, the *mambunong* prays.

When the rice and meat are cooked, the rice is put in a large basket, and the meat is laid on the grass. A jar of *tapuy* is then placed near the meat and the *mambunong* prays again. After the people have finished eating, all the meat that is left is divided into small pieces and distributed among those present to be taken home by them.

The *olol* must stay three days longer. During this time they and the person who gave the *bindayan* are under a spell called *piju*—they may neither visit nor receive visitors, they may not bathe, etc.

Undoubtedly the *bindayan* was used in early days to celebrate the taking of heads, and although head-hunting has been abolished for many years in Benguet, the dance still survives, but only in the town of Kabayan.

#### PACHIT

The purposes for which some of the more important Nabaloi ceremonies are now held are very different from those for which they were celebrated in former times. While the *bindayan* was previously used to celebrate the taking of heads, the *pachit* was used to celebrate the cementing of peace.

Although the Nabaloi no longer make treaties with other tribes, the ceremony still survives, but in the form of a ritualized feast. At present the principal purpose of the celebration of the *pachit* is to appease the souls of the dead and to prevent them from causing sickness, or to cure sickness which they have already caused. It is believed also that the *pachit* as well as other public *cañaos* will bring riches and long life to the giver.

Of all the ceremonies celebrated by the Nabaloi, the *pachit* is the most expensive. Its cost sometimes amounts to as much as five thousand pesos. In Kabayan there are six men who give the *pachit*, but in the majority of the other towns there are not more than two or three who are able to bear the expense. Not only is everyone living in the town where it is held invited, but also the influential people from other towns, some of whom may live at a distance of from fifty to a hundred miles.

Each man who is sufficiently wealthy is expected to celebrate this ceremony at intervals of about five years until it has been given five times. At the first *pachit* three hogs must be killed for ceremonial purposes, five at the second, six at the third, eight at the fourth, and ten at

the fifth. In addition, large numbers of hogs as well as carabaos, cattle, and horses are killed for food only. If a man who should give the *pachit* dies before he has celebrated the full number, his son must begin with the first one.

The first ceremony is held behind the house. A hog and a jar of *tapuy* are brought, and just before the hog is killed, the *mambunong* relates the following story:

Kabūnian chi inaykayang guara todo'n agito daki. Sakay ja akou dimau ali Kabūnian toinūnan era. Idi sinanopto era amin, inkwanto, "Baknang kayo'n amin, jut masapol mampachit kayo." Idi inakchung ja inkwanto i pasingcha'n manpachit, dimau moan chi inaykayang.

Sūta sakay era'n ja san agi tinongpalto, ut manchit. Sūta sakay ngo nanbayjok, num sūta sakay agmanchilos. Sūta sakay ja manchit, sikato bimaknanga pasia; tan sikatoi nangaran ni Kabūnian ni babaknang. Sūta manbajog agbimaknang num agabitug, jut sikatoi nangaran ni Kabūnian ni akaliingan. Sūta agnankanjau bimatur ja pasia, jut sikatoi nangarang ni Kabūnian ni abitug.

Kabunian of the sky had three brothers. One day Kabunian came down to see them. When he had brought them all together, he said, "You are all rich and it is necessary for you to celebrate the *pachit*." When he had finished telling them what to do to celebrate the *pachit*, he again went on high.

One of the brothers obeyed and gave the *pachit*. Another one gave the *bayjok*, but the third did not give any *cañao*. The one who gave the *pachit* became very rich, and was called the Kabunian of the rich people. The one who gave the *bayjok* did not become either rich or poor, and was called the Kabunian of the middle classes. The one who did not give any *cañao* became very poor, and was called the Kabunian of the poor.

The *mambunong* then turns to face the sun and says:

Kabigat, takbobim i dakab chi akou ta ichumanmi i kayitmi ja badolaki tan marikit num amananak era.

Kabigat, open the door of the sun so that we may see our companions, young men and young women, if they will have children.

If he sees some of them in the sun he calls their names, saying:

Japaskayo'd chi kalotoan. Sigud ja pananakan tayo.

Come down to the earth. It is well that we should have children.

Those whom he sees remaining in the sun after he has asked them to come down will have no children.

The *mambunong* then looks at the sun again to see the people who will die soon. He says:

Takbobim i dakab chi akou moan ta ichūman i kayitmi ja atī magono.

Open the door of the sun again that we may see our companions who will die soon.



Those whom he sees he calls by name saying:

Japaskado'd chi kalotoan.

Come down to the earth.

Those who stand facing him will die very soon; those who remain after he has called them to come down, but do not face him, will live for a longer time; but those who come down will live to be old. The *mambunong* say they do not tell the people whom they see in the sun that they will soon die, as they do not wish to make them sad; but after they have died they tell the others about having seen them in the sun.

The hog is then killed; one of its shoulders is carried around to the front of the house and placed by a jar of *tapuy*, over which the *mambunong* prays as follows:

Sikama Kabigat chi inaykayang, Kabigat chi inachalum, Kabigat chi inakawa, Kabigat chi panbodoy ni akou, Kabigat chi ditopan, Kabigat chi panbodoy ni chanom, Maséken chi inaychalum, Akodau chi inaychalum, Maséken chi kadinoki chi chanom, Akodau chi kadinoki chi chanom; sikayo angitocho ngiay pachit ja ibakbknangmi i palapaladmi.

Sikama Bakching ja tinodan ni Kabūnian ja apomi. Sikam i itoroan ngiay ja būnong, tap inbūnonganmo i bimaknang i pimalapalad. Abatankoso ni būnongmo, albatankoso ni būnongmo say onbaknangmi tan onpalapaladmi.

You Kabigat on high, Kabigat of the underworld, Kabigat of the center, Kabigat where the sun rises, Kabigat of the west, Kabigat where rise the rivers. Maseken of the underworld, Akodau of the underworld, Maseken where empties the water, Akodau where empties the water; you show us here about the *pachit*, make us rich, give us long life.

You Bakching, who were taught by Kabūnian our master, you show us this prayer, because those for whom you prayed became rich, and were given long life. Teach us your prayers, teach us your prayers that we may become rich and live long.

Betel nut is then chewed, and the juice smeared on the face of the person giving the *pachit*, and on the faces of his near relatives, in order that when the spirits of the dead are called, they may recognize those who are giving the *pachit*. After the first day blood instead of betel nut is used. While the blood or betel nut is being put on the face the *mambunong* says the following:

Kadasantaka. Datokantaka: onbaknangka; onbaknangak; onbaknang i makabali. On palpaladka; onpalpaladak; onpalpalad i makabali.

I anoint you. I say this to you: may you become rich; may I become rich; may the owner of this house become rich. May you live long; may I live long; may the owner of this house live long.

The souls of the dead ancestors of the person giving the *pachit*, and also the souls of other dead people who were very rich are then called, the *mambunong* praying as follows:

Takalajo, amud tan kalaching jun kaapoapo. Kalajo, panookobantayo ja kuchil tan tapuy. Ispaispayo bakaknangjo, ispaispayyo kapadadjo; say guaray kapalpaltakanjo ni katagual katagualanjo moan. Takalajo——(calling by name the souls of the dead).

Come, souls of our near relatives and souls of our great. Come, let us eat and drink together hog and *tapuy*. Grant us riches, grant us long life, so that there may be ceremonies of calling you again. Come——(the ancestors, for several generations, of the person giving the *pachit* are then called by name, after which the names of other dead rich men and women are called).

Six of the old men then dance, while the *mambunong* exhorts them as follows:

Datokantaka: mabodinka i magasak; mabodinak i magasak; mabaodin i maka bali i magasak. Manpakanka i magabay; manaychinka i magabay. Datokantaka agi: ampakpakanka i magabay; ampakpakanak i magabay; ampakpakan i makabali i magabay.

I say this to you: may you have good luck; may I have good luck; may the owner of this house have good luck. May what you do have good results; may what you raise result well. I say this to you, brothers: may what you feed result well; may what I feed result well; may what the owner of this house feeds result well.

While the dance and prayer are in progress, the person giving the *pachit* and all his near relatives go into the house. All the windows and doors are closed, and a large fire built in the center of the room, in order that the people inside may sweat out their evil deeds and become pure.

Those inside then sing the *bantagian*. They all shout four times, "Bantagian, inagian (Hurrah! relatives);" and then the men and women sing alternately, always repeating each statement.

(Men) Datokantaka, Chalay: indak si Maseken chi adinokan ni chanom; anchi manasul, amansalang, amansalay. Oay, oay, whoii, whoii.

(Women) Mansabjak liolio.

(Men) Lioliwa, lioliwa.

(Women) Mansabjatak i karomia.

(Men) Karomia, karomia. Mayidomo'n bayobayo mansigisigi.

(Women) Paguiko mantalbobo.

(Men) Akopsan, akompawan.

(Women) Onosko, mantalbobo.

(Men) Sinogpat sinodonasi.

(Men) I say this to you, Chalay: I took Maseken where the water empties, no one talking, going up stream, going against the current. Oay, oay, whoii, whoii.

(Women) I hold the *liolio*.

(Men) *Lioliwa*, *lioliwa*.

(Women) I hold the *karomia*.

(Men) *Karomia*, *karomia*. You have nothing to pound and winnow.

(Women) My rice is growing well.

(Men) It has no fruit; it is wilted.

(Women) My sugar cane is growing well.

(Men) The *sinodonasi* cuts it down.

Then the *mambunong* takes the *liolio*, which consists of a bunch of leaves, and the *karomia*, a bunch of grass, and waves them over the heads of those giving the *pachit*, while praying as follows:

Kabigat chi inaykayang, Kabigat chi inaychalum; kakaasi kita say onbakangngmi, ipalalpaladmi. Mobdin i anakmi i magasat tan palpalad.

Sikayo nanpanbunong mapangdū, bimakmaknangi, bimalalpalad i inbunonganjo. Abatankoso ni bunongjo say onbakangng kami tan onpalalpalad kami.

Kabigat of the sky-world, Kabigat of the underworld; pity us so that we may become rich and live long. May our children have good luck and live long.

You dead *mambunong* who were the first, those became rich and lived long for whom you prayed. Teach us your prayers that we may become rich and live long.

The *tapuy* is then passed four times to every one in the house, and the large jar containing what is left is carried outside. The people then go out, the young men passing through the windows and the rest through the doors.

Outside the *mambunong* prays the same prayer as that prayed inside, after which six old women join hands and walk around in a circle, singing as follows:

Dioso, Kabūnian, tomango num agsaya balitok?

Dioso, Kabūnian, tomango num agsaya pagui?

What, Kabunian, will make us rich if not gold?

What, Kabunian, will make us rich if not rice *palay*?

The lines are repeated many times, the singers substituting for the word "*balitok*" such words as *dokto*, *camotes*, *noang*, *carabaos*, *baka*, and *cattle*.

While the above is being sung, the *mambunong* dances back and forth in front of the house, and serves as a medium for the spirits. Those who come first are the souls of the ancestors of the person giving the *pachit*. The following, which I recorded at a *pachit* given by Kamora, one of the younger generation of Nabaloi, will serve as an example of what takes place at this time:

The first spirit to appear was Aladko, Kamora's grandfather on his father's side. Aladko, speaking through the *mambunong*, said: "*Tūa's Kamora?*" (Where is Kamora?). "*Sikak si Aladko.*" (I am Aladko.) Kamora came and offered ten pesos to Aladko, but Aladko refused them, saying, "*Kolang. Achumanmo ipat i palo.*" (Not enough. Increase it by forty.) The fifty pesos Mexican were given, and Kamora received a drink of *tapuy* while the money was placed in the basket.

The next to appear was Otot, Kamora's grandfather on his mother's side. Otot was not so rich while alive as Aladko, and his spirit was therefore satisfied with a smaller amount of money. It took only thirty pesos to pay Otot.

After the dead ancestors of Kamora had appeared and had been paid off, the ancestors of other rich men began to appear and call for their descendants. They

were also given money, but in smaller amounts. In all a little more than one thousand dollars was paid the spirits—all Mexican, as none of them were familiar with the money coined during American times. After the *pachit* was over, the money was all returned to the owners, since the souls of the dead took only the soul of the money. Money which has been thus used is called *tawid*<sup>248</sup> and must be kept by the owners, and transmitted to their descendants, as I learned when I tried to purchase some coins which were nearly three hundred years old.

After the souls of the dead ancestors have appeared, and received their money, the people begin dancing and continue to do so until about noon.

A quantity of rice and meat is then given to the visitors from each outside town, and to those from each barrio of Kabayan. These groups cook separately in large caldrons. The rice is well cooked, but the meat is taken out and put on the grass almost as soon as the water begins to boil. The rice is put in large wooden vessels. Only a few of the more prominent Nabaloi are furnished spoons for eating; the rest eat with their fingers.

After eating, the people begin dancing again, and continue to do so until the next mealtime.

The proceedings on the second, third, and fourth days are similar to those on the first day; but the ceremonies are performed in the house, and those connected with the payment of spirits are omitted.

On the fourth day all the visitors from the other towns and barrios except those related to the man giving the *pachit* return home. The people attending from each outside barrio or town are generally given a cow or carabao to take home to be killed for the people there.

The *pachit* generally lasts from fifteen to thirty days, but only a small number of people attend during the latter part.

#### CHAWAK

The *chawak* is really a *pachit* on a smaller scale. It has the same ceremonies, but is far less pretentious and fewer people attend. The people of the barrio where it is held and the principal men of the other barrios of the town are invited; but no others unless they are relatives or very close friends of the one giving the *cañao*. This ceremony generally lasts from three to five days. Hogs are the only animals killed.

#### BAYJOK

The *bayjok* is the *pachit* of the poor. The souls of the dead are called, and the same prayers are prayed as in the *pachit*, but there is no dancing. It generally lasts only one day.

<sup>248</sup> *Tawid* is anything in the nature of an heirloom which can not be sold.

## BATBAT

One of the ceremonies most frequently given by the Nabaloi is the *batbat*. From the explanatory story, it seems that it may have been celebrated at first only to cure insanity; but now it may be given to cure any kind of sickness, if the divination ceremony reveals the fact that the sickness was caused by the souls of the dead. A Kabayan *mambunong* made the following statements regarding this *cañao*:

Apasakit ni kalaching i too tap naagang era; apangit ni tapuy ono tayau.

Sampalo i kuchil ja amadad tap sikatoi kwan ni kalaching; num amayopi kalaching, jut sakay amabūno ankun naykara imabūno sampolo. Sūta achūm maydoko tan mansilbi ni sabadi'n kanjau.

The souls of the dead make people sick because they are hungry; they want *tapuy* or dancing.

