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Anitu Rites Among the Gaddang

GODFREY LAMBRECHT

We explained in a previous paper that there are two types of sacrificial rites among the Gaddang: *uali* and *pattaliat*.¹ The various *uali* rites studied by the present writer are (1) the *anitu* rites, (2) the ritual purchase of a house yard, (3) rites performed in connection with the construction of a new house, (4) *quiring* rites, (5) consecration of a *maingal*, and (6) daily sacrifices. This article will deal only with the *anitu* rites.

Our description applies to the *anitu* rites as practiced throughout the province of Isabela. Local variations exist but are of minor importance. The rites as recorded here are those actually performed at the present time by the Gaddang of the town of Santiago. Our informant, the son of a *maingal*² and the associate of another, had in his possession a document written in the Gaddang language by his father which described the *anitu* rites in full. This document was destroyed by fire, but not before our informant had committed it to memory. He vouches for the correctness of the ritual formulae, which we took down at his dictation, and of the explanatory

¹ "The Gadang of Isabela and Nueva Vizcaya," PHILIPPINE STUDIES VII/2 (April 1959), 194-218. We are again indebted to Father Francis Lambrecht, brother of the late Father Godfrey Lambrecht, for checking the text of this second article.

² "The word *maingal* means brave; a shaman of that kind is therefore 'a brave man' or 'a brave woman'. In former times, someone who had proven his muscular strength and his skill in an encounter with enemies was called *maingal*." *Ibid.*, pp. 198-199.

details. Notwithstanding this assurance it is quite probable that his account deviates from the original document here and there in matters of secondary importance. In any case it is extremely rare that different *maingal* use exactly the same words in their ritual formulae, or the same *maingal* in different celebrations of the rite.

Our informant claims to have witnessed the *anitu* rites as performed by Gaddang belonging to groups more primitive than his own, and affirms that there is little or no difference between their rites and his. He also claims to have observed the same rites in the towns of Angadanan and Cauayan, although these he admits to be less complete.

In Santiago the *anitu* rites are also called *mangidahut si mataquit*; literally, "to bring the sick person down (to the river bank)." *Medahut* ("to be brought down") is a shorter term.

The rites are always performed by three *maingal*, two men and one woman. The persons in whose favor they are performed must be husband and wife, even though only one of the two be ill. They may undergo these rites only once in their lifetime.

THE SEVEN SUPERNATURAL ILLNESSES

It may be well to mention briefly at this point various rites which may precede the *anitu* rites proper. These rites also have for their object the curing of sickness, and only when they fail does the shaman advise the performance of the *anitu* or *medahut* rites.

All illnesses are classified by the Gaddang under two headings: natural and supernatural. Supernatural illness they believe to be caused by the action of one or more spirits. The Gaddang of Isabela declare that seven and only seven illnesses are caused by the *carangat* or spirit. Each of these illnesses has its specific supernatural treatment. Whenever it fails to restore health, they resort to the *medahut* rites although this fact is expressly referred to only in the description of the

seventh illness. The seven illnesses said to be caused by the *carangat* are the following:

1. MATALAMMAN (to tremble; a symptom of malaria). The patient begins to tremble all of a sudden; only in this case is the patient called *matalamman*. If the trembling is preceded by a simple feeling of chilliness, the case is diagnosed as *malabalabat* (see third illness). In order to determine the cause of the illness the shaman (a *mahimunu*)³ scrutinizes a *mamman*.⁴ If the *mamman* seems to tremble, the shaman concludes that a supernatural treatment is necessary, namely *manisiua si manuc*: he has to go around the sick person carrying a fluttering chicken.

2. CULICUL (ordinary fever). In this case the soul of the sick person is said to have been stolen (*naacau*) by one or another *carangat*. The disease is treated as follows. The shaman (called in this case *mangacau*, the thief) must try to catch the *carangat* in order to snatch from him the soul of the sick person. He takes a *mamman* and a small bottle containing liquor, wraps them up in red cloth and goes to the place where he thinks the molesting spirit dwells; usually a tree in the neighborhood. He hangs the red cloth on a branch of that tree and puts the *mamman* and liquor at its foot: they are the *pattaliat so mataquit*, the exchange for the soul of the sick.

3. MALABALABAT (to feel cold; a symptom of malaria). The shaman breathes on the head of the sick person and rubs it with oil while he says: "*Iccayu, cutu na lubag, nu annacayu sitau, manaucayu*" (Ye lice of the ground (spirits), if you are here, go away.)

³ "*Mahimunu* means one who examines. The word therefore points to his chief power or ability: by examining, say a betelnut chew, he is said to discover the supernatural cause of an illness . . ." *Ibid.*, pp. 197-198.

⁴ *Mamman* is what many tribes and ethnic groups in the Philippines use for chewing. It consists of a chewing leaf (*gohod*) wrapped around a betel (areca) nut, lime and tobacco.

4. MABINCOBINCONAG (cramps with stiffness of the muscles). The shaman scrutinizes a *mamman*, chews it, spits and rubs the body of the sick person with the spittle.

