

“Gaddang,” also “Gadang” or “Ga’dang,” derives from “ga” meaning “heat” or “fire,” and “dang” meaning “burn,” and means “burned by heat.” The name probably alludes to the skin color of the Gaddang, which is darker than any of the native peoples of the old Mountain Province. The Gaddang are found in northern Nueva Vizcaya, especially Bayombong, Solano, and Bagabag on the western bank of the Magat River, and Santiago, Angadanan, Cauayan, and Reina Mercedes on the Cagayan River for Christianized groups; and western Isabela, along the edges of Kalinga and Bontoc, in the towns of Antatet, Dalig, and the barrios of Gamu and Tumauni for the non-Christianized communities. The 1960 census reports that there were 25,000 Gaddang, and that 10 percent or about 2,500 of these were non-Christian. In 1979 the total population of the Gaddang increased to 43,150 (*Philippine Almanac* 1986:159).

History

In ancient times, the Gaddang may have come from the north, entering the Cagayan River at its mouth. Details from the epic of Biwag and Malana suggest that the Gaddang may have been the first to occupy the Cagayan Valley after the Aeta. Moving upriver, the Gaddang encountered the Ilongot. These early Gaddang were Proto-Philippineasians who already had a knowledge of the kaingin (swidden) system of agriculture.

The Spaniards first identified the Gaddang in the early 1600s. Generally occupying the same area where they are found today though living in dispersed settlements, they were later persuaded to live in compact communities through the Spanish policy of *reduccion* (resettlement). Many Gaddang found resettlement advantageous in view of the headtaking customs of their Ilongot neighbors to the east. Over the centuries, the Gaddang were Christianized in fits and starts, first by the Dominicans, later by the Augustinians.

The Spaniards relied on a gradual process of subjugation which was used against riverine, plain, and coastal tribes. Although this process did succeed in colonizing many Gaddang, its effectivity was limited by the Spanish policy which prohibited the Christianized Gaddang from maintaining relations, commercial or otherwise, with their non-Christian brethren. Such a policy resulted in hardening the hostility of the unconverted Gaddang.

Eventually, a basic dichotomy developed between Christian and non-Christian Gaddang. The Christian Gaddang even disparaged their unconverted brethren, considering them “Kalinga.” The behavior of the non-Christian Gaddang did not help the cause of good neighborliness. Periodically they would launch headtaking forays into Christian territory, which in many instances degenerated into pitched battles. The most serious exploit of the non-Christian or upland Gaddang occurred in the 1640s, when they managed to drive off Spanish influence in a considerable area of Christianized Gaddang territory. It took one year for the Spaniards to

reestablish control. The end result of the dichotomy was that the Christian Gaddang were fully assimilated into the general Christian culture while the upland Gaddang preserved their pre-Spanish traditions during the centuries of Spanish rule.

Unlike the Spaniards, the Americans were more effective in bringing the upland Gaddang within the pale of their authority. In an effort to justify the “Christianizing” and “civilizing” component of Manifest Destiny, the Americans systematically studied the upland tribes of the Philippines, including the Gaddang. The result was that the Americans were better able to adapt their policies to the norms of tribal societies, while gaining the tribes’ elusive recognition of American sovereignty. The Americans employed upland tribes to the extent of even arming them as agents of authority, enrolling them in the Philippine Constabulary and the police. Mission schools established in the upland areas introduced Western values to the upland communities. Headdressing declined in the American period. One of the Gaddang *mingal* (title conferred on those renowned for their headdressing prowess) Wallace (1970) interviewed had only two heads to his name, the last head taken 20 years previously. He had less time for headdressing expeditions as he was imprisoned by the Americans for over eight years after his first foray. He would not have been able to take his second head had World War II not intervened and brought about the breakdown of civil order.

In the postwar years, the upland Gaddang could no longer avoid gradual assimilation into mainstream economic and political life. Population and land pressures prompted them to trade more and more with lowland groups, such as the Ilocano, the Cagayano, and their fellow Gaddang, to relieve chronic food shortages brought about by inadequate farming methods and rising population.

Increasing relations with lowland and kindred groups as well as receding tensions have secured the place of Gaddang settlements within the national political framework. Today there is little to distinguish the Christianized Gaddang from other Christianized tribes. Upland Gaddang now belong to barangay and municipalities and are corollarily serviced by municipal, provincial, regional, and national government agencies. Census figures have shown that there already is a significant urbanized segment among the Gaddang, approximately some 33 percent of their total population.

Economy

Rice is the staple crop. The non-Christian Gaddang still use the kaingin system, while the converts irrigate their fields and use the plow. The upland Gaddang plant rice during the *abafini* (rice-growing season), which lasts from July to December, and plant other crops during the *mamula* (literally, “other domesticated plant growing”), which lasts from January to July. Upland harvests are mainly for domestic consumption, for often, the rice yielded does not even last the year. Also planted are camote or sweet potato, mung bean, cowpea, sponge gourd, garlic,

tomato, millet, bananas, yams, taro, jute, *ampalaya* or bitter melon, *kangkong* or swamp cabbage, spineless amaranth, leaf mustard, red pepper, papaya, and sugarcane. Tobacco is the only cash crop being cultivated by the upland Gaddang to be marketed in the lowlands. They also gather bamboo. The proceeds from the sales of tobacco allow the uplanders to purchase rice to make up for any domestic shortage as well as luxuries like gin and other commercial products. Both rice and gin need to be collected in surplus quantities by the Gaddang because of their importance in the *anitu* (ritual).

Aside from farming swiddens, upland Gaddang also hunt, trap, and fish to supplement their diet. They raise pigs and chickens for food and for use as sacrificial animals in their rituals. Wallace notes that while the upland Gaddang have water buffalos, these are not worked in the fields. They are rented out to the Christian lowlanders seasonally, and from the rent additional rice is purchased.

The lowland Gaddang, through more advanced farming technology, have greater yield and commercial returns. They follow two seasons; the rice-corn season from April to October, and the tobacco season from October to March. The profitability in planting cash crops other than rice has decreased rice cultivation among the lowland Gaddang.

Plow farming in the lowlands has instituted land ownership. While the upland Gaddang are mainly concerned with the favorability of signs and the productivity of their swidden, lowland landowners are drawn into greater social complexities such as the issue of inheritance.

While the uplanders hunt and gather food from the forest, the lowlanders fish. Traditionally the women fish with pole and line and the men with net and spear. Dynamite fishing is a modern innovation.

In addition to all these sources of livelihood, the Gaddang also engage in kolak or trading partnerships with nonrelatives (see discussion below).