Ten hogs are tied because this was commanded by the souls of the dead; but the souls of the dead are deceived, and only one is killed, although they pretend to kill ten. The others are turned loose and used for other *cañaos*.

The person who is to give the *batbat* procures ten hogs, twenty jars of *tapuy*, enough rice for the people invited, cloth, blankets, and musical instruments. The ten hogs are tied and placed in a row in front of the house, and ten jars of *tapuy* are placed in a parallel row. Inside the house, five jars of *tapuy* are placed in line on each side of the basket containing the cloth and blankets. The first part of the ceremony is celebrated inside the house.

The *mambunong* pours out some of the *tapuy* into a bowl and passes it to the person giving the *batbat*, who drinks and returns the bowl to the *mambunong*. After drinking, the *mambunong* says the following, while holding the bowl in his hand:

Pinsak guara too'n, Bakut i ngaranto, ja nanangoi jut manakakad. Nūnta sakay ja dabi naraguay'd balito, kinokogipto i guaray too ja simabi'n sikato jut inkwan, "No anahadka'd balimo, manbatbatka. Pandaka chūa'n palo salau ni tapuy; amanjo'd daam sampolo tan sampolo'd būday. Pangadaka ni sampolo'n kuchil jut balodjo; būnojoi sakay ji ibūlosjoi achūm. Panadaka ni sape tan binakut. No tongpalanmo sūta inkwanko, maypianka. No maypianka, inkwanmo ni achūm ja amansakit say pasingcha ngo say maypian era."

Once there was a man, Bakut was his name, who was insane and wandered around. One night when he was far away from his house, he dreamed that a man came to him and said, "When you go home, celebrate the *batbat*. Get twenty jars of *tapuy*; put ten inside the house and ten outside. Get ten hogs and tie them; kill one and turn loose the others. Get *sape*<sup>249</sup> and *binakut*.<sup>250</sup> If you obey what I have said,

<sup>249</sup> A white cotton blanket with a black border.

<sup>250</sup> A cloth with white, black, and red stripes, out of which the Nabaloi women make their skirts.

you will become well. When you are well, tell others who are sick so that they may do the same and become well."

After relating the above the *mambunong* prays as follows:

Kabigat chi inaychalum, Kabigat chi pankakabi ni chanom, Kabigat chi pankadinoki ni chanom, Kabigat chi badolan, Kabigat chi ditopan, Kabigat chi inaykayang, akou tan bolan; sikayo indatongjo iay batbat jut dagami niman. Iango tapuy, kuchil, tan abul ja impalongjo; kaasijokami tap iangon tinongpalim. Ipalapaladmi, ibakbaknangmi ji ibangon nanchilos.

Kabigat of the underworld, Kabigat of the place where the water rises, Kabigat of the place where the water empties, Kabigat of the east, Kabigat of the west, Kabigat of the sky, sun and moon; you created the *batbat* and we are celebrating it now. Here are the *tapuy*, pigs, and cloth which you demanded; pity us because here is obedience. Give us long life, make us rich, and cure the person for whom this ceremony is celebrated.

The *mambunong* then takes a bowl of water in one hand, and calling the names of the dead ancestors of the person giving the *batbat*, says:

Kalajo kayo, pangpangada ni abul tan tapuy ja impalongjo.

Come, get the cloth and *tapuy* which you demanded.

Then the *mambunong* goes outside, taking with him the bowl of water, which he holds in his hand while praying as follows:

Sikam kerol tan anyëgyëg, kalajo; panookobantayo. Iay tapuy tan kuchil. Pankabayo i molami tan pankasatjoi animal.

Sikama anyëgyëg, karayo panyokayoka i chüntog say agmachichal i ilimi. Sikama kerol ja agimayo, karam angangmo chadimi. Sikam anyëgyëg, panabsol kayo sun kaysingmo kerol. Sikam kerol, inkwanmo son ampüok agtochichalan i balimi tan i molami tan kayomi. Sikam ngo anyëgyëg, tagonmo's alim pasapas agtochichalan i balimi, i molami, tan payümi.

You thunder and earthquake, come; let us eat together. Here is *tapuy* and hog. Cause the plants to grow, and give luck with the animals.

You the earthquake, do not cause the mountains to slide so that our settlement will be destroyed. You the thunder of the loud noise, do not injure our places. You earthquake, meet with your friend the thunder. You the thunder, tell the typhoon not to destroy our houses, our plants, and our trees. You also earthquake, tell the storms not to destroy our houses, our plants, and our rice fields.

The *pasang* are then addressed as follows:

Sikam Inkaton, Kamayon, Chüdimay, Būgan, Būmūlos, Tūmadangan, Indūlni tan Tomobladan; iangon tinongpalmi pianjo. Panganakjo too tan kuchil.

You Inkaton, Kamayon, Chudimay, Būgan, Bumulos, Tomadangan, Indulni, tan Tomobladan; here we are complying with your wishes. Let offspring be born of people and hogs.

Four men and four women representing the eight *pasang*<sup>251</sup> then begin to dance. While they are dancing the *mambunong* exhorts them as follows:

Datokantaka, pasang; panganakjo too, panganakjo kuchil tan amina animal.

I say this to you, *pasang*; let the people have children, and let the pigs and all the animals have offspring.

After the dance the *mambunong* squats near the pig which is to be killed and prays as follows:

Sikayo Kabigat, Būgan, Amdoyam, tan Balitok, chi inaykayang; kasaijokami. Sikama Tachong, tachongikami; sikamaa Wadwadan, chi inaykayang, wadwadan-jokami; sikama Kabigat, Būgan, Tachong, Balikongkong, Amdayaon, Balitok, Baliwan, Lūmawig, tan Salibobo; kakaasijokami.

You Kabigat, Bugan, Amdayon, tan Balitok, on high, pity us! You Scorpio, protect us; you Boötes on high, watch over us; you Kabigat, Bugan, Scorpio, the Sickle, Amdayon, Balitok, Baliwan, Lumawig, and Hyades; pity us!

The dead *mambunong* are then addressed as follows:

Nanpanbunong, napangdū, kalajo. Iay tapuy tan kuchil; Pankasatjo i too; itod-jokami ni bunong.

You past *mambunong*, the first, come. Here is *tapuy* and hog; make us lucky; show us the prayer.

The *mambunong* then counts the hogs and says:

Guara amin, sampolo; ibulosjo sium.

Here are all of them, ten; turn loose nine.

Nine of the hogs are turned loose and the remaining one killed. The *mambunong* puts blood on the face of the person giving the *batbat* and on the faces of his near relatives, saying:

Onpalpaladka, onpalpaladak; onbakhknangka, onbakhknangak.

May you live long, may I live long; may you become rich, may I become rich.

The meat is then cooked; but before it is eaten the *mambunong* goes inside the house and prays again, calling by name the *pasang* and the ancestors of the person giving the *batbat*, and then continues as follows:

Sikayo—kalajo; mangan; panookobantayo say onanak i too. Kalajo kalaching nan—; mangan; panookobantayo. Pankasatjokami; onbakhknangmi; tan onpalalpaldmi say guara ingis ngiy moan.

Come (calling names of *pasang*) eat! Let us eat and drink together so that the people will have children. Come souls of (calling names of dead ancestors) eat! Let us eat together. Make us lucky; make us rich; and give us long life so that there may be the same as this again.

<sup>251</sup> Malevolent spirits living in the air which prevent the birth of children and cause sickness. See pages 307 and 325.

The *mambunong* then goes outside and repeats the prayer which he prayed outside before the hog was killed; after which the people eat. They then drink *tapuy*, sing the *badio*,<sup>252</sup> and dance the *tayo*.<sup>252</sup> The dancing, singing, and drinking generally continue throughout the night and for a part of the next day.

The next morning the head of the hog is cooked, and the skull hung under the eaves of the house so that if the souls of the dead should pass, they would remember that the *batbat* had been celebrated and not make the person sick again. The skulls of the hogs killed in *batbat* are never taken down as long as the owner of the house lives.

#### SAAD

Some of the Nabaloi are too poor to give the *batbat*, and for these the *saad* is substituted. A small pig or chicken is killed, but it is not necessary to tie ten pigs as in the *batbat*. Two jars of *tapuy* are necessary. The prayers for *saad* and *batbat* are the same.

#### KAPI

One of the *mambunong* gave the following information regarding the ceremony called *kapi*:

Sakay ja too ja guaray bünatto ja atī aligua'n abayak kanokogipto ja guara inahancha—pilak, animal, tobako—ono kanogipto ja guara achūūm; mankapi tab kalaching ni bünatto, Kabigat, Būgan, ono panmambunong in pankogip num naagang era.

A man who has a relative who died not long ago dreams that something was given—silver, animals, or tobacco—or he dreams that he has something; he celebrates *kapi* because the soul of his dead relative, or Kabigat, or Bugan, or the dead *mambunong* cause him to dream when they are hungry.

For the celebration of this ceremony, a hog, *tapuy*, and a collection of tools are necessary. The man giving the *kapi* and his family sit near the tools and hog, while the *mambunong* squats near the *tapuy* and prays as follows:

Sikayo Kabigat nan Būgan chi inaykayang, num sikayo inpanogip ngiay, ipan-kasatjo nankapi tap iangon tinongpalcha. Ipabakbakangjo num sikayo'n angikan inogipto. Sikayo nanpanbunong no bayag, panookobantayo ji pankasatjokami.

You Kabigat and Bugan on high, if you gave the dream, bless the givers of the *kapi* because here they are obeying. Make them very rich if you gave the dream. You *mambunong* of long ago, eat and drink with us that you may give us luck.

<sup>252</sup> See pages 230 and 287.



The hog is then killed. One shoulder is given to the *mambunong* for his services; the other shoulder and the hams are cooked in the yard, and the rest is cooked inside the house. After the rice and meat have been cooked, the preparation for eating is first made inside the house. The *mambunong* squats beside the vessel containing the meat, and prays as follows:

Sikam —, apo nan —; sikam —, apo nan —; sikam —, bunat nan —; num sikayo inpanogip ngiay, kalajo; panookobantayo. Pankasatjokami; onpalapaladmi; onbakhknangmi.

You —, the ancestor of (name of man giving *kapi*); you —, the ancestor of (name of wife of man giving *kapi*); you —, the relative of (name of man who dreamed); if you caused this dream, come; let us eat and drink together. Give us luck; give us long life; make us rich.

The *mambunong* then puts blood on the face of the person giving the *kapi*, and says:

Kamon guara inoogipmo i palapaladmo, ipalalpaldmo, ibakhknangmo tap iangan tinongpalmo.

If you had the dream, may you become rich, may you have long life because here is your obedience.

Then the *mambunong* goes outside the house and squats beside the cooked rice while praying as follows:

Sikam Kabigat nan Būgan chi inaykayang, sikam Kabigat ŋhi inaychalum, sikam talau, sikama bolan, sikama akou; pankasatjokami. Sikama tachong, tachongjokami; sikama salabobo, pansalabobojokami; sikama wadwaran chi inaykayang, wadwaranjokami; sikama kolpot, karayjokami kolpoti; sikayo chakdigan chi inaykayang, chakdiganjokami, pankasatjokami.

Sikayo nanpanbunong no bayag, panitcho bunong. Sikam —, apo nan —; sikam —, apo nan —; sikam —, bunat nan —; kalajo; panookobantayo num sikayo angikan ni kinokogip nan —. Pankasatjokami; ibakhknangmi; ipalapaladmi.

You Kabigat and Bugan on high, you Kabigat of the underworld, you the stars, you the moon, you the sun; give us luck. You Scorpio, protect us; you the Hyades, guard us; you Boötes on high, watch over us; you the clouds, do not cloud us; you the *Chakdigan*<sup>253</sup> (?) *chakdiganjokami* (?).

You the *mambunong* of long ago, come; show us the prayer. You —, the ancestor of (name of man giving *kapi*); you — the ancestor of (name of wife of man giving *kapi*); you— (name of person who has recently died) relative of (name of person who dreamed); come! eat with us if you gave the dream to —. Give us luck; make us rich; give us long life.

<sup>253</sup> One of the *mambunong* said the *Chakdigan* were two bright stars near together—possibly the Twins.

The *mambunong* then pours a cup of *tapuy* near the door and puts eight small pieces of meat on top of the rest of the meat for the *pasang*, after which he prays as follows:

Sikayo pasang, iangon tapuy tan apag; agjopansakiti. Sikayo makachaga ja chaga, pankasatjokami; pankasatjoi pakan; pankasatjoi kuchilmi; pankasatjoi manbadinmi.

Sikam Kabūnian chi inaykayang, panitaknalmi'd mola say guara kanunmi, tan ipakanmi kuchilmi say guara ingis ngiay ja panookobantay num sakay ja akou.

You, the *pasang*, here is *tapuy* and meat; do not cause sickness. You (the spirits) whose place is this place, make us lucky; make us lucky with what we feed; make us lucky with our hogs; make us lucky in our trading.

You Kabunian on high, throw down plants so that there is food, and feed for the pigs so that there may be another ceremony like this, that we may eat and drink some other day.

During the rest of the day the people eat, and drink *tapuy*. There is no dancing.

The next day the head of the hog is cooked, after which the *mambunong* prays as follows over a dish of cooked rice:

Sikayo nanpanbunong no abayag, kamon guara adibkan ja agakinkwan, joka itongpal; pankasatjoi nankapi.

You the *mambunong* of long ago, if there is something forgotten which I did not say, you cause it to be done; give luck to the giver of the *kapi*.

#### KIAD

The *kakaising*, sometimes called *irontog* because they live in the high mountains, frequently cause sickness among the rich Nabaloi. When the *mambunong* divines that the *kakaising* have caused the sickness, the *kiad* must be celebrated.

The person giving the *kiad* must get one carabao, at least ten jars of *tapuy*, and a number of pieces of cloth of various specified designs. The cloth is put into the rice winnowing basket and set near the *tapuy*. The *mambunong* squats beside the *tapuy* and cloth and prays as follows:

Sikayo nanpanbunong, kalajo. Itojo i bunong ni kiad. Pankasatjokami, ipalalaladmi, ibakbakangmi.

Sikayo irontog, kalajo. Kamon sayjay i joka panibaga, kaasijo iay i too simakit. Iango tapuy, iango abul tan noang, ja alanjo.

You past *mambunong*, come. Teach us the prayer of *kiad*. Bless us, give us long lives, make us rich.

You the *irontog*, come. If this is what you are asking for, help this sick man. Here is *tapuy*, here is cloth and a carabao, which you may take.

The carabao is then killed, and some of the meat is taken inside the house and cooked. Before it is eaten the *mambunong* squats near it and repeats the prayer. The person giving the *kiad* and his family eat first, after which the other people eat. Some of the meat is taken home by the visitors, but a part is left to be cooked the next day.