5. MAPPILAPILAY (to limp). First the shaman scrutinizes a *mamman*. He then orders somebody to tie a small pig (*baccag*) to the feet of the limping person, thus signifying that a victim is ready for sacrifice. He then touches the sick person with the *mamman* and says: "*Nu antu yau auahannu ay iadag sicuam, e iannia sicuayuera a Adayag a maauag, ay iadac sicuayuera.*" (If this is what you want, I give it to you, and whoever among you Adayag wants it, I give it to you.) If the *mamman* seems to tremble, the spirits are said to signify that they want the small pig. In this case they kill the pig while the shaman says: "*Icea Adayag catau, se odungannu yo mapatec sito baccac: umangca a maddindil sito daha, taquesi maarien yo pilena, se pacquecallac*" (Thou, Adayag, come here and look down on the small pig I am killing; come thou to suck its blood, so that his limping be removed, for he is to be pitied.)

6. MALOHO NA ULU (severe headache). The shaman addresses a *mamman* saying: "*Icea gohod, tabbi, itundum sicuac nu iannia nanuccal sicuayu ammin a carangat, onu icca Dumadaga, iannia quepay sito bulunnuera, onu Siloit, onu Alucasianan.*" (Thou, *mamman*, teach me who among ye spirits designated [caused the headache], whether thou Duma-daga, or any of these thy consorts, or Siloit, or Alucasianan.) The trembling of the *mamman* proves that the spirit whose name is pronounced when the *mamman* begins to move caused the illness. The shaman therefore lets a chicken flutter over and around the sick person while he says: "*Itundum nu sanna a maauag se iadac, onu manuc, a lasang, onu lalong*" (Tell me what I have to give, either a red hen, or a cock.)

7. MABANGNGAG (to be deaf). The shaman addresses a *mamman* saying: "*Icea gohod itundum sicuac se tantaru nu y Dumadaga ay maauag pay.*" (Thou, *mamman*, tell me if perhaps Dumadaga is needed also [should be called].) If

the *mamman* moves he says: "*Icca Dumadaga ay itundum sicuac nu sanna a maauag, nu bafuy onu manuc, nu casisiuan onu medahut.*" (Thou, Dumadaga, tell me what is needful [to offer], if it be a pig or a chicken, if it is the carrying-around [rite] or the bringing-down [rite].)

THE MEDAHUT RITES

We shall now describe the *anitu* rites (*mangidahut si mataquit* or *medahut*). All the rites are performed on the river bank of the Mahat (Magat) river. The Christian Gad-dang in Isabel a do not live near the Magat river, but near the Rio Grande; therefore when any of them indulge in these superstitious practices they have to cover quite a distance to reach the place. The upstream region (*diraya*) of the Mahat corresponds more or less to the south, the downstream region (*dilod*) to the north.

Not far from the eastern bank a ritual hut is constructed. It consists merely of a roof of river grass supported on bamboo posts. The hut is some three meters long and two meters wide. When the ritual party arrives with all that they need for the performance, they arrange all things and assign places for the sick, the performers and the helpers.

Two pigs with legs tied together are placed on the ground southwest of the hut, one a male (*calig*) with reddish hair, the other a female (*gucung*). A little farther towards the south two chickens are placed, one a red cock (*lalung a lasang*) the other a white hen (*upa furau*).

South of the hut two *sarucang* are planted in the ground. These are short bamboo sticks of which the uppermost internode is split. They serve as holders of sprouting coconuts (*bocal a iug a mattolay*).

Within the hut, somewhat towards the northern side, a black cloth rectangular in shape (*sinon a mangisit*) is spread on the ground. Over this black cloth is spread a smaller white cloth. Upon these are placed a number of objects as follows:

1. On each corner of the black cloth, five rice cakes (*decat inan-dila*).
2. On each of the two western corners of the white cloth, five cigars (*binagui*).

3. On each of the two eastern corners, five *mamman*.

4. In the middle ten more rice cakes and two green chewing leaves (*gohod*). Likewise on the ground within the hut are placed two plates (*duyug*) with coconut oil (*tuffa*).

Somewhere else at a convenient place near or in the hut are placed: two fishing nets (*tafucul*), one float (*gacquit*) some two meters long and 80 centimeters wide made with bamboo sticks of the *palutan* variety; two small chickens (*piec*), one red, the other white; two bundles of rice (*fungu a pahay*); one ganta (rice measure) of husked rice (*salup a baggat*); a gong (*talangutang*); a spear (*ladip*); a shield (*calatag*) made of red wood; a long knife (*campilan*); one banana stem.

THE FIRST DAY

Before commencing the rites, the *maingal* (two men and one woman, as stated above) dress up in their ritual costumes. Their garments are said to be proper to the Ifugao, the northern neighbors of the Gaddang. The male *maingal* wear geestrings, the female a short skirt. Geestrings and skirt are red. Their upper arms are adorned with a kind of bracelet (*cabaung*) made of red reeds (*dap-pig*) surrounded by two fangs (*tanggil*) of a boar and some feathers of a red and a white cock. They wear on their heads a crown (*dala-dang*) of reddish reed, to which the red bill of a bird of prey (*tucan na calau*) is attached. The loose ends of the reed fall back as low as the geestring (*banda*) or the skirt (*lacquiog*). They wear a necklace made of a reddish rattan strip through cylindrical beads and twisted into a figure-of-eight. The beads are red, red and white, white and black.

