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THE PHILIPPINE JOURNAL OF SCIENCE

D. GENERAL BIOLOGY, ETHNOLOGY
AND ANTHROPOLOGY

VOL. VI

NOVEMBER, 1911

No. 5

AN IFUGAO BURIAL CEREMONY.

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PART I. INTRODUCTION.

The religious and public ceremonies of the Ifugaos of northern Luzon are probably as highly developed as any such ceremonies to be found in the whole Malay-Polynesian area, and their religion is so closely interwoven with the daily life of the people that its importance can scarcely be exaggerated. Every event of life is accompanied by its appropriate ceremony, and the greater the event the more elaborate the ceremony.

The purpose of this paper is to describe the ceremonies connected with the burial of beheaded bodies and the bodies of persons killed by hereditary enemies, whether or not their heads be taken. With the passing of the custom of head-hunting, these and all other ceremonies more or less directly connected with that custom will soon fall into disuse or materially change their form. It is desirable that an accurate record of them be made before they become wholly matters of hearsay and valuable details are lost. For this reason the authors offer no apology for here presenting a detailed account of such of these ceremonies as have come under their observation.

To understand the ceremonies clearly, some knowledge of Ifugao general customs is necessary. The most important facts are briefly set forth in the following paragraphs.

THE IFUGAO CLANS AND THE FORMER PREVALENCE OF HEAD-HUNTING AMONG THEM.

The Ifugao people are divided into a large number of hereditary clans, each of which occupies a definite clan district and has a definite name. They vary in population from a few hundred up to four or five thousand people each, distributed in from ten to a hundred or more villages. In most cases, each clan is cut off from those surrounding it by natural barriers such as rivers, cañons, and mountain ranges. The people invariably call themselves by their clan name, with the prefix *i-* (equivalent to the English preposition "of"). Thus: *I-banauol-kami*, "We are (people) of Banauol clan"; *I-nagakáran-kami*, "We are (people) of Nagakaran clan". These clans were once wholly exogamic, as all members of the clan were believed to be descended from a common ancestral pair. Within recent years the exogamic feature has more or less broken down, and the whole clan organization is in the process of slow disruption.

Among these clans the institution of head-hunting grew up, in ages past. Each formed a little state, politically independent of all the other clans surrounding it, and making war or declaring peace with them, as it chose. In war, the head was regarded as a trophy, as was the scalp among the American Indians. The chief reason for desiring the head was not so much the excitement of the actual fighting to secure it, in which only a very few people took part, as the fact that the possession of a head was necessary before the great head-ceremony (or celebration of victory) could be held. This ceremony, in which all the people of the clan took part, was one of the three greatest given by the Ifugaos. It is not the purpose of this paper to describe it, but rather the exactly opposite one given by the clan of the beheaded man at his burial, the *munhímang*, which is also one of the three greatest Ifugao ceremonies.

THE SUPPRESSION OF HEAD-HUNTING BY AMERICAN AUTHORITY.

The first task that confronted the American government in the Ifugao country was the unifying of the Ifugao clans, the establishment of peace among them, and the suppression of head-hunting. The rapidity and completeness with which these objects were attained after the organization of the Subprovince of Ifugao in September, 1908, has few parallels. No heads have been taken in Ifugao for more than two years past, nor has there been any fighting among the clans. About 450 kilometers of new roads and trails have been built which greatly facilitate communication between the various clans, and have been one of the chief factors in the development of the era of peaceful intercourse now in progress.

The better features of Ifugao culture will develop rapidly under these conditions, while many of the older customs will become much changed or entirely lost. To preserve the knowledge of them for future generations they must be studied and recorded at once.

THE MUNHÍMŪŃ BURIAL CEREMONY.

Sources of information.—The writers of this paper have each resided for several years among the Ifugao people. The writer of this introduction witnessed, in whole or in part, four *munhímũñ* burials in the Central Ifugao area, and Mr. Barton one in the Kiáñgan Ifugao area. Two of these ceremonies will be described very briefly, and two in full detail. The other will be mentioned only.

The sole previously published description of one of these ceremonies is that given by Jenks,² who, as a member of the party of Mr. Dean C. Worcester, arrived at Banaue in April, 1903, just in time to witness the burial of a beheaded man, but not the preceding ceremonies. The description is very brief, but the two plates³ published with it are of interest. These plates are from photographs taken by Mr. Worcester at that time, and show the beheaded body in the procession and at the tomb. The pictures are typical of the ceremonies witnessed by the writer, excepting that usually 4 men in place of 2 carry the body in the burial procession. The statement that only about 20 men accompanied the body to the tomb⁴ indicates that the beheaded man was of low rank in the community. The case is very similar to the first *munhímũñ* ceremony that I witnessed; that of Mañgli of Panañgan who was killed and beheaded in an expedition against Kambulo clan, and was buried by Banaul clan on June 6, 1906. He was a serf of Tagtagon, the head chief of Banaul, who bore the expenses of the ceremony which was not very elaborate and was poorly attended.

THE DEATH AND BURIAL OF BATTANŨ.

On June 30, 1906, Battañg, an Ifugao chief of great prominence, was killed at his house in the village of Bocos (clan district of Banaul) by an hereditary enemy from the clan district of Kambulo. Conditions were rather unsettled

² *Ethnological Survey Publications*, Manila (1905), 1, 182, 183.

³ *Idem*, Plates CXXXV and CXXXVI.

⁴ There is an error in Jenks' statement as to the number of men in this instance. [D. C. W.]

in Ifugao at that time and Battang's death created great excitement among the people. Nearly 5,000 persons from all parts of Central Ifugao and Western Ifugao attended the ceremony, and more than 1,500 men, fully decorated for the occasion, marched in the procession which conveyed the body to the tomb. This was the largest gathering of people for a similar purpose that I have ever witnessed in Ifugao. Through the misfortune of having exposed my last film a few days before the event I was unable to obtain photographs. The procession was very elaborate and required more than an hour to pass a given point. From 200 to 300 men attended the vengeance ceremonies held on the 6 successive mornings following the burial.

THE DEATH AND BURIAL OF KALATONG.