The *kiad* which is given in the daytime must always be followed by the *batbat* that night.

#### AMPASIT

There are three kinds of spirits which have the same origin: the *ampasit*, which live in the timber; the *timungau*, which live in the water; and the *pasang*, which live in the air. The ceremonies called *ampasit*, *timungau*, and *pasang* are given to remedy the trouble caused by the spirits of the same names.

The *ampasit* is given to cure sore eyes and sore feet when these injuries were inflicted by the *ampasit* on the person while traveling through timber. It is also celebrated to cure other sicknesses which may have been caused by the *ampasit*.

This ceremony is held behind the house. Tools, cloth, a jar of *tapuy*, and a chicken are procured and placed in front of the *mambunong*, who holds the chicken in his hand while relating the following story:

Daki tan bīi san asauwa guara anakha'n chūa ja daki tan bīi ja binadug. Sūta bīi nansodsod nan amato tan inato. Inkwanto, "Tintinko inalbung inadabi, jut agakampta num ngaranto." Sūta amato tan inato inkwancha ji itolbaktōi dakub tan tan anchalan chi tauwa ni kalibian. Inkwancha moan ji angmangada ni apol ja ikojuntō'd'akusto.

Idi agsapa sinomalja ni amacha tan inacha, jut simplancha i apol chi akus ni daki anakcha. Jut inamtara sūta bīi inman agito'n daki. Amacha tan inacha insagangcha era, tan inkwancha son sikara ji agcha kosto'n onan moan.

Jut sūta san agi tan bīi nanbayo era ni bakas, jut namtēk ra num agchaampta i daguancha. Ni numnumcha ji onorancha i chanom. Idi eraka manakad, sūta bīi imanak ni chakal ja nganga. Inchipcha achūma anakcha chi chanom, sokab i achūm, tan chimana inaykayang i achūm.

Sūta aanak ja inchapigto chi chanom nanbodio ni timūngau, sūta inchapigcha'd chūntog nanbodio ni ampasit, jut sūta inchapigcha'd inaykayang nanbodio ni pasang.

Sūta ampasit, timūngau tan pasang agchapijan i too, jut chaka angangjaa era. Sūta ampasit chaka bajabajanga i mata tan sēdi, ja amanakad chi masokuk. Sūta pasang agchapaaniak ni bīi. Sūta timūngau, chaka panakas chi chanom i too ja malmud, jut sinachūm pamansikitan i too num nayasop era ni chanom.

A man and a woman, spouses, had two children—a girl and a boy, who were grown. The girl made complaint to her father and mother. She said, "My vagina becomes wet every night, and I do not know the cause." Her father and mother

told her to lock the doors and to fasten the windows in the night. They told her also to get some *apol* (a kind of white powder chewed with betel nut) which she should put on her belly.

The next morning, an investigation was made by their father and mother, and they found the *apol* on the belly of the man, their son. Then they knew that the girl had had commerce with her brother. Their father and mother scolded them, and told them that they did not want to see them again.

Then the brother and sister pounded rice, and ran away; but did not know where they were going. They decided to follow the river. While they were travelling, the girl gave birth to many children. They threw some of their children into the water, some into the forest, and some there to the sky.

The children whom they threw into the water became the *timbangau*, those they threw into the mountains became the *ampasit*, and those they threw into the sky became the *pasang*.

The *ampasit*, *timbangau*, and *pasang* do not like people, but cause them harm. The *ampasit* make sore the eyes and feet of those who walk through the forest. The *pasang* make barren the women. The *timbangau* cause people to fall into the water and drown, and sometimes they make people sick while near the water.

After relating the above story, the *mambunong* holds the chicken in his hand and prays as follows:

Ampasitka'd Pagdito, ampasitka'd Gūsaran, ampasitka'd Pauway, ampasitka'd Adoay (the *ampasit* of many settlements are called). Kamon sikayo simadpak ni mata'n iay, kalajo. Kayo pangada ngiy mangano ja sadat ni manganojo ja chimachal nan iay. Onpasud i matato tap mahanto manok, sankab, banga, katab, kobal, salau, atak tan chakal i mangano.

Nanpanbunong napangdū, kalajo. Jo ibunongnong iay, tap agjo itoro i bunongjo.

*Ampasit* of Pagdito, *ampasit* of Gūsaran, *ampasit* of Pauway, *ampasit* of Adoay, etc. If you slapped the eyes of this person, come here. Get these things to pay for the things which were broken by this person. Make well his eyes, because here he has given a chicken, spades, little jars, blankets, breech-clouts, large jars, *bolos*, and many things.

*Mambunong* of the past, come! Pray for this person, because you did not teach us your prayers.

#### PASANG NI MANSAKIT

The special way in which the *pasang* exhibit their malevolence toward people is by causing women to be barren, but they also cause sickness. The ceremonies held in the two cases are different. When given to cure sickness, the ceremony is called *pasang ni mansakit* or *pasang* for sickness.

The souls of the dead sometimes buy on credit from the *pasang*, and in order to enforce payment, the *pasang* make the relatives of their debtors sick.

When the *pasang ni mansakit* is to be celebrated, *tapuy*, jars, tools, and cloth are placed in a row outside the house. The *mambunong*,

holding a chicken in his hand, squats beside the *tapuy* and repeats the story recorded in the *ampasit*, after which he prays as follows:

Sikayo i pasang, kalajo. Num sikayo impasakit nan —, ipabungangonjo. Iangon banga, sankab, kobal, abul, tan chakal i mangano ja otangjo. Iangon tapuy tan manok ja panookobantayo.

Nan panbunong napangdū, kalajo. Itongtongijokami, ibakbaknangmi, ipalaladmi.

You, the *pasang*, come. If you caused the sickness of —, make him well. Here are jars, spades, breech-clouts, and many things for your debt. Here is *tapuy* and chicken for us to eat and drink together.

Past *mambunong*, who were the first, come. Talk for us, make us rich, give us long life.

The chicken is then killed and cooked, but before it is eaten the *mambunong* repeats the story and prayer. After eating, the owner takes his property, and as soon as the *tapuy* has been drunk the *cañao* ends.

#### TIMUNGAU

The *timbangau* is given to cure sickness caused by the malevolent spirits of the same name. It is also sometimes given by fishermen to prevent sickness, especially when they intend to fish for eels. The following explanation was given by one of the old men:

Ampay kami manigay ni kiwuti mamalpal kami ni manok ja maysadad ni kiwut ni timungau. No guara too'n angalan kiwut ji kakogipanto ji chaka aampta kiwut, masapola mamalpal moan ni manok, tap sūta timungau in kwantoi tinoantoi manok.

Before we fish for eels we sacrifice a chicken, which is given in exchange for the eel to the *timbangau*. If there is a person who caught an eel who dreams and dreams that he is hunting an eel, it is necessary to sacrifice a chicken again, because the *timbangau* have said the (first) chicken was not sufficient.

The *timbangau* live in the water. They sometimes cause people to become sick when they use the water for floating firewood or house timbers, when they go fishing, when they divert the smaller streams from their courses for irrigation, when they work near the water, or when they cross large rivers.

It does not seem necessary to describe the manner in which this ceremony is celebrated, since it differs only slightly from the celebration of the *ampasit*.

#### AMDAG

The *inamdagan* or *amdag* are spirits that travel with the wind and hunt for the souls of living people, which they imprison for awhile and finally use for food. When a person's soul is in prison he is sick, and

when it is consumed he will die. If the divination ceremony shows that the soul has been captured by the *inamdagan*, the *amdag* must be celebrated.

The various kinds of Nabaloi tools are procured and put in a rice winnowing basket. A small pig or chicken is killed, but *tapuy* is unnecessary. Just before the pig or chicken is killed, the *mambunong* relates the following:

Pinsak i akou guara achūūma too'n dimau chi sabadi'n ili. No inkalibito, naogip era'd chalan. Idi eraka maogip inantaginop sakay sud sikara ji guaray dimabas ja chakal ja too jut inkwan nūnta naanod, "Sikak si inamdagan. Sūta kadūama chūa eraka mansakit. No anahadkayo mangamdagkayo, say maypian era, tap sūta achūūma inamdagan ja apangdūla indara i adīacha. Mandaga ni botbotbotog ono manok tan chakala basal tan kayang, jut ikwanjo achūma inamdagan ji iolichadi i adia ni kayitmo."

Idi bimangon sūta too ichūmancha totogua tagtaginopto, jut idi imahad era. Anangdag era jut inaypasud sūta amansakit.

One day there were some people who went to another settlement. When night came on they slept on the road. While they were sleeping, one of them dreamed that many people were passing and that the last one said, "I am an *inamdagan*. Two of your companions are sick. When you go home give the *amdag*, so that they will become well, because some of the *inamdagan* who went before took their souls. Get a small pig or chicken and many tools and spears, and tell the other *inamdagan* to return the souls of your companions."

The *mambunong* then squats beside the pig and tools and prays as follows:

Sikam Kabigat chi apankabkabi ni chanom, sikam Kabigat chi apankadinnoki ni chanom, sikam Kabigat chi apamboday ni akou, sikam Kabigat chi apankadinosi ni akou, sikam Kabigat chi inaykayang, sikam Kabigat chi inaychalum; kalajo. Iay panawiljo; poaiodi i adia nan —.

Inamdaganka'd Lūtab, inamdaganka'd Gūsaran, inamdaganka'd Pakso; achakat sikayo angala ni adia nan —. Iodiodi, tap iay i kuchil tan bosal ja awiljo.

Kalajo nanpanbunong, panitocho i bunong.

You Kabigat where the water rises, you Kabigat where the water empties, you Kabigat where the sun rises, you Kabigat where the sun sets, you Kabigat on high, you Kabigat of the underworld; come! Here are your presents; cause to be brought back the soul of —.

You *inamdagan* of Lūtab, you *inamdagan* of Gūsaran, you *inamdagan* of Pakso; perhaps you took the soul of —. Return it, because here are the hog and tools which are your presents.

Come past *mambunong*, show us the prayer.

The pig or chicken is then killed and cooked. The *mambunong* relates the same story and prays the same prayer again, after which the people eat.

After the ceremony has been completed, the *piju* taboo previously described is in effect for one day. Canes with long leaves are put in front of the house as a signal that the *amdag* has been celebrated.

## TAWAL

The *tawal* is celebrated to cause the return of the soul of a living person which is voluntarily staying away, or to cause the inhabitants of the underworld to release it from prison. One of the *mambunong* gave the following information regarding this ceremony:

No onbatëk i adia ni too, mangalaka ni tawal ja odianto. No onsakit i too chima achüma ili jut iolicha moan chi balito, idagami tawal say agmajagjag i adiato.

If the soul of a person goes away, the *tawal* is celebrated in order that it may return. If a person becomes sick in another settlement and is taken back again to his home, we celebrate the *tawal* so that his soul will not be left.

For celebrating the *tawal* one chicken and one jar of *tapuy* are necessary. The *cañao* is held outside of the house. A red flag is put up so that the *adia* will see it and know where to come. The *mambunong* squats beside the *tapuy* and holds the chicken in his hand while praying as follows:

Adia nan —, nalkudka'd, kala. Tagualanmika, tap ian manchilosmi ni manok.

Soul of —, if you have wandered away, come. We are calling you, because here we are sacrificing a chicken.

If the soul is imprisoned by the inhabitants of the underworld, the following is added:

Akodau tan Masëken, no onsakub ni adia nan —, ibulosjo, tap iangon manok tan tapuy ja panookobantayo.

Akodau and Maseken, if you are shutting up the soul of —, release it, because here is a chicken and *tapuy* for us to eat and drink together.

The chicken is then killed and after it is cooked the prayer is repeated.

## TINGITING

When a house is burned the Nabaloi believe that the souls of the persons who have been occupying it fly away with the fire. It is then necessary to celebrate the *tingiting* to induce the souls to return.

The person celebrating the *tingiting* holds some dried meat in one hand while praying as follows:

Sikam Kabigat chi inaykayang, büyon modi sikami'd kalotoan, num naolopmi chi apoi.

You Kabigat on high, send us to the earth if we have gone away with the fire.

The meat is then cooked, and the same prayer prayed again before it is eaten.

## PALIS

Practically all Benguet Igorot are believers in witchcraft. The councils of the townships have been known to pass resolutions to the effect that certain of their residents were witches or wizards, and to request of the provincial governor that they be banished.

Soon after the Kabayan Girls' School was organized, one of the teachers from a lowland province scolded the daughter of a rich Igorot. The girl became sick, and the *sabat* showed that the teacher was a witch and had caused the sickness. I was away at the time, and when I arrived the next day all the girls except two had left the school.

*Palis* is the name of the *cañao* celebrated when it has been decided that a person has been made sick by a witch or wizard. When the *bakno* or *sabat* indicates that a *manmalasik* or witch has caused the sickness, the *sabat* is then used to determine his or her name. The names of the surrounding barrios are called; as, Adoay, Kabayan, Lutab, Gusaran. If the suspended stone moves when the name of Lutab is called, the *manmalasik* undoubtedly lives in that barrio. The names of the *sitios* in the barrio are then called, and in this way it is learned in which one the *manmalasik* lives. The names of the people living in the *sitio* are next called until the suspended stone moves at the name of the guilty person.

After the name of the *manmalasik* has been determined, one dog and one jar of *tapuy* are procured. The dog is killed and put near the *tapuy*. The *mambunong* then prays as follows:

Sikayo inamdagan, kalajo; ianjo alis manmalasik, tap takajo paawiwili. Atngimjokami ja balakas manmalasik, —, tap maangangja ni too. Saman i jo alan.

You *inamdagan*, come; take away the wizard, —, because I am giving you presents. Help us to harm the wizard because he is injuring the people. That one you take.

After the *mambunong* has prayed the above prayer, the people sing the *angba*, which is as follows:

Kabigat adayaan	Kabigat on high
Bimūnglot i palis—	See the <i>palis</i> —
I palis, i sagausau,	The <i>palis</i> , the <i>sagausau</i> .
Amdagan adayaan	Amdagan on high
Bimūnglot i palis—	See the <i>palis</i> —
I palis, i sagausau.	The <i>palis</i> , the <i>sagausau</i> .
Būlian adayaan	Bulian on high
Bimūnglot i palis—	See the <i>palis</i> —
I palis, i sagausau.	The <i>palis</i> , the <i>sagausau</i> .

(The song is continued by substituting other names.)