Political System

Among the Gaddang, societal order is imposed within the structures of the family and kinship system. But in any community of 25 to 30 families, there may exist a council of elders (the heads of families) which traditionally settles disputes regarding divorces, petty crimes, and so on. There also may arise one who can talk more fluently and logically than others who may become the head of the community. Largely, however, that there are no formal political structures.

Prior to World War II, the mark of leadership was one's headtaking prowess. Headtaking was a means to resolve feuds, forestall famine, prove one's manhood, oravenge a blood debt. The status of mingal, a rank of esteem, was conferred on

leading headhunters.

To minimize headtaking, two mechanisms were devised: the *kolak* or trading partnership, and the *pudon* or peace pact system. These two devices have promoted peace and order especially in dealings with other ethnic groups, and have benefited relatives of the trading partners or peace-pact holders.

The *kolak*, which means “sibling” develops from the Gaddang’s need for a trading relationship with a nonrelative. The relationship often arises from casual friendship and, over time, the acquaintance becomes a trading partnership. If it is to their mutual advantage to formalize the relationship, one party goes to the home of the other, bringing gifts, usually some wine, a bush knife, or a spear. After an evening of drinking and eating, the knife or spear is presented to the presumptive partner, who reciprocates with a bush knife of his tribe and rice (Wallace 1970:63). The *kolak* extended social obligations beyond the boundaries of kinship units and trade networks thus linked up into a system for preserving peaceful relations among the contracting parties.

The *pudon* is a peace pact between communities. Once established, members of parties to a *pudon* are free to traverse each other’s territory. Crimes committed by a member of one community party to the *pudon* against a member of the other community are resolved by the peace-pact leaders who argue publicly and arrive at a judicious fine. The resolution of crimes committed outside the jurisdiction of the two parties to the *pudon* are left to civil authorities.

The *pudon* is normally begun by an invitation from one party to another, outlining the advantages of the arrangement. When the need for the *pudon* has been mutually established, the two communities select their respective *ulo na pudon* (peace-pact leaders), their assistants, and several delegates. Peace-pact leadership belonged to the *mingal*, but that distinction is no longer theirs alone; it is also given to those gifted with fine oratory or recognized for their economic success or active participation in ceremonies. The ritual of formalization includes dancing, gong playing, singing, betel nut chewing, drinking, and feasting. Tales from the heroic past are recounted and the benefits of the *pudon* exalted. Geographical boundaries are then established and, later in the evening, knives, axes, and spears are exchanged to establish good faith. A day or two more of feasting follows the basic ceremony (Wallace 1970:65).

Many lowland Gaddang have since been assimilated into the Philippine body politic. There are indications, however, of increasing assimilation among the upland Gaddang, as some communities already fall within the structure of local politics in their respective areas, and are represented by Gaddang barangay captains and Gaddang municipal councilors, police officers, and other civil officials.

Social Organization and Customs

Lacking a well-defined political system, the kinship system is the Gaddang's major source of order in his world. The Gaddang "personal kindred" (Wallace 1970:66) theoretically extend up to the 12th degree of consanguinity on both sides of an individual's ancestry. In practice, this is effective only in so far as the individual could trace lineal descent, which, in Wallace's study, rarely extends beyond the fourth degree of consanguinity. Sometimes the state of being *wayi* (relatives) is a matter of common agreement: two people decide to become relatives and henceforth consider each other so.

In the days when headtaking and warfare were common, blood relationships had great bearing, as relatives were responsible for avenging transgressions against the individual. Following the decline of headtaking, the increased dispersal due to land pressures, and the shift to plow agriculture, the kindred was transformed into more benign and pacific institutions which the individual could depend on for mutual economic assistance.

The Gaddang kinship system recognizes the following relationships: *ama* (father), *ina* (mother), *ulitang* (parent's brother), *ikit* (parent's sister), *kolak* (sibling), *kapingsan* (cousin), *anak* (child), and *panganakan* (sibling's child). The term *afu* covers the grandparents and grandchildren, extending to all ascendants and spouses and cousins of grandparents and grandchildren. It is also a term of deference and respect for an elderly person (Wallace 1970: 69-70).

The *atawa* or spouse is also the source of additional kinship relations. In-laws are *katuwangan*, an affinity extending past parents-in-law to their siblings, cousins, and their respective spouses. Children-in-law and their spouses, nephews and nieces are *mannuwang*. *Kafalay* is the term for mutual parents-in-law, equivalent to the Tagalog *balae* (Wallace 1970: 70).

Corollary to kinship is the close relations Gaddang parents have with their children. The Gaddang child spends its infancy in a hip sling carried by the mother or father. Fathers take particular interest in the rearing of their male offspring, personally feeding their sons with porridge and *am* (water from boiled rice), and taking over the babysitting when their wives are busy. The child, when not slung, is placed in a hammock hanging in the house. The baby is offered the mother's breast whenever it is hungry and continues to be breastfed until it is about three years old, or when another child is born.

From the age of 2 to 6, the children are left on their own. They eat when hungry and play with their peers, often in emulation of their parents' chores. Children are taught not to fight each other; retaliation for wrongs is not encouraged. They are disciplined only for breaches of etiquette. From 6 to 12, the parents train their children in their respective economic roles. Fathers teach their sons farming, fishing, hunting, and other male-centered tribal activities. Girls learn rice milling, cooking, cleaning, and other household chores, as well as activities related to their *kaingin*.

At 12, the upland Gaddang is supposed to have learned how to farm and survive in the forest (Wallace 1970:74-76).

The skills of the upland Gaddang are not learned by the Gaddang in lowland communities until the latter are much older. Nevertheless, the process of assimilation into the process of production is learned by the time the Gaddang are of marriageable age.

Women average 14 years old when they first marry, while men range from 17 to 22 years old. An eligible bachelor informs his parents when he is interested in marriage. If he has still to select his prospective partner, his parents help search for a suitable candidate. Parents of eligible girls also send feelers to parents of marriageable young men. The criterion for the match is the equivalence of wealth as the married couple receives part of their inheritance upon marriage.

Preferably spouses should come from outside the settlement so as to expand kindred relations or avoid marrying close relatives.