Kalatoṅg of Kambulo (Plate I, fig. 1) was a man of very interesting character. He was born in Barlig, in the Subprovince of Bontok, and was of mixed Bontok and Ifugao parentage. He early won fame both as a warrior and as a diplomat, and married the daughter of a wealthy chief of Kambulo. As is common in Ifugao, he took up his residence in his wife's village, and soon attained much prominence in the Kambulo clan. This excited the jealousy of the other chiefs, who began to plot against him. Their plot was successful and late in the year 1905 Kalatoṅg was imprisoned in Banaue on a charge later proved to have been false. When Lieutenant Jeff. D. Gallman (now Lieutenant-Governor of Ifugao) took charge at Banaue he carefully investigated Kalatoṅg's case and completely exonerated him. During the investigation, at which I was present, Kalatoṅg made the most remarkable speech in his own defense that I have ever heard made by any Ifugao. He held even his enemies, who filled the room, spellbound. After Kalatoṅg's release he attained to a power which up to that time no other Ifugao chief had ever possessed. He completely dominated the clans of Kambulo, Batád, Talbok, and Ginihon, containing more than 12,000 people. However, in acquiring this great influence he made many enemies, and some of them very bitter ones. He was a man with a very highly developed sense of justice, and ruled his people with tact, diplomacy, and courage, going alone into the most dangerous places. This eventually brought about his death, for he was so just in his dealings with the people and with Lieutenant Gallman that his enemies decided that the only way they could rid themselves of his rule was by killing him. In January, 1908, three men of Ginihon clan treacherously speared and beheaded Kalatoṅg while he was bathing in the Ginihon River. As Ginihon clan had been very inimical to Kambulo before they were conquered by Kalatoṅg, they immediately made the latter's death the occasion for a great head ceremony. However, they dared not keep the head, for fear that the combined vengeance of Kambulo and the powerful town of Barlig would wipe them out completely. They opened negotiations at once, and returned the head to Kambulo from whence it was brought to Banaue. The photograph for Plate II, fig. 1 was taken by me at Lieutenant Gallman's house on the day the head was brought in. It was raining heavily and the negative is poor. So far as I know this is the first and only negative of a freshly-taken head ever made in the Mountain Province, and for that reason a print from it is here reproduced. A disabled foot prevented my attending the great ceremonies at the burial of Kalatoṅg's body, but they were graphically described to me afterwards by Lieutenant Gallman.

The burial ceremonies on all above occasions were, with the exceptions noted in the text, similar to those given at the *munhimûṅg* of Bahatan, now to be described.

PART II. THE BURIAL OF BAHATAN.⁵

THE LIFE AND DEATH OF BAHATAN.

Bahatan of Añgádal was in early life a serf of Tañggána,⁶ one of the wealthiest and most popular village chiefs of Banaul clan. When the first Americans came to Banaue, Bahatan found employment with them, and proved exceptionally faithful and intelligent. His employment was remunerative and he was soon able to redeem the mortgaged rice terraces inherited from his father. He then married a well-to-do girl with several fields of her own, and became a substantial middle-class citizen. In 1907 he was enlisted in the special Ifugao police. These Ifugao policemen hold responsible positions, but Bahatan proved fully equal to the work and soon became the most trusted and capable man at the Banaue station.

On March 31, 1908, Bahatan went to a village in Namulditañg district on a matter of business connected with the roadwork then in progress. Having accomplished his errand before noon, he was resting under the house of the village chief when a man of the Liñgai clan came up. Liñgai had not then been brought under governmental control, and was still at war with Banaul. Moreover, the man in question had lost several ancestors and relatives in fights with the Banaul people. He at once determined to kill Bahatan. He approached him with fair words, drawing his blanket closely around his body to conceal his bolo, and offered Bahatan a betel nut which the man from Liñgai intentionally dropped upon the ground. As Bahatan stooped to pick up the nut the man quickly threw off his blanket and with two well-directed blows of his bolo severed Bahatan's head from his body. The man did not stop to take the head. Before the people in the vicinity fully realized what had happened, he had vanished in the *runo*⁷ thicket surrounding the village, eventually escaping safely to Liñgai.

THE BRINGING IN OF THE BODY.

There was great excitement and grief in Banaul when the news reached us. Several hundred armed warriors assembled within a few hours, ready to go after the body and look for a fight on the way. However, Lieutenant Gallman would not let them go, although he had some difficulty in restraining the warriors. Only the wife, mother,

⁵ By H. Otley Beyer.

⁶ See figure on left, in Plate V.

⁷ *Runo*, a species of large grass, common throughout the Philippines. Ifugao name: *biláu*. Scientific name: *Miscanthus sinensis* Andr. (Gramineae). This and following plant identifications were made by Elmer D. Merrill, botanist of the Bureau of Science, from specimens collected by the authors.

and a few near relatives of the dead man were allowed to accompany the detachment which was sent at once to recover the head and body. This object was accomplished without trouble as both had been cared for in the village where the killing had occurred. The party came back too late that night to allow me to take separate photographs of the head and body, or of the returning people. The picture shown in Plate IV, fig. 1, was taken on the following morning, after the head had been replaced upon the body and securely tied to the shield and post against which the body lay. It would have been a serious sacrilege to have asked for its removal then.

During the absence of the expedition, religious ceremonies were performed in every village in Banauol where the requisite priests could be had. The purpose of these ceremonies was to insure success for the expedition, and the classes of beings principally invoked were the *a-ámûd* (ancestral souls) of Banauol clan and the *halupe* (tormentors and go-betweens). Thousands of the ancestral souls were called upon by name in the various villages, particular attention being paid to famous warriors and brave fighters of the past. These were counselled to aid those who had gone out to get the head and body, and to prevent the *a-ámûd* of the Liñgai people from injuring them or placing obstacles in their path. The tormentors were urged to torment the Liñgai warriors with blindness and dizziness and to fill them with fear, so that they would not attack the rescue party. The only gifts offered the spirits during these ceremonies were small chickens, rice-wine (where it was obtainable on such short notice), betel nuts, and betel leaves. However, great gifts of hogs and other things were promised if the expedition proved successful.

The procedure of the returning party was as follows: The body and head were securely bound on the dead man's shield, which had been taken along for that purpose, and the whole suspended from a long pole borne on the shoulders of four men, two in front and two behind the body. Immediately in front of the pole-bearers walked two men, one of whom beat a sharp tattoo at regular intervals upon his shield with the handle of his spear, while the other played the *banṡibanṡ*.⁸ The relatives of the deceased, except the wife and mother, followed in single file behind the pole-bearers. In former times a long line of warriors would have preceded the party, but in this case that service was performed by the detachment of Ifugao soldiers that accompanied it.

⁸ The *banṡibanṡ* is a musical instrument of very hard and resonant wood which is beaten with a short stick also of hard wood. On a still day the sharp, clicking beat of this instrument can be heard miles away. It is used only in death ceremonies and in the ceremonies for the cure of very serious illness. (See Plate I, fig. 2.)

The wife and mother walked beside the corpse, at times throwing their arms around the bloody body and weeping violently. At other moments they stared into the gruesome features of the head and cried out: "Bahatan! Bahatan! Come back, come thou back!"⁹ Occasionally the whole party broke forth in the Central Ifugao death-call: "Oh! Bahatan! Come back, come thou back, for our houses are filled with mourning!"¹⁰ In fact, grief was the keynote of the occasion. Vengeance did not become predominant until the following day.

THE CEREMONIES AT THE HOUSE.

A group of people of considerable numbers, among whom were several priests and village chiefs, were gathered at Bahatan's house when the party returned. As soon as the cries, which filled the air for fully twenty minutes, had quieted down, two old priests made a short *baki* (religious ceremony) in the house, sacrificing a chicken to the *bagol* (great deities) of the Sky World. Immediately upon completion of this ceremony, the omen being good, the preparation of the body began. Everything was arranged as shown in Plate IV, fig. 1, in which position the body remained until it was removed for burial on the third day. The body faced Liñgai, the murderer's clan district, and rested against the shield on which it was carried in.¹¹

During this preparation of the body certain things were also being done by some of the old women to the widow, mother, and brother of the deceased. The clothing and ornaments of the latter were all removed and they were arrayed in old, torn garments made of coarsely-woven bark fiber, such as are worn by the poorest serfs when working in the fields. (See Plate VI, fig. 1.) Rings and bands of woven rattan, called *ñguhu*, were placed upon their arms and the calves of

⁹ "Bahatan! Bahatan! Mabán̄ga-bán̄gad-ka!" The grief of an Ifugao wife or mother over the dead body of her husband or son is something that no one can look upon untouched. I know of no people who exhibit stronger family affection.