After the song, a loud noise is produced by beating together sticks of bamboo or wood. Then one man dances with a *bolo* in his hand, while the people shout “*o-ay*” just as they do in the *bindayan*. Next the food is prepared, and the *mambunong* again prays the same prayer as at first. The people sing the *angba* again, and the man who danced at first with a *bolo* now dances with the skull of a dog tied on the end of a string. After the dance has been completed, the dog’s skull is hung under the eaves in front of the house so that the *manmalasik* will see it and be afraid to harm the sick person again.

#### SAGAUSAU

Returning good for evil is not taught as a part of the Nabaloi religion. The Nabaloi do not love their enemies, although it is true that they remember them in their prayers.

They celebrate a *cañao* called *sagausau* to cause injury to befall those with whom they have been quarrelling. They also give the *sagausau* to avert injury to themselves caused by their enemies having given the *sagausau*.

About eight years ago, the purpose for which this ceremony is celebrated was brought to the attention of the provincial governor, and he caused ordinances to be passed against its celebration. Since that time it has been celebrated as often as before, but those celebrating it have done so in a more secretive manner. For this reason it is quite probable that my data regarding it are not complete.

A dog or chicken must be killed, and a jar of *tapuy* procured. The *mambunong* squats beside the jar of *tapuy*, and stroking the dog or holding the chicken in his hand, prays as follows:

Kabigat chi inaykayang, chadigijokami tap anch basiulmi. Inamdagan adinokan ni chanom, atngijokami tap anchi basulmi. Inamdagan alid tolapto, atngijokami tap anchi basulmi. Naabak si — kabakalim tap anchi basulmi. Onsakitto ono matay. Inamdagan chi Lutab, inamdagan chi Gūsaran, inamdagan chi Adoay, kalajo. Itodod iay sinagausaumi, abakami kabakalim; pasakitjo ono būnojo si —, tap anchi basulmi.

Nanpanbunong napangdū, kalajo; itongtongngijokami tap anchi basulmi.

Kabigat on high, protect us because we are not at fault. *Inamdagan* where empties the water, help us because we are not at fault. *Inamdagan alid tolapto*, help us because we are not at fault. Cause our enemy to lose because we are not at fault. May he become sick or die. *Inamdagan* of Lūtab, *inamdagan* of Gūsaran, *inamdagan* of Adoay, etc., come. Make effective this our *sagausau*, so we may win over the enemy; make sick or kill — because we are not at fault.

Past *mambunong* who were the first, come; talk for us because we are not at fault.

The chicken or dog is then killed, and after the meat has been cooked the above prayer is repeated. After eating, a man dances to the music made by beating together two sticks. He holds a spear in one hand and a *bolo* in the other, and goes through the motions of fighting while dancing. The man celebrating the *sagausau* performs this dance, if he has not already been made sick by the *sagausau* of his enemy. In this case one of his relatives or friends represents him.

#### BUANG

The *buang* is the *cañao* which is generally given to cure deafness. The *mambunong*, squatting beside a jar of *tapuy* and holding a chicken in his hand, relates the following explanatory story:

Kabigat nan Balitok angintanum ni balat tan abua, Binkara's Akodau ja inacha ja amangada ni abua. Idi simbinan Akodau i oma, inūnantoi sakay ja balat ja pinūal ni kerol. Idi inūnantoi balat ja chimokol chi dota, timakot: jut imakad ni magono. Inkwanto nan Balitok nan Kabigat, "Apūal i sakay ja balat tayo."

Jut si Kabigat nan Balitok dīmau era'd oma ni balat, ja inūnancha i kerol ja inaytakud chi balat. Jut inkēdungancha i asul chi inaykayang, jut kwanto, "Kala; mookasi kerol tap atolung." Jut si Balitok nan Kabigat inkwancha, "Okasanmi num dagbūanjokami." Sūta sakay ja amantabal chi inaykayang inkaltai chūa'n sangito, jut inchapigto nan Kabigat nan Balitok, jut inkwanto, "Sayjay i dagbūyo." Jut si Kabigat nan Balitok inokasancha kerol.

Jut bimatēk i kerol, jut inkwanto, "Guara son sikayo chūa'n sangi'n asauwak, jut jugjuganko son sikayo i tolungko, num no idayajo i būang makal. Inngadngiyo i ngaranko tan ngaran Agimayo ja asauwak." Si Balitok nan Kabigat atolung era, jut idi indagacha būang, nakal.

Kabigat and Balitok planted bananas and *gabi*. They sent Akodau, their mother, to get *gabi*. When Akodau reached the field, she saw that one banana stalk was destroyed by the thunder. When she saw the banana stalk that was lying on the ground, she went home quickly. She said to Balitok and Kabigat, "One of our banana stalks is destroyed."

Then Kabigat and Balitok went to the field of bananas, where they saw the thunder tied to a banana stalk. Then they heard a voice in the sky, and it said, "Come, untie the thunder because he is deaf." Then Balitok and Kabigat said, "We will untie him if you will pay us." The one calling from the sky took out two teeth, and threw to Balitok and Kabigat, and said, "Here is your pay." Then Kabigat and Balitok untied the thunder.

Then the thunder ran away, and said, "You have two teeth of my wife, and I will leave you my deafness, but if you will celebrate the *buang*, it will be cured. Call my name and the name of Agimayo, my wife." Balitok and Kabigat were deaf, but they celebrated the *buang* and were cured.

The *mambunong* then prays as follows:

Amkerol nan Agimayo, kalajo; panookabantayo. Makal ma i tolung ni —, tap iay i manok tan tapuy panookaban.

Nanpanbunong na pangdū, kalajo; panookabantayo. Itodi bunongmi ni būang.

Amkerol and Agimayo, come; let us eat together. Cure the deafness of —, because here is a chicken and *tapuy* to eat together.

Past *mambunong*, the first, come; let us eat together. Show us the prayer of *buang*.

After the story is related and the prayer prayed, the chicken is killed. Just before it is eaten the prayer and the story are repeated.

The next morning the deaf person must wash his face while repeating the following:

Makalkama, tap intongpalkoi būang.

Cure me because I have complied with the *buang*.

#### NANSAANG

The *nansaang* is a *cañao* sometimes given to cure headache. A cup of *tapuy* is placed on the head of the sick person, and a leaf put over it. The *mambunong* holds a chicken above the *tapuy*, and prays as follows, while looking up toward the zenith:

Sikama Kabigat chi inaykayang ja inambalin, sikam akou ja inambalin, sikam bolan ja inambalin, sikam san apon ja inambalin, sikam tado ja inambalin, sikam talau ja inambalin, sikam badikongkong ja inambalin, sikam Amdayoan ja inambalin; kamon sikayo i angisaasaang ni toktok nan —, makal, tap iay i angantakajo manok tan tapuy.

Sikayo nanpanbunong ni nansaang, kalajo; jo imbunongjo nansaang. Onbunong kayo i makal ni magono.

You Kabigat of the sky who are making a journey to trade, you sun who are making a journey to trade, you moon who are making a journey to trade, you the seven stars who are making a journey to trade, you the Dipper who are making a journey to trade, you the stars who are making a journey to trade, you the Sickle who are making a journey to trade, you Amdayoan who are making a journey to trade; if you caused the head of — to ache, cure it, because here I have given you a chicken and *tapuy*.

You the dead *mambunong* for *nansaang*, come; pray the *nansaang*. If you pray the cure will be soon.

The chicken is then killed and cooked, and the prayer repeated.

#### PALIS CHI KABUNIAN

*Palis chi kabūnian* is a *cañao* given for headache and toothache. It is celebrated almost exactly like the *palis*, except that in the *palis chi kabūnian*, the following story is related by the *mambunong*:

Si Kabigat chi kalotoan nan Wigan san agi era. Dimaui era nanbiaki, jut idi inmahad era'd balicha, sinmakit era. Binūra chakal i kuchil, aso, tan manok say onpasud era.

Inbagancha's Kabigat chi inaykayang, "Ngantoi agmi papsaychan? Binūnomi'n amin i kuchilmi, asomi, tan manokmi, num kaonong i sakitmi." Si Kabigat chi inaykayang, kwanto, "Agakamta itan. Daukayo son Amolis tan Dada, mabodincha ikwan sikayo."

Kabigat nan Wigan dīmau era son Amolis nan Dada, jut inbagancha era ni pasing ja onpasud. Si Amolis nan Dada inkwancha nan sikara ani pasing ni palis, jut inkwancha, "Ing-ngadniyo i ngaranmi." Kwan Amolis, "Ing-ngadniyo i ngaranko ja mapangdū"; num kwan nan Dada, "Anchi. Mapangdū i ngaranko."

Nantolag era'n chūa ja inandongba era, say maonan i mapangdū'n mayngadnan. Namtēk era'd impasdong, num anchi angabak; nanoli era, num anchi angabak. Jut inamtēk era baybay, num anchi angabak. Nanoli moan'era jut naabak si Dada. Jut masapol ja mapangdū i ngaran nan Amolis.

Kabigat of the earth and Wigan were brothers. They went to trade, and when they were returning to their houses, they became sick. They killed many pigs, dogs, and chickens, so that they would get well.

They asked Kabigat of the sky, "Why do we not get well? We have killed all our pigs, dogs, and chickens, but we are still sick." Kabigat of the sky said, "I do not know that. Go to Amolis and Dada; they can tell you."

Kabigat and Wigan went to Amolis and Dada, and asked them what to do to be cured. Amolis and Dada told them how to have the *palis*, and said, "Call our names." Said Amolis, "Call my name first"; but it was said by Dada, "No. Call my name first."

They two agreed to run a race so that they should see who would be first to be named. They ran to the north, but neither won; they returned, but neither won. Then they ran to the sea, but neither won. They returned again, and Dada lost. So it is necessary to put first the name of Amolis.

#### DOSAD

*Dosad* is sometimes given for pains in the chest. The *mambunong* holds a spear against the chest of a hog which is to be killed, and relates the following story:

Kabigat chi Kalotoan dimau chi dispag ja anmangisadat, madoptoi anakto ja daki, jut tinomkalcha i chakal ja kuchil. Idi inakadcha kuchil, naogip era chi dūong ni biliti. Idi inūnan Kabigat chi inaykayang, nayigot. Kinjungtoi pagū ni Kabigat chi Kalotoan, jut bimatek ja aginūnan ni Kabigat chi Kalotoan.

Idi sakay ja akou, simakit i pagū ni Kabigat chi Kalotoan, jut amanangis sūta anakto, tap numnumcha ji mati. Kabigat chi inaykayang binabawito, jut dīmau moan, jut inkwanto, "Ngantoi impasing ni tan?" Si Kabigat chi Kalotoan sinongbat, "Ansikit i pagūko." Si Kabigat chi inaykayang inkwanto, "No būnoanmo i sakay ja kuchilmo ja idagam ni dosad, makal."

Idi binūra sakay ja kuchil, jut idi amankadoto, si Kabigat chi Kalotoan pimatung.

Kabigat of the earth went to the lowlands to trade, taking with him his sons; and they bought many hogs. When they were taking the hogs home, they slept under the *biliti*.<sup>254</sup> When he saw him, Kabigat of the sky was envious. He hit with a spear the chest of Kabigat of the earth, and ran away without being seen by Kabigat of the earth.

The next day the chest of Kabigat of the earth was sick, and his children were crying because they thought he would die. Kabigat of the sky pitied him, and came

<sup>254</sup> A species of tree.

again, and said, "What is the matter?" Kabigat of the earth answered, "My chest is sick." Kabigat of the sky said, "If you will kill one of your pigs and make the *dosad*, it will be cured."

They killed one pig and while it was cooking, Kabigat of the earth became well.

The *mambunong* then addresses the dead *mambunong* as follows:

Takalajo nanpanbunong ni *dosad* ja ibunong ni *dosad*. Onbunong kayo i makal magono.

Come past *mambunong* of the *dosad* to pray at the *dosad*. If you pray the cure will be soon.

After the hog has been killed and cooked, the *mambunong* repeats the above story and prayer, while he holds the spear against the chest of the sick person.

### SIGOP

The *sigop* is a ceremony given for curing coughs. When a person has a cough the *cañao* to be given is determined by *sabat* or *buyon*, as previously described. The *sigop* is never given to cure other kinds of sickness, as the *mambunong* never mentions it in the *sabat* or *buyon* unless the *cañao* is to be given for a cough.

The *sigop* is one of the few Nabaloi ceremonies which can be held without *tapuy* and animals to be killed. The *mambunong* takes ginger and salt, which he rubs on the neck of the patient while repeating the following story:

Guaray chūa'n san agi'n daki ja nanbiaki ni agat tan asin. Idi era nanbiaki inapsocha's Akodau ja nanbali chi apankadanoki ni chanom. Atamangecho son sikara ni agat tan asin num agcha inaknan. Kwanchay "No anchi pilakmo, agmika aknan ni agat tan asin." Inamtëk si Akolau jut amankotot. "Manokok kayo" kwanto. Naytotogua, ut anchi bayagto i manokokera'n chua. Idi imahad era'd balicha, dinkara'n amina chilos num agora maypapsachan.

Idi ababayag sinsinmakera nan Kabigat chi inaykayang, jut kimosad alis Kabigat. Inkwanto'n sikara i ondau era sonan Akodau, jut cha sodsoran. Idi dimau era'n son sikato, inkwan Akodau nan sikara amangada era ni manok. Inbunongtoi manok, kwantoi say guaray badinan nūnta san agi ja mangakas ni okok. Inkwanto'n sikara ji kamon ni paraschan mangakas ni okok, mamūno era ni manok jut ingnagdnanchay ngaranto num ibunongcha.

Maypasudchan jut tinodanchay too ni apankal ni okok.

There were two brothers who traded in ginger and salt. When they went to trade they met Akodau (the old woman) who lives where empties the water. She begged them for ginger and salt, but they would not give her any. They said, "If you have no money we will not give the ginger and salt." Akodau ran away and muttered. "You will have coughs," she said. Truly, it was not a long time until they both had coughs. When they went home to their house, they gave all the medicine *cañaos*, but did not get well.

After a long time they were pitied by Kabigat of the sky, and Kabigat came down. He told them to go to Akodau and beg her pardon. When they went to her, Akodau told them to get a chicken. She prayed over the chicken, asking that there be the power given to the brothers to cure coughs. She told them that if they tried to cure coughs, they should kill a chicken, and call her name while they prayed.

They became well, and taught the people how to get rid of coughs.

### KOLOS

*Kolos* is given to cure stomach ache or diarrhoea. A small pig or chicken and a jar of *tapuy* are procured. Just before the pig or chicken is killed the *mambunong* relates the following:

Kabigat nan Būgan san agi era. Dīmau chi Kabigat chi chūntog amanbiaki'd Kadasan jut si Būgan dīmau chi Doko amanbiaki'd Idoko. Si Kabigat inolito ni tinoto, jut si Būgan inolito, abul, baka tan pilak.