The sick man (or woman) with his wife (or her husband) likewise wear geestring or skirt, both red. They are told to sit or lie down near the hut to the rear. A man with a gong squats near them.

The two male *maingal* take their stand on both sides of the *sarucang*. The female *maingal* squats in front of the hut and shouts "*Mayayag*". This cry is answered by the two male *maingal*. Then she takes a betelnut, a chewing leaf and some lime and shouts the following invitation while the gong man beats his gong:

Oye! iccayau a cutu na lubag, ay umaranicayu ananot siuam a Dumadaga, umangngu itan yo mapacannat sito iddag na danum, a antu yau a banrulannu sito mataquit, se baccan si banauang

O ye lice of the ground (spirits), come ye near, Especially thou, Dumadaga, come and see what is done at the river bank, which is what thou desirest regarding the sick, for there is no

ino aggalangga, sicuam taquesi doubt that it is the custom (of
maimamatannu ammin na quihan old), that thou mayest see all
a masservi. that has been prepared.

The *maingal* who took his stand east of the *sarucang* (we shall designate him as M.E.), addressing the *maingal* west of the *sarucang* (we shall designate him as M.W.), says:

M.E.: *Oye! cacunnac a main-
gal, arasuanu na ladip anna
calatag, se isapitnu sicue Duma-
daga, se umang mattalacay sicue
Siloit, taquesi baguina ino umang
nassapit sito mataquit, se napa-
rolotin ammin na mamasuag.
Antu yan na panguruhan se ba-
guina ay patul na Carangat, se
mamapien antu inquein, sito ye si-
cuami a gumummuang.*

O brother *maingal*, take the
spear and shield, to tell Duma-
daga to come and embrace Siloit
so that he may come to talk to
the sick, for all that is needed
has been made ready. This shall
be the way to prove that he is
the king of the spirits, for he
will make him (the sick) well
at once, now when we arrive.

The other *maingal* takes the spear and shield and giving them
to his companion says:

M.W.: *O! Arasuanu na ladip
anna calatag, se dingngaggannu
na aggayagcu sicue Dumadaga,
se umang sicue Siloit, taquesi te-
tabannu baguina.*

O receive spear and shield, for
hear me call Dumadaga to come
to Siloit so that you may talk
with him.

The two male *maingal* squat on the ground. The female *maingal*
(we shall designate her as F.M.) beats the gong and shouts to call
Dumadaga. After some time she begins to tremble (*mayayac*). She
rises, the trembling intensifies, her eyes fix staringly on an object
in the distance (*macabulat*), her whole body turns pale (*nafulatag*)
and is covered with cold sweat (*naliguifan si lingat*). She is believed
to be possessed. The M.W. makes a few steps towards her and the
following dialogue ensues:

M.W.: *Janniaca?*

Who are you?

F.M.: *Ay maingal! ammenac
ammu? Baccanac antu y Duma-
daga?*

O *maingal*! do you not know
me? Am I not Dumadaga?

M.W.: *Siri cad a cuncu, se
anggamannu imman yo maddindil
si daha na manuc anna bafuy?*

Is it a lie when I say, that
you wish again to suck the blood
of the chicken and the pig?

F.M.: *Ah, ah! ammerac ammu,
antu yau gafuna, taquesi maca-*

Ah, ah! they do not recognize
me, this is the reason (that I

sinsimac si daha na bafuy anna manuc.

M.W.: *E curucurug antu, se mamapien yo mataquit inquein, sitoya ahau?*

F.M.: *On maingal, pangitannu sicuac si lihec a manau, ay imaligayanou yo mataquit, se itannu, pattadagancu.*

M.W.: *Ara antu, idiofannu anna maligayannu, se panguruhannu na appattadagnu, se curuha macafuy yo mataquit.*

F.M.: *Ara on, maingal, ca tau, se itannu yo acuanu, taquesi curuhannu.*

M.E. (speaking to the M.W.): *O cacunao a maingal, umangca tau, se patalanganta, se acuanu.*

The F.M., supposedly possessed by Dumadaga, rubs the sick person with oil, saying:

F.M.: *Ara on mamaingalira, itandiau, se maligayancu e pattadagancu sito alangandiau, e guirauandiau e acauandiau na caraluana.*

On account of the anointing, the sick person is supposed to feel better and can rise; he is on his way to recovery. Henceforth he is entrusted to M.E. The woman (F.M.) becomes normal again. Then the M.E. addressing M.W. says:

M.E.: *Curug icca, se na aggarang imman y Dumadaga si daha, antu yoin na nangitan, se antu yo na accacurungnga, se naparolotin ino inilliao sito mataquit. E na metufad ay maccayameta sito lahum na bacucu si mamillima alebut.*

cause the illness), that I may taste the blood of the pig and the chicken.

