

BIBLIOGRAPHY

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ABSTRACT

The study aimed to described the rituals requiring a 'manbunong', determined the activities carried out by the 'manbunong' during rituals; recorded the prayers uttered by the 'manbunong'; determined the sources of knowledge on 'manbunong' practices and determined how the 'manbunong' transfers his/her knowledge to the younger generation. Data for the study were gathered from five 'manbunong' and eleven patients.

Rituals requiring a 'manbunong' are mostly asking for protection and blessings. Activities during the rituals are butchering animals, offering of materials and food to the spirits, and of uttering prayers. The 'bunong' states the names of the host family or the patients, enumerates the offered materials, recognizes the spirits whom the prayers are addressed to, and asks favors from these spirits. The 'manbunong' acquired their knowledge from 'Kabunian' through dreams and from other 'manbunong'.

The study concludes that rituals requiring 'manbunong' are those rituals asking for blessings and protection from the spirits; that only the 'manbunong' should utter the prayers during rituals and ritual prayers should only be uttered during rituals; that traditional material offerings during rituals can be substituted with modern items; and that knowledge of 'manbunong' is not taught or learned in a formal education setting.

It is recommended that further studies on indigenous knowledge of the ‘manbunong’ and ways of knowing should be conducted among all the ‘manbunong’ in the region in order to validate and support the findings of this study; and, that information materials showing that traditional practices can be applied side by side with Christianity should be prepared and disseminated.



TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
Bibliography	i
Abstract	i
Table of Contents	iii
INTRODUCTION.....	1
Rationale	1
Statement of the Problem	3
Objectives of the Problem.....	3
Importance of the Study	4
Scope and Limitations of the Study	4
REVIEW OF LITERATURE.....	5
Native Priest	5
Traditional Rituals.....	5
Materials Offered During Rituals.....	7
Ritual Prayers	7
Ibaloi and Kankana-ey Tribe	8
Indigenous Ways of Knowing.....	8
Method of Knowledge Conversation.....	8
METHODOLOGY.....	9
Locale and Time of the Study.....	9

Respondents of the Study	11
Data Collection	11
Data Gathered.....	12
Data Analysis	12
RESULTS AND DISCUSSION.....	13
Rituals Requiring a ‘Manbunong’.....	13
Activities During Rituals.....	14
Ritual Prayers	25
Sources of Knowledge of ‘Manbunong’ Practices.....	26
Transferring the Knowledge of a ‘Manbunong’ to the Younger Generation	30
SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS ND RECOMMENDATIONS.....	31
Summary	31
Conclusions	32
Recommendations	32
LITERATURE CITED.....	33
APPENDIX	
A. Guide Questions for Key Informants	34
B. Interview Schedule for Respondents.....	35

INTRODUCTION

Rationale

The indigenous peoples of Benguet believe in the existence of unseen beings called the spirits. Spirits are thought of as either benevolent or malevolent. Benevolent spirits protect the people from harm and provide them with good things while malevolent spirits cause illness and misfortune. With this belief, the people strive to win the favor of the spirits through prayers and material offerings in rituals. Rituals are, therefore, performed to ask for the upliftment of people's social and economic well-being, for the prevention of any form of suffering, and for the defeating of enemies.

The key person in these rituals is the 'manbunong' for the Kankanaey or 'mambunong' for the Ibaloi. He is chosen as a spiritual leader and a counsel for members of the community. 'Manbunong' literally means "one who prays" and 'bunong' means prayer. According to Sacla (1987), a 'manbunong' is a healer in times of sickness, a comforter in times of hardship and death, an exalter in times of victory and a guide in planning for thanksgiving celebrations. These roles indicate that the 'manbunong' could be influential in the preservation of religious traditional practices.

There are still 'manbunongs' in Benguet but they have not been inventoried so there is no data on how many of them are left. Many have already died without anybody taking over the roles they used to perform, hence people who need to go through a ritual have to seek out a 'manbunong' from other communities. This observation is, however, refuted by a Bakun 'manbunong' who said that a 'manbunong' is believed to be like a banana plant; when it falls; another shoot will grow (Cariño, 2007).