Idi inmakad era'n chūa, bimabaying si Kabigat, tap inolito tinoto bangun, tan mani sūta bī angabak ni biaki, jut sinakatantoi akus ni too ja angilako nan sikato ni tinoto. Imbagancha ngantoi impasingantoso ngiay, jut inkwanto'n sikara, say pankal ngiay, masapol agnancha ni kapolni num tinoto. Inkwanto'n sikara ji mamūno era ni kuchil ono manok, jut ing-ngadnancha i ngaranto.

Kabigat and Bugan were brother and sister. Kabigat went to the mountains to trade with the Kadasan (tree dwellers)<sup>255</sup> and Bugan went to the lowlands to trade with the Ilocano. Kabigat brought back bark breech-clouts, and Bugan brought back cloth, cattle, and money.

When they had both returned home Kabigat was ashamed, because he had brought back bark breech-clouts only, and because the woman had won at trading, and so he caused to become sick the bellies of the people that had given to him the bark breech-clouts. They asked why he had done this, and he told them that to cure it, it would be necessary to give something more than bark breech-clouts. He told them to kill a pig or chicken, and to call his name.

After relating the above the *mambunong* prays to the dead *mambunong* as follows:

Takalajo nanpanbunong ni kolos ja ibunong ni kolos. Onbunong kaya i maka! magono.

Come, past *mambunong*, to pray at the *kolos*. If you pray, the cure will be soon.

### BASIL

*Basil* is a *cañao* given to cure diseases of the sexual organs, or chills and fever, which are supposed to be caused by sexual indulgence.

It is necessary to kill a horse or dog for this *cañao*. Before the animal is killed, the *mambunong* stands and looks up at the sky, while praying as follows:

Sikama Kabigat inaykayang, intogonmo's sun sikami, kamon onsakitkami ni inpangiotmi ja mangibasilkami ni kabadyo. Iay sonongpalmi.

<sup>255</sup> A term applied to the Igorot who live in the forest.

(Calling the names of the persons with whom the sick person has had commerce)—*kamon sepay himalat era angangja ni* — onpasud sayjay, tap inbasilanmi i kabadyo, jut inkwanto i ngaran ni katootoo i iniotto.

You Kabigat on high, you told us, if we were sick on account of sexual intercourse, to give one horse for *basil*. Here we are obeying.

(Names)—if any of them caused the injury to —, may this make him well, because we are giving a horse for *basil*, and he has told the names of the persons with whom he has had commerce.

The horse or dog is killed and cooked. While the meat is boiling, the sick person must throw a handful of salt into the caldron. As soon as the cooking is finished, the *mambunong* again prays the prayer given above, and the sick person repeats it after him. The *mambunong* then tells the patient that he must not repeat the acts which caused his sickness.

In former times it was necessary always to kill a horse for *basil*, and the Igorot say that illegal sexual intercourse was then rare, but that it has greatly increased since it has been permissible to substitute a dog.

#### SABOSAB

The *sabosab* is celebrated after people quarrel, and to cure sores. The *cañao* necessary to be given in such cases—*diau kasib*, *diau chuntog*, *sabosab*, or one of the general *cañaos*—is determined by *buyon* or *abat*.

For the *sabosab*, a small pig, some rice, and one jar of *tapuy* are procured. The *mambunong* squats near the jar of *tapuy*, and relates the following:

Nūnta abayagda guaray san kasinsin ja nanasauwa. Jut si Kabūnian bimūngut, jut inkwanto son sikara, "Ngantoi nanasauwajo ji sankasinsin kayo? Josaantakajo; mababajabang kayo olaolay, jut pati anakjo."

Sūta pilmero'n anakcha abayang i angalcha'n amin. Sūta amato imbagantoi kayitto num ngarantoi bimayang num anchi makaampta. Kabigat chi inaykayan jimabas ali intakintoi pisak. Inakhanto Amchūan ja anak nan Kabigat chi kalotaan, tan si Būgan sūta asauwato jut inkwanto'n Amchūan ji agmiēnto būyon. Si Amchūan agtosapolan i pasing ni pisak ja mangibaag ni bayang. Jut inkwan ni Kabigat chi inaykayang, "No agmosapolan chi pisak i bayang, alaka ni abuay ja paljok jut ēktim ni dinobid jut panbūyonmo." Jut mantato i bimayang, jut say sabosab sikatoi idaga. Sūta ama ni nganga indagatoi sabosab, jut sūta nganga pimatung.

Long ago there were two cousins who married. Then Kabunian became angry and said to them, "Why did you marry when you are cousins? I will punish you; you will have sores always, and also your children."

Their first child had sores all over his body. His father asked his companions why he had sores, but they could not tell. Kabigat of the sky came down bringing the *pisak*. He gave it to Amchūan, the son of Kabigat of the earth, and to Būgan his wife, and told Amchūan to make the *buyon*. Amchūan could not find out by using the *pisak* what caused the sores. Then he was told by Kabigat of the sky, "If

you can not determine with the *pisak* (the cause of) the sores, take a broken piece of caldron, and tie a string to it, and make the *buyon*." He then learned (the cause of) the sores, so that *sabosab* therefore was made. The father of the child made the *sabosab*, and the child became well.

The *mambunong* then prays as follows:

Sikam Kabigat chi inaykayang, sikam i angilintug nan bolan nan akou nūnta impambakalcha jut anabosab era. Niman maptung era, jut ononganmi. Sikam angilintug nan amkerol nan ampūok nūnta impambakalcha, ana anabosab era, jut niman maptung era. Olnonganmi impasingjo'd inaykayang. Pimaptungjo si —, tap iangon manabosab era. Iangoi baboi, tapuy, tan pagui ja panookobantayo.

You Kabigat on high, you ordered the moon and the sun when they quarrelled to celebrate the *sabosab*. Now they are good, and we are following their example. You ordered the thunder and the storm when they quarrelled to celebrate the *sabosab*, and now they are good. We are doing after you what you did on high. Make well —, because they are celebrating the *sabosab*. Here is pig, *tapuy*, and rice for us to eat together.

The dead *mambunong* are then addressed in the same language as that used in the *diau kasib*.

Then the pig is killed and cooked. The *mambunong* then repeats the story and prays the prayer recorded above.

The next morning, the person giving the *sabosab* and his family go to the river and wash, while repeating the following:

Sikam Kabigat chi inaykayang ja angiquan ni sabosab, anoran bayangmi tan kolidmi, tap iangon tinongpalmi. Onmaptung kami, ipalalpaladmi, tan ikasakasatmi.

You Kabigat on high who told us of the *sabosab*, wash away our sores and itch, because we are doing your commands. Make us well, give us long life and bless us.

#### DIAU CHUNTOG

*Diau chūntog* is one of the *cañaos* given to cure sores and itch. It is celebrated outside the house. The *mambunong*, holding a chicken in his hand, relates the two following stories:

Sūta kerol kinabdisantoi kiū i maliki, jut indan i too, jut inapoito, jut abaybayang. Inkwan nan Kabigat chi inaykayan ji mamalpal ni manok jut say maypian.

The thunder struck a tree standing, and a man took it, and made a fire, and he had sores. He was told by Kabigat of the sky to kill for a *cañao* a chicken so that he would get well.

Guaray chūan too dimau chi sabadi'n ili, jut guaray inūnancha too'n angiad. Inaknanto era ni apag ni noang. Idi imahad era, guaray simbira'n apoi chi chalan, jut inamatcha'n angēkdot nūnta apag, num agmobadin tap amobidalat i apoi.

Abayabayang i angalcha, jut idi mimūtok era balicha, Kabigat chi inaykayang inkwan, "Pangidag kayo ni diau say mapigud i bayangjo, mani sūta apoi ja anut angēkdotanjo ni apag aligua'n apoi ja totogua num bagidat."



There were two men who went to another place, and they saw a man giving the *kiad*. He gave them some meat of the carabao. When they were returning, they found fire on the road, and tried to cook the meat; but they could not because the fire would spread.

Their bodies became covered with sores and when they reached their houses, Kabigat of the sky said, "Celebrate the *diau* so that your sores will become well, because the fire in which you tried to cook the meat was not real fire, but lightning."

The *mambunong* then addresses the dead *mambunong* as follows:

Nanpanbunong na pangdū, kalajo, panitcho bunongjo. Makal i sakit nan —.

*Mambunong* of the past, come, show us your prayers. Cure the sickness of —.

The chicken is then cooked and put into a bowl, and the *mambunong* holding the bowl repeats the stories and prayer.

After the chicken has been eaten and the *tapuy* drunk, the *mambunong* tells the person afflicted with sores that during the next two days he must not eat any salad, pepper, or carabao meat; and that at the close of the second day he must bathe in running water while praying the following prayer:

Ichadoptaka diau; makal iay kalidko. Ingisantaka chanom, anchokay olatto, ja pandindina i ansiguig.

I wash your face, *diau*; cure these my sores. I shall be like you water, flowing far, which becomes clear of trash.

#### DIAU KASIB

The *diau kasib* like the *diau chūntog* is given to cure sores and itch. The *diau kasib* is always held inside the house. A chicken and a jar of *tapuy* are procured. The *mambunong*, holding the chicken in his hand, relates the following:

Mambakal si kerol nan chagum, num posta era num sepa mahadsang. Mantolag era i olaytoi chalanto'n kayū. Apanbūagua ni chagum i kayū, jut apanbūdaka ni kerol i kayū. Inapil ni kerol i impanpanantoso, num si amchugum naychumantio, tay ni nouang, baka, kabadyo tan achuma nadayjo nodta kayu inponponto. Ia chakal i imponpon ni chagum ja kayū, jut angabat ni posta. Bimalangay kerol tap naabak. Jut kwan ni kerol, "Ondau kita'd baybay maonan i mahadsang chiman." Dimau era'd baybay ja manikay. Naningis indaran payidung.

Kwan ni chagum, "Ondau kita'd kamagan, kita mangan. Idi era mangan, kwan ni kerol. Ti mayponpon i pūkil ni payidung ja kanuntayo." Idi nakchung era angan kwan ni kerol sonan chagum, "Ipigmo'ang pokdanmo'd chi babbay." Angipokdantto inchapig ni chagum, dimanud sūta pūkil ja inchapigto; jut inchapig nan kerol i angipokdanto babbay, jut nanbodiū era moan ni payidung. Jut angibak i kerol, jut amantaytayau tan koon kalkal'jau. Kwan ni chagum, "Karamak ngingii, tap angabakak ngo'd kamagan ni būag ni kayū."

Jut inmahad i chagum tan kerol. Idi mimmūtok era'd balicha, abayabayang amina angalcha. Chakal inchiloscha'n kuchil tan manok, num agera maypasachan.

Sinsinmak era Kabigat chi inaykayang, jut imbagato num ngantoi abayabayang angalcha. Insongbat chagum nan kerol, "Agmiamota." Kwan ni Kabigat, "Inūnantakajo'n nanbakal, sikatoi abayabayanganjo." Pangadakayo ni botbotog, jut ilakayao diau kasib. Ipadotjo i chalato'd chalamto jut ila kayo i sabosab, say mapigud i bayangjo. Jut pasingjo'd kalotaan, say kamon apoian ni too sūta kayū ja chimachaljo, ono manchingkol era, ji mabayabayang era, say amptaancha i diau kasib i idagacha, ja kapigchan ni bayangcha. Inkwanjo ut ing-gnadranchay ngarantayo num mangidaga era diau kasib."

The thunder and the wind fought, and them made a bet as to which was the stronger. They agreed to decide by destroying timber. Pulled up by the wind were the trees, and split down by the thunder were the trees. In one place by the thunder were piled his (trees), but the wind increased with the manure of carabao, cattle, horses, and other things the trees which he piled. More wood was piled by the wind, and he won the bet. The thunder turned pale because he lost. Then was said by the thunder, "Let us go to the sea to see which is stronger there." They went to the sea to fish. They caught the same amount of fish.

Said the wind, "Let us go to the land to eat." When they were eating, the thunder said, "Come, let us put in a pile the bones of the fish we have eaten." When they had finished eating, the thunder said to the wind, "Throw the bones of the fish you have eaten into the sea." The bones of the fish eaten were thrown by the wind; the bones which he threw sank; and then were thrown by the thunder into the sea the bones of the fish he had eaten, and they were changed again into fish. Then won the thunder, and he was shouting and dancing. Said the wind, "Do not laugh, because I also won on land destroying trees."

Then the wind and the thunder went home. When they arrived at their houses they had sores all over their bodies. Many hogs and chickens they killed for *cañaos*, but they did not get well. Kabigat of the sky pitied them, and asked them why sores were on their bodies. The wind and the thunder replied, "We do not know." Said Kabigat, "I saw you fighting, therefore you have sores. Get a pig and celebrate the *diau kasib*. Mix and cook its blood with its internal organs, so that your sores may be cured. Then do this on the earth, so that if the wood which you have destroyed is used for fire by the people, or if they quarrel, so they have sores, they may know to give the *diau kasib*, to cure their sores. Tell them to call your names when they celebrate the *diau kasib*."

The *mambunong* then addresses the dead *mambunong* as follows:

Sikayo nanpanbunong, kalajo, panibunongjo bunong i diau kasib. Kamon mambunong kayo, i makal ni magono i sakit i bunonganjo.

You past *mambunong*, come, pray the prayer for *diau kasib*. If you pray the sickness of the one for whom you pray will be cured quickly.

The above story and prayer are repeated after the pig is cooked.

Blood is then put on the posts inside the house. The *mambunong* gave the following reason for doing this:

Akadosan i sansiskay ja tokod ja inaydaum chi bali, say ichuman ni chagum, kerol, tan Kabigat, jut say amtaancha i naydaga ja diau kasib.

Blood is put on each post inside the house so that it will be seen by the wind, the thunder, and Kabigat, so that they will know the *diau kasib* is being celebrated.

## GANGAU

*Gangau* is given to cure rheumatism. A small pig or chicken is killed, and one jar of *tapuy* is procured, and placed behind the house where the ceremony is held. *Tapuy* is poured into a bowl and set in front of the *mambunong* who holds in his hands the chicken or little pig, while he relates the following:

Si Kabigat chi inakauwa nan Kabigat chi Kalotoan dimau era chi Iloko ja manbiaki. Anomkal era ni kuchil ja iakhad cha chi Labayan. Idi eraka amanakad, adobian era, jut guaray simpolcha abaduga diang ja niseroman chaso ni kuchil. Idi būabua, a manakhad sūta kuchil, jut anomkal era ni manok, jut indagacha ni gangau. Idi indabaschay gangau, manakhad moan sūta kuchil. Jut imakhad ma era. Idi mimmūtok era, inkabkabcha i kuchil, jut sūta too'n nayaṣop i balito nanpili. Jut inkwan ni Kabigat chi inaykauwa ji mamūno i kuchil ono manok, jut mandaga ni gangau say maypian.