And is this true, that the sick will be well immediately, now, today?

Yes, maingal, you will see me before leaving, I shall rub the sick, and you will see, I shall make him stand.

Well, then, blow on him and rub him, that you may prove that you can make him stand, for the sick [person] is very weak.

Well, yes, maingal, come here, that you may see what I shall do, so that you may believe.

O maingal like myself, come here, that we may stand face to face, that we may catch [steal back the soul of the sick].

Well, yes, maingal [plural], look ye, for I rub [the sick] and I make [him] rise before you, and shout ye and snatch ye his soul.

True indeed, for the renewed quest of Dumadaga for blood is the proof of his sincerity, for what he [Dumadaga] asked from the sick has been complied with. And next let us play [dance] in the space of the enclosure by a five-times-repeated turning.

M.W.: *Ara on, antu se paiballun na talangutang so gumatalangutang.*

Well, then, let the gong beater hold the gong.

F.M.: *Arasuannuna maingal yo talangutang?*

Maingal, will you take the gong [when I shall be possessed]?

M.W.: *On, ipefum antu.*

Yes, begin therefore.

M.E.: *Maingal, manalippeta, se ouruha mapatuenna.*

Maingal, let us dance, for surely it will be hot.

M.W.: *Ara on, macayayacca.*

Well, yes, shout.

F.M.: *Mepefuen, se mayayacaccon.*

It is started, for I am already shouting.

At this point, F.M. starts dancing. After a first turning she begins to tremble, she cannot hold the gong and gives it to M.W. By the fifth turn she is said to be wholly possessed.

M.E.: *Oye! Janniaca?*

Oh! who are you?

F.M.: *Ay maingal, ammenac ammu? Asehay se ammenac ammu?*

Ay maingal, do you not know me? Why do you not know me?

M.E.: *Ammetaca ammu, se duacayu.*

I don't know you, for you are two.

F.M.: *Taguesi caammuannu, iccanac y Daurairuin, a palungu a nacadingngag si ngaral na talangutang.*

That you may know, I am Daurairuin, who first heard the sound of the gong.

M.E.: *Ansan na anningngangu, sicuac a nahatauay? E sana na gacadnu?*

When did you hear it, when I turned around? And what do you want?

F.M.: *Ino gacadcu? Umangac a maquicayam sicuayu adua a maingal, se anningngaggu si ngaral na talangutang. Anggamman na pay a maquiguindan y Ambatali, udde mattubateta, cuncu sicuana. Antu na gafuna se iccanac na palungu a maquicayam sicuayu a dua.*

What do I want? I come to play with you two maingal, for I hear the sound of the gong. Ambatali wants also to come with me, but I tell him that we should alternate, I and he. Therefore I am the first to play [dance] with you two.

M.E.: *Ara antu, itancu na accalalaquim.*

Well then, I shall look at your bravery.

F.M.: *On maingal, sintau antu ibbalannu, sito ladip onu campilan?*

Yes, maingal, what do you want to hold, the spear or the knife?

M.E.: *Taquesi curuhannu, acuae na ladip, taquesi maita ino acca-lalaquim.*

That you may believe [that I am brave], I take the spear, that [also] your bravery [skill] may be shown.

F.M.: *Ara on, pefunantam yo maccayan sito lebut na amingan, nu iannia na masinguid ay antu ino maafut, a guindan na agguinangta, se tumubbad y Ambatali, se sinacanna nu iannia ino mala-lagui sicuara adua.*

Well yes, let us start turning around the hut, and the one who is touched is the one defeated, and the same time will be the time for us to rest, for Ambatali follows, to prove who is the braver of the two.

The F.M. and the M.E. dance (*massumbaliera*); M.E. is touched and so defeated by *Daurauin*. This spirit is now said to leave F.M. who then takes hold of the gong and again starts beating it.

M.E.: *Ara on antu, dingagga-
nnu antu yo ngaral na talangu-
tang, se antu yoain na tanfut na
accayam, e y Ambatali pay ino
mananfut sito accayam.*

Well yes, listen to the sound of the gong, for this is already the end of the playing [dancing] and Ambatali still will conclude the playing [dancing].

M.E. joins F.M. in her dance. At the second turning she cannot beat the gong any more as she begins again to tremble. M.E. takes the gong and continues beating it. At the third or fourth turning F.M. is fully possessed. As soon as F.M. begins to tremble she cries out:

F.M.: *O Siloit, pauninnu yo ta-
langutang ay mayayacaccon.*

O Siloit, let the gong resound, for I tremble already.

It is then that M.E. takes the gong, and when F.M. is fully possessed M.W. asks:

M.W.: *Ianniac?*

Who are you?

F.M.: *Ammenac cad ammu?*

Do you not know me then?

M.W.: *Ammetaca ammu nu am-
men itundu ino ngahannu.*

I do not know you if you do not tell me your name.

F.M.: *Taquesi caammuanu ino
ngahancu, iccanac y Ambatali a
umang maquicayam sicuam sito
anggidahutdiau sito mataquit, se
antu yau ino mabbannul, se dinin-
gaggu ino ngaral na talangutang
sicuac a naggabaat so mecapiu
a baculud. Antu na anggancu,
se angcu itan pay yo anggangua-
ya, a pamnefuancu a paquicayam*

So that you may know my name, I am Ambatali who comes to play [dance] with you on your bringing the sick down [to the river], for it is he who asks help, for I heard the sound of the gong coming to me from the seventh mountain. This is the reason of my coming, for I came to see also what you do, to which I make

sicuam a maingal.

M.W.: *Ara taquesi mapacurug, Ambatali, maccacayameta se mat-talangutang, se cofungcu a Maingal, sinaccancu abu yo accalalaqui y Ambatali, nu curucurug se malalaqui.*

F.M.: *Ara on maingal, macasimmaqueta adua nu iannia yo malalaqui sicuata adua; maingal, anggammu a ibbalunnu, campilan onu ladip?*

M.W.: *Acuac ino campilan taquesi arabes.*

F.M.: *Ara on, maingal, acuac antu yo ladip, se tata lamang ino lacadna, udde ammen malliuan nu mabiharanca, angngarian nu mabiharanca a maingal, ibatangta. Nu iannia na madaha, ibatangta, se tantaru nu macagatutac si tata maingal a narangit.*

M.W.: *Pefunannu na mattalanguatang taquesi mallebutcami.*

M.E.: *Ambatali ammem fulufulotan, se tan taru nu macagatutca si tata maingal a quinacayammu.*

F.M.: *Ara on, maingal, paunin nu na talangutang, guindannu a magguiraua, se mamillo lamang a lebut anen ino madaha.*

M.W.: *Ara on antu, Ambatali, indagan nu, se umangin sicuam ino campilan.*

F.M.: *On, maingal, ammem a curuha palahanan yo anggammu*

a beginning playing with you, maingal.

Well, so that it may be proven, Ambatali, let us play, for the gong is sounding; for, Maingal, my friend, I just [want to] try the skill of Ambatali, if it is true that he is brave.

Well yes maingal, let us both give blows to each other, to find out who is the bravest of us two. Maingal, which do you want to hold, knife or spear

I take the knife so that I may give blows on both sides [to the right and to the left].

Well yes, maingal, I take the spear, for it has only one path [one way of hitting] but do not blame [me] if you are wounded. In case you are wounded, maingal, let us stop. If one bleeds, let us stop, lest I may contract the debt of a strong maingal [by having killed him].

Start beating the gong so that we may turn round [dance while fighting].

Ambatali, not too much, lest you may contract the debt of a maingal with whom you have played [dance].

Well yes, maingal, let the gong resound, shout at the same time, for after three turns only will somebody bleed.

Well yes, therefore, Ambatali, wait for it, for you will soon get the knife [be hit].

Yes, maingal, do not be too fast with your love for this playing.

sito aggayam. *Acuac yo campilan, se maligayancu sito bunatcu, taquesi macundag a icatammu sito baguic, nu sintau pecuanannu, sito bulloc onu sito gacauc.*

F.M. (addressing M.E.): *Ara, maingal, pauninnu na talangutang, se itandacami adua, se pefunanmi a mallebut toya so mamillo a lebutmi, nu iannia itannu madaha, inquein maguirauaca, taquesi ibatangmi yo ladip anna campilan a ibbalmi, se tantaru nu urra nelalot a matay, e malohou ino macacatut.*

They dance the *sumbali* dance. At the second turn M.W. shouts:

M.W.: *Auan quepay mabiharan.* Nobody yet is wounded.

At the third turn M.W. is wounded. M.E. immediately shouts and they throw down their spear and knife. Then M.E. says:

M.E.: *Ambatali, curuha nelalotnu na maquicayam, asehay se ana nabiharan?*

Ambatali, you have truly put strength in your playing, for why is it that somebody [he, the maingal] is wounded?

F.M.: *On, maingal, mapia yan se nasinac no iannia na malalaqui, se curuha maingal baguina. Ino daha a gatutcu so tata maingal a quinacayamcu, antu yan na gafuna se nepaitac sicuana a nappacurug no iannia na malalaqui sicuata adua. Maingal, anauantacayyu, se mahulicum abu pay si nagabuatancu a paguianan.*

Yes, maingal, it is good that I proved who is the strongest, for he really is maingal [strong]. The blood I have as debt from that maingal with whom I played, this is the reason why I proved to him which is the strongest of us two. Maingal I leave you, for I am returning, just that, to the place whence I came.

M.E.: *Ammem pidduan, se iccannac nad a quinacayammu, ammec lamang ammu nu nasingguidnu na tata so dudutcuera.*

You shall not [do it] a second time, for if you had played with me, I don't know if you would have been able to touch even one of my feathers.

F.M.: *Ara on, maingal, pauninnu na talangutang se guitacancu, se anauantacayyu, antuyoin na pangitandiau sitan mataquit a ne-*

Well yes, maingal, let the gong resound for my farewell, for I leave you. Now too you can see our help upon the sick person

dahutdiau, guindandiau in pa a mangianau sicuana, se mororayin a mallacad maquihad so balayira.

you brought down [to the river], that at the same time (when I leave) you can let him walk for he can freely reach his house by himself.

Thereupon they all go home, except M.W. who is wounded and stays there to watch the things they do not take with them.

THE SECOND DAY

The following day at about the same hour in the morning they start anew. F.M. is now believed possessed by *Siloit*, wife of *Dumadaga*. As soon as she has told her name M.E. says:

M.E.: *Ara, Siloit, magiuaruari-ca si inafafuan, se isapitnu sicuara Dumadaga anda Dauirauin an-na Ambatali se ditapanda. Siloit, itannu yo accapatay na yo calig anna gucung, se palunguncu abu a sungan yo mataquit an-na yo amingan. Mahitubad a tafuculancu na patay na mataquitira a tafalay. Taquesi ammera a balangubang na accacuana, palungu a papatayancu yo manuc a pamraguipdagu. Ariancu ino uluna si tatung nga amingan, taquesi sintau a angganna antu yan-na ino daacauanna. Ay mahitubatin yo bafuy a calig a maari pay ino uluna.*

Well, *Siloit*, spread what has been prepared, and tell *Dumadaga*, *Daurauin* and *Ambatali* to look down on them [the offerings]. *Siloit*, look down upon the death of these male and female pigs, but first I shall besmear with blood the sick and the hut. After that I shall catch with a net the death of this sick household. That there may be no doubt of its being done, I shall first kill this chicken with which I shall do the fluttering. I shall cut off its head in front of the hut, so that where it will go [the place where it will fall] will be [will show] the direction of the place whence his [the sick person's] soul should be snatched. Thereafter it will be [the turn of] the male pig whose head will also be cut off.

M.E. takes the chicken and continues, suiting action to words:

M.E.: *Sito fungal na sarucang na quecuannana. Itubatcu a ibalasaui sicue colaccu a maingal a taggapan se itubatna pay aguan yo manuc a upa a paraguipadcan. Colac a maingal, acuannu pay ino gagangem a acuan, taquesi malahanetan a mabalín se tangnga na ahauin.*

It [the chicken] must be put at the foot of the *sarucang*. I shall give my friend the *maingal* his turn to let the hen flutter. Friend *maingal*, do what you are accustomed to do, so that it will soon be finished, for it is about noon.

M.W.: *Ara, colac a maingal, arasuancu ino neadam se tantaru lamang nu malahan, taquesi madarandam ammin angta acuan, se baccan se antu yau lamang, se si tata ahao mahulietam imman. Papalungu antu na upa a paraguipag a macua.*

Well, my friend maingal, I am ready to do what you ordered for I hope it will go quickly, so that all that we have to do may follow. For not only that do we have to do, but tomorrow we have to return. I shall therefore first let the hen flutter.

The maingal cuts off the head of the cock with one blow and lets it loose: it jumps, flutters for a while and falls. All this is done near the place where the sick person lies or sits, in or near the hut. The place where the cock falls shows the direction whence the soul of the sick person must be called. Then the maingal kills the hen and walks around the sick person with the fluttering hen. M.W. continues:

M.W.: *Ay itubatcu yo gucung a matay, sito funggal na sarucang na taggapan na agguiananna. Colaccu a maingal si silauan, papatayancu antu na gucung, taquesi maguindaneta a mallangan. Accabalinta a mallangan ay arianta ino ulura, se itapatta sito sarucangta.*

Now I shall kill the female pig, I shall put the head (of the pig) at the foot of the sarucang. Friend, maingal of the east, I shall then kill the female pig so that we may singe them [both pigs: the other maingal has to kill the male pig] at the same time. When we shall have cut off their heads, we shall put them in our [respective] sarucang.

M.E.: *Ara, colac, papatayannu antu se matungpeta, taquesimalanganeta adua. Accabalinta a langan ay arianta ino ulura, se itapatta so sarucangta. Inquein busacanta se arianta ino sinera, itanta ino ahalda nu sanna na accaita na addurera na bafuyetera.*

Well, my friend, kill it therefore that we may make fire, so that we may both singe them. When we shall have singed them, we shall cut off their heads and put them in our sarucang. Immediately after that we shall open them [cut open their bellies], for we shall take out their intestines, we shall look at their liver, that we may examine the bile sacs of our pigs.

The shamans kill the pigs, singe them, cut off their heads and put them in the sarucang. They dissect the pigs, remove the intestines and scrutinize the bile sacs. M.E. addressing M.W. says:

M.E.: *Ipaitam sicuac na adduna, se itancu nu sanna na accaitana.*

Show me its bile sac, so that I may see its appearance.

M.W.: *Arasuannu se itannu yo addu, taquesi caammuanu nu sanna na accaintana.*

M.E.: *Ara on, arasuancu antu yo aggal anna addu, se padeparanguera, udde itanta adua nu sanna na malauan a accaita, nu sintau na agguianan na pangitan sito addu na lalaqui onu bafay.*

M.W.: *Ara antu, colac, padeperannuera se itantamira adua.*

M.E.: *On, colac, catauin se itanta sintatau agguianan na pangammuan ino guinan sicuara adua nu lalaqui onu bafay.*

M.W.: *Sanna na gafuna yoye? Sanna cad ngahanna ya itannu si addu na yo lalaquina, se curuha bisangin, se nalintupin. Ay antu na dammat na taquit na yo medahutira, mapia lamang se nauraragta.*

When the bile sac is entirely white, the sick (it is believed) will die. A red bile sac foretells spitting of blood. A veiled one likewise foretells death, but the performance can still prevent it. The shamans continue:

M.E.: *Ara se naitata ay sissinta yo bafuyta, se gaddua a diuanan ay magguidaneta a itaranta sito sarucangta, taquesi yo sisi a dau antu yo na pangappanta si malutu si panalianta.*

M.W.: *Parolotancu ammin na sinapitnu, ara antu acuantu, taquesi malahan. Accabalinta mahioo inque mallutoeta. Accalaquiag na tudda italdta si angisian si ilutota ino sira, se nana accalutona ay mauualista.*

Take it that you may see the bile sac, so that you may know what is its appearance.

Well yes, I take therefore this liver and bile sac, so that I may put them [both bile sacs] side by side; but we must both look well what appearance comes out, if the appearance is in the male or the female bile sac.

Well then, friend, put them side by side, so that we may both look at them.

Yes, friend, come that we may look where is the place showing the illness, either in the male or in the female [pig].

Why then? What is the name of what you see in the bile sac of the male, for surely it is very small, for it is veiled. Ah! here is the sign of the heaviness of the illness of these brought down [to the river]; it is good that we are in time.

Now that we know, let us dissect our pigs, let us put the right half in our sarucang, so that from the left half we may take what will be cooked for our exchange offering.

I fulfill all that you say, therefore let us do it, so that it may be done soon. When we shall have finished cutting it into small pieces, let us cook it. When the rice is taken from the fire, let us put into the pot what will be

cooked for meat. When it is cooked let us make the sacrificial offering [uali].

The rice and meat being cooked, M.W. says:

M.W.: *Sitoya nalutuin, sanna na ittubadta?*

Now it is already cooked; what shall we do next?

M.E.: *Ara, calac, appannu amin a duyug, se curuha tangnga na ahauin. Appannu na angohan se manggogan. Ay ittubadta y sira, taquesi mamdga.*

Well, friend, take all the plates, for it is already midday. Take the rice plate and scoop out. Next the meat, so that it may be served.

The *maingal* of the east cuts off a small portion from the heart, the liver, the intestines, the stomach and the lung of the pig and gives these to the other shaman to be broiled above the fire. When this is finished M.W. says:

M.W.: *Colaccu, nabalinacun a manunad, ay iccan pay a macaamu a mahagay.*

My friend, I have finished broiling, it is your turn to shout.

M.E.: *Ara on, colaccu, mama-dagga antu sitan, madamangeta se dingngagannu yo angiaayaggu si ammin a Carangat, se nu lannie lamang a umarani ay damama lamang a umang a mangan, dingngagannu na ayaggu se malahabatin yo netunnu.*

Well yes, my friend, stand up therefore, and let us face each other, for listen to my calling all the Spirits, so that anyone who comes hear may come and eat. Listen to my calling for what you have served is getting cold.

M.W.: *Ara, umayagga.*

Well, call.

M.E.: *Ara on, pefunancu.*

Well, yes, I start [calling].

M.W.: *Ara on, madamangeta.*

Well yes, let us face each other.

M.E.: *Oye! Iccayu ammin a quihangga Carangat, umangcayu ammin sitau, annanot pay sicuayu a Dumadaga anna y Siloit, umangcayu a maddindil sito netunanmi a gaggangay si nesina a accanan-diau pay.*

Oh! all ye Spirits of the place, come ye all here, especially you Dumadaga and Siloit, come ye to lick what we prepared, in accordance with custom, from what was separated, which is also your food.

This is the sacrificial offering to the Spirits. M.E. rubs some blood of the male pig on the wound of M.W., saying:

M.E.: *Oye! Piddutancu na dut na manuc a upa sito payac a diuananna, se antu enay ino pangappancu si daha a ipanongcu sito bihad y colaccu, se antu yau na accaita na tuyag na appacandama y Ambatali a nanihad sicuana, se paddufunanmi a isung sito bihad, ay inquein ay mampia si tuyag na appacandamana, ay itundaggu antu si bihadna, ay inquein ay mamaha. Ampatanu yo duyug a nanganetam, se gumumuangetam abu impan. Intam ancacuan ino lumaccat, taquesi ibalintam dadarammat yo tanfutna. Ay itunggu sicuam, se mabattangga abu imman, se macammuca abu lamang sito laman a ana sito sarucang, se iccanac ay gumumuangao imman, se incu alapan yo bafabbacat a adua, taquesi uara maccanta daramat si balibalinna.*

M.W.: *Ara on antu colaccu, conforme lamang a sapitannu, anac tau a mabattang, udde ammenac immanque a caliauau.*

Oh! I pick up a feather of the hen from her right wing, for it is with it that I take blood with which I rub the wound of my friend, for there [in the fact that he was wounded] was shown the strength of Ambatali's power who wounded him, for we shall help him by rubbing the wound, and at once he will make it well through the strength of his power. I do it therefore on his wound, and immediately it will cicatrize. Take away the plate from which we have eaten for we shall come again. Let us start again tomorrow to complete the end [the last rites]. I order you (the other shaman) to stay here again, to care for the meat at the sarucang, for I come again, for I go to get two old women, that they may be here to sing tomorrow at the conclusion [of the rites].