¹⁰ "Bahatan-ah! Mabán̄ga-bán̄gad-ka! ta nalagídan di bale-túu!" This death-cry in Central Ifugao is set up by all the people of the village at the death of any person, and is repeated for from ten to thirty minutes. The name of the dead person is of course changed in each case.

¹¹ The wooden spear, in the picture, standing beside each of Bahatan's arms, and the little carved wooden ornament suspended from his neck, are of particular interest. The wooden spears, which are really throwing javelins, are called *tukab* and consist of a pointed bamboo head set in a hard wood shaft. The *tukab* is undoubtedly the oldest form of Ifugao spear, dating from long before the introduction of metals. It is still largely used in real fighting. The little wooden ornament suspended from Bahatan's neck is called *kinillo* and indicates that he was *lôhóp*, that is, a brave warrior who has taken heads in his lifetime. At the burial of Mañgli, mentioned in Part I of this paper, no *kinillo* was suspended from his neck as he had never taken a head.

their legs. Larger bands of the same sort were also worn by the brother upon the crown of his head and by the women around their necks. Earrings made of small cross-sections of *runo* stalks were placed in their ears, and the widow also wore a necklace made of the same material. The faces, arms, and legs of all three were then rubbed with a mixture of soot and ashes, and in this condition they remained for the next three days. During that time they ate no food and drank very sparingly of water. The widow and mother were prohibited from bathing for a full month after Bahatan's death, and the brother for ten days after the burial. Certain articles of food were also taboo to them during this period. They might not mix much with other people nor go on long journeys from home. Neither were festivities of any sort to be held in the house nor participated in. For her full twenty-eight days of mourning, the widow continued to wear her coarse clothing, and also wrapped around her head (in the manner shown in Plate VI, fig. 3) a striped blanket.¹²

A number of the other relatives and very near friends of Bahatan also removed their ornaments and wore ear-rings or necklaces made of pieces of *runo* stalk. These people also ate little and did not bathe until after the burial. However, in their case it seems to have been purely a voluntary and personal matter. Continence is maintained among young and old throughout the clan district of the beheaded man during the three days between the death and burial, and by some of the nearer relatives during the six succeeding days. This taboo is said to be very rigidly adhered to.

After everything had been prepared, conditions remained practically unchanged during the following two days. Fifteen or twenty men, with their spears and shields always within easy reach, remained under or around the house at all times. They were relieved at frequent intervals, and there was a constant coming and going. Many people came simply to view the body, to get first hand information regarding the fight; and to learn what revenge was planned. The calling on the soul of the dead man never ceased. At intervals of every two or three minutes, both day and night, an old woman approached the body and poking at the severed neck with a slender stick about 80 centimeters long she cried to the soul to return and avenge itself. Several old women relieved one another in this duty. Occasionally, an old priest approached and addressed the body with a long tirade to the same effect. Once in an hour, perhaps, the widow or mother emerged from the little hut where she sat, and throwing her arms around the corpse wept most piteously, crying to the soul to "come back! come back!"; or, shaking the body violently, she cried: "Wake up! Bahatan! Wake

¹² Called *hapi*. This headdress when thus worn is called *balu*.

up!"¹³ During this time, also, until the morning of the third day, an almost constant ceremony was held in the house. Two or three priests relieved one another at long intervals. I have not yet obtained the text of those house ceremonies and can say little about them except that their general purpose was to keep the soul of the dead man, the ancestral souls of the clan, and other friendly spirits always near at hand. This was probably both for present protection and in preparation for the great ceremonies to follow on the third day.

THE CEREMONIES ON THE HILL.

At earliest dawn on the morning of the third day a party of men proceeded to a small level plateau lying about 400 meters west (toward Liñgai) and 90 meters above Bahatan's house. They cut down the tall grass on a place from 60 to 90 meters across, and built a small grass shelter on the south side of this clearing. Around this shelter, and enclosing an 8-meter space in front of it, they planted a circle of bunches of green *runo* stalks with the leaves left on. Soon after sunrise five priests came, bringing with them various of the sacred objects and paraphernalia used in religious ceremonies. Others arrived at intervals during the next hour until the final number of priests was sixteen, including all those of highest rank in Banauol clan. They took up their station within the *runo*-enclosed circle, and after the beginning of the ceremony it was taboo for any other person to step within that circle.

From 8 o'clock until 10 o'clock the people began to gather for the great ceremony of the *munhimûñg*, until more than 2,000 were in the vicinity of the plateau. They came in parties of from 20 to 200 people each, from all the clans at peace with Banauol within half a day's journey about. The procedure in the case of each party was the same as that so well described by Barton in Part III of this paper, and I shall not give it in detail here. The men who were to take part in the burial procession always led, while the women and children followed in a group at the rear. The striped shields, the *bañgibañg*,¹⁴ and the headdresses are well shown in Plates I, II, and IV. The white markings on the shields are painted with a mixture of lime and water. The white bark band of the headdress holds the blood-red *dañgla*¹⁵ leaves in place. Everyone was dressed in his or her finest

¹³ "Bumañgon-ka! Bahatan! Bumañgon-ka!"

¹⁴ See footnote No. 8.

¹⁵ *Dañgla* is *Cordyline terminalis* Kunth, (Liliaceae), and is the most important and most used of the sacred plants of the Ifugao. Large quantities of it are planted on the walls of the rice terraces (See Plates III, VII, and VIII). These spots of crimson color attract every traveler's attention, as they form the most striking ornament on the giant stairways of terraces that run up the mountainsides almost to their very tops.

clothing and ornaments and the parties certainly presented a striking appearance as they slowly wended their way into the valley. At times a dozen of them were in sight, coming from different directions, and the beating of the wooden musical instruments could be heard for miles.

In Central Ifugao the parties do not go to the house of the dead man unless their path leads them by it, but proceed at once to the plateau or hill upon which the ceremony is being held. In the present case, as each party approached the plateau the women and children dropped out and only the men who were to take part in the procession went on. The men trotted with a swinging dance step onto the plateau, playing their *bañgibañg*¹⁶ rapidly, and passing once around the circle of *runo* clumps came to a halt beside it. The leader communicated with the priests within the circle, and they assigned him his position in the procession. Upon learning this the party broke up, the members wandering off singly or in groups to find their assigned places.

In the meantime, since 10 o'clock, the religious part of the ceremony had been in progress. Two hogs and several chickens were necessary for the sacrifice, and on the present occasion one of the hogs was contributed by Lieutenant Gallman and the other by myself. This was eminently proper, for Bahatan had died in our service, and, to the Ifugao, Lieutenant Gallman stood in the relation of his overlord. The chickens, rice, and other things necessary were contributed by the family of the deceased and by Tañggána, his former overlord. The hogs and chickens were placed in the little grass shelter, already referred to, to await the time when they would be needed.