Kabigat of the middle-between the earth and the sky and Kabigat of the earth went to the lowlands to trade. They bought pigs and took them back to Kabayan. While they were travelling, night came on, and they found a large cave into which they put their pigs. The next morning their pigs could not walk, and they bought a chicken and gave the *gangau*. When they had finished the *gangau* their pigs could walk again. They they went home. When they arrived, they put their pigs in a pen, and a man whose house was near had rheumatism. Then he was told by Kabigat *chi inakauwa* to kill a pig or a chicken, and celebrate the *gangau* so that he would be well.

The *mambunong* then prays to the dead *mambunong* as follows:

Kalajo, nanpanbunong, jo akatni; panisochokjo i bunongjo. Makal i sakit nan —.

Come, *mambunong* of the past, help me; witness your prayers. Cure the sickness of —.

The pig or chicken is then killed, and as soon as it is cooked the story and prayer are repeated. If a chicken is used for this *cañao*, it is killed by being beaten with a stick, but no reason for doing this is given.

The meat and rice are then eaten and the *tapuy* drunk. The person for whom the *gangau* is given is told not to eat any *pising*<sup>256</sup> until the next morning.

## TAMO

*Tamo* is the *cañao* generally made to cure insanity. It is held outside the house. A dog is usually killed, but a hog or chicken may be substituted. The other things necessary are the native musical instruments, spears, shields, *bolos*, and a jar or *tapuy*. The *cañao* rarely lasts more than a half day.

<sup>256</sup> Tops of *gabi* plants.

The *mambunong* relates the following story:

Si Balitok nan Kabigat san agi era. Ati si amacha, jut inasalcha. Idi pinsak i palbangan, inunancha'n makal i sakay ja kalamot ni takdayto, jut chaka momodia, sepay i nankal.

Dinimotcha-nias kwanchay say anchi onsakub. Idi Kalibian, chaka i ningning i apit ni Sagod, inunancha apoi ja adapo nodtan Sagod. Guidnadguaranchay apoi num toi songorango. Dimau alinodta nayasop chi balicha, jut inchupcha. Idi ichamanchas amacha, jut inunanchay Babakal kwantoi kanuntoi kalamat ni takdayto. Dimau era ut inchilcha, jut inbatodcha.

Kwanchay buaoancha, num kwanto, "Karajoak buanoan, itodantakajo ni bunong jut say matodad kayao say abakanjoi kabakaljo." Num kwan chi Kabigat nan Balitok, "Anchi, matodat kami ngoruchian, onabak ni kabakalmi." Si Babakal sinongbat, "Karajoak buanoan, itodantakajo ni bunong say onbaknangkayo." Num kwan chi Balitok nan Kabigat, "Baknangkami ngoruchian. Bunoanmi kaat." Kwan nan Babakal, "Karajoak buanoan, itodantakajo ni bunong ni tamo ja nankaybul ni atayjan amajo."

Jut chi Kabigat nan Balitok ni numnummucha agcha buño's Babakal, jut kwan nan Babakal, "Onodjoi chanom inkato'd i sabijod, jut adimakanto ja kadan ni baliko. Nayasop chi ambanau i topdak. Sabianjos moan Būgon, anako, amanobda'd sangad ni balito. No manahad amanjungut ja singi kerol. Modi alama karotik chiman, ja guara Būgon, ilaumo chiay."

Dimau era ambanau i topdak jut inolicha moan i karoti. Jut kwan nan Babakal, "Ka alan ni manok tan sakay ja tapuy." Jut intakchol nan Babakal sūta karoti nodta manok tan tapuy, jut inbūngonto. Inbūngonto i albatan chi Balitok nan Kabigat kabaondanto ja mankal ni amanangoi. Jut inkwanto sun kabigat nan Balitok, "No mangakas ni amangangoi, pinchiajoya iay ja chiba."

Balitok and Kabigat were brothers. Their father died and they put him in the *asal*. One morning they saw a finger of his hand was off, and they wondered who took it off.

They built a fence thinking that no one could enter. At night they were gazing in the direction of Sagod; they saw fire coming from Sagod. They watched the fire to see where it would go. It came near their house, and they put it out. When they looked at their father, they saw Babakal trying to eat a finger of his hand. They went and caught him and imprisoned him.

They wanted to kill him, but he said, "Do not kill me, I will teach you a prayer so that you are brave, so that you can defeat your enemies." Then said Kabigat and Balitok, "No. We are brave already, and defeat our enemies." Babakal answered, "Do not kill me, I will teach you the prayer that will make you rich." But said Balitok and Kabigat, "We are rich already. We will kill you." It was said by Babakal, "Do not kill me, I will teach you the prayer of *tamo*, which caused your father to die."

Then Kabigat and Balitok consented not to kill Babakal, and were told by Babakal, "Follow the river to where it empties, and find the place of my house. It is near to a wide lake. You can also find my son Būgon, working under the *baliti*. When he walks, he makes a noise like thunder. Get my club there which Būgon has; bring it here."

They went to the wide lake and brought back the club. Then it was said by Babakal, "Get a chicken and one jar of *tapuy*." Then was put by Babakal the club on the chicken and the *tapuy*, and he prayed. He prayed that the power to cure insanity would be received by Balitok and Kabigat. Then he said to Kabigat and Balitok, "When you treat the insane, repeat this story."

The dog, pig, or chicken is then killed, and after it is cooked, the above formula is repeated. After eating, the music and dancing begin. One man dances at a time holding a spear in one hand and the skull of a dog in the other, while the *mambunong* says:

Datokantaka, tamo. Makal i sakit nan —.

I say this to you, *tamo*. Cure the sickness of —.

The following song is sung between dances:

Agsangay somalangay, Kabigat ud dayoan;  
Bimūnglot si tamo, Bimūnglot si saganay;  
Amboloy, Ambolayo; saganay, saganay;  
Kut yai dastoi.

The above is repeated fifteen times with substitution of the following for the word *Kabigat* in the first line: *Balitok, Būgan, Bangan, Lūmawig, Obang, Būgon, Bangnan, Yaos, Obag, Bintauan, Obogan, Amdoyan, Dotongan, Wigan, Doongan*.

The song then continues as follows:

Agsangay, somalangay, osdonak kalayanak;  
Toloi eklog chi tiko, entotog chi nantiro;  
Si nantiro būsō, nantiros kadiloi;  
Ambolay, ambolayo.

The above is repeated twice, with substitution of the words *tala* and *saka* for the word *tiko* in the second line. The song then continues as follows:

Osdonak kalayanak, kayobyabgang si gauang;  
Ginauang si nangayo, salēkdayau, adaau.

This is repeated seven times with substitution of the following for *osdonak kalayanak* in the first line:

1. Kapenekpek ni pingan
2. Bonay binonay si ngangayo
3. Bangikoi banguison
4. Inanagko'd anagan
5. Dalos ali lipotan
6. Banokas alitlitan
7. Aogan ni būsol.

Many of these words are no longer in use among the Nabaloi, and I have been unable to ascertain their meaning. For this reason a translation has not been attempted.

## PASANG

If no children are born to married people within a reasonable length of time, the *pasang* have probably made the woman barren or caused her husband to become impotent. Then there is one of two things to be done, either get a divorce or celebrate the *pasang*. Barrenness is attributed to the fact that the *pasang* have imprisoned the souls of either the husband or the wife. The imprisoned soul will not be released unless a divorce is obtained or the *pasang* celebrated.

The ceremony differs from the *pasang ni mansakit*, which has been described, although held to appease the same malevolent personalities.

When the *pasang* is celebrated, two chickens, a jar of *tapuy*, blankets, cloth, and about twenty pesos in money are placed together inside the house. The *mambunong* squats beside the offerings, holding a chicken in one hand and a cup of *tapuy* in the other, while relating the following story:

Mada, kono, Kabigat chi kalotoan. Dimasidas, agonanak. Inoschungan si Kabigat chi inaykayang, jut dimapas chi kalotoan. To inkwan chi Kabigat chi kalotoan ji mantapuy jut kamon makatdo ja naatung i tapuy, ondato ali moan jut maydaga i pasang say onanakto.

Katungan ni tapuy, dimau ali Kabigat chi inaykayang, jut indara i sakay ja tapuy tan chūa'n manok tan chūa'n palo pilak tan chūa'n katab jut indagachay pasang. Tap inēkab ni pasang chi inaykayang adia ni Kabigat chi kalotoan, jut alancha sūta pilak tan achūūm ji ibūloscha i adiato ali'd ni kayang.

They say Kabigat of the earth did this. He was childless; no children were born. Kabigat of the sky pitied him and came down to the earth. He told Kabigat of the earth to make *tapuy*, and that if on the third day the *tapuy* was fermented, he would come down again and make the *pasang* so that he would have children.

The *tapuy* was fermented and Kabigat of the sky came down, and they took one (jar) of *tapuy* and two chickens and twenty pesos and two blankets, and made the *pasang*. For the *pasang* of the sky had imprisoned the soul of Kabigat of the earth, and they gave the money and other things that they might release the soul from on high.

The following conversation then takes place between an old woman and the *mambunong*, who impersonates the *pasang*:

(Old woman:) Ipasmodi i adia nan —, tap iangon indagami pasang ja imbilin nan Kabigat chi inaykayang tan Kabigat chi kalotoan ji onanak era — tan —.  
(Mambunong:) On.

(Old woman:) Come down, soul of —, because we have made the *pasang*, which was commanded by Kabigat of the sky and Kabigat of the earth, that children may be born to — and —.

(Mambunong:) Yes.

The chickens are then killed, and while they are cooking the formula and dialogue are repeated.

## PADAD

The *padad* is celebrated when a person has dreams that cause him to be apprehensive of death.

The *mambunong* uses one of the divination ceremonies and prays the prayer connected therewith. From the divination he learns the danger to which the person who has dreamed is subject, and whether or not ceremonies other than the *padad* are necessary. He then prays as follows:

Kalajo'n kalaching, kaasijokami say kostoyo'n ja kakchowan, num arayo maybūno si ——. Kalajo; iay i abul, iay i pilak, iay i kuchil, iay i tapuy.

Come souls of the dead, pity us so that what you want you will get, but do not permit — to be killed. Come; here is cloth, here is money, here is pig, here is *tapuy*.

Then the souls of the dead come and the *mambunong* says to them:

Pangaasijo num sikatoi koka pansingila. Itolokmi num noang, ono baka itolokmi, ono kabadjo itolokmi. Kasiojokami tap itolokmi. Onpalapaladkami; onbakbaknangkami. Inaknanmikajo; ahadjo, ngo jugjugjoi kapadadjo tan kabakanjo.

Have pity if this is what you are collecting. We consent if carabaos (are wanted), or if cattle we consent, or if horses we consent. Pity us because we consent. Give us long life; make us rich. We are giving gifts to you; go home; also leave your long life and riches.

After this the pig or chicken is cooked and the prayer is repeated. After eating and drinking the *tapuy*, the people generally go home. There is no dancing unless the souls of the dead ask for it.

It is frequently necessary for the *padad* to be followed by one of the more expensive ceremonies.

## SIBISIB

The *sibisib* is given to cure wounds. Nothing is killed. The *mambunong* takes the instrument which caused the wound, or if not obtainable a substitute, and puts it over the wound, while he relates the following story:

Si Balitok nan Kabigat san agī era. Analakan era ni kuchil, aso, tan manok. Pinanonotcha i manchilos era ni kuchil, jut say magasat era anopan ja daguancha. Idi naykaddo'n akoi ni binūran kuchil, nanyabyab era.

Jut indaray asocha, jut inmato'n era'n angmanganop. Idi simbiray toktok ni chūntog, imbūloschay asocha nodta kadan ni chakal ni animūlok, num sūta asocha kimosad chi chanom ja kadan ni chapdas jut bimūlobūlo era'n abayag. Si Kabigat nan Balitok sinigkudcha, num anchi bimoday animalok, jut dimau era'd kadan ni

aso. Simbiray aso'n chaka bulbulway irū ja guara nodta toktok ni chapdas. Kabigat nan Balitok kinijangchay irū, jut binūra. Inakhadcha'd balicha. Sinédanchay achūūm, pininchangchay achūūm jut inkakitcha.

Idi nūnta abaubua, inkwancha son Akodau, inacha, ji guadguarantoi spag; jut dimau era moan ja anganop. Nūntana akou anchi simpolcha. Idi nanolicha'd balicha, cha inūnan sūta apag ni irū ja inkakitcha, nanomas. Imbaganchas inacha, "Tūay naykakit ja apag ni irū?" Insongbatto, "Indi kauan ni dabi no kalibian idi bimangon, nakinūnan jut nanomas i apag." Balitok nan Kabigat agcha pinati, num numnumcha i sinidtoi apag.

Jut binolsayan inacha akusto, jut atī; jut sūta anakto inūnancha'n agtokinan i apag. Jut inanapcha, simpolchay sabang ni chūa'n irū ja timorong nodta binūanchaso sakay ja irū. Nodta simbiray irū ja makasabang. Jut kwancha Kabigat nan Balitok, "Ngantoi impasing ngiay? Binūmika, jut sinidanmi achūma damanmo; niman mobidayka moan. Atay si inami, Akodau, tap sikam; jut būnoanmika moan." Num kwan ni irū, "No agjokami būnoan, itodanmikayo ni bunong ja baknanganjo." Si Kabigat nan Balitok kwancha, "Baknangkami ngorūchian, būnoanmikayo." Jut kwan ni irū, "No Agjokami būnoan, itodanmikayo ni bunong ni agas ni amansagat, jut mabodinjo ja panpawil moan si inajo." Si Kabigat nan Balitok timūlok era, jut intodan era ni irū ni būnong; jut kwanto, "No anakhad kayo, mabodin ja sokatanjoi pianjoi, jut ibunongjoi bunong ja intorok kayo, jut maomas i asogat."

Pilmero sinokatchay abue, jut ibunongchay sibisib, naomas sūta asogat. Kapinchūa sinokatchay moan i būlo, jut ibunongchay sibisib, jut naomas moan sūta asogat. Jut sinokatchay dugidug, imbunongchay sibisib, jut naomas moan asogat, Idi simabi era'd toktok ni chūntog, sinokatchay imaliki kayū, jut imbunongchay sibisib, jut naomas i asogat.