The family of the boy employs a brother or cousin of the boy's father, to act as go-between in arranging the marriage. He secures the interests of both families during the marriage negotiations, and ascertains that both parties understand the extent of the marriage inheritance and social obligations the future kafalay have to one another. Once the terms are settled, the go-between presents a *kiring* or "marriage bead" (which is usually a family heirloom worth from one to three carabaos) to the prospective bride's parents as initial payment of the bride price. Once accepted by the girl's parents, the engagement is in effect and their parents may now call each other kafalay. If the engaged couple are mature enough to maintain their own household, the *kiring* is given to the girl and the date for the marriage ceremony is set. Otherwise the parents of the girl will keep the bead until the marriage takes place. Anytime before the ceremony, the girl's parents may return the *kiring* and the marriage is considered cancelled. Should the boy and his parents wish to cancel the marriage, they forfeit the marriage bead (Wallace 1970:76-80).

The marriage ceremony is financed by the boy's parents and held at their home. The ceremony lasts for two days and one night and is supervised by two mediums, a *mabayan* or old man and *makamong* or old woman. Wallace (1970:78-79) describes in great detail the ceremony:

During the first day, the boy's parents and their immediate kin prepare large quantities of food for the wedding. A pig is killed for cooking and an ample supply of native sugarcane wine and inexpensive market gin is made available to the visitors. The killing of the pig is done under the close supervision of an old woman medium, for if it should not react properly to her ritual operations, the ceremony would have to be cancelled. By late afternoon, more and more people are arriving in the settlement and the gaiety of the hour increases. The mediums begin to

sing and pray as a means of ensuring supernatural blessings on the wedding. Children amble about the settlement eating and playing games. Young men compete in games of skill, such as high and broad jumping. The betrothed couple are not set apart from the others and enter into the general activity of the time.

An hour or so before dark, the food is served. After eating, the men bring out their gongs and the dancing starts. This lasts well into the early hours of the morning. The bride and groom are called upon to dance for the others. Sometime during the night, when the drinking is the heaviest, the gong playing the loudest, and the dancing the fastest, the young man and woman getting married slip away to an unoccupied house to spend the night. Throughout the night the mediums supervising the ceremony continue to sing and pray.

The ceremony continues into the following morning, but at a much slower pace. Generally, the participants have a hangover from drinking too much and the morning is spent in subdued conversation. By noon, many of the visitors are beginning to leave the settlement, and the marriage ceremony slowly comes to an end. The old man and woman finish singing and praying, and are paid for their services with the shoulders and hips of the pig killed. The boy and girl are now married.

Again, according to Wallace (1970:79), the newly married couple receives an inheritance reflective of the wealth of each other's parents. Both sets of parents contribute equally to the marriage inheritance, the amount or value having been determined during the marriage negotiations. To get the couple started, the inheritance comes in kind—pigs, carabaos, beads, clothing, and foodstuffs—received a day or so after the ceremony, or sometimes after a year or more. Inheritance in the form of land leads to complications regarding subdivision among siblings and subsequent residence of the couple, although during the first year of marriage, the couple usually settles in the community of the bride's parents where the husband fulfills a bride-price, service obligation, called *pangat-wangan*, to his parents-in-law.

...If both the marriage partners' parents own land, the couple inherits from both of them. Theoretically, land is divided equally between siblings upon their marriage, even if the land amounts to no more than a hectare. The parents may, however, retain usufruct rights to it, and they, rather than their children, continue to use it. If unmarried children are living, part of the land is saved for their marriage. This, of course, brings about the clustering of siblings on small parcels of land at adulthood and marriage. Or, what may happen is that the children that marry first obtain their land and, because there is usually very little land, the younger children do not receive land at marriage. Land also serves to influence the choice of an area in which a couple may spend their lives... If the land came from the boy's parents, chances are the couple will live near the boy's parents and, of course, vice versa. If the couple received land from both sets of parents, they must make a decision as to where they will live. Because individual land ownership is a relatively new feature of Gaddang culture, land inheritance prescriptions are not yet clearly defined (Wallace 1970:79-80).

Wherever they settle, the newly married couple are responsible for their own economic welfare; they construct their own house and cultivate their own swidden or plow farm.

One established Gaddang tradition is *solyad* or spouse exchange, a rare custom among contemporary societies. Two married couples agree to enter into such a relationship, where the husbands exchange wives for an agreed period of months or years (Wallace 1970:80-84). The arrangement involves the participation of the parents of the male partners as well as the offering of collaterals which may reach three levels. Wallace (1970:81-82) describes the arrangement:

Male *A* will ask his parents to approach the parents of male *B* to negotiate the spouse exchange. The parents of the females do not enter into the negotiations. The parents of *A* visit the parents of *B* and after considerable small talk, the question of the spouse exchange is broached. This, of course, comes as no surprise as their son has already informed them of the forthcoming visit by *A*'s parents. The father of *A* informs the father of *B* that his son has a desire to *solyad* with their son and daughter-in-law, and if receptive, they will consider it. A few days later the parents of *A* return to the home of the parents of *B*, bringing with them a *kiring* (the "marriage" bead already discussed), some betel, and wine. This symbolizes the formal beginning of negotiations. This visit, and any succeeding visit, if necessary, is termed in Gaddang *maman* ("betel"). During the "betel," wine is drunk, betel is chewed, and a chicken is ceremonially killed in honor of the pending spouse exchange. The parents of *A* offer one *kiring* as collateral to the parents of *B* to overtly show that their son and daughter-in-law will conduct themselves during the exchange in a culturally prescribed manner. The parents of *B* may offer to match the one bead but, more often than not, they will suggest that more collateral be offered by the parents of *A*. Here, many variables come into play, depending upon status, wealth and the desire of the parties involved. For example, if *A*'s wife is sickly, his parents will probably have to extend more collateral than *B*'s. If *A* and his wife have a reputation for entering into contracts and breaking them, his parents may have to extend more collateral. Or, if *A* has no children and he enters into the spouse exchange in hope of his wife becoming pregnant, his parents will offer more collateral. *B*'s parents may, of course, also be forced into the same position. If additional negotiation is necessary, the parents of *A* leave, saying that they will return in a day or so. A few days later they return and another "betel" is held. At that time they offer a *lufay* (an earring of considerable worth) besides the bead. Informants say that this type of earring is always offered as the second form of collateral. The most common practice is for three "betel" to be held (i.e., two "marriage" beads and one earring are presented as collateral) before the negotiations are completed. The collateral is an important feature of the spouse exchange because if one person should step outside its culturally defined bounds, his parents' collateral is forfeited to the other party...