“How another shoot grows” in this situation is the concern of this study. While some studies have already documented many traditional practices, not much attention have been given to how the specialized knowledge applied in the rituals had been acquired or passed on from one generation to the next, hence this study.



Statement of the Problem

This study shall attempt to address the lack of materials describing the ways of knowing for ‘manbunong’ practices in Benguet. The need for this study is reflected by Baucas (2003), an Ibaloi elder who stated that knowledge of the past events can serve as insights for future progress.

Specifically, it seeks to answer the following questions:

1. Which rituals require a ‘manbunong’?
2. What activities are carried out during the rituals?
3. What are the prayers uttered by the ‘manbunong’?
4. From whom did the ‘manbunong’ acquire his knowledge on activities done and prayers uttered during rituals?
5. How does the ‘manbunong’ transfer his knowledge to the next generation?

Objectives of the Study

The study aimed to determine the indigenous ways of knowing for ‘manbunong’ practices in Barangay Sagubo and Barangay Datakan of Kapangan, Benguet. The specific objectives shall be:

1. To describe the rituals that requires a ‘manbunong’ in Kapangan, Benguet;
2. To determine the activities carried out by the ‘manbunong’ during rituals;
3. To record the prayers uttered by the ‘manbunong’ during rituals;
4. To determine the sources of knowledge on ‘manbunong’ practices in Kapangan, Benguet;



5. To determine how the 'manbunong' transfers his/her knowledge to the younger generation.

Importance of Study

This study may assist in the development and production of information materials which will help make the people of Benguet and other people understand their culture more. The documentation can contribute to the preservation of indigenous knowledge.

More importantly, since the study is on indigenous ways of knowing, the results will provide insights that may be helpful in the indigenization of the school curriculum in terms of content and methodology.

Scope and Limitation

The study focused on the indigenous ways of knowing for 'manbunong' practices in Barangay Sagubo and Barangay Datakan of Kapangan, Benguet. Data were gathered from the remaining 'manbunong' in the locale of the study.

On the other hand, the research will not study the ritual effectiveness and the comparison of these to the modern practices.



REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Native Priest

Native priest are chosen spiritual leaders in the community well in the belief system. They are consulted in healing the sick, in comforting the victim of misfortune and in the offering of thanks. The deities for fortunes received. The priests are therefore counsels of people in times of joy, sorrow and distress. Native priests can be a ‘mansip-ok’ (Kankana-ey) or ‘mansibok’ (Ibaloi), ‘manbunong’ (Kn) or ‘mambunong’ (Ib.) and ‘mankotom’ (Kn.) or ‘manchiba’ (Ib.).

A ‘mansip-ok’ determines and prescribed the ritual cure. Then, the ‘manbunong’ acknowledged and performs the desired ritual. ‘Mankotom’ also interprets omen and signs which includes dreams. There are some ‘manbunong’ who can do ‘mansip-ok’ or mankotom does, or both (Sacla, 2003).

According to the compilation of Zabdaculog (1990), before a person acquired his authority to become a ‘manbunong’, he experiences a unusual dream, for example if a person dreams that he defeated a snake barehanded, he was privileged in becoming a ‘manbunong’.

Baucas (2003) added that the old folks believe that native priest inherited their knowledge and prayers and are considered “God-given.”

Traditional Rituals

Rituals as stated by Baucas (2003) are performed for social and economic uplift and to prevent suffering and to defeat their enemies.



He also added that most rituals require more than two animals and several kinds of ritual materials including the food to be consumed while others will just require an animal and few ritual materials.

In addition, Sacla (1987) stated that in any ritual administered by a native priest, the elders insist that the taboo be strictly observed during celebration. It is believed that the effective healing process of any rituals lies on the firm observance of taboo.