Idi imakhad chi balicha, indaray sūta taad ja inpamoslsay nan inacha ni akusto, inkojuncha'd asogat, jut imbunongchay sibisib, jut nanpawil moan si inacha. Jut pinateray ni irū. Jut kwan ni irū son sikara, "Idmanjoi ji inkwanko'n sikayo Ikwanjoi ni too i sibisib, jut no masogat era, mansibisib era. Jut inggadnanchay irū, Balitok nan Kabigat."

Balitok and Kabigat were brothers. They raised pigs, dogs, and chickens. They decided to kill a pig for a *cañao*, so that they would have good luck on the hunting trip on which they were going. On the third day after they killed the pig, they gave the *yabyab*.

Then they took their dogs and started on the hunting trip. When they reached the top of the mountain, they turned loose their dogs at the place of many wild hogs; and their dogs went down to the river to the place of a cliff, and barked for a long time. Kabigat and Balitok waited, but no wild hog came out, and then they went to the place of the dogs. They found the dogs barking at the *iru*<sup>257</sup> which was on the top of the cliff. Kabigat and Balitok hit with the spear the *iru* and killed it. They took it to their house. They ate part of it, cut part of it into pieces, and dried it.

The next day they told Akodau, their mother, to guard the meat; then they went again on a hunting trip. That day they did not find anything. When they returned to their house, they saw that the meat of the snake which they had dried had disappeared. They asked their mother, "Where is the dried meat of the *iru*?" She answered, "In the middle of last night, I awoke; I saw that the meat had disappeared." Kabigat and Balitok did not believe her, but thought she had eaten the meat.

They cut open their mother's belly and she died; and her sons saw she had not eaten the meat. When they looked around, they found the trails of two *iru* leading

<sup>257</sup> A very large species of reptile found in the Benguet mountains.



to the place where they had killed the one *iru*. There they found the *iru* which had made the trails. Then said Kabigat and Balitok, "What does this mean? We killed you and ate some of your meat; now you are alive again. Our mother, Akodau, died because of you; and now we will kill you again." But the *iru* said, "If you will not kill us, we will teach you the prayer that will make you rich." But Kabigat and Balitok said, "We are rich already; we will kill you." Then said the *iru*, "If you will not kill us, we will teach you the prayer for the cure of wounds, so that you can make your mother alive again." Kabigat and Balitok consented, and were shown the prayer by the *iru*; and then they said, "When you go home, you can cut what you wish, and then pray the prayer which we have taught you, and the cut will disappear."

First they cut bejuco and prayed the *sibisib*; the cut disappeared. Next day they cut bamboo, and prayed the *sibisib*, and again the cut disappeared. Then they cut cane and prayed the *sibisib*, and again the cut disappeared. When they reached the top of the mountain, they cut the standing tree and prayed the *sibisib*, and the cut disappeared.

When they reached their house they took the knife with which their mother was cut in the belly, put it on the wound and prayed the *sibisib*, and then their mother became alive again. Then they believed the *iru*. Then the *iru* said to them, "You see what I told you was true. Tell the people of the *sibisib*, so that if they are wounded they can celebrate the *sibisib*; and say that they shall call the names of *iru*, Balitok and Kabigat."

The *mambunong* then prays to the dead *mambunong* as follows:

Sikayo nanpanbunong ni sibilisib kalajo. Mambunong iay sibilisib. Kamon mambunong kayo, maki i magono singa chanom ja maachas. Anchi kachokachoto, agondirag.

You *mambunong* of the past for *sibilisib*, come. Pray here the *sibilisib*. If you pray, (the injury) will be taken away quickly as if water washed it away. There will be no pain, there will be no swelling.

#### ABASANG

The *abasang* is celebrated as soon as a child is born.

A chicken or some dried meat and a jar of *tapuy* are procured. The *mambunong* holds the dried meat or chicken in his hand, and says the following:

Imanak si Bangan, jut si Būgan chi adinoki chanom ja amanbunong. Inkwantoi Būgan, "Ibunongkoi bunong ni abasang say amtan ni too i pasingcha num onanak era." Intoroto i bunong, jut idi nūntan dinkara may abasang.

Bangan had a child and Būgan where empties the water was the *mambunong*. Said Būgan, "I will pray the prayer of *abasang* so that the people will know what to do when children are born." He taught the prayer, and since that time they have celebrated the *abasang*.

The *mambunong* then prays as follows:

Kabigat chi inaykayang, Kabigat chi inaychalum, Kabigat chi pankabkabi chi chanom, Kabigat chi pankadinoki ni chanom, Kabigat chi badolan, Kabigat chi ditopan, akou, bolan, talau; badbarim i imanak; pankasatjoi i nganga tan inato; onbakkbnang era; ipalalad era.

Kalajo nanpanbunong ja apo no bayag, panookobantayo; itodi ni bunong ni abasang.

Kabigat of the sky, Kabigat of the underworld, Kabigat where rises the water, Kabigat where empties the water, Kabigat of the east, Kabigat of the west, sun, moon, and stars; guard the one giving birth; bless the child and its mother; make them rich; give them long lives.

Come, past *mambunong*, our ancestors of long ago; let us drink and eat together; teach us the prayer of *abasang*.

After the meat or chicken has been cooked the above formula and prayer are repeated.

#### SILING

The term *siling* is applied to all death ceremonies from the time a person dies until after his body has been put into the coffin.

Soon after a person has died, he is washed by his nearest relatives. Others make the *asal* or death chair,<sup>258</sup> which is a wooden frame of round poles. The seat, which is about six feet from the ground, consists of a board with a circular opening in the center, under which a vessel is placed to catch the drainage from the deceased. The *asal* is always constructed in front of the door of the dead person's house under a shed formed by an extension of the roof.

The death chair is generally completed and the deceased placed in it within two hours after death. The body is held in place by a strip of cloth which passes around the mouth, and is tied to the back of the chair. Cotton or paper is put in the eyes and nose, and the hands are placed on the knees.

Nearby a small fire is started. It is kept burning as long as the body remains in the death chair, in order that the stench may be diminished by the curing process to which the corpse is subjected.

As soon as the deceased has been put into the *asal*, two jars of *tapuy* are procured and the *mambunong* is called. All the relatives present assemble, but only the relatives by blood drink *tapuy*. The children of the deceased, if any, drink first, the eldest preceding; and all the other relatives drink in the order in which they inherit. The wife or husband does not drink.

A hog is then killed and the meat cooked. When the cooking has been finished, the meat is taken out of the caldron, and put into a large wooden vessel around which the relatives assemble. The *mambunong* then prays the prayer called *sabosab*, which is as follows:

Akou tan bolan, ilintagijokami, Kaasijokami. Sikayo angitcho ni sabosab; sikayo angitcho nan sikami tap sikatoi impasingjo inaykayang nunto impanbakaljo.

<sup>258</sup> Infants and young children are not placed in the death chair, but are buried soon after they die.

Sikama talau, kalajo; kami agdochisa ankun kanunmi ja siling. Itabadmi tap mansilingmi.

Sikayo nanpanbunong, kalajo; panookobantayo. Jokami itodi ni bunong tap sikayo imawat ni bunong ni ati. Ipalapaladmi.

Sun and moon, guide us, pity us. Show the *sabosab*; you show us because this is what you did on high before you quarreled. You the stars, come; may we not be harmed even if we eat the food for *siling*. May it make us fat because we are celebrating the *siling*.

You the past *mambunong*, come; let us eat and drink together. Teach us the prayer because you received the prayer of *sabosab* of the dead.

Soon after the prayer has been completed, the nearest female relative puts her hands on the knees of the deceased, and repeats the following prayer, which always ends in a series of wails:

Atayka, ——. Dauka bali nan apom. Arakadi manodiodi nan sikami; papadadmokami. Iangon silinganmika, jut paodopmi'n ja amina sagpottayo.

You are dead, ——. Go to the home of your ancestors. Do not come back for us; let us live long. Here we are making your *siling*, and we are getting together for you everything we can.

The prayer is repeated daily until the corpse is buried.

The second day no animals are killed, but the relative in charge of the *siling* provides rice for the visitors. The visitors themselves are supposed to furnish the *tapuy*.

On the third day a hog must be killed, but it is not necessary for the *mambunong* to be present.

Nothing is killed on the fourth day.

On the fifth day a hog must be killed, but there is no ceremony or prayer. Early on the morning of the fifth day, the relatives take off the outer skin from the body. This generally takes about one hour.

The procedure for the first five days is the same for the poor and the rich. The poor are generally buried on the fifth day or soon after, but the rich are often kept out for months—always as long as the animals last which the old men of the town have decided should be killed. Cattle, carabaos, horses, and hogs are slaughtered in numbers corresponding to the wealth of the deceased. In the case of one very rich man who died in Kabayan a few years ago, the *siling* cost approximately one thousand pesos.

If the deceased had not enough animals for his *siling*, rice paddies must be sold and the animals purchased. If he had nothing, his nearest relative who is able must bear the expense of the *siling*.

Before the *siling* closes, the body is put into the coffin, which is generally hewn out of solid wood. It is made about one foot shorter than the person who is to be buried in it. He is placed on his back with

his legs bent at the knees. When the dead person is put in the coffin, the *mambunong* prays the same prayer that he prayed when the first hog was killed.

Sometimes the corpse is kept under the house in the coffin for weeks; but more frequently it is carried to the grave as soon as taken out of the *asal*, and put into the coffin there. Since the body is very light after having been dried for so long, one man carries it on his shoulder. The other people follow, each person beating together two sticks. The burial always takes place either early in the morning or late in the evening.

In the majority of the towns, the rich as well as the poor are buried in the ground or put in natural caves; but in Kabayan the rich are either placed in cavities made in solid rock, or in rock mounds. If the dead person was rich enough to deserve burial in solid rock, the grave is made by heating with fire and cooling suddenly with water. It frequently takes two or three months to complete a grave made in this way.

Near the village of Kabayan is a huge boulder called *tolchon*. It contains twenty graves made by the method described above. In some of them are four or five coffins resting one on the other. The older coffins are covered with carving, but the newer ones are plain. The people say that some of the coffins which seem to be perfectly sound are more than a hundred years old.

#### OKAT

When the corpse is kept under the house in the coffin for awhile, the ceremony called *okat* is sometimes held. The coffin is opened, a hog is killed, and the *mambunong* prays the *sabosab*.

Another ceremony also called *okat* is always celebrated two days after the burial. The people assemble at the grave, the coffin is taken out and opened, while the *mambunong* prays. The people then assemble around a vessel of water into which the *mambunong* dips a twig and sprinkles them. He then prays the *sabosab* again, after which the people return to the house of the dead man, where they spend the rest of the day eating and drinking *tapuy*.

#### TABWAK

Sometimes the soul of the dead person refuses to go away at the termination of the *okat* because not enough has been sacrificed. The relatives may dream that he needs clothing or food, or some of them may become sick. It is necessary then to celebrate the *tabwak*.

The ceremony is held at the grave. A hog is killed, rice is cooked, and *tapuy* procured. Sometimes blankets, cloth, or clothing are put into the coffin and left there. The *mambunong* prays the *sabosab*, after which the dead person is asked to eat and drink with the people, but not to cause sickness, and to cure the sickness he has caused already.

#### KOSDAY

When the rice, *camotes*, and *gabi* of a barrio are not growing well, *kosday* is sometimes given.

It always begins early in the morning, and lasts one day and night. Before it begins all the fires in the barrio are extinguished, and fire is started again at each house by means of the "*kolidi*." A piece of bamboo is split and punk is put in the opening. Another piece of bamboo is rubbed across the split piece until the fire starts. The Igorot say that Kabunian starts the fire.

The occupants of each house in the barrio are supposed to kill one hog. The *mambunong* holds the ceremony at one house and then goes to the next. Before each hog is killed, he relates the following:

Kabigat chi inaykayang abitil, jut kimosad chi bali nan kaysingto'd, Kabigat chi inachalum.

Kwanko noni Kabigat chi inaychalum, ji, "Ngantoi ginosoran modi." Jut kwanko noni Kabigat chi inaykayang, ji, "Kimosadchak ali tab abitil kami." Kwanko noni Kabigat chi inaychalum ji, "Pankokosday kayo chichan, siay ontodola ima molajo, tan kanenjo, tan kuchiljo tan noangjo, tan kabadjo."

Kasakjaton nan Kabigat chi inaykayang ji dagancha, jut guara, may, kanencha tan noangcha bakacha tan kuchilcha.

Kwan ni Kabigat chi inaychalum, "Idisjo ni ifugau say makiwachay kanencha." "Say tatatbunonchaak chi inaykayang," kwanko noni Kabigat chi inaykayang.

Kwanko noni ifugau, "Agmiamptan mambunong." Gimosad ali Kabunian chi inaykayang, jut tointoroi bunong. Jut dinkamani ifugau, jut i guara may makan tan kuchil tan baka tan noang.

Kwanko noni Kabunian ji, "Kamon inakchung kayo'n mangan, ibabadionijo ngiay."

Kabigat on high was without food, and went down to the house of his friend, Kabigat of the underworld.

It was said by Kabigat of the underworld, "Why did you come here?" Then it was said by Kabigat of the sky, "I came down here because we were without food." It was said by Kabigat of the underworld, "Celebrate the *kosday*, therefore, so that your plants will grow, your food, your pigs, your carabaos, and your horses."

Kabigat of the sky went and they did this, and had food and carabaos and cattle and pigs.

Kabigat of the underworld said, "Let this be done by the people so that they may have food." "So that they will call me of the sky," it was said by Kabigat of the sky.

It was said by the people, "We do not know the prayer." Kabunian of the sky came down and taught the prayer. Then it was done by the people, and there were food, pigs, cattle, and carabaos.

It was said by Kabunian, "When you have finished eating, sing about this."

The *mambunong* then addresses three dead *mambunong* as follows:

Sikam Baking i mambunong, onbunongkay, onbakbknang i bunonganmo, onpalapalad i bunonganmo, modi bunobunong i bunongmo.

You Baking, a *mambunong*, if you pray he will become rich for whom you pray, he will have long life for whom you pray, because a good prayer is your prayer.

After addressing Baking or Pulag, the *mambunong* then addresses Angay of Talmod and Bugana Bimatogan of Bakong, in the same language.

The pig is then killed, and blood put on the faces of the owner and his family and relatives.

After the pigs have all been killed and the meat slightly cooked, it is taken to one place and divided among the different families according to the number in the family. All that is not eaten within the next day or two is hung over the fire and dried.

It is necessary for all who have taken part in the *kosady* to "*man piju*"<sup>259</sup> for five days.

#### TAWAL NI PAYU

The following information regarding the *tawal ni payu* was furnished by one of the Kabayan *mambunong*:

No sūta maka payū amansakit ono agonsimit i paūto, maydagato ni tawal ni payū sinachūūm.