After six months to a year, the spouse exchange may be terminated. That is, *A* no longer has sexual access to *B*'s wife, and *A* returns to his

original family of procreation. The parties are then free to begin negotiations for a new spouse exchange if they so desire. The items of collateral are returned to their original owners. It is important to note, however, that a spouse exchange can be terminated with one party forfeiting the collateral. The primary causes for the termination of spouse exchange with loss of collateral, are:

1. If one member of the spouse exchange enters into negotiations for a new spouse exchange without first terminating the current one.
2. If one member of the spouse exchange has sexual intercourse with anyone other than his wife or his spouse exchange mate.
3. If one member of the spouse exchange is found guilty of cruelty to his exchange mate.

The solyad enlarges kinship and expands social relationships, ties, and obligations, as much as an ordinary marriage does, although temporarily or as long as the arrangement is enforced. The term for borrowed spouses is *kayam*. The parents and siblings of the male partner of one couple become the in-laws of the other male member of the other couple, and as well as of the latter's wife. The child born from the union of exchange couples is known as the *banay'i* of its biological mother. The recognized social father, however, is the husband of the child's biological mother and as such, he assumes full responsibility for the child's education, marriage, and inheritance. The child stays with its mother and her husband after the solyad is terminated. The Gaddang, Wallace concludes, believe that in a hostile environment, there is safety in kinship (Wallace 1970:85).

To the Gaddang, many cultural taboos must be observed. Breaking taboo invites illness, general misfortune, and even death. Most taboos center around birth, puberty, and death. Taboos dictate that a mother cannot eat sugarcane, pineapple, or fish killed by dynamite within three weeks after she bears a child; nor can any person other than an immediate relative or midwife enter the house where the child was born within the same period, otherwise, the mother or the child or both will fall ill and die. Another taboo says that from puberty and for the rest of her childbearing life, a woman may not eat sweets during menstruation, lest this cause the menstrual flow to cease and lead to sickness or death. It is forbidden for a girl to sleep on the same mat as her father after she reaches puberty, and for a boy to sleep on the mat of his mother after about the age of 15 or 16. If they do, sickness would visit a member of the household. Finally, when someone dies, the house in which the person died must be abandoned, otherwise illness or misfortune will come to those left behind.

Omens also influence Gaddang behavior, indicating danger and misfortune at opportune moments. An omen occurring prior to an event or endeavor calls for the cancellation of the latter, lest misfortune befall any or all the individuals involved. **Religious Beliefs and Practices**

For non-Christian upland Gaddang, Nanolay is both creator of all things and a culture hero. In the latter role, he is a beneficent deity. Other gods in the Gaddang pantheon include Dasal, to whom the epic warriors Biwag and Malana prayed for strength and courage before going off to their final battle. The fathers of the two heroes were Bunag, the god of the earth, and Limat, the god of the sea.

Ilosa, the Gaddang universe, is composed of *dufafa* (earth) and *kalekay* (afterworld). In Gaddang cosmogony, the term denotes a place where all living things originated, the place where Nanolay performed his acts of creation. Dufafa is a world where famine, sickness, death, and uncertainty reign, while the concept of *kalekay* remains vague to many Gaddang. Even knowledgeable Gaddang mediums say that *kalekay* is simply the place of Nanolay, Ofag, and *kararawa* (soul). Nanolay is described in myth as a fully benevolent deity, never inflicting pain or punishment on the Gaddang. He is responsible for the origin and development of the world. Ofag is Nanolay's cousin, but does not have the latter's creative powers. *Kararawa* are the souls of dead creatures, human or nonhuman. Upon death, the souls of all creatures go up to the *kalekay*, except cats, which are reborn as ants, and chickens, which are reincarnated into butterflies. In *kalekay*, the *kararawa* go about living as they lived on earth. The absence of a "desirable destination" after death for the Gaddang suggests an orientation toward the world of the here and now.

To the Gaddang, the *dufafa* is composed of, among others, man, domesticated plants, ghouls, and sickness. Wallace (1970:87) observes that the Gaddang have a paranoid fear of danger brought about by a history of headtaking and a present ridden with disease and malnutrition.

The Gaddang believe in two kinds of illness: the sickness caused by evil spirits, and the hurt or injury suffered in accidents such as those caused by falling, muscle sprains, and insect bites. The Gaddang also specifically identify blindness, insanity, birth defects, skin diseases, goiter, deafness, and malaria as other illnesses outside the first two classifications. Most "hurts" are attributed to natural causes, i.e., it is "natural" for an insect to bite or for a person to accidentally cut his/her leg with a knife.

However, illness could also be caused by evil spirits, like the *bingil*, physically distorted humanlike ghouls with very large eyes that reflect light and glow in the dark, contact with which causes illness and even death in two days; *aran*, a mistlike spirit, floating in the forest, which sneaks into the village at night and possesses a sleeping person, who will then begin to act insanely and die sooner or later; *angakokang*, known only by its distinctive sound like that of a whining dog, which when heard by a person will result in sickness or death; *aled*, transsubstantial spirits normally invisible, but which have the power to metamorphose themselves into human, animal (pig, bird) and nonhuman shapes (rocks, trees), and whose touch causes dizziness and general weakness, and death within a few days; and *karangat*, ghouls who, like the *aled*, can change shape at will, are unusually aggressive and tricky, lurk about villages bringing sickness, insanity, and death, and must occasionally kill to secure their food,

consisting of human corpses.

With evil spirits roaming around, the Gaddang become cautious about the world in which they live. The earth world is an uncertain world. Omens, taboos, and malevolent spirits lead the Gaddang to view the earth world as particularly hostile. The Gaddang must then seek to establish a harmonious relationship between humans and the other natural and supernatural beings in the world. But few Gaddang have the ability to successfully interact with supernatural forces, requiring mediums to broker between the natural and supernatural. Male and female mediums— *mengal*, *mabayan*, and *makamong*— perform anitu rites and other rituals related to planting, harvesting, death, warfare, sickness, or misfortune.

Anitu to the Gaddang does not refer to an ancestral spirit, as it does in Mountain Province, but a “belief in a supernatural power.” It is also understood by the Gaddang, according to Wallace, as that which is followed by all. Wallace suggests that anitu has two basic usages in Gaddang. First, it is a power, force, or concept through which Nanolay is addressed. No Gaddang can say “I beg to Nanolay,” but rather, “I beg to anitu.” Anitu can only be viewed as benevolent. It is incorrect to say *narakat a anitu* (bad anitu). Second, anitu also refers to seven rites of passage which all Gaddang undergo (Wallace 1970:94).

Gaddang anitu rites are rendered to cure the sick and ensure their longevity and to avoid misfortune or illness due to breach of a taboo. Presided by the medium and usually involving the sacrifice of a pig, these rituals could also serve to indicate status and/or the occasions for kindred socialization.

Christianized Gaddang adhere to Christian norms of worship and ritual and no longer practice the rites of anitu. Pre-Christian undercurrents, however, continue to run in Christian devotions. The belief in God, for example, closely parallels the concept of Nanolay as the all-benevolent creator. The intercession with gods and spirits has been replaced by the veneration and appeal to saints. Particularly potent beings among the Christian Gaddang are the Blessed Virgin Mary (as illustrated by her role in subduing the serpent of La Torre) and San Luis Beltran, patron saint of Solano, Nueva Vizcaya.

One significant divergence between the Christian and the non-Christian Gaddang with respect to religious beliefs is found in the concept of heaven or the afterlife. While the non-Christian views the afterlife as a place where all souls go, the afterlife to the Christian Gaddang is the result of a person’s earthly life. Thus, the Christian Gaddang see death as inevitable and what makes it fortunate or unfortunate is whether or not the deceased lived a good or bad life on earth.

Architecture and Community Planning

In the old days, the Gaddang lived in houses built on high branches of trees. These *afung* or dwellings were provided with a detachable ladder drawn up at night to

prevent unwanted entry. The construction of afung was probably in response to Ilongot headtaking forays. The afung was built 6-20 meters from ground level. As the communities grew bigger, lower houses became common. While dispersed settlement is still a feature among the pagan Gaddang in eastern Bontoc and Ifugao, the valleys and plains have more compact settlements, some big enough to become towns in Nueva Vizcaya.

According to Scott (1969), other highland tribes, especially the Kalinga, do not consider Gaddang afung as houses. With the decline of headtaking practices, and the inroads of agricultural civilization, the afung is fast disappearing as a preferred mode of abode.

At present, Gaddang settlements normally consist of 2 to 15 houses with an average of four persons per house. They are usually located above a stream in forested areas along hilltops. This arrangement permits them easy access to other swiddens in the surrounding steep valley slopes.

Gaddang houses measure anywhere from 5-16 square meters and are raised 1-2 meters on piles. The shape is often rectangular, with bamboo walls and flooring and cogon-thatched roofs that slowly arch downward from a central horizontal beam all the way to the lower part of the walls. Grass or husk are alternately used as walling materials. The interiors have very little or no furnishings save for one or two trunks where valuables like beads and gongs are kept. Most activities such as sleeping and eating are on the floor. Being kaingin cultivators, the Gaddang regard the house as a temporary shelter to be abandoned whenever necessary, such as when one needs to transfer to a new kaingin or when a death occurs in the household. The Gaddang construct a death house or dwelling where the corpse remains for several days before it is buried. The Gaddang also build separate granaries which are similar in size and shape to their houses.

For the Christianized Gaddang, many churches have been built in the 18th, 19th and 20th centuries. The most outstanding of these churches is that of Tumauni. Built under Fr. Forto OP in 1783, this unique structure is made entirely of bricks, many of which have decorative motifs. Its rounded tower and rounded pediment distinguish it from most churches of the country.

Visual Arts and Crafts

Traditional attire for Gaddang women includes the tapis, a lengthy piece of cotton cloth wound around the waistline down to the knees, and a longsleeved, round-necked collarless and waist-length blouse. The cloth used for these costumes are woven by the women themselves from homegrown cotton, and dyed in bright natural colors. In olden days, Gaddang women did not have upper garments except during feast days. The traditional costume for the Gaddang male is the G-string. The G-string is held by a girdle, whose flap is weighted on the hem by beaded tassels. An upper collarless,

short garment may also be worn, together with headkerchiefs. Today, most Gaddang use shirts, trousers, and dress for everyday wear and reserve the traditional attire for ceremonies and other formal occasions.

The Gaddang are distinguished for having elevated beadwork to an art form. Unique among northern Luzon communities, the Gaddang are lavish with their use of beadwork. Gaddang women are fond of wearing seed beads around their heads, necklaces, and wrists, but glass beads and precious stones are especially prized. Their arms are never without *ginadding* or *ginalmaddan*, bracelets made of beads and copper respectively. Their headbands are called *atifulan* and their combs *lagod*, which are also lavishly tasseled and beaded. Exquisite beadwork are also trademarks of the Gaddang textiles. Most ceremonial garments have beaded seams and the front flaps of male G-strings as well as male kerchiefs and shirts may display intricate beadwork.

Tattooing is common to both men and women, with designs imprinted on their arms, legs, and fingers. The men have theirs on the breast. Being tattooed assures them passage to heaven.

Literary Arts

The literary material collected by Lumicao-Lora (1984) from Christian Gaddang enclaves such as Solano, Bagabag, and Bayombong and the non-Christian communities of western Isabela includes riddles, proverbs, poems, legends, and the epic of *Biwag Anni Malana* written by Francisco Gabuat-Soriano.

Lallagunut (riddles) appear to be a major pastime among Gaddang children and adults, who trade riddles formally or informally, at home, in school, on the street, on the farm, in the market. Riddles which reflect the flora and fauna of the Gaddang areas serve to sharpen a child's sensitivity to his/her environment. These samples show the consistent use of an image parallel to the object being referred to (Lumicao-Lora 1984:72-78):

Ana tata bafay, iwarac na ino anacna. (Kalabasa)

A woman scatters her children. (Squash)

*Appat a mauauahi sinumallung so simban
Naddadaruma color na sinnun da
Allawan da, tata lamang a libaga. (Mamman)*

Four sisters went to church
Wearing clothes of varied hues.
When they came home, they all wore red.
(Betel chew)

*Ana tata tolay,
Accananna bagguina. (Candela)*

There's a person eating up
His own body. (Candle)

The *lalenut* (proverbs) teach the values that the Gaddang should develop in life, so that they may achieve peace and prosperity both for themselves and the community. For the individual, stress is often laid on a person's substance which leads to humility (Lumicao-Lora 1984:58-65):

Ino pakay a naddawa naddumug.

The rice stalk full of grain is bent.

The Gaddang also put emphasis on industry and hard work:

*Mapia quepay a mattangit ca sito aggaw abao
Eh maccataua ca si uddi
Mah so maccataua ca toya eh mattangit
daddaramat.*

It's better to cry now and laugh later,
Than laugh now and mourn the day after.

With respect to family relations, the Gaddang remain conservative, prizing parents above all else:

*Metappol nu you atawan
Baccan si guinatan*

You can throw your wife or husband out,
But never your own parents.

Lallao (poetry), which are often transformed into songs, often start out as compositions for special occasions. Most poems have as themes love, goodwill, service, and obedience. As in the songs mentioned above, one recurrent metaphor is that of flowers to symbolize love. The poem "Berso Na Ana-anap" (Verses of Frustrated Love) is typical (Lumicao-Lora 1984:82-83):

*Tata a lappao yo pangirang-ngirang cu
So bahu a sinag, banna-bannay na dihat
Metalugaring nu mepadandan sicuan
Yo neduma a anggam, neduna a anap*

*Daddaramat anna fuab
Yo mammanoc era naccayaccac
Na cancion mapparaparappag
Y canta-cantanda a iyayag yo anggam cu
Yo anggam cu a madammat a suerte*

Cuppat a bucal
Cuppat a inanaman
Cuppat a bucal yo innac a imula

Yo mangiada si allac nga ira yo pattolayan
Nattufu, naddam, napangga, nallappao
Udde menangque nabbunga.

I compare thee to a flower,
A ray of light that gives inspiration—
More so if you give me your attention.
Love comes in many forms from the young,
Which I am expecting every morning
 and afternoon
In my native town.

Songs that convey what I feel—
A love that caused such a burden and pain;
The four seeds I have sown
Which are my only hope.

Dried seed,
Dried hope,
Dried seed that I may plant,
That perchance your charm may let grow.
It grew, it climbed, it branched, it bloomed
But never did it bear fruit.

Most of the legends gathered by Lumicao-Lora from Gaddang elders appear to have been introduced during the Spanish period, like the legend of Battalan, an old diviner from Bayombong, and the legend of the huge snake, that alludes to the Immaculate Conception which has sole power over this snake. However, there are legends that may date back to pre-Spanish times like the tale about the origin of the Magat River.

Magat was a handsome and strong-willed youth who saved a lovely maiden bathing in a stream from the clutches of a python. He proposed marriage to the woman, who consented on condition that Magat would swear not to see her at noon. One day, Magat could no longer contain his curiosity and broke into his wife's seclusion. In place of his wife, he saw a crocodile, who then turned into his wife. "You broke your promise," lamented the woman. "I can no longer be happy. Thus, I must now die." Having said this, she slowly turned once more into a crocodile and died. After burying his crocodile-wife in his frontyard, Magat drowned himself in the same stream where he first espied her. Over time, the stream grew into the mighty Magat River. It widens and grows, it is said, because Magat wants to claim the remains of the wife he buried in the heart of town.

A hero in the mold of Biwag and Malana is Bayun, who chases the marauding Ifugao back to the mountains and rids the people of Isabelita of a malefactor. In another tale, Mambag, a giant, is the antagonist who is defeated by a superb display of

community cooperation, which forces him to retreat to his cave where he eventually dies. Another tale about the Magat River tells of a kingdom of mermaids.

Biwag Anni Malana, an epic of 546 lines created by F.G. Soriano, presents two of the Gaddang's greatest culture heroes, who, after crossing the seas from Sumarta (probably Sumatra) with their mothers, landed in Faru (Aparri, Cagayan). In this tale, Biwag and Malana are sons of the earth god Bunag and the sea god Limat by Beling and Casta, daughters of the Queen of Sumarta. The queen discovers the alliance and banishes her daughters and their sons. In Faru they are welcomed by the Gaddang, who adopt Biwag and Malana as their own and assure the mothers of a new home. The two demigods grow up into courageous young men, who subdue a crocodile before it is able to devour a woman. One day they watch the chieftain's daughter, Reling, bathing in the stream. Malana threatens the maiden's virtue. To defend her from Malana, Biwag fights his cousin. They hurl trees and rocks at each other. Later, they prove themselves as assets to the tribe when they trounce the traditional Gaddang enemy, the Ilongot, with their bare hands. They also kill a bothersome giant. The time comes when their fathers warn them that they must prepare for a battle that would be bigger than anything they had previously fought. After concealing the women and children, the cousins lead the Gaddang to victorious combat against thousands of enemies.

The epic, according to Lumicao-Lora (1984:112-119), provides many clues to the Gaddang psyche. Gaddang hospitality is well portrayed by the people's acceptance of the disgraced princesses and their sons. Other virtues conveyed by the epic are reverence for elders and leaders, a deep sense of justice, a respect for and adherence to law, a well-developed sense of goodwill and brotherhood, a sense of humor, responsibility, courage and bravery, honor and integrity, atonement and retribution, *utang-na-loob* or debt of gratitude, a high regard for women, and a respect for the dignity of human beings.

Performing Arts

Traditional musical instruments of the Gaddang include the *gangsa*, a series of flat gongs like those of the Cordillera groups, which, when resting on the laps of the instrumentalists, are beaten with the hands, or played with sticks while dancing. Another instrument is the bamboo guitar called *dulating* or *gulating*. Scott (1969) credits the Gaddang for having introduced the nose flute to the Mountain Province in the early 1900s.

The world of the Gaddang is encapsulated in songs, most of which originated from poetry of unknown authorship. The melodies for these poems were composed in later years by various musicians, notably Francisco Panganiban, Jose Daguigan, Francisco Bulan, Orlando Maddela, Severo Labog, Tranquilino Basat, and Jack Labog (Lumicao-Lora 1984:10).

Occupational songs cover a range of activities, from noble toil to virtual sloth. The mark of Gaddang machismo distinguishes "Don Don Simon" (Mr. Simon), which speaks of the challenges and rewards of hunting. "Aggani" (Harvesting) pays similar

tribute to manual work besides evoking the Filipino *bayanihan* spirit. Conversely, the fisherfolk's song "Sassarabet" (Hear Ye) condemns theft, while "Bambal Sosao" (Careless Washing) chastises the inept housewife. Favorite pastimes take some time away from the daily grind. For instance, there are songs that reflect a devotion to cockfighting. Note one example, "Na Manuccu Borbon" (My Bearded Rooster) (Lumicao-Lora 1984: 47):

*Ana manuccu borbon
Siniggutancu si liston
Immangcu netarit
Nangaffut si tatalapit.*

I have a bearded rooster,
I tied it with a ribbon;
I brought it to a derby
It won fifty centavos.

The Gaddang celebrate life with music. Simple and enduring melodies are among their earliest memories of childhood, since the education of the child partly begins with nursery rhymes. Ignorance is ridiculed and the value of learning emphasized in "Ana Tan Y Bagan" (There is Bagan). The lullaby "Angngiduduc" articulates maternal love and commitment. To inculcate identity is the object of the songs "Mataggat A Urena" (Hardheaded), which describes the proverbial Gaddang will power, and "Atta Cami" (We are Aeta), which gives due recognition to Gaddang ancestry. "Inte Pagadwe" (Counting Song) teaches basic arithmetic and "Saquiting" (Small Children) helps the child develop speech. For enjoyment children sing tunes like "Ite Ite Gangarite" (One, Two, Get Set). However, for those who have had unhappy childhood, there are songs that express self-pity as in "Una Ulila" (An Orphan) and "Lallay Na Itatanac" (Song of an Only Child) (Lumicao-Lora 1984:32-33, 53-55).

Love seems to descend on the Gaddang youth more as pain than pleasure. Self-pity is a persistent theme in the love songs. "Abumbu Ca Appatanca O Futuc" (You Are Too Much of My Heart) and "Me Patay Lamang Gumafu Sicuam" (To Die Just Because of You) are among many songs that bemoan the fate of tormented lovers. Moreover, songs like "Bersu Na Angga-Anggam" (Verses of Love) and "Mabeling" (Enchanting) tend to be self-deprecating. The Gaddang abhor infidelity, and "Na Siggarafuy" (The Moth) uses the moth-attracted-to-the-flame analogy to warn against the great romantic tragedy. This is only confirmed when love-inflicted bitterness is immortalized in "Ope Mangque Nahi" (Where Is It, Sister?) and "Quelona Immanque A Quirraquiragan" (How Painful It Is To Ponder), which is quoted below (Lumicao-Lora 1984: 29):

*Quelona a quiraquiragan
Yo raddam mepintac to taggang
Se mapia quepay ino tappiay
Amma so raddam na cassittolay.*

Gannot nu wara gumammuang nga

*Si pirac onnu pacandama
Se datangna no aruedana
Ipamannum na se awanna cuana.*

How painful it is to realize
The grief that fills my breast;
Poison is preferable
To ill will from another.

If this is caused
By the accidents of wealth and power,
The wheel will somehow turn
And fortunes will change.

It may be difficult to reconcile the cynicism in such pieces with the near sacharrine idealism conveyed in other Gaddang love songs. “Annie Ino Amme Marili” (Who Would Not Be Dazzled?) extols a woman’s beauty, both of body and soul. Nature provides the metaphors to heighten the lyricism in “Azucena” (Azucena) and “Bituin Na Silauan” (Star of the East). Few songs are as realistic as “Nattalebarac” (I Passed By) and “Attabag Na Maccanggam” (Dialogue of Lovers). However love is treated, God maintains his role as divine intermediary in all these varied songs.

Songs are instructive during the advanced stages of courtship. “Asakay Lalaki” (O Shameless Fellow) belittles the indolent young man who fails to satisfy the girl’s family in *pangatnangan*, the period of bridal service. A father offers marital advice and a dowry for his future grandchildren as he sings “Annutun” (Counsel) to his son on the brink of marriage. “Imbestida” (Enclotting) is traditionally sung by an elderly person while newlyweds dance in their wedding reception. Couples who are later blessed with children gratefully sing “Mapia Nu Wara Anac” (It’s Good to Have Children). The Gaddang life cycle approaches its juncture in “Yo Lacay” (The Old Man), a touching song of senescence. A popular event at one anitu, the kurawit, presents another occasion, albeit a happier one, for the young to meet the old. This is a series of singing jousts in which the younger people challenge the elderly to relate their life’s experience as they drink all through the night.

Hospitality is foremost in the hierarchy of Gaddang values, and it is conventional for visitors to acknowledge their hosts with “Mappalanday” (Hospitality), a song of praise and thanks for hospitality rendered. Guests may also sing “Dios Ta Gafi” (Good Evening) to urge their host to enjoy the evening (Lumicao-Lora 1984:41-42).

Gaddang songs can also be both social and religious. There is a Gaddang Halloween similar to the *kalag-kalag* of other Filipinos, when, on the eve of All Saints’ Day, people go from house to house singing “Indan Dacami Si Decat” (Give Us Cakes). Nor is the Gaddang Christmas complete without their own repertoire of carols: “So Tangnga Na Cafi” (At Midnight), “Bituin Na Pascua” (Christmas Star), “Mangga-Anggam Etam” (Let Us Rejoice), and “Newalang Si Lutong” (Laid In A Manger) (Lumicao-Lora 1984:43-46).

Gaddang dances are mostly festive dances performed during weddings, baptisms, and other social occasions. Ritual dances are led by the mabayan and makamong. Dance steps are characterized by tiring knee bends and muscle-tensing foot movements. Hands are flapped with the graceful coiling of fingers. The female steps are more shaped and controlled, compared to the male's which are more vigorous in foot and hand movements. The dancers move to music provided by the gangsa and the *galating* or *dungadong* (bamboo guitar), usually in 2/4 or 4/4 time.

The men exhibit their skills in beating the gongs in a showy dance called *mallallebad tontac*, while the women perform a graceful dance with smooth, twisting, and bouncing body movements. This is called *saba-llungung*, an all-woman dance accompanied by a bamboo guitar. The *agammeyan* is a typical ethnic festivity dance performed by the villagers during a gathering or anitu. The steps are very fast, almost modern.

Rivalry in love is expressed in a courtship dance called *bumbrac talatabog*. This is the most stylized dance of the Gaddang. It is performed by a man and a woman, or two women and a man with a handkerchief. The woman to whom the man hands his kerchief is his choice as life partner. The music here has to be played by five gong beaters in order to give the best blend of sounds. A variation is the *bumbuak* where three "tobacco" trees attract three Gaddang "birds," one male and two females. These "birds" fly and glide through the trees. When exhausted, they perch. Lastly, the Christian Gaddang have a wedding song-dance called the *imbestida*, in which the wedding guests pin money on the newlywed couple who dance around the reception area.

Indigenous Gaddang theater may be seen in both the anitu and the non-anitu rituals. The rites are customarily officiated by two makamong and one mabayan. Although they perform very few special duties, the sponsors of the ceremony and their immediate family are the principals of the ritual. There are seven anitu rituals (Wallace 1970:94-103).

The first ritual is the *agagaw*, which is held every time a house is built. Two makamong officiate the simple affair, and a chicken is sacrificed. This rite of three or four hours is said to keep the house pure and uncontaminated.

The *kurawit* is the first anitu sponsored by a newly formed household, held for one day and night after the first year of marriage. It requires the accumulation of a considerable amount of surplus food to feed the multitude who descend upon the household for the ceremony. The more people in attendance, the more successful the affair. Mediums are contracted, and at least one large pig and about two cavans of rice are readied for consumption. The sponsor also incurs the expense of acquiring large quantities of native wine and cheap gin. Families occasionally go into debt to hold this and other anitu rites. While the mediums are performing their duties, there is much drinking, conversing, and dancing. Late in the evening, young men and women can be seen entering empty houses or the swiddens or woods. It is

the hope of every household that people will talk for many months about their first anitu.

The *balog* is a child's initiation into the rites of the anitu, which is sponsored by the parents when he/she reaches the age of 9 or 10. Occasionally a household will hold the rites for two or more of their children to save on expenses, but it is more prestigious to hold one for each child. The climax of the ritual is reached with the sacrifice of a chicken whose blood is then placed on the head of the child. Then the child dances with the mediums in a dance especially reserved for the ceremony, which lasts for a day.

The *makadwa* and the *makalu* are both anitu rituals: the first held sometime during a person's late 20s, and the second in his mid-30s. These rites amount to a reaffirmation of faith. In completing the ceremonies, the household is assured continuation of the good life. They are also milestones marking a Gaddang's prosperity. A couple's success is measured by their surplus, generally at least two pigs, and rice enough to last for three days and nights of continuous feasting. Holding successful *makadwa* and *makalu* demonstrates that the household is on its way to become a *kamaran* (wealthy family). By this time, the couple has greatly expanded their nonkin circle of friends and large numbers of people can be expected to attend the ceremony. Two or three *makamong* and one *mabayan* are employed.

The *among* is considered the most important anitu ritual. It marks the social climax of a successful lifetime. A couple should hold the *among* sometime in their late forties. Like the *makadwa* and *makalu*, it lasts for three days and nights, and is ritually similar to the other ceremonies described. The *among*, however, are even more elaborate and expensive. The couple is expected to sacrifice more pigs and prepare greater quantities of rice and wine for their guests. Like the other anitu, the event is mainly social, with mediums assuming the responsibility for the ritual. It is the time when boys meet girls, people make arrangements to visit one another, plan hunting trips, play games, hold oratory contests, and altogether have an enjoyable time. To have had a successful *among* is to attain the highest ceremonial status.

The person holding the *among* gets a *tuwan* (partner), usually a cousin (may also be a nonrelative) who is also due to hold his/her *among* later. Being *tuwan* is a great honor because it is indicative of one's capability to hold an *among*. While the sponsor supplies most of the food and drink, the *tuwan* provides a pig and some rice for the ceremony. The *tuwan* also furnishes the *arawarawi*, the center pole around which most of the dancing at the *among* takes place. Made of bamboo and festooned with cigars of rolled tobacco leaves, a pair of *lufay* or earrings, and a bird carved from wood, the *arawarawi* looks like a 2-meter-high Christmas tree. The tips of each extending branch are connected with strips of thin bamboo, thus forming a series of circles at the top of the tree. The *lufay* are hung at the feet of the bird. The cigars are attached to the circles of bamboo, hanging like ornaments on the tree. As the people dance around the *arawarawi*, they occasionally approach the pole and take one of the cigars.

The *binatung*, the last anitu held a year or so after the among, marks the termination of the anitu rites. While it has great spiritual significance, it is a minor social event, attended only by relatives and neighbors. A pig is sacrificed and there are two mediums.

Other ceremonies which pertain to planting, harvesting, death, warfare, sickness, and misfortune, are primarily household affairs. Except for the head-taking rites of the past, most ceremonies are sponsored by an individual or a household. For example, a rice or naming rite is a household affair, while a purification rite may be either a household or a personal event. Curing rites are for individuals. Many times a number of relatives share in a ceremony sponsored by an individual. Except when negotiation is the basis of the ceremony, as with marriage and inheritance disputes, two households or individuals do not join and sponsor a ceremony.

Curing rites to treat afflictions or illnesses vary according to the degree of seriousness of the illness. A person in articulo mortis requires the sacrifice of a pig. Less serious afflictions may require only the sacrifice of a chicken. Sometimes, a small bamboo stand is constructed at the site of the ritual where rice and wine are left for consumption by the supernatural force the medium is trying to contact. If the curing rite fails the first time, it may be held again. If a patient dies, it does not reflect negatively on the medium. However, eventually there is a decline in the demand for the services of less successful mediums.

One ritual described by Lambrecht (1970), the *medahut* (to bring down) or *nangidahut* si *mabakit* (to bring down the sick) culminates in a dance where the makamong is possessed by the spirit Dawirawin who then challenges the mabayan to a duel with a spear. The duel is a stylized dance where the makamong/Dawirawin ultimately defeats the mabayan. Dawirawin, having proved his prowess, then leaves the makamong.

Unlike the more habitual curing rites, purification rites are preventive rather than medicinal. It is believed that such rites can avert illness or misfortune foreshadowed by an evil portent or the violation of a cultural taboo. The household must prepare two or three *gantas* of rice for the ritual. When the two makamong arrive at the house at about noon, a bead owned by one member of the household is tied to each of their wrists. A Chinese bowl is placed before one makamong who strikes it with a small bamboo piece. Both commence praying and chanting. Then the male head of the household presents to them the sacrificial pig whose sounds—while one makamong pours water on it and thrusts a stick in its ear—they interpret as signs that the conditions are ready for the ritual.

Members of the household, and sometimes their kith and kin, butcher and cook the pig. More rice may be cooked. Afterwards small portions of rice and pork are set on five plates. The entire household witnesses the scattering of the ritual food around the house by the makamong who pray, “We beg forgiveness and offer you this food.” Thus appeased, the spirits purge the household. Members of the household eat what remains on the five plates. The ritual concluded, friends arrive to partake of the

excess food in the celebration highlighted with music and dancing. For their services the makamong are given a hip and a shoulder of the pig.

A few days before planting, the rice rite is performed. A makamong attends to a single household. While the rice is cooked and eaten, the makamong prays that the rice is spared from disease and harmful animals.

Gaddang theater with Spanish influence is represented by the *komedya* which has been performed in Nabuan, Santiago, Isabela since the turn of the century, where it was believed to have been introduced by the Ibanag. Four komedya have been performed in Isabela since decades ago, and two of them are Principe Leodevico and Principe Rodrigo. Hermitanio Botol was one in the four generations of directors who have handled the komedya. Today, the komedya features red breeches, shirts, bands, and capes for the Moors, and green or blue attire for the Christians. The marches are accompanied by a band consisting of clarinet, saxophone, drums, trombone, mandolin, and banjo. Performances are held in front of houses or on the street during the town fiesta. •D.V. Javier, M.P. Consing, C. Hila, W.R. Torralba, R.P. Santos. With notes from E.A. Manuel

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