Taboo includes the following: (a) chanting the ritual prayers without the corresponding ritual celebration; (b) playing of gongs and ‘gansa’ outside of prescribed rituals; (c) eating of the ritual meat while the ‘manbunong’ is saying the ritual prayer; and (d) any one may open the ritual jar or rice wine, ‘tapey’/‘tafey’, unless given permission.

Some of the traditional rituals are ‘liyaw’ (Kn.) / ‘lawit’ (Ib.) which aims to ask blessings from ‘Kabunian’ in terms of a bountiful harvest, good health, long life and protection from calamities. ‘Lawit’ / ‘dawit’ is performed by the family or person who suffers from misfortunes which believed that their spirits has momentarily separated from them. Moreover, ‘daw-es’/ ‘chaw-es’ is performed for a warrior who survived a battle and a person who survived a misfortune that cause them mental and emotional imbalance. A chick (kiap) is used as an offering, (Sacla, 1987).

According to Baucas (2003), ‘kafe’ is an Ibaloi ritual. This is performed in several situations such as wedding, ceremonies, burial, entering a new house and house struck by lightning and thunder.



Materials Offered During Ritual

According to Sacla (1987), the ritual animals are chicken, dog, pig, cow, carabao, horse and duck as required by the elders. The materials offering are blankets, clothes, coins, jars, tools, porcelain plates and bowls, beads, bronze armlets and anklets, tobacco, stone flint, necklace, earrings and ring.

He also added that absence of any of the requisites render the ritual unacceptable to the spirits when it is offered. Thus, a ritual that is not accepted is ineffective.

Ritual Prayers

Sacla (1987) stated that ritual prayer is the expression of the message of the celebrating family conveyed by the native priest, 'manbunong', to a spirit or spirits who are expected unseen recipient of the material sacrifices in a ritual.

He also added that the 'manbunong' and non-manbunong old folks said that learning the prayer formula or one's knowledge of prayer cannot guarantee that the particular person can performs said ritual effectively.

It is very rare to apply a certain prayer on two rituals even if said rituals have same purpose or purposes. Individual native priest has his/her own style and presentation. An individual native priest can supplement the prayer formula with his own words that serve as enrichment of the prayer of ritual (Baucas, 2003).

The Kankana-ey 'manbunong' uses Ibaloi or Kalanguya aside from his/her language in his/her 'bunong' and vice versa (Sacla, 1987).



Ibaloi and Kankana-ey Tribe

The two main ethnic tribes of Benguet which are Ibaloi and Kankana-ey are not far apart in linguistics. Their belief systems are common to both with little deviation in their performance but do not change the intent and purposes (Sacla, 1987).

Indigenous Ways of Knowing

Indigenous ways of knowing (IWOK) as stated by Pember (2003) is focused on the process of learning rather than the outcome and emphasizes the holistic understanding of a topic or situation.

Battiste and Henderson (2000) also stated that IWOK share the meaning of the following structure: (1) knowledge that sacred traditions and persons who know these traditions are responsible for teaching “morals” and “ethics” to practitioners who are then given responsibility for this specialized knowledge and its dissemination; and (2) knowledge that an extended kinship passes on teachings and social practices from generation to generation.

Methods of Knowledge Conservation

Indigenous knowledge stated by Ulluwishewa (2006) is often unknown to development professionals because it remains only in the minds of local groups. It is not always documented and is increasingly being lost with each succeeding generation because the younger generation may not be prepared to adopt indigenous knowledge system which has been practiced by their ancestors. It is being forgotten and replaced by modern technology and education.



METHODOLOGY

Locale and Time of the Study

The study was conducted at the two selected barangays of the Kapangan which were barangay Sagubo (Kakana-ey tribe) and barangay Datakan (Ibaloi tribe).

Kapangan is the 5th municipality in the province of Benguet. It is bounded on the north by the municipality of Kibungan, on the east by the municipality of Atok, on the west by the Province of la Union and on the south by the municipalities of Tublay and Sablan. Kapangan is presently divided into fifteen barangays, namely: Balakbak, Beleng-Belis, Boklaoan, Cayapes, Central Kapangan, Cuba, Datakan, Gadang, Gaswiling, Labueg, Paykek, Pongayan, Pudong, Sagubo and Taba-ao.