No guara tawal ni payū amayingad ni bunong si Badiwan nan Singan, asauwato, mani no bayag kimosad alicha jut era akibali chi kalotoan. Chakal i aanakcha. Achūūm manbali chi payū, jut intiray chanom chi kolokol, jut chinasaraschay pagui, tap sūta too no bayag agcha era ampta jut agcha era inngadnan num manchidos era.

When the owner of a rice field is sick or his rice is not growing, he celebrates the *tawal ni payu* sometimes.

When there is the *tawal ni payu*, prayer is addressed to Badiwan, and Singan, his wife, because long ago they came down and lived on the earth. Their children were many. Some live in the rice fields, diminishing the water of the irrigation ditches, and preventing the rice from growing, because the people long ago did not know them and did not call their names when they had ceremonies.

After it has been determined by the divination ceremony that the *tawal ni payu* should be celebrated, a small pig, spears, and agricultural tools are procured. The *mambunong* sits near them and prays as follows:

Sikam Badiwan nan Singan chi inaykayang, idi inoschunganjo, kono, chakala kalotoan ambanau; jut kaakibadi chi kalotoan tan kanakkayo. Idi akanakkayo aghakajo aknan ni too. Idi bimūngutkayo jut inchasachasjoi mola jut intijoi chanom, aghaka joso kaampta no bayag. Kamon sikayo inagti ni chanom, parakaljo; kamon impasakit nan —, ipabunonjo, tap iangon inamtara kayo jut aknanchaka kuchil tan bosal.

Sikam Madona ja dimau chi inaychalum, agraymo i pabodos ja onasi i molami chimana inaychalum num chi inatapou.

<sup>259</sup> Be taboo, remain under restrictions. See page 288.

Sikayao nanpanbunong no bayag, sikayo in tinmawatawal ni payu no bayag; pankasatjoi molami say guara panookobantayo. Pankasatjokami; ipalaladmi; ibakbakangmi.

You Badiwan and Singan on high, when you looked down, it is said, there was much broad land; then you came down to the earth and had children. When you had children, you were given nothing by the people. Then you became angry and destroyed the plants and decreased the water, (because) they did not recognize you long ago. If you decreased the water, increase it; if you caused the sickness of —, make him well, because here is their recognition of you and they are giving you the hog and tools.

You Madona who went to the underworld, do not permit our plants to grow toward the underworld, but (cause them to grow) toward the top of the earth.

You the past *mambunong* of long ago, you celebrated the *tawal ni payu* long ago; make us lucky with our plants that we may eat and drink together. Make us lucky; give us long life; make us rich.

After the hog has been killed and cooked, the *mambunong* prays the same prayer again. When the people have finished eating, the *cañao* is over.

#### PUNGAU

Before a rice field is harvested, the ceremony called *pungau* must be held. A flag, generally of thin red cloth called *condiman*, is put up at the border of the rice field, to warn all the people who are not taking part in the harvest not to enter. A jar of *tapuy* is obtained. All who are to take part in the harvest sit down near the flag. The *mambunong* squats near the jar of *tapuy* and prays as follows:

Sikayo Kabigat nan Būgan chī inaykayang; sikayo angikan ni pagui, abūa tan kakanakana. Pankasatjoi iay pananimi. Sikayon nandaga ni payū no bayag. Pankasatjoi maypatog i pagui, say quara kayngadngadnanjo.

Sikam kerol ja amansul chi inaykayang, karajo angangyaa i chadinmi. Iangoi tapuy ja panookoban. Panguadguarijokami, onpalaladkami, onbakbakangmi.

You Kabigat and Būgan on high; you gave us *palay*, *gabi*, and other things. Bless this harvest. You made the rice fields, long ago. Bless the *palay* planted in the seed beds so that your names may be called.

You the thunder that talks on high, do not harm our places. Here is *tapuy* for us to drink together. Guard us, give us long lives, make us rich.

The *mambunong* then gathers some small stones, and throws them over the rice field, while praying as follows:

Sikayo'n makadaga ngiay, pankasatjoi animi. Iangoi tapuy ja panookobantayo.

You, the maker of this, bless our harvest. Here is *tapuy* for us to drink together.

The owner of the rice field then takes a drink of *tapuy*, after which each of the harvesters takes a drink. Then work then begins. Until the harvest is completed, no one who has not taken part in the *pungau* may enter the field.

## BAKAK

After a man has harvested all his rice, the ceremony called *bakak* is held. Under no circumstances can any of the new rice be used before the *bakak* has been given.

Rice and a little dried hog meat are cooked. When the cooking has been completed, the *mambunong* squats beside the rice and meat, and prays as follows:

Kalajo ja nanbakabokak no abayag; yo panitochō bunong ni bakak, tap sikayo binmakamakak no bayag. Mandasakjo i inakan, tap iangoi adoto'n panookobantayo. Pankasatjokami say guara kayngadngadnanjo moan.

Come, you past *bakak* of long ago; show us the prayer of *bakak*, because you conducted the *bakak* long ago. Increase what is given, because here is cooked food for us to eat together. Give us luck that there may be the calling of your names again.

The *mambunong* then takes some cooked rice and puts it on the stones on which the pots stood while the cooking was being done, and prays as follows:

Sikayo'n chakadan, mapangdūkayo'n mangan. Bantayo i apoi; bantayo i inokan.

You, the stones on which the pots sat, shall be the first to eat. Guard the fire; guard the food.

The *mambunong* then puts some rice and meat on the rack which hangs above the fire, after which he prays as follows:

Sikam soodan, mangan niman. Bantayka apoi; bantayka i inokan.

You, the rack, eat now. Guard the fire; guard the food.

Cooked rice is then put in the mortar in which the *palay* was pounded, and it is invited to eat next. The people then eat the meat and cooked rice and the *bakak* ends.

## SALCHI

*Salchi* is a ceremony given to prevent sickness caused by eating animals which have died of disease. There is no sacrifice, but a short prayer similar to that in *bakak* is addressed to the pot in which the meat is cooked and to the rocks on which the pot sits.

The ceremony performed when an animal falls from a cliff is also called *salchi*. In this case the purpose of the ceremony is different, and the prayer is addressed to the *ampasit*. The following explanation was given by one of the *mambunong*:

No makas i noang ono baka chi chipdas, mika ibokay êkdog ji asan kami mangan ni apag. Kamika manmadmad ni ampasit, "Mika paniakan iay êkdog. Agjo panaakas i achūma kaba ono noang."

If a carabao or a cow falls from a cliff, we bury an egg before we eat the meat. We pray to the *ampasit*, "We are giving this egg. Do not cause other cattle or carabao to fall."

The owner himself prays. A *mambunong* is not necessary.



## PLATE 34

## NABALOI RICE CULTURE.

Fig. 1. Nabaloi women of Kabayan weeding a rice field.

Fig. 2. Rice planting, Kabayan. The character of the irrigation terraces and the topography of the country are clearly brought out.

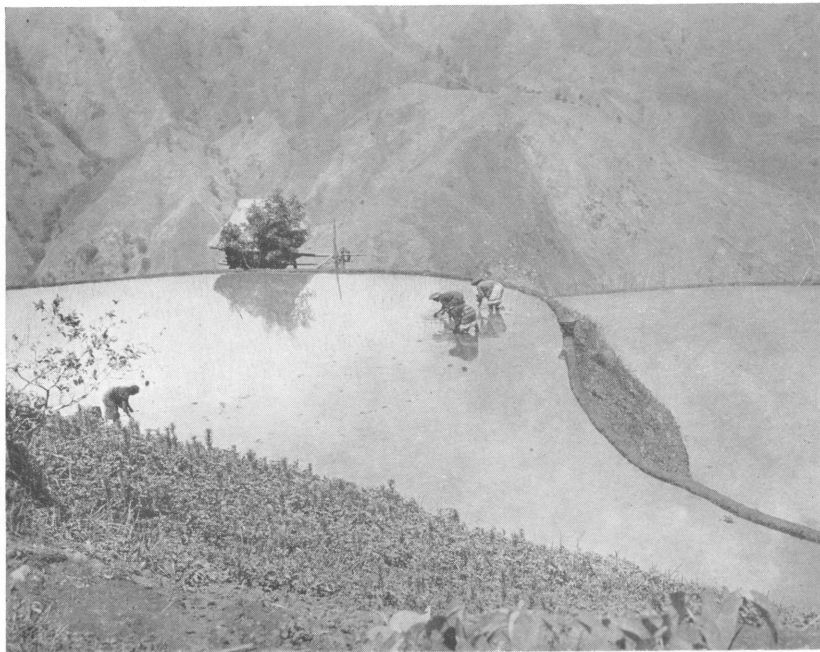


PLATE 35

POKJUS, LEADING MAMBUNONG OR PRIEST IN KABAYAN.

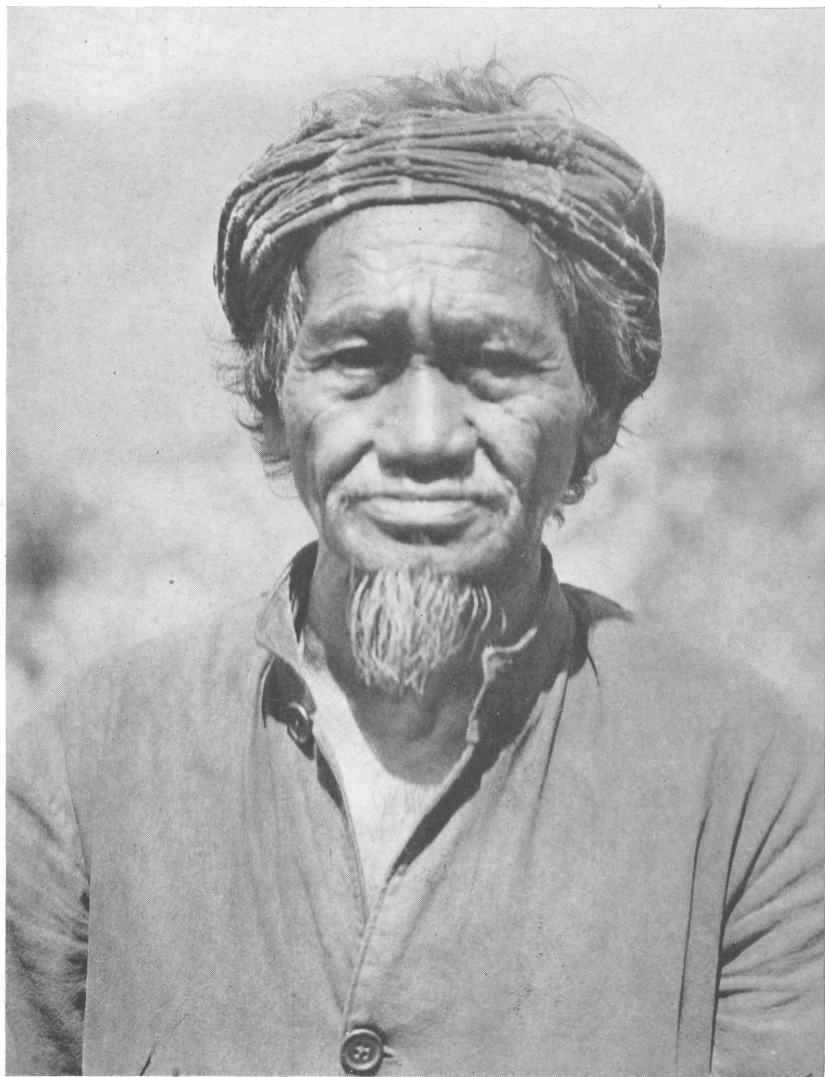


PLATE 36

NABALOI RITUAL ACTS.

Fig. 1. *Amambunong* or priest-medium of Kabayan praying over *tapuy*, rice-wine, contained in an American glass. The attitude is native.

Fig. 2. Sacrificing a hog. Kabayan.

Fig. 3. Priestess, *mambunong* for the *pachit* ceremony.

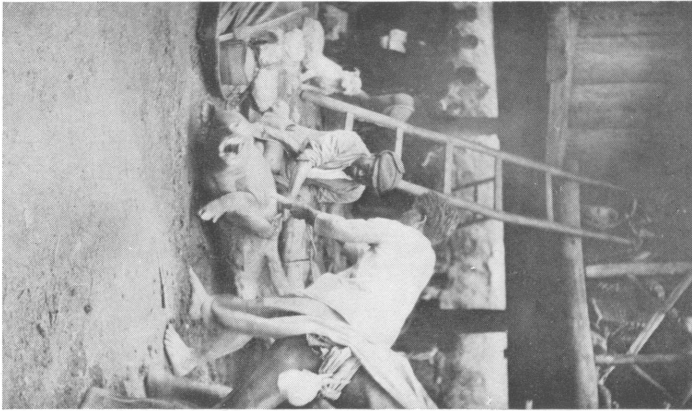
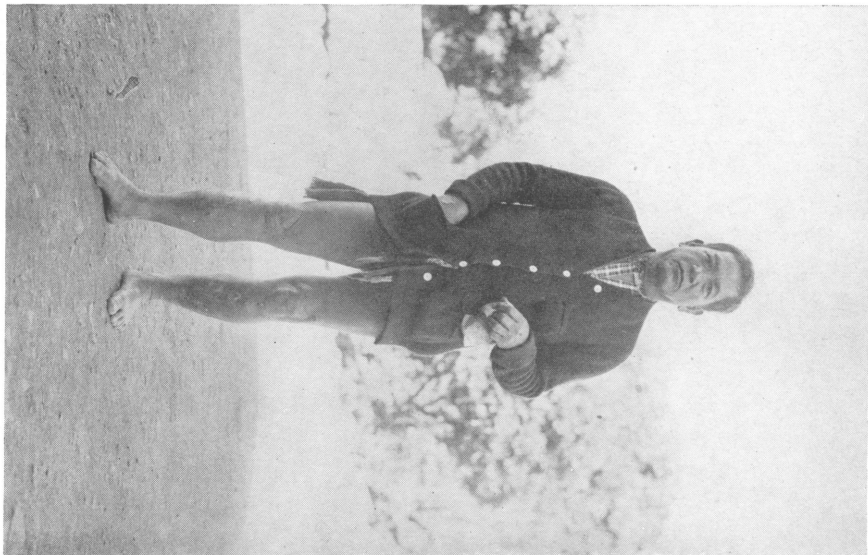


PLATE 37

NABALOI TYPES.

Fig. 1. Ancil, leading *baknang* or rich man of Kabayan.

Fig. 2. Nabaloi women carrying freshly harvested rice. Type and costume are characteristic.



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[MOSS] PLATE 37

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