The first ceremony for the securing of vengeance is called *munúbúb*. Two chickens were sacrificed in the ordinary manner, after a short religious ceremony.¹⁷ Their meat was then cooked in one pot and some rice in another. Several pieces of the cooked meat were tied in various places on the roof of the little grass shelter, and others were placed in a small basket which was tied in the top of one of the *runo* clumps near which the priests sat. At the foot of this clump five small wooden bowls were placed, and filled, one with the chicken's blood, two with chicken broth, and two with the rice drink (*bubúd*). All of these articles were carefully watched by the priests from the time they were so placed until high noon, when the ceremony ended. This was to learn the will of an *idu*, or omen spirit which usually manifests itself in the form of a little bird called *pítpít*.¹⁸ If one or more of these birds comes to eat of the meat or drink of the liquids

¹⁶ Wooden musical instruments, see p. 232.

¹⁷ *Baki*, see p. 233.

¹⁸ *Prionochilus* sp.

in the bowls, it is a very favorable sign. Had that occurred in this case, the hogs would have been sacrificed immediately in the vengeance ceremony and on the following night a party of warriors would have started for Liñgai. However, no *idu* appeared at the ceremony for Bahatan, and to make clear what really did occur it is necessary here to describe briefly a few of the general beliefs regarding the omen spirit and the significance of its appearance at the *munhimûñg* ceremony:

Most of the omens are unfavorable, and whenever an omen spirit appears, its every movement is watched with anxiety. Of special significance are the direction of its flight and the character of its cries. If it flies slowly overhead in any direction away from that of the inimical clan, at the same time uttering a low mournful cry, it is a bad sign; but if it flies rapidly to the rear of the observers, uttering a sharp cry of fright, it is the worst sign of all. Either of these things indicates that vengeance will not be obtained for some time to come, and that any war party sent out at once would surely meet with disaster. Many other things may be learned from the *idu*—but it sometimes happens that none appears before 12 o'clock, as was the case at Bahatan's *munhimûñg*. This is not taken as a bad sign but merely indicates that the time is not ripe and that a series of vengeance ceremonies must be held on the days following the burial.

THE BURIAL.

At all *munhimûñg*, no matter how the ceremonies on the hill turn out, the burial in no case is delayed—it always begins exactly at noon. The time is determined by the Rice Chief¹⁹ of the clan. The Rice Chief of Banauol is Bundinlan of the village of Ambáliu. At the ceremony for Bahatan he sat with the priests in the *runo*-enclosed circle on the plateau, and shortly after 11 o'clock he removed from his hip-bag five little wooden pegs which he thrust in the ground in a vertical position. From watching the shadows cast by these pegs he was able to determine when the sun had reached the meridian. Even had the day been cloudy he would have guessed the hour with great exactness.

As noon approached, the men who were to take part in the procession sought their assigned positions, and when Bundinlan rose to announce the hour a long line of nearly a thousand men in single file reached from the plateau to a point far beyond Bahatan's house. A few minutes before 12 o'clock, the priests sent eight men down to the house to prepare the body by tying it on a pole in the same manner in which it had been tied when brought home. They also sent several other men to open and prepare the tomb and cut the grass around it.

¹⁹ The Rice Chief is called *tumúnôh* in Central Ifugao and *munlapu* in Kiangan Ifugao. In the former area the position is nearly always filled by a man, in the latter either by a man or a woman. The Rice Chief is the astronomer and meteorologist of the clan, in addition to being its leader in agriculture. The *tumúnôh* of Central Ifugao have considerable astronomical knowledge and have evolved an excellent calendar.

Exactly at noon Bundinlan spoke to the priests and they all stood up together, shouting at the tops of their voices: "Attention! ye Deities of the Sky World, for we are about to bury a beheaded man!"²⁰ This cry was taken up and repeated throughout the whole line of waiting men, and they fairly made the hills ring with their shouts. Six of the highest ranking priests at once left the plateau and went to the house, from which place, after glancing at the body to see that it was all right, they proceeded to the head of the procession. Each of the three leaders carried two spears and wore a peculiar back-basket of the type called *i-nâb-nú-tan*.²¹ The three following priests each carried a spear and a shield. They advanced very slowly, dancing all the way a peculiar dance which represented a mimic fight. This was accompanied by much low-voiced muttering and occasional loud cries. About half of the men in the procession carried shields and the other half *bañgibañg*. The tattoo upon the shields and the playing of the wooden musical instruments was kept up all the way from the house to the tomb. For the greater part of the distance the body was carried about midway in the procession, but as they neared the tomb the men carrying it advanced to a position just behind the leading priests. The women, children, and men not taking part in the procession stood in scattered groups and lines on the hillsides and along the walls of the rice terraces, where they could get a good view of the proceedings. The wife and mother of the dead man were the only women in the procession. They followed just behind the body.

Men for whom the *munhímûñg* ceremony is performed are not buried in ordinary graves, but in large tombs called *gunğât*, hollowed out in the mountain-side.

These tombs are from 6 to 8 meters across and about 1 meter high. The roof is supported by pillars of earth or stone which are left at frequent intervals. There are 6 of these tombs in Banauol clan district. The opening is walled up with stone, and in front of each a quick-growing tree called *haná'ti*²² is planted. The rate of growth of this tree is known, and it is cut off near the ground each time a burial is made. The people are thus easily able to tell when the last burial was made in that tomb.

The distance from Bahatan's house to the tomb where he was buried is about 3 kilometers, and the procession was fully an hour and a half in reaching its destination. When the leaders had arrived at the place, the procession halted and those in the rear began slowly to disperse.

²⁰ "Gópa-gópan dakayun Bagol ad Daya, ta munhímûñg-kami!"

²¹ The appearance of the priest wearing this basket is extremely grotesque. The basket is covered with long black needles made from fern-tree roots, and as the priest stoops in the dance these needles stand erect all over his back like the bristling quills of a porcupine.

²² Also sometimes called *tunğób*. I do not know the scientific name.

About twenty of the men immediately behind the leaders advanced and removed their headdresses which were then strung on two short poles, cut from the *haná'ti* tree at the mouth of the tomb, and stood up one on each side of the passage which led at a sharp angle downward into the tomb. The body was then brought forward, removed from the shield, and carried into the tomb. The passage was so small that those who entered were forced to crawl on their hands and knees. The body was not wrapped in a death blanket, but was dressed only in an ordinary clout. It was placed in a sitting posture at one side of the tomb, facing Liñgai, and held in position by wooden stakes cut from the *haná'ti* tree previously referred to. After everything was prepared two men again walled up the mouth of the tomb.

During all the time that the burial was taking place, and until the wall was almost finished, the widow, mother, and brother of the dead man stood at the beginning of the passage and cried out to him with loud voices. They alternately asked him to come back, and to avenge himself. After everything was finished they quietly went home, where they remained in comparative seclusion during their period of mourning previously described. After the walling up of the mouth of the tomb the poles containing the headdresses were laid over it, and a *tukâb* (wooden spear) stuck in the ground at right-angles to the slope. The people then quietly dispersed, and the *munhímûñg* ceremony was finished.

THE AFTER-BURIAL CEREMONIES.

Although the *munhímûñg* ended with the burial of the body, the after-burial ceremonies, while not so spectacular nor attended by so great a number of people, were even more curious and interesting. They were of two kinds very different in character,—the *líu-líua* (or ceremonial nights of general license) held on the three nights following the *munhímûñg*, and the vengeance ceremonies held at sunrise on the six successive mornings following the burial.