Sagubo lies on the northwest part of Kapangan. It is bounded on the north by barangay Gadang, the south by barangay Gaswiling, on the east by barangay Pudong and Paykek, and west by the Province of La Union. It is 45 kilometers away from Baguio City and is accessible by jeepneys.

Datakan lies on the southeast part of Kapangan. It is bounded on the north by barangay Labueg, the west by barangay Pongayan and south and east by Province of Tublay. It is 43 kilometers away from Baguio City and is accessible by jeepneys and buses.

This place was chosen to be the place of study because 'manbunong' practices are still observed.



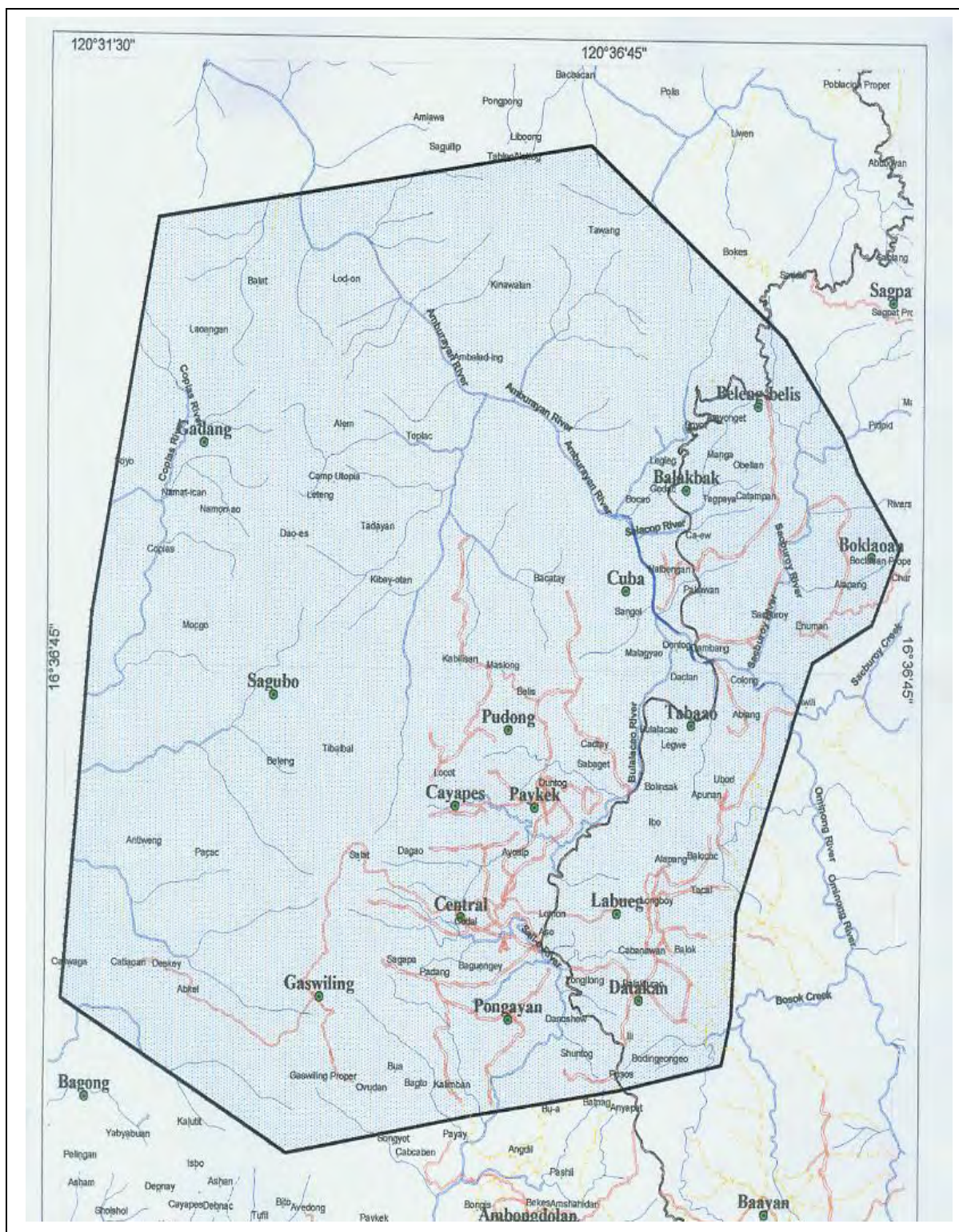


Figure1. Map of Kapangan showing the locale of the study



Respondents of the Study

All the practicing ‘manbunong’ in the study area were the key informants for this study. These have been identified as holders of specialized knowledge by elders and other residents in the said barangays.

Table 1. General characteristics of the key informants

NAME	AGE	PLACE	NO. OF YEARS PRACTICING
Lolo Belali	73	Proper Sagubo, Sagubo	16
Lolo Silyo	64	Lanas, Sagubo	13
Baket Teling	79	Cabanawan, Datakan	19
Lakay Katso	84	Balok, Datakan	29
Lolo Ton	76	Central Datakan, Datakan	16

For data validation, 11 respondents were surveyed. These respondents were referred by the ‘manbunong’ who had consulted them, so that they were able to provide the needed information.

Data Collection

The researcher conducted key informant interviews using guide questions and a tape recorder and digital camera to document the answers. The interviews were in Ilokano and Kankana-ey with the assistance of locals who can help address language problems.



An interview schedule will be used to gather data from the survey respondents. They were enumerated by the key informants.

The interviews were done by the researcher.

Data Gathered

The data gathered were the indigenous ways of knowing ‘manbunong’ practices which were rituals which require a ‘manbunong’; activities performed by the ‘manbunong’ during rituals; prayers uttered by ‘manbunong’; cases of the people who sought the service of ‘manbunong’; sources of knowledge in ‘manbunong’ practices; how the ‘manbunong’ acquired their knowledge in ‘manbunong’ practices and methods of passing the knowledge to others.

Data Analysis

Data were consolidated and presented in a descriptive and narrative form.



RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Rituals Requiring a 'Manbunong'

Table 2 shows the rituals requiring the service of a 'manbunong' identified by the key informants and the respondents. These rituals are performed when the need arises. Of the nine rituals, five were done to ask for blessings from the spirit/s of the dead or from Kabunian. Blessings being asked for may be a bountiful harvest for the farmers and good health for a family.

Five of the nine rituals are common to both the Ibaloi and Kankana-ey 'manbunong', thus all five 'manbunong' in this study are able to perform them except for Lolo Ton who could not perform the 'daw-es'/'chaw-es'. This ritual requires more intense prayers than the other rituals and he does not have enough preparation for it. Lolo Stoney's circumstances are discussed further in page 29.

'Agamid' and 'sumang' are both Kankana-ey rituals so they are performed only by the Kankana-ey 'manbunong'. In like manner, 'kemtad' and 'kafe' are both Ibaloi rituals hence they are performed only by the Ibaloi 'manbunong'.

Each ritual is described in detail in the next section.



Table 2. Rituals requiring the services of a ‘manbunong’ in Kapangan, Benguet

RITUALS	PURPOSES	MANBUNONG
‘Liyaw’/‘Diyaw’	to ask for blessings from Kabunian	Lolo Belali, Uncle Silyo, Baket Teling, Lakay Katso and Lolo Ton
‘Sangbo’/‘Sengbo’	to ask for blessings from Kabunian and spirits of the dead	Lolo Belali, Uncle Silyo, Baket Teling, Lakay Katso and Lolo Ton
‘Kedaw’/‘Kechaw’	to ask for blessings from the spirits of the dead	Lolo Belali, Uncle Silyo, Baket Teling, Lakay Katso and Lolo Ton
‘Kemtad’	to ask for blessings from the spirits of the dead	Baket Teling, Lakay Katso and Lolo Ton
‘Agamid’	to ask for blessings from the spirits of the dead	Lolo Belali and Uncle Silyo
‘Lawit’/‘Dawit’	to summon the wandering spirits of the living to come home	Lolo Belali, Uncle Silyo, Baket Teling, Lakay Katso and Lolo Ton
‘Daw-es’/ ‘Chaw-es’	to relieve those who suffer from mental and emotional imbalance	Lolo Belali, Uncle Silyo, Baket Teling and Lakay Katso
‘Kafe’	to advise the spirits of the dead to proceed to the world where they belong	Baket Teling, Lakay Katso and Lolo Stoney
‘Sumang’	to fight curses	Lolo Belali and Uncle Silyo,

Activities During Rituals

Table 3 shows the activities done and materials used during the rituals. Butchering of animals and uttering of prayers are required in all rituals identified. Rice



wine, too, is a requirement in all the rituals but it may be substituted with gin. The other activities done and materials used in the different rituals are shown in the table.

Table 3. Activities and materials used during the performance of each ritual

RITUALS	ACTIVITIES	MATERIALS
'Liyaw'/'Diyaw'	butchering of animal/s uttering of prayers offering of food and materials	chicken or pig rice wine cogon grass
'Sangbo'/'Sengbo'	butchering of animal/s uttering of prayers offering of food and materials	pig rice wine
'Kedaw'/'Kechaw'	butchering of animal/s uttering of prayers offering of food and materials	dog/chicken/pig rice wine blankets money tobacco
'Kemtad'	butchering of animal/s uttering of prayers offering of food and materials	pig/chicken rice wine blankets clothes shoes tobacco money
'Agamid'	butchering of animal/s uttering of prayers offering of food and materials performing tayaw	pigs rice wine blankets clothes shoes tobacco money



Table 3. Continued....

RITUALS	ACTIVITIES	MATERIALS
'Lawit'/'Dawit'	butchering of animal/s uttering of prayers offering of food and materials	chicken or pig rice wine
'Daw-es'/'Chaw-es'	butchering of animal/s uttering of prayers offering of food and materials performing tayaw	pig/chicken/dog rice wine woven bamboo headgear (kalaw) house or garden tools bamboo cane bolo
'Kafe'	butchering of animal/s uttering of prayers offering of food and materials	chicken or pig rice wine blankets clothes shoes tobacco money
'Sumang'	butchering of animal/s uttering of prayers	chicken/pig/dog/duck rice wine

Reading the size and position of the gallbladder is done in all the rituals. If the gallbladder is normal or filled with bile, it promotes good health and blessings; if not, some 'manbunong' prescribe the butchering of another animal while others just pray to prevent any impending misfortune.

Liyaw(Kn)/Diyaw(Ib). The purpose of this ritual is to ask for blessings from 'Kabunian' in terms of a bountiful harvest, good health, long life and protection from



calamities. It is also done on a farm or house struck by lightning since it is believed that lightning is a manifestation of Kabunians' anger.

Sacla (1987) and the key informants have similar descriptions of this ritual. Animals commonly used in this ritual are chickens or pigs. These are butchered in front of the farm or house and then the 'manbunong' utters prayers. The gallbladder is read, interpreted and offered to 'Kabunian'. If the gallbladder is good, it means that 'Kabunian' will grant them the blessings being asked for.

If the ritual is to be performed during house blessings, the blood of the offered animal is dabbed on the wall of the house to protect the house and its occupants from harm.



Figure 2. Butchering of the pig (inset) blood dabbed on the house wall during 'diyaw'

Sangbo/Sengbo. This ritual is done to ask for blessings, like good fortune and good health, from ‘Kabunian’ and spirits of the dead with the realization of any good omen seen by an individual. A good omen is interpreted by the ‘mansip-ok’. These may be seen in dreams like of one becoming an important person. It may also be seen in some creatures coming into one’s residence like a dog carrying a stick in its mouth. It is believed that these omens of blessings will actually happen only with the performance of ‘sangbo’.

A pig is butchered in this ritual. When cooked, the meat together with rice wine is offered to ‘Kabunian’. Prayers uttered depend on the ‘manbunong’.

Kedaw/Kechaw. This term literally means “to ask or request for something”. This ritual offers the things being requested by spirits of the dead from the living members of the family. This can be rendered for a person who died even several years ago. The ‘kedaw’ from the spirits are relayed through dreams, sickness and other forms of misfortunes happening to a member of the concerned family. Such incidents are known through the interpretation of a ‘mansip-ok’.

A resident of Datakan named Manang Myra had dreamt that his husband and son were drowned. Lakay Katso interpreted it as the spirit of his dead uncle asking for an animal to be butchered.

The materials offered are rice wine, blankets, clothing, and money. Animals butchered can be dog, chicken or pig. Activities done are similar with ‘agamid’ except performing a ‘tayaw’.

Kemtad (Ibaloi ritual). The Ibaloi ‘manbunong’ performs this ritual to ask for blessings from the spirit of the dead and also to ask them not to hurt the living members



of the family. Sacrificial animal is chicken or pig. If the family can afford, the number of pigs to butcher should correspond to the number of the dead to be prayed for. So, if three persons are to be prayed for, then three pigs are butchered. The bile in the gallbladder is read by the manbunong for the family after which, it is separated from the liver and stuck in place on the ceiling with an 'iwik' (wooden stick).

Materials offered are clothes, shoes, blankets, money, tobacco, matches, rice wine, gin and soda drinks. The foods and drinks offered are consumed by the host family after the manbunong's prayer.

After the feast (pangan), the 'manbunong' chants a closing prayer reminding the host family to be good.



Figure 3. Each pig represents a spirit of a dead during 'kemtad'



Figure 4. Interpretation of the gallbladder for the host family



Figure 5. Separation of the bile from the liver





Figure 6. Offered materials for 'kemtad'

Agamid (Kankana-ey ritual). 'Agamid' is a ritual to ask for blessings from the spirit of the dead. It is performed three to nine months after the burial. This is done because it is believed that the spirit of the dead brings good luck to the family in return for the offering. It is generally expensive because the concerned individuals must prepare at least two pigs. The first pig represents the materials offered while the other is for the blessing asked.

Before butchering two or more pigs, the 'manbunong' recites the necessary prayer beside them. Then the 'manbunong' examines the condition or position of the gallbladder of the butchered animal to determine whether or not good fortune will come to the family. If the gallbladder does not look favorable, the host family is required to butcher another pig. But if the family cannot afford another pig, the 'manbunong' chants a prayer



asking that the host family be favored with health and wealth. The bile in the gallbladder is read by the manbunong for the family after which, it is separated from the liver and stuck in place on the ceiling with an 'iwik' (wooden stick).

Aside from the animals butchered, other offerings may be blankets, clothes, rice wine or gin, tobacco or cigarettes, matches or lighters, money and other belongings of the family they deem usable by the dead.

When cooked, the choice parts of the pig, like the liver, are set aside for the host family. These are placed near the materials being offered as the 'manbunong' chants another prayer. Then all members of the family eat together believing that the spirit of their dead is eating with them. This is known as 'ukob' in kankana-ey. The visitors attending the 'agamid' eat only after the host family has eaten already.

The next activity performed in the Agamid is the 'tayaw', the indigenous dance, to please the spirit of the dead. It is required that the host family performs the 'tayaw' inside their house and the 'manbunong' requests the spirit of the dead to do the 'tayaw' with the performing members of the family. Dancing the tayaw continues outside the house and is joined in by the people attending the agamid ritual.

After the activities, the 'manbunong' recites a prayer to end the agamid.





Figure 7. Tayaw performed outside the house during agamid

Lawit(Kn)/Dawit(Ib). The key informants described this ritual in the same manner that it was presented by Sacla (1987). This is performed when a family or person is suffering due to misfortunes like death of a member of family caused by sudden sickness, accident or unforeseen events that may cause a person to be deeply disturbed. It is believed that the suffering person or family has momentarily separated from his spirit and that the disturbed spirit roams aimlessly.

After offering the chicken and rice wine, the ‘manbunong’ utters a prayer. Then, a red cloth is used as a banner with two cogon grasses stuck on both sides for the living spirit to see the place where she/he will be called. ‘Manbunong’ utters prayer calling the ‘Kabunian’ to lead the roaming spirits home.



Daw-es/Chaw-es. The key informants described this ritual in exactly the same way that Sacla (1987) described it. This is a simple ritual for a warrior who survived a battle or a person who survived a misfortune that caused mental and emotional imbalance.

The ‘manbunong’ prescribes a dog or other animals as an offering. The bile/gallbladder of the animal is inspected by the manbunong. However, in Sacla’s (2003) accounts, a chick (kiap) instead is offered in this ritual.

The head of the animal is cut off from the body and positioned facing the entrance of the house. The ‘manbunong’ wears a woven bamboo head gear (kalaw). He/she sings a short song while waving a bolo to get rid of evils. He/she does this while the people beat two bamboo canes.

After the dance, the head of the animal is buried to an area which is not usually step on. Then, the ‘manbunong’ utters his/her ‘bunong’.

Kafe (Ibaloi ritual). The ‘manbunong’ uses this ritual to advise the spirit of dead relatives to proceed to the world where they belong and to give good luck, wisdom and wealth to those who are left behind. Activities and materials offered are similar to those in ‘kemtad’ but the animal to butcher can be pig or chicken and tayaw is performed.

According to Lolo Stoney, this is also performed to make a person good.

However, Baucas (2003) stated that this ritual is performed in several situations such as wedding ceremonies, burial, entering a new house and others.

Sumang (Kankana-ey ritual). This is done to fight curses. It is believed that the ‘mansapo’ is capable of performing a ritual to make someone suffer from hardships such as illnesses leading to death.



‘Sumang’ requires butchering of animals and rice wine. The animals to be butchered depend on the severity of sufferings of the victim. Some used dogs because they serve as guard or protector against curses that could be inflicted again by the ‘mansapo’.

However, duck is said to be more effective because it can fly and doesn’t always walks on land. Animal’s step can predict weaknesses of a victim. Thus, duck is used for more cruel suffering.

After the ‘manbunong’ utters his prayers, he usually advises the victim to prevent suffering again. An example for this is Martha who was paralyzed. The ‘manbunong’ believed that a person cursed her because he envied her successful business. After performing the ritual recommended by the ‘manbunong’, she got well.

Ritual Prayers

According to Lakay Katso, prayers should be uttered during rituals only because the spirits will be disturbed.

The Kankana-ey and Ibaloi ‘manbunong’ use their own language in their prayers but Sacla (1987) stated that a Kankana-ey speaking ‘manbunong’ uses Ibaloi or Kalanguya aside from his language in his ‘bunong’ or vice versa.

Every ritual has prayers addressed to different spirits. The prayers are uttered either through chanting or simply reciting. The ‘manbunong’ states the names of the host family or the patients, enumerates the offered materials, and recognizes the spirits whom the prayers are addressed to, and asks favors from these spirits. The prayers are uttered before the animal offering is butchered, after it is killed, and before it is be eaten.



Here is a sample ‘bunong’ in the ritual ‘agamid’:

Kankana-ey version

English translation

Yan na-ey din inpapa-itaw yo ay sin-asawa, na-ey di galey ay pangaley yo si-awni, naey ay nauto makan, mangan kayo ta manayaw kayo si-awni. Ianuka din gasat yo, swerte di byahe ya negosyo. Ayagam din ga-et mu nu waday umunod en sik-a.

Sana di pilak ay nasurok ay dua ay ribu ay pan plete yo ay sin-asawa, tanu kulang din pilak yo asi yo usaren sa.

I-anukam din swerswerte yo ta nadanun din ikaliman di bulan aypantaulian din inuk-ukob da en dakayo ta taