

“Ibaloy” is derived from “i,” a prefix signifying “pertaining to” or “originating from,” and “baloy” or house, meaning “people who live in houses.” The variants are “Ibaloi,” “Inibaloy,” “Inibaloi,” and “Nabaloi.” The Ibaloy is an ethnic group of the old Mountain Province occupying Baguio City and the territory northeast and northwest of it, including the mountains of Pangasinan, La Union, and Nueva Vizcaya. They are found specifically in the municipalities of Kabayan, Bokod, Sablan, Tublay, La Trinidad, Tuba, Itogon, and the southern portions of Kapangan and Atok—all in the southeastern two-thirds of Benguet. “Ibaloy” also means “the language of strangers” in Ilocano; hence, from the point of view of the Ilocano, “Inibaloy” is the “language spoken by the Igorot.” However, the Ibaloy language includes Ilocano and Pangasinan elements.

The Ibaloy people are of low stature, sturdy, robust, and ordinarily fair in complexion. No basis has been found in the traditions or in historical records for the conjecture that these people were descendants of Limahong’s invading forces. In 1988 population estimate was 85,000 (Peralta 1988:3).

History

An account of a Spanish expedition into Benguet in 1582 notes that there were tilled lands and plenty of mined gold. Evidence that the Ibaloy had pre-Spanish contact with overseas traders was the presence of jars, plates, beads, and brass gongs, which were exchanged for gold and other products. Rice did not seem to be a staple food until fairly recently. A 1624 expedition noted that food consisted of yams, sweet potato, taro, maize, sugarcane juice, and sugarcane wine. An 1829 expedition saw no rice paddies.

During the Spanish period, there were about 110 settlements in Benguet and about a hundred more in the outlying mountain areas. Spanish occupation began in 1618, when King Philip III sent orders to the Philippines to search for Igorot gold because he needed to finance his involvement in the Thirty Years War. In February 1620, Captain Garcia de Aldana Cabrera and a force of 1700 reached the Boa mining community near what is now Mines View Park, Baguio. The Ibaloy residents there had anticipated his arrival and had destroyed their own town. Aldana dug up the timber that the Ibaloy had buried and built Fort Santissima Trinidad, a few houses, and a chapel. Fort Santiago was built at the Santo Niño mines in 1623 and Fort del Rosario at the Antamok-Itogon mines in 1625, but like the first, these were soon abandoned.

In 1759, Tonglo village, a wealthy community in the municipality of Tuba near Baguio was completely destroyed by the Spaniards after the villagers drove away a friar who had destroyed their idols. Military occupation continued in earnest with Colonel Guillermo Galvey, who in 1829, burned 180 of the 500 houses in Trinidad Valley. By 1883, there were only 50 houses in the area. Galvey’s punitive attacks resulted in the subjugation of the Ibaloy, the first of the Cordillera groups to fall under Spain.

In 1854, Benguet was made a comandancia, a politico-military district. To facilitate control of the Ibaloy, Comandante Enrique Oraa required the residents of the Acupan mines to move to Baguio. In 1859, Comandante Blas Banos introduced potatoes to Trinidad Valley, and a few years later Benguet potatoes were being sold in the Manila markets. In the 1870s, Comandante Manuel Scheidnagel proposed the following steps to complete the pacification of the Ibaloy of Benguet: that towns should be established in areas with rich natural resources to prevent the residents there from abandoning the sites; that the people should be required to dress “modestly;” and that the standard taxation system be imposed on the District of Benguet, whether or not its residents were baptized. By this time, the people of Benguet had been pacified: they had given up head taking, tattooing, and armed resistance. In 1898, the Spaniards withdrew from the Cordilleras after their defeat in the Philippine Revolution.

When Baguio City became the summer capital of the country during the American colonial period, the US Supreme Court gave the Ibaloy people a deadline by which to register their lands. Those who complied became rich, sent their children to school, and became local leaders. On the other hand, Ibaloy landowners who either refused to take part in bureaucratic processes alien to their culture, or had no knowledge of the new procedure, lost their land to speculators and lowland immigrants. With the system of legal land ownership, the Ibaloy political, economic, and cultural life radically changed. Subsistence agriculture was replaced by land tenancy and the daily-wage labor system. Large and small vegetable production by peasants was replaced by a capital-intensive agricultural industry; and the barter system was replaced by cash exchange. Village authority gave way to civil government, and the indigenous animistic religion was eroded by Christianity.

Today, traditional customs and beliefs are upheld side by side with contemporary Christian practices. An Ibaloy wedding, for instance, would be held in a Catholic church, but wedding arrangements made between the two families concerned and the wedding reception still follow the Ibaloy tradition. On the other hand, members of the younger generation that study and work in the urban centers, such as Baguio and Manila, have become urbanized in outlook and manners.

Economy

The Ibaloy’s habitat is mountainous and rocky, affording them narrow flat floors for agricultural pursuits. However, they have skills in terracing the mountainsides and planting them with rice, their staple food, from which *tafey/tapuy* or rice wine is also made. Irrigation from mountaintops to lower levels is a manifestation of engineering skills, the water sometimes brought from kilometers away through troughs and bamboo pipes.

Slices of sweet potato are dried and preserved, then pulverized in periods of need,

such as drought or food scarcity. Rice is harvested twice a year. Gabi and other tubers are cultivated as supplementary food. Livestock raising is for food and ritual purposes. The native black pig is favored for rituals. Some gold panning is also done.

The Ibaloy are industrious gardeners and horticulturists. They raise strawberries and all kinds of vegetables, such as cabbages, lettuce, turnips, cauliflower, beans, carrots, and broccoli which supply the needs of Manila and other cities in the Philippines and Southeast Asia. A number of lowland Filipinos and foreign capitalists, having tried and failed to enter into competition with the native industry, act as intermediaries, transporting the vegetables to the plains or exporting them. However, the principal transportation business in Benguet province is in the hands of Ibaloy families.

Deer hunting is done with dogs, spears, and nets. The hunters beat their bolo against the wooden sheaths as they advance upon the prey in the forest. Hogs are lured into pits that are dug near camote fields. Blacksmiths make the ax, adze, bolo, hand spade, and small peeling knife. Pottery is practiced only in Daklan town, where small water jars are made. There is no indigenous tradition of cloth weaving, which was introduced through the schools in 1906.

Political System

Traditionally, the *baknang* (wealthy class) has authority over the *abitug* (the poor). Under the present electoral system, the government official generally comes from the baknang class, or, if coming from the abitug, he becomes so under the patronage of a baknang.

The decision-making body of each village is the *tongtong* (council), consisting of the baknang and the wise men of the village called the *impanama*. Council decisions are guided by custom law, which cannot be arbitrarily changed without the collective approval of the village people. Hence, although the baknang class has some authority over the poor, its power is checked by the tongtong.

There are custom laws covering marriage, divorce, property, inheritance, contracts, homicide, rape, assault, forcible entry, theft, witchcraft, slander, gambling, abortion, and suicide. A man may divorce his wife for infidelity, irresponsibility or laziness, and belligerence. A woman may do the same for the same reasons except for infidelity. A person who cultivates a piece of land owns it; his/her descendants then inherit it. Before the Spaniards intervened, witches were executed by strangling with a rope. Slander was punishable by whipping. A thief was made to pay back three times the value of the stolen object or to work for the owner for wages equaling the penalty. Capital punishment was imposed for homicide. A rapist was made to hold a cañao or feast for the victim; if they were both single, they were made to marry. Assault cases were settled with a cañao or, if the antagonists had marriageable

children, a *kaising* (betrothal ceremony) was held.

Today, the Ibaloy recognize the authority of the national government as represented in Benguet province by the governor, mayors, councilors, and other such government officials.

Social Organization and Customs

Besides the two traditional social classes, the *baknang* and the *abitug*, a middle class has recently emerged, consisting of traders and wage earners.

The *baknang* owns two kinds of wealth: the *akon*, which is the ceremonial wealth consisting of heirloom jewelry; and property consisting of rice lands, cattle, carabaos, or mines. The *peshit*, which is a prestige feast sponsored by a *baknang*, is also a form of economic leveler, since it allows the poor to share in the host's surplus wealth, especially meat. However, it is also the basis of the *baknang's* power and influence in the village. The *peshit* may last for as long as the host's surplus wealth lasts, a period which may take months.

The *peshit* also has religious significance, because it is held in order to appease the ancestral spirits and gods, who cause illness or misfortune if their needs, usually food and clothing, are not given by the living. When a poor family is struck by illness or misfortune, it holds a ritual feast of humbler proportions, called the *bayjok*, which is the "peshit of the poor."

Kaising or contract marriage used to be arranged by the parents, primarily to affirm the friendship between the two fathers. Now, a man may relay his choice to his parents, and go-betweens are asked to make the final arrangements. In each case, the customary bridewealth is given. Children born out of wedlock are ultimately recognized, because the father, when identified, is forced into marriage. The child is named after a living grandparent or an ancestor two or three generations back.

The *mangidin* (wedding ceremony) involves the slaughter of a hog and a dog, which are offered with a prayer by the *mambunung* (priest). There is singing, dancing, and the drinking of tapuy. On the third day, the bride and groom go to a brook to wash their faces with water while praying the *madmad*: "May I be like you, water, that does not break from year to year, that does not die, but lives long." The bride carries on her back the field basket and a spade, to symbolize her role as field worker, while the groom carries his *bolo*, to symbolize his role as builder.

The ceremony for the dead is the *siling*, in which the corpse is propped on the *asal* or the death chair, and drained of all its fluids and cured with the smoke of a constantly burning fire. This wake lasts for as long as the family has the cattle, rice, and tapuy to serve the mourners. The funeral procession is led by the person who carries the desiccated corpse on his shoulder while the mourners, each beating a

pair of sticks, follow behind him. The corpse is then laid in a coffin that is a foot shorter than its body, for it is flexed at the knees in a fetal position.

Religious Beliefs and Practices

Ibaloy cosmology consists of three worlds: tabun, the skyworld inhabited by people like those on earth; the earthworld, which is supported by four pillars; and the aduongan, the underworld inhabited by people with tails. Earthquakes occur when hogs of the aduongan rub themselves against the pillars.

There are 16 culture heroes, now worshipped as gods, all of whom are invoked in the *bendian* ceremony, originally a victory dance after head taking, later a festive ceremony for good fortune, harvest, or for healing. In addition, some are called upon in healing rituals: Kabigat (the Supreme Deity), Lumawig, Wigan, Wigwigan, Amdagan, Balitok, Maodi, Moan, Bulian, Gatan, Montes, Daongan, Bangon, Bangan, Obag, and Obagobagan.

The shift to the relatively recent rice-terracing system is paralleled by the shift from headhunting practices to more peaceful ritual behavior. Similarly, there was a shift in the importance of the role of the god Kabigat, patron of warriors and headhunters, to that of Kabuniyan/Kabunyan/Kavuniyan, the supreme power and moral authority who, according to legend, stopped headhunting. Whereas Kabigat belongs to the war cycle, Kabuniyan is associated with the origin myths, such as flood, mountains, thunder and lightning, day and night, rice, gold, marriage, and death.

Evil spirits to whom are offered prayers and sacrifices are the *kakaising* who dwell in the mountains; *amdag*, in the wind; *ampasit*, in the woods; *timbangau*, in the water; and *pasang*, in the space between earth and sky. Badiwan and Singan, spirits in the sky, have children in the rice fields who drain the fields of water and cause the owner's illness. On the other hand, it is believed that when a child is born, a guardian spirit, called the *kaajongan*, is also born in the sky and lives a life parallel to the child's on earth.

The *kalaching* or soul of a person who dies, joins its ancestors on nearby Mount Pulog, where all souls continue to live with relatives and other villagers, wear the same clothes, and have the same good and bad habits. The living members of the family may change their names so that the soul of the deceased will not visit them. Souls visit through dreams or mediums when they want something from a relative. They stop visiting the living when they grow old and turn into butterflies.

There are two kinds of mambunung: the female who officiates at four specific ritual ceremonies, namely the peshit, *bayjok*, *chawak*, and *kosday*, and the male who officiates at all other rites. They select and train their successors. Illness is caused either by evil spirits or by an ancestral spirit's attempt to communicate its need for food and clothing. When this occurs, the mambunung holds divination ceremonies to

find out what kind of ritual must be held to cure the illness. The Ibaloy have 40 different rituals variously relating to illness, war and peace, witchcraft, birth, death, and agriculture. Dances and songs usually attend each ritual. Therefore, festivities are also public forms of worship.

Architecture and Community Planning

Whereas houses used to be dispersed, with vast tracts of land and mountains separating them, settlements now consist of many houses that form compact villages or towns. However, more than any other Cordillera group, the Ibaloy still tend to build their houses far from one another in the middle of fields within the village area.

The traditional house of the nuclear family, which is the social unit, consists of one room, 6 x 8 meters, roofed and walled with thatch. It stands on posts 1.6 meters from the ground. The door is oriented toward the north or east. There are no windows. Mortises and grooves, instead of nails, are used to fasten the boards and timber together; rafters are tied to joists with rattan strips. Entrance to the house is by a ladder that is pulled up and inside at night. The wealthy keep a large cauldron underneath the house to be used in the grand feasts like the peshit or cañao.

In the middle of the room is a low dining table, the *dulang*. When not in use, this is stood up on one end to lean against the wall so as to make room for sleeping. Deer or cow hide is used as mat. Chairs are blocks of wood. Cooking vessels are hung from hooks or placed atop stones in the house. Also hanging from hooks are baskets of various shapes and sizes, in which different kinds of uncooked food are stored. There is an earth-filled box used as the hearth. Above this is a bamboo rack or a garret (the space underneath the roof) where rice or root crops are dried and stored. Fruits are also placed there to hasten ripening.

The Ibaloy have been affected by modern ideas of house building and dress. Since the American colonial period, the thatch has been replaced by pine board for the floor and walls, with galvanized iron roofing. The family sleeps on native beds or on wooden floors.

Visual Arts and Crafts

In olden times both men and women used bark cloth to cover their private parts and, until the Spanish colonial period, wore tattoos. Originally meant to identify one's tribal origins, the tattoo now has a purely ornamental purpose. The ink used is made of pig's bile and soot. The favorite design is the lizard figure, which is the Ibaloy symbol for the anito or ancestral spirit.

The weaving industry was introduced to the Ibaloy in the early American colonial period, specifically in 1906. Therefore, blankets that were found in old coffins were probably bought from the Kankanay. At present, the weavers of Baguio produce a great amount of textiles for tourists and have established a reputation for their preferred

color combinations, i.e., red-black-and-white or red-black-and-yellow.

The men wear a *kuval* (loincloth, G-string) and the modern coat to cover the torso. Loincloths are traditionally dark blue for old men or the dead, white with narrow blue borders also for old men, and white with narrow yellow borders for young men. Red is also commonly used. The head cloth is now outmoded. The men wear their hair short and are clean-shaven, the beard pulled with bamboo tweezers.

Blankets are draped over the shoulders. The wealthy man's blanket is white with dark blue designs, such as stylized figures of human beings, snakes, mortars, shields, diamond-shaped eyes, or other geometric shapes. No ornaments are worn except in very remote districts where the men wear leg bands called *baney*, made of fur from a dog's tail.

The women wear brightly colored costumes consisting of the *kambal* (jacket), the *aten* or *divet* (a wraparound skirt with broad horizontal bands of different colors), and a *donas* (belt). Color combinations are red and black, white and dark blue, or white and red. Checks and stripes may alternate on both the skirt and jacket. Usually attached to the neck and shoulders of the jacket is a checkered flap. The women's hair hangs loosely down the back with bangs in front.

The *akon* includes complex necklaces adorned with coins from the Spanish and early American periods, *tabing* (earrings), *karing* (bracelets), *anas* (beads), and *chakang* (mouthpiece made either of gold or copper hammered into shape to fit over the teeth). The *ling-ling-o* is a gold, silver, or copper ornament that is formed like "an almost closed C" and worn as a pendant on a necklace or an earring. Although more commonly found among the other Cordillera groups, an Ibaloy variant has been found which depicts a pair of human figures facing each other in a seated position with their knees bent up and their hands on their knees.

Simpler necklaces are made from *obukay* and *takdian* seeds taken from a reed plant. A tree bark called *kalet* or *defay* is used as soap, and a kind of clay called *degdeg* or *duvas* is used as shampoo. Traditional weapons, harking back to tribal war days and headhunting practices, are the *kayang* (spear), *kalasai* (shield), *bekang* and *pana* (bow and arrow), and *papa* (war club).

Existing Ibaloy shields bear a carved human figure in low relief. One unique carving on a shield has a three-dimensional head on the upper end.

Basket weaving is done by men. The women's favorite basket is the *kayabang*, now the symbol for Benguet (see logo of this article). Made of closely woven bamboo or rattan strips, it is trapezoidal. Its base consists of four sticks tied together with rattan. A rope or finely woven band is inserted into holes near the opening so that it is strapped against the forehead and suspended at the back.

The men's bamboo or rattan basket is the *pasiking*, which is also trapezoidal. The

finely woven strap is slung around the shoulders so that the basket is worn like a knapsack. The *shage* is a square basket consisting of two finely woven bamboo or rattan covers.

There is a pouch consisting of three sections that are joined by a sling. It is made of split bamboo strips woven in a herringbone design, but the cover is rimmed with woven rattan. The sling is made of braided fiber. The Ibaloy also weave the rice winnower and the *dagba*, a deep basket for keeping pounded rice.

Ibaloy wood carving is utilitarian, hence plain and simple. The *palting* is a wooden pouch with an elliptical base and smoothly curving sides. It is slung over the shoulder with braided fiber. The top of the cover curves downward, fitting snugly under the armpit. The pouch has a simple border design carved on the rim of the cover.

Some houses have ornamental friezes of stylized human and animal skulls, such as those of a pig, carabao, cow, and deer. These are meant to signify family status, a warrior's prowess, or sacrifices made by the house owner.

Literary Arts

The literature of the Ibaloy is an integral part of their religious and social life. Riddles reveal the Ibaloy's familiarity with their natural environment and their material culture.

Katig chi chipdas ja agmabkas.
(*Bungdol*)

The trap on the cliff that will not spring.
(Rainbow)

Kabot nan apok agmabas. (*Batak*)

The knot of my ancestor will not untie.
(Needle)

Katab nan apok agmabos. (*Badat*)

The blanket of my ancestor
will not wear out. (Skin)

Bulong ni balat makapinpos. (*Kalti*)

The leaves of the banana tree are crossed.
(Scissors)

Malbatan amput mangan. (*Noso*)

Unlock it to eat it. (A species of snail)

Proverbs and maxims crop up in conversation or in storytelling sessions to counsel children or to reinforce community solidarity among adults.

Anos i tulbek ni pan-asha.

Patience is the key to success in education.

Egmo ekabasan e mabadin mon obdaen niman.

Don't put off for tomorrow
what you can do today.

Say shadsak singa oran.

Joy is like the rain.

Say shamag epayakan.

News has wings.

Ibaloy literature has an abundance of prose narratives: cosmogonical myths, origin myths, trickster tales, fables, and tales reflecting their beliefs and customs. Origin myths include those about the origin of Ibaloy culture, ceremonies, and animals.

An Ibaloy genesis tale tells of the enmity between the people of the skyworld and those of the underworld when the earth did not yet exist. One day, a man of the underworld shot an arrow into the skyworld and hit the sun instead. (Another version explains that the arrow was shot by a hunter of the underworld who had meant to hit a bird in the sky.) So the sun created the earth to stand between the two warring worlds. The people of both worlds would come to earth to hunt. But one day, they fought a battle over a deer and left for dead a man from the skyworld and a woman from the underworld. The two tended each other, recovered, stayed on earth, married, and had many children. So began the first people on earth.

Part of the Ibaloy's rice-planting ceremony is the ritual recounting of an origin myth about how Kabuniyan of the skyworld obtained rice from Maseken of the underworld. Kabuniyan threw a spear at a deer that jumped into black water, but he hit the roof of Maseken's house instead. When he pulled up the spear, there was a stalk of rice attached to it. A low voice from the house under the water accused him of having stolen Maseken's palay or unhusked rice. After hearing Kabuniyan's explanation for the transgression, Maseken instructed him to plant the palay in the field and to invoke his name at every harvest time.

The bendian ceremony, according to another origin myth, began with the people of Buguias, who responded to the call for help made by the people of Kabal because of two large snakes that were eating the people. Before setting out, the people of Buguias first asked the mambunung to perform the *sagausau* or the ceremony which takes away the soul of the enemy to make it sleep soundly. The warriors of Buguias killed the

snakes and cut off the snakes' heads. On their way back to Buguias, the victorious warriors stopped several times to dance around the snakes' heads. This was the first bendian, which Buguias has celebrated since then.

The peshit first began when, according to myth, Kabuniyan commanded three brothers to hold one because they had grown rich. The belief that the rich will obtain more riches after a peshit is illustrated in a folktale which ends with the moral: "The more he gave away, the more he had."

Fables like one about the dog that ate the cat's food also reveal Ibaloy's cultural practices. The cat warned the dog not to be too greedy or else it would end up as the ritual food for the death ceremony of their master, who was sick and dying. After a week, the cat's word was proven true, and the dog, which had not heeded the cat and had become fat, was killed for the death ceremony.

One tale demonstrates the necessity of mutual dependence between the rich and poor classes in a village. One day, the rich and the poor of a village quarreled and decided to live separately. The poor people were malnourished because they had no meat, which they could get only when the rich gave their peshit. The rich lost their property because they had no one to help them. When they celebrated the peshit, they could not do anything properly because they did not have the necessary equipment, such as the firewood or the rattan strips with which to tie the ritual animals. So, in order to survive, the rich and the poor reunited.

Performing Arts

Musical instruments are played for either of two purposes: religious occasions or entertainment. Considered sacred and not to be played for fun are those that are used for the ritual feasts and played only by older men: drums, gongs, and iron bars. The drum is a round piece of wood, made of either a hollow or hollowed-out tree and a piece of deerskin stretched across it. There are two kinds of drums, both conical shaped: the *solibao*, which has a higher note and is played with both hands, and the *kimbal*, which is played with one hand. The two kinds of *gangsa* or flat bronze gongs are the *kalsa*, which has a high clear sound, and the *pinsak*, which has a lower, coarser sound. These are hit with the *pitog* or wooden stick. The *palas/kolas/tiktik* are a pair of iron bars that are struck together. The *pakang/pekkung*, played by women to ward off evil as they walk to and from camote fields, is a bamboo percussion instrument held in one hand and struck against the other palm. It is also called the "devil stick."

Other instruments are used for entertainment. The *palkong* is a bamboo stick tapped on any surface. The *kading* or jew's harp is a small, thin piece of copper or brass, placed between the lips or teeth; it has a tongue that is made to vibrate in the mouth cavity. The *kuleseng* is a nose flute.

Two instruments noted in 1920 but no longer seen are the *kalcheng/kambitong*/

kambatong, and the *taladi* or nose flute made of bamboo joint. The first is a native guitar made of split coconut shell with a bamboo joint as resonator. The cord is a strand of horse's tail stretched tautly over it.

The two most important musical forms are the *badio*, which is vocal music rendered in leader-chorus style, and the rhythmic beat of the *gangsa* and *solibao*. The *pinsak* is played in contrapuntal rhythm to the *solibao* beat, while the *kalsa* provides improvised rhythm. In a *peshit*, the instruments are played in a certain sequential order. The *kimbal* begins with a regular rhythm and is followed by the *solibao*, which begins with the same initial beat and then gradually adds rhythmic variations. The third sound comes from the *pinsak*, which is played with an alternation of ringing and dampened sounds. The fourth sound is the *kalsa*, which provides what comes closest to a melody because the player is free to improvise as much as he pleases. Hence, while the *solibao* provides the fixed beat, it is the *kalsa* that is played in varying positions, rhythms, volumes, and with different parts of the body (the elbow or the wrist) or a stick. The *palas* provide the fifth and last sound, which is a series of quick, light beats. It is matched by the quick, mincing steps of the dancers.

Different songs are sung during the various ceremonial feasts. The *badio* comes in different forms: as advice extemporaneously chanted to a wedding couple, as an inebriated old man's account of his adventures and experiences, or a debate between two old men. The *badio*'s refrain is chanted by the women. The *dujung* is a recounting of the virtues or good deeds of a deceased person as the mourners sit around the funeral chair during the *kafi*, i.e., a ritual honoring the deceased. Nonindigenous songs, or songs with foreign influences, are called *kansion*.

The *angba* is sung by participants of the *bendian* ceremony: the *mambunung*, four *olol/urol* (warriors), and a few invited neighbors. The 16 culture heroes or deities are invoked, beginning with the war god *Maodi*:

Sinoi kanangi pandu?
Si Maodi maksil,
Ya mayingittoi busol,
Mayingittoi kadalo,
Mahantoi maata i busol,
Mahantoi dadalaan.
Sinoi kanangi kaadua?

Who was it who did this first?
Maodi a head taker,
Who fought with the Ifugao,
Fought with the enemy,
Ate uncooked the Ifugao's [flesh],
Ate it bloody.
Who was it who did this next?

This stanza is repeated 15 times, each time substituting the name of the other gods. The original *angba* has 27 stanzas, but since 1935, only the first is sung.

Ibaloy hunting songs are sung during hunting trips. The following is an example (Eugenio 1982:458):

*Sadaa sang kan bulan
Pan achan cod kaptaagan
Polo, molo y pachenan;
Bato, batog kati-inan.
Bangon, bangon ka ina,
Ka pan duto ni aba
Sidofen kod daptaagan,
Isirac ni cubilaan.*

Shine, shine mister moon
[To light] my way to the lowlands.
Bamboo, bamboo is what I hold;
Stone, stone is where I step.
Wake, wake my mother;
You go cook my gabi
For lunch in the lowlands,
I will eat it with deer meat.

Ritual dances and songs at the peshit and other public gatherings mime social relationships and at the same time assume the presence and participation of the anito. The *tayo/tayan* is a type of dance in which one man and one woman, each wrapped with a blanket, dance inside a circle. They are prominent members of the community, having sponsored at least one peshit before. The man begins the dance by stretching his arms sideways, and in a standing position, flexes his arms and knees according to the beat of the gangsa. He suddenly charges forward, arms stretched backwards, body bent forward. He suddenly stops and resumes his first position. These two movements are repeated. In the meantime the woman's arms are stretched sideways, which she flexes up and down, while making mincing steps in a standing position. She moves away from the spot only when the man moves as if to pursue her. The pair passes on the dancing to others by transferring their blankets to the kalsa player, who then passes on the blankets to the next pair of dancers. The dancers are believed to represent the ancestral spirits who participate in the peshit.

Some rituals reveal residual characteristics of *ngayow* or head taking. One of the most interesting dances of the Ibaloy is the bendian, which is a simulated head-taking raid. Once a victory dance after a successful head-taking expedition, it is now a festival affair for good fortune or good harvest, or when a descendant of a warrior falls ill. The centerpiece of the dance is a symbolic "head" carved out of a fern tree. The ritual begins at nightfall when the mambunung leads four urol and other men to a secluded place. They bring with them their ritual paraphernalia, such as spears, shields, hatchets, heirloom beads, and the animal for the ritual offering. The mambunung leads an opening prayer and then the head man recites the *datok*, "the call of the blessings." The *owag* or war cry is shouted twice to begin the war dance, which centers around a fern tree. The men simulate the actions of battle, with the fern tree

as the enemy. After they have “killed the enemy” with their spears, they then carve its trunk into the image of a human head and they march home with it, singing the angba. They are met by the village people and more owag are shouted. The people then dance the *sed-sed* all day around the “head,” which has been placed in a basket and suspended from a headpost.

The *sed-sed* consists of seven dance positions, each begun by a war cry shouted by the *bagnos* or leaders. At the cry of “Dimbaban!” (deploy and observe), the dancers spread their arms with palms downward, simulating the *tigwi* bird when it swoops down on its prey. The second movement has the people making four concentric circles. The music players are the hub, the girls make up the first inner circle, the boys the second, the women the third, and the men the outermost one. At the cry of “*Jinungjungan!*” (watch over), the dancers extend their arms forward, palms downward, facing the inner circle. Hence, each circle “protects” the inner one, while the musical instruments, which symbolize Ibaloy culture, remain at the center. At the cry of “*Kinetangan!*” (palms on waist), the dancers do as directed to signify satisfaction. At the cry of “*Salawsaw!*” (an archaic word), they raise their arms in victory. At the cry of “*Kineki-an!*” (taunt or challenge), they stretch their left arm forward with the thumb up, while the right arm is half-folded. At the cry of “*Pina-josan!*” (fix with the hands), they fold their arms in front with the palms upward. At the cry of “*Inabaya!*” (an archaic word), the dancers relax with their hands on their waists, palms outward. All these movements can be repeated in nonsequential fashion. The dancing stops when the mambunung says so, and the people shout the final owag. • R. C. Lucero/With notes from E.A. Manuel/Reviewed by F. Hornedo

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