Well yes, then, my friend, all that you say will be fulfilled. I shall stay here, but do not forget me, please.

THE THIRD DAY

The following day the *maingal* of the east before he returns to the river goes to call two old women. Leaving his house he says:

M.E.: *Sitoye lumacatac se ingu alapan yo aduera a bafabbay, taquesi uara macanta.*

Now I start, for I go to look for two women, to sing.

When he arrives at their house he says:

M.E.: *Iccayu a bafabbacat, lumacatcayu se intam so Mahat, se anen ino anotam acuan.*

Ye old women, start, for we are going to the Magat river, for there is something we are about to do.

The old women (O.W.) say:

On, maingal, sanna na horat na anotam?

Yes, maingal, what is the hour of our leaving?

M.E.: Inquein, sito dadaramat, ara lumacatcayu, taquesi malahan a mabalin ino angtam acuan.

Right away, this morning; come, start, so that what we are going to do may be soon finished.

O.W. (Old Women): Sanna na appanmi?

What do we take with us?

M.E.: Appandiau ino patong anna corocorung. Ibulundiau a sitaratyu, taquesi uarana a pac-zorocorungdiau.

Take a drum and castanets. Take one (set) each, so that you may use them to make the sound of castanets.

The old women accompany the shaman. When they arrive they remove their clothes and put on a short red skirt and a ritual crown such as those worn by the *maingal*. Then before a *mamman* one of them (the one sitting toward the east) says:

O.W.: Oye! Dumadaga, ding-ngagannu yo aggayaggu sicuam, maningue quepay sicue Siloit, dingngagannu yo allalay, taquesi umangcayu adua sicuami, se incayyu pay a maddindil sito daka sito ulu na bafuy, se pefunanmi na mallalay. Si mecatallu a lalayanmi ay umangcayu sicuami, se te-tabandacayu da maingal, se ira na macaammu a mamaccan sicuayu.

Oh! Dumadaga, listen to my calling for you, and you also, Siloit, listen to the chants, so that you two may come to us. Come ye also to lick the blood of the head of the pig, for we begin to chant. At our third chant come ye in us, for the *maingal* shall converse with you, for they are the ones who know how to feed you.

Then at the sound of drums and castanets, the two old women chant:

Macua na gaggangay na tanfut na yo dahut, peangat se ilalaymi adua a bacat, se dingngagandiau yo lalemi.

Here is fulfilled the custom concluding the bringing-down (rite). It is necessary that we two old women chant; listen ye to our chant.

Then the old women begin to tremble and sing:

O.W.: Ara, ammeracami lamang a didihatan, se bacoan si babang ino angalangmi, ara se umangcayu, maingal, appandiau ino duyug se maligayandacami, taquesi malahanira a umang.

O! do not make us suffer, for there is no doubt that we are facing you. O *maingal*, come ye, take ye the plate (with oil) and rub us, so that they (the spirits) may come soon.

The shaman rubs them with oil. He strikes their head and forthwith they are possessed, one by *Dumadaga*, the other by *Siloit*. They rise and take each the head of the pig from the two *sarucang*. They suck the blood. After a long time, say one hour, the shaman snatches the heads out of their hands. Pretending that they are not yet satisfied, the old woman possessed by *Dumadaga* says:

O.W.: *Ammemi quepay a manangat, assapitdiau quena se umangcami a manindil!*

We are not yet satisfied. You told us that we should suck blood.

M.E.: *Adduen na dindilandiau, mapien, pacquecallac na a ag-gangdiau.*

Much you sucked! enough! pity your coming.

Then the woman possessed by *Siloit* says:

O.W.: *Ara on, idasangngu antu iannie lamang sito sarucang. se mappacacuaca si tubang, se bafalayannun yo laman anna decat, se sitoye angcamin e auanin a gatutmi. Yo amingan, sarucang anna barauasi na mataquit, sasatannu e lanudnu si danum. Itapannu so gacquit, taquesi nebulunin na rogoroguit.*

Well yes, put it down on either of the *sarucang*. Let a banana stem be made (to serve as boat, container of meat and cakes) so that you may distribute this meat and these rice cakes, for now we are going and we have no debt any more. The hut, the *sarucang* and the garments of the sick, destroy them and let them be carried away by the water. Put them (the garments and the material with which they made the hut) on the float, so that the sickness may accompany it (the float swirling away towards the Downstream Region).

They execute what was commanded by *Siloit* and everybody goes home.