THE LÍU-LÍUA.

Before returning home, all of the men of Banauol clan who had marched in the burial procession took a ceremonial bath. The period of enforced continence was now at an end. That night in every village of Banauol there were little ceremonial gatherings of men and women at the houses of the *kadañgyan* (nobility). These gatherings are called *líu-líua*, and there are present at each from ten to forty or fifty guests. The people are invited by one of the nobility, who also provides sufficient *bubûd* (the fermented rice-drink), betel nuts, betel leaves, and tobacco to last throughout the night—for the gathering does not break up until early dawn. The number of men and women is usually about equally divided, and all are young or middle-aged, mostly coming from the nobility

and middle classes. Children and old people do not attend. The gathering is held on the paved place, called *daúlon*, underneath the house, and usually begins at about '8 or 9 o'clock in the evening. The host as a rule sits in the center beside the jar of rice-drink and the baskets or bowls containing the betel nuts, leaves, and tobacco. A small fire of pitch pine, both for light and warmth, is also built near the center. In the earlier part of the evening the women usually gather in a group on one side of the fire while the men sit on the other, but by midnight or after, when all have become warmed with the wine and the fervor of the songs, they mix together freely. No person is responsible for anything that he or she may do at a *liu-liua*, and no enmities or hard feelings are ever retained.²³

The principal purpose of the gathering is the singing of certain ceremonial songs, and this is kept up during the whole night. The songs are of two distinct types: the *a-ápôx di gimaiyañg* and the *mun-liu-liua*. The former are of mutual criticism on the part of the men and women, and the latter are of love and war. The latter are sung at all *liu-liua* ceremonies, throughout the year, and are in a curious, secret language utterly different from the spoken Ifugao.²⁴

The *a-ápôx di gimaiyañg* are sung only after the *munhimûñg* ceremony, and never at *liu-liua* held on other occasions. They are in the ordinary spoken language and, unlike most Ifugao songs, are not sung by a leader and chorus but by all the men singing together in one group and the women in another. The following extract from one of these songs was obtained at the house of Kinŋgiñgan of Pasnakan, on the second night after Bahatan's burial, and will show their general character. It is given both in the original²⁵ and in a free translation:

²³ The Ifugaos ordinarily have a very strict moral code, and the crime of adultery is punishable by death, but there is no doubt that formerly general license of every sort was permissible at a *liu-liua*. At the present time improper intercourse is very much frowned upon, and the younger married people will not attend a *liu-liua* where anything improper is liable to occur.

²⁴ This secret language is used only in certain religious and ceremonial songs, such as the *munhañgal* of the Central Ifugao priests and the *munhûdhûd* harvest song of the Kiññgan women. It is so different from the spoken language that I have listened to it for hours without being able to recognize a single word, except an occasional proper name. Indeed, the Ifugaos themselves have largely forgotten the meaning of these words. They know the general meaning only, and can not translate it word for word into the spoken language.

²⁵ *A-ápôx di Gimaiyañg.*

MEN. *Dakyu hi binabaii, le-le-ñ-lin-um-an, isda-yu giniñga-yu hi nan payo, le-le-ñ-lin-um-an.*

WOMEN. *Dakyu hi linalaki, le-le-ñ-lin-um-an, ya isda-yu hi wañgwañg di inu-gôdiu-yu, le-le-ñ-lin-um-an.*

MEN. *Dakyu hi binabaii, le-le-ñ-lin-um-an, ya e ipipluk hi payo di giniñga-yu, le-le-ñ-lin-um-an.*

A-ápōw di Gimaiyāñ.

MEN. "Ye the women, *le-le-ú-lin-um-an*, ye eat of the shell-fish ye have captured in the rice-fields *le-le-ú-lin-um-an*."

WOMEN. "Ye the men, *le-le-ú-lin-um-an*, and ye eat at the river the fish ye have captured, *le-le-ú-lin-um-an*."

MEN. "Ye the women, *le-le-ú-lin-um-an*, and ye cook upon the walls of the rice-fields the shell-fish ye have captured, *le-le-ú-lin-um-an*."

WOMEN. "Ye the men, *le-le-ú-lin-um-an*, and (when ye go on a journey) ye eat your clouts upon the path, *le-le-ú-lin-um-an*; and ye do not return to your homes, *le-le-ú-lin-um-an*; and (because of that) your children are weeping, *le-le-ú-lin-um-an*."

MEN. "Ye the women, *le-le-ú-lin-um-an*, and ye do not go to your sweet-potato fields, *le-le-ú-lin-um-an*; and (because of that) your husband becomes lank and lean, *le-le-ú-lin-um-an*; because he has not eaten of the results of your planting, *le-le-ú-lin-um-an*."

WOMEN. "Ye the men, *le-le-ú-lin-um-an*, and the meat (ye have obtained at the feasts ye have attended) decays in your hip-bags, *le-le-ú-lin-um-an*; for ye forget to remove it when ye return to your homes, *le-le-ú-lin-um-an*; and there is no meat-food in your houses, *le-le-ú-lin-um-an*; and a stench arises from the meat in your hip-bags, *le-le-ú-lin-um-an*."

Etc., etc.

These songs of mutual criticism are sung during the first half of the night, and the other class of songs occupy the remainder of the time. The attendance on the second and third nights of the *líu-líua* is not so large as on the first night, and is frequently composed of different people. Considering their character, the conduct of these ceremonies is very orderly. There is seldom enough of the intoxicant to produce much drunkenness, other than the required "joyful" feeling, and there are no public obscenities. In many districts of Central Ifugao these ceremonies are now no more than an ordinary social gathering and *Sängerfest*.

THE VENGEANCE CEREMONIES.

The vengeance ceremonies are very different in spirit and character from those just described, and it was possibly to counteract their frenzied ferocity that the latter were invented. They are called *mungámu-gáman*, and really last for seven mornings, since the one held on the morning of the burial day is essentially the same in purpose as those held on the

WOMEN. *Dakyu hi linalaki*, *le-le-ú-lin-um-an*, *ya isda-yu nan dalan di wanaw-yu*, *le-le-ú-lin-um-an*; *ya meid idatanñyu bale-yu*, *le-le-ú-lin-um-an*; *ya han tumdanñ-da nan imbabale-yu*, *le-le-ú-lin-um-an*.

MEN. *Dakyu hi binabaii*, *le-le-ú-lin-um-an*, *ya meid idatanñyu binkáan-yu*, *le-le-ú-lin-um-an*; *ya dín napigát nan ahawoa-yu*, *le-le-ú-lin-um-an*; *di meid di kanona di binkáan-yu*, *le-le-ú-lin-um-an*.

WOMEN. *Dakyu hi linalaki*, *le-le-ú-lin-um-an*, *ya mapite de dotág hi butánñ-yu*, *le-le-ú-lin-um-an*; *addi-kayu ukaton hi bale-yu*, *le-le-ú-lin-um-an*; *ya meid di isda-yu hi baleyu*, *le-le-ú-lin-um-an*; *ya humamu hamói di dotág hi butánñ-yu*, *le-le-ú-lin-um-an*.

Etc., etc.

six following. The true vengeance ceremony is not held until the omen spirit appears with the decree of fate. Should it appear with a favorable decree on the morning of the burial day, vengeance will be obtained very soon; but if on any of the following six days, it is held that vengeance will be obtained in as many months as the number of days waited. Should it not appear at all during these days, it is doubtful if vengeance will ever be obtained.

At the vengeance ceremony for Bahatan the omen spirit appeared at about 7 o'clock on the third morning after the burial, and ate of the meat and blood. Therefore, it was held that vengeance would be obtained within three months. (As a matter of fact this prediction came true.) The ceremonies on the first and second days were the same as those at the *munûbûb* ²⁶ held on the morning of the burial day, except that the time was from sunrise to about 7.30 o'clock instead of from 10 o'clock until noon. Also, from 50 to 100 young men were present who from time to time sang vengeance songs and songs addressed to the omen spirit asking him to come quickly. When the *idu* appeared in the form of a small bird ²⁷ everyone remained silent until it had finished its meal and flitted away in the general direction of Liñgai. The priests then all arose and shouted a few words after the departing spirit. The young men returned to their homes, to spread the news, while the priests immediately proceeded to the house of Bukahan (the brother of Bahatan) in the village of Dîmpal, where the two hogs had been taken on the afternoon of the burial day. The most interesting ceremony of the whole series then took place, but as it is described in detail by Barton in Part III of this paper, I will mention it only briefly, putting in the few details in which the Central Ifugao ceremony differs from that of Kiáñgan Ifugao.

The ceremony was addressed principally to the great deities of the Sky World (*Ad Daya*) and the Upper World (*Ad Kabúnian*), who are the gods of war and fighting. The most important of these deities are: *Manahaut* (the Deceiver), *Amalgo* (the chief of the Sun Gods), *Ambulan* (the chief of the Moon Gods), *Lubog*, *Pawit*, *Halañgob*, *Amtalu*, *Amtilag*, etc. Various of the priests were possessed by these deities. *Amalgo* speared the pig and *Ambulan* threw himself upon it, drinking the spurting blood until he was pulled away. Several of the priests seized handfuls of the blood and smeared themselves from head to foot. The pig was still living, but was soon killed in the ordinary manner by piercing its heart with a sharpened stick (the *wiwik*).²⁸ After the hair had been burned off, the body was cut up with scant ceremony and a small portion cooked. The meat was divided among the priests and the near relatives of Bahatan.

²⁶ Where the chicken meat, blood, broth, and rice-wine were prepared for the coming of the *idu*.

²⁷ *Pit-pit*, see p. 236.

²⁸ This is apparently not the custom in Kiáñgan Ifugao, as there the spear is thrust through the pig's heart, killing it immediately.

One hog was killed in the forenoon and the other in the afternoon of the third day. On that same afternoon a large shallow pit, about 3 meters square and 1 meter deep, was dug on the plateau where the ceremonies of the previous mornings had been held. The ceremonies of the fourth, fifth, and sixth mornings took place around this pit, and were all alike. From two to three hundred young and middle-aged warriors with spears and shields danced a mimic battle and sang songs of vengeance from sunrise until about 7 o'clock. At the same time two old priests sat in the center of the pit, where a small fire was built, and performed a religious ceremony over some of the meat of the hogs killed on the third day. The warriors danced and sang themselves into a frenzy disquieting to look upon. Some women and children who had gone up to the plateau on the fourth morning ran away in fright when the dance reached its height. After this ceremony the men returned home thoroughly exhausted and did little or no work on that day.

CONCLUSION.

The completion of the vengeance ceremonies likewise completes the observances connected with the *munhimûng* burial. The people believe that the souls of men buried by this ceremony lead most unhappy lives. They are forced to wander about, for a time at least, among the war gods and great evil deities of the Sky World (*Ad Daya*) and the Upper World (*Ad Kabúnian*). It is far from being an honor to have one's head taken. In fact, to the Ifugao, it is the greatest of all misfortunes.

PART III. THE BURIAL OF ALIGÚYUN.²⁹

ALIGÚYUN'S DEATH AT KIÁNGAN.

Aligúyun, of the district of Nagakaran in Kiángan Ifugao, was a soldier in the constabulary company stationed at Kiángan. He was killed while on duty, May 2, 1910, by a prisoner in the guardhouse who had secretly obtained a weapon. This prisoner had determined to escape and would have killed anyone who barred his way had he not been immediately shot by one of the other soldiers.

The killing of Aligúyun was therefore not done for revenge; in fact, his murderer probably did not know who he was nor where he was from. However, it so happened, that the prisoner himself was from the district of Kurûg, which is about 10 or 12 kilometers distant from Nagakaran, the home of Aligúyun. Old feuds existed between nearly all the clans in this area, and Nagakaran and Kurûg were not exceptions.

Since the suppression of head-hunting in Ifugao, it has become a

²⁹ By Roy Franklin Barton.

general custom to accord the *munhímúñg* burial to all persons killed by members of inimical clans, and this custom was followed in the case of Aligúyun. I witnessed only the ceremonies of the third day, and the following narrative of the events of that day was written shortly after their occurrence.³⁰

THE ASSEMBLING OF THE PEOPLE.

On the third day after Aligúyun was killed, the principal funeral ceremonies took place. To these ceremonies came a number of people from their *rancherias*,³¹ the party of each *rancheria* being led by relatives of the dead man—some of them very distant relatives.

Nagakaran, the *rancheria* of Aligúyun, was until quite recently very unfriendly to Kiánġan, where I live. However, Aligúyun had some kin in Kiánġan and these, together with their friends, went to the funeral. Their shields, as well as the shields of all who attended, were painted with white markings, some taking the conventional form of men, some of lizards, and some were zigzag. (Plates I and II, fig. 2.) Each man who attended had a headdress made of the leaf petiole of the betel-nut tree and the red leaves of the *dánġola*³² plant. To each leaf were attached pendants of feathers. Mourning bands, made of strips from the same petiole, were tied around both arms and legs, and in some cases a pendant *dánġola* leaf was attached to each band. Every man was dressed in his best clout and the women in their best skirts and in all their finery of gold ornaments and agate necklaces.

Nagakaran village is one of several in a very large valley (Plate VII). When I reached a point in the trail commanding this valley there could be seen coming from each of the various villages a procession wending its way slowly toward Aligúyun's home. From the time when it came within sight of the house, which was sometimes at a distance of from 2 to 3 kilometers, each procession danced its way, beating on the striped shields with drum sticks, and on the *banġibang*, a wooden stick made of hard resonant wood³³ coated with chicken blood and extremely old.

³⁰ At the request of Major Willcox, United States Army, who was in Kiánġan at the time of Aligúyun's death. Some corrections and minor changes have been made in the text.

³¹ The word *rancheria*, as used in the following pages and as commonly used by the American officials in Ifugao, designates what Beyer terms *clan district* in Parts I and II of this paper.

³² The Kiánġan Ifugao name for *Cordyline terminalis* Kunth, (Liliaceae), previously described.

³³ The *banġibang* is usually made of *tú-ol*, an extremely heavy dark-red wood. The specific name of *tú-ol* is *Bischofia javanica* Bl. (Euphorbiaceae). There are both wild and cultivated varieties.

This stick is curved slightly, is about 60 centimeters long, and is held in one hand suspended by a rattan string so that the vibrations are not interfered with. It is beaten with a drum stick as is also the shield. The *ganyha*, or bronze gong, is never used in the funeral of a beheaded man.

Each of the two head men of each procession carried two spears. Behind the head men came a man carrying spear and shield. The two men in front faced the oncoming procession, stepping most of the time backward, and making thrusts toward the bearer of the spear and shield. The latter returned the thrusts and executed various "fancy steps," the whole being a dance which in some respects resembles one of the head-dances of the Bontok Igorot. From the high place on the trail all moved slowly along the walls of the rice terraces toward the central village. The columns appeared in the distance like gigantic centipedes or files of ants. It usually takes an hour for such a procession to cover 1 mile. It was a still morning and the beating of shield and stick could easily be heard across the wide valley.

Arriving at Aligúyun's house we found him sitting on a block facing the sun, and leaning against his shield which was supported by the side of the house. The body was in an advanced state of decomposition. It was swollen to three times its living girth. Great blisters had collected under the epidermis which broke from time to time, a brownish-red fluid escaping. The spear wound in his neck was plugged by a wooden spear-head. In each hand Aligúyun held a wooden spear. No attempt whatever had been made to prevent decomposition of the body or the entrance to it of flies. Two old women on each side with pen-holder-shaped loom-sticks a half meter long continually poked at Aligúyun's face and the wound to wake him up. From time to time they caught the gruesome head by the hair and shook it violently shouting:

Who-oo-oo Aligúyun, wake up! Open your eyes. Look down on Kurúg.²⁴ Take his father and his mother, his wife and his children, and his first cousins and his second cousins, and his relatives by marriage. They wanted him to kill you. All your kin are women. [They say this in order to deceive Aligúyun into avenging himself.] They can't avenge you. You will have to avenge yourself. There is *orden*²⁵ now; no one can kill them but you. Take them all. You are to be pitied. You will be lonesome. Accompany their spirits²⁶. If they eat, eat with them. If they sleep, sleep with them. If they go to get water, go with them. If they go to get wood, turn the ax into their bodies. If they go on a journey, push them over a precipice. So, you will have com-

²⁴ Kurúg being the *rancheria* from which came Aligúyun's murderer.

²⁵ Law; referring to the establishment of American authority and the prohibition of head-hunting.

²⁶ The spirits of the kin of the murderer.

panions there in the Sky World, you will have someone to help you get wood and water."²⁷

This calling on Aligúyun's soul never ceased. When one old woman grew hoarse, another took her place. As the procession came to the house it filed past Aligúyun and its leaders stopped and shouted words to the same effect as those that the old woman kept shouting. The key-note of the whole ceremony was vengeance. It is true that the man who had killed Aligúyun was himself killed, but the people of a *rancheria* regard themselves as being about the only really valuable people in the world, and hold that three, four, or five men of another *rancheria* are not equal to one of theirs.

THE CEREMONIES ON THE HILL.

Toward noon the people told me ²⁸ that they were going to perform the ceremony which looked toward securing vengeance for Aligúyun's death. They went to a little hillock some distance from any house, where a grass shelter had been built for protection from the piercing rays of the noonday sun. Two pigs were provided there, one of which was very small. Only the old men were permitted to gather around the pigs and the rice wine and the other appurtenances of the ceremony. The ceremony began by a prayer to the ancestors, followed by an invocation to the various deities. The most interesting and principal one of the ceremonies was the invocation of the celestial bodies who are believed to be the deities of War and Justice. Manahaut (the Deceiver) a companion of the Sun God was first invoked. The priests cried:

"Who-oo-oo, Manahaut! look down! Come down and drink the rice wine and take the pig. Don't deceive us. Deceive our enemies. Take them into the remotest quarters of the Sky World; lock them up there forever so that they will not return. Vengeance for him who has gone before." Then an old priest put his hands over his forehead and called: "Come down, Manahaut of the Sky World." Manahaut came and possessed him causing him to call out: "Sa-ai! Sa-ai! I come down Manahaut; I drink the rice wine; I will deceive your enemies, but I will not deceive you."²⁹

²⁷ It is somewhat strange, this idea of a soul's associating with the souls of his enemies, whose death he has brought about. However, throughout the Ifugao's religion we find evidences that the soul is conceived as losing earthly affections and enmities, but never earthly appetites and desires.

²⁸ Nagakaran being the *rancheria* that speared and nearly killed my predecessor, Mr. Wooden, I explained my presence to the people there by saying that the soldier being an agent of our government was in a way a relative of mine, and that I had come to assist in the last rites and ceremonies due him. The explanation was a perfectly natural one to the people and they treated me with the greatest courtesy and helped me to see whatever was to be seen.

²⁹ "Deceive" in the sense of "Cause to fall into danger or ambush, possessed by the assurance of safety."

The priest who was possessed jumped up and with characteristic Ifugao dance step, danced about the rice-wine jar, and about the pig. Quickly there followed him a priest who had called Umalgo, the Spirit of the Sun, and who had been possessed by that deity. Manahaut danced ahead of Umalgo to show him the pig, and to urge him on. Umalgo seized a spear, danced about the pig two or three times, then stepped over to it and with a thrust, seemingly without effort, pierced its heart. The priests started the blood-thirsty cry which was taken up by the hundreds of high-wrought barbarians standing round: "So may it be done to our enemies of Kurûg."⁴⁰ The blood spurted out of the pig's side and there quickly followed a priest who had been possessed by Umbulan, the Spirit of the Moon, who threw himself on the pig and drank its blood. He would have remained there forever, say the people, drinking the pig's blood had it not been for the fact that one of the Stars, his son, possessed a priest and caused him to dance over to Umbulan, catch him by the hair, and lead him from the pig.

Following these ceremonies other priests came, possessed by various Spirits of the Stars, to cut off the pig's feet and head. And after each event, the cry issued from hundreds of throats: "So may it be done to our enemies." Next came the cutting up of the pig, to cook it in the pots. The blood that had settled in its chest was carefully caught; it was used to smear the *banġibanġ*⁴¹ and the *hipag*.

The *hipag* are interesting. (See Plate IX.) They are little images of men, pigs, dogs, chickens, and ducks. The spirits that dwell in them help men to take heads. The *hipag* are made of wood, and are about 15 to 20 centimeters high. When an Ifugao goes on a head-hunting expedition he takes the images in his head-basket together with a stone to make the enemy's feet heavy, so that he can not run away, and a little wooden stick in representation of a spear, to the end of which is attached a stone. This last is to make the enemy's spear strike the earth so that it shall not strike him.

As the pig was being put in the pot to be cooked for the priests who had performed the ceremony, some unmannerly young fellow started to make away with one piece of the flesh. Immediately there was a scramble for pork which was joined by some three or four hundred Ifugaos from all the different *rancherias*. Every man there (I think that there were over 1,000 who attended the ceremony) leaped for his spear and shield. The people who had come from Kiánġan rushed to where I was and took their stand in front of and around me, and told me to stay there, and that they would protect me from any harm; all of which, as may be supposed, produced no trifling amount of warmth in my feelings toward them. Fortunately nothing came of the scramble.

⁴⁰ "Batna kana okukulan di búhol-mi ūd Kudâg."

⁴¹ *Banġibanġ*, wooden musical instruments, see p. 244.

I have no hesitancy in saying that two or three years ago, before Governor Gallman had performed his truly wonderful work among the Ifugaos, this scramble would have become a fight in which somebody would have lost his life. That such a thing could take place without danger was incomprehensible to the old women of Kiangan, who doubtless remembered sons or husbands, brothers or cousins, who had lost their lives in such an affair. With the memory of these old times in their minds they caught me by the arms trying to drag me off with them and said: "Balton [Barton], come home; we don't know the mind of the people. They are likely to kill you." When I persisted in refusing to miss the rest of the ceremony they told me to keep my revolver ready.

Looking back on this incident I am sure that I was in little or no danger, but must give credit to my Ifugao boy who attended me for having the wisest head in the party. This boy immediately thought of my horse which was picketed near, and ran to it, taking with him one or two responsible Kiangan men to help him watch and defend it. Had he not done so some meat-hungry, hot-headed Ifugao might easily have stuck a bolo in its side during the scramble and attendant confusion. Immediately some 500 or more Ifugaos would have been right on top of the carcass and hacking at it with their long knives, and it probably would have been impossible ever to find out who gave the first thrust.

The priests who had performed the ceremony, after the people had quieted somewhat, began scolding and cursing those who had run away with the meat. Finally, they managed to prevail upon the meat snatchers to bring back three small pieces about the size of their hands, from which I concluded that Ifugao is a language admirably adapted to stating a situation clearly,—for I know how hungry for meat these Ifugaos become.

Three old men stuck their spears into a piece of meat and began a series of long stories the theme of which was some past confusion of enemies. At the conclusion of each story they said: "Not there but here; not then but now." The mere telling of these stories is believed to secure a like confusion and destruction of the enemies of the present. When this ceremony had been completed each old man raised his spear quickly in order to secure the impaled meat for himself. If he had not done this it would have been snatched by those who were waiting for that purpose, and made the object of another scramble. In one case one of the old men just missed ripping open the abdomen of the man who stood in front.

THE BURIAL.

The ceremonies on the hill being finished, the people made an attempt to assemble by *rancherias* and to file along the trail to bury Aligúyun. Nagakaran *rancheria* took the lead. As the procession came near the grave the men took off their headdresses and strung them on a long pole which was laid across the trail. A Nagakaran man went to where Aligúyun was sitting, picked him up, carried him to the grave, and placed him in a sitting posture facing Kurûg. Aligúyun was not wrapped in a death blanket as corpses usually are. His body was neglected in order to make him angry and incite him to vengeance.

The grave was a sepulcher dug out of a bank. It was walled up with stones after Aligúyun was placed in it and an egg thrown against the tomb whereupon the people yelled: "So let it happen to our enemies of Kurúg."⁴² The poles on which were strung the headdresses were taken away and hung over the door of Aligúyun's house. After this the people dispersed to their homes. On the way home they stopped at a stream and washed themselves, praying somewhat as follows:

Wash, water, but do not wash away our lives, our pigs and our chickens, our rice, and our children. Wash away death by violence, death by the spear, death by sickness. Wash away pests, hunger, and crop failure, and our enemies.

⁴² "*Batna kana okukulan di báhol-mi úd Kudág.*"

ILLUSTRATIONS.

PLATE I.

- FIG. 1. Kalatong (x), the chief of Kambulo clan, with a group of Kambulo people. (Photograph by Beyer, Banaue, September 12, 1907.)
2. Five of the men who marched in the funeral procession at the burial of Bahatan. Note the headdresses, armlets, and leglets of white bark; also the striped shield and the four *banḡibanḡ*. (Photograph by Beyer, April 3, 1908.)

PLATE II.

- FIG. 1. Kalatong's head, on the third day after he was beheaded. (Photograph by Beyer, at Banaue in January, 1908.)
2. A man who took part in the procession at the burial of Bahatan. (Dumapis of the village of Bokos, Banauol). Note the painted shield. This man wears a turban in place of the usual bark headdress. (Photograph by Beyer, April 3, 1908.)

PLATE III.

Southern half of the clan district of Banauol, where Bahatan lived. Battang's house is shown on hill to the left, just above the largest rice terraces. The tomb where Bahatan was buried is in the mountainside behind the same hill. (Photograph by Beyer, February 28, 1911.)

PLATE IV.

- FIG. 1. The body of Bahatan as prepared for the ceremonies at the house. The head has been fastened in position on the severed neck. Note the *kinillo* on the breast, the shield behind the body, and the wooden spear standing beside each arm. (Photograph by Beyer, April 1, 1908.)
2. A part of the procession at the burial of Bahatan. The people in the foreground, and on the hill to the right of the procession, are spectators. (Photograph by Beyer, April 3, 1908.)

PLATE V.

Three Ifugao priests of Banauol clan. From left to right they are: Tanḡgana of Anḡadal, the overlord of Bahatan mentioned in the text; Pitpitungai of Ulditanḡ, a very wealthy *kadanḡyan* but of low rank as a priest; Bulaḡgon of Panaḡgan, the chief priest of Banauol clan. (Photograph by Barton, Banaue, 1911.)

PLATE VI.

- FIG. 1. A Central Ifugao woman of the serf class. (Ináyao of the village of Pasnakan, Banaul.) Note the coarse garments made of woven bark fiber. (Photograph by Worcester, April, 1903.)
2. Three Central Ifugao women of Kambulo and Banaul clans. The woman in the center was the wife of Battang, and the one on the right a relative of Kalatong. (Photograph by Beyer, Banaue, 1906.)
3. A typical Kiangan Ifugao man—Duludul of the village of Baai, Kiangan. (Photograph by Beyer, 1906.)

PLATE VII.

The clan district of Nagakaran, the home of Aligayun. (Photograph by Martin, 1909.)

PLATE VIII.

- FIG. 1. Kiangan, Ifugao, looking east from the lieutenant-governor's house at Kiangan. The black dots in the terraced fields in the foreground are mounds of earth on which cotton is grown. (Photograph by Haskell, 1909.)
2. The central village of the clan district of Búrnai, in Kiangan Ifugao. (Photograph by Beyer, 1907.)

PLATE IX.

Some Ifugao religious objects used in this ceremony: (a) The basket in which the *hipag* of a Kiangan Ifugao family are kept; (b) The skull of a crocodile. This skull and one other are practically the common property of Kiangan clan. It has the same power as the *hipag*. The crocodile is an Ifugao deity; (c) The *hipag*, the *mulin* (hard, heavy stones), and the stick with a stone tied to one end, that belong to the family of Manayao, a Kiangan priest. All of these objects are encrusted with human blood and the blood of sacrificed animals, and are of extreme age. (Photograph by Barton, Kiangan, 1911.)

PLATE X.

- FIG. 1. An old priest of Kiangan. The blanket over his shoulder is of the variety called *hapi*, mentioned in the text. (Photograph by Martin, 1909.)
2. A Central Ifugao priest—Dolmug, of Lugu clan. (Photograph by Martin 1909.)
3. A typical Central Ifugao man—Kulungai of the village of Pasnakan, Banaul. (Photograph by Beyer, Banaue, 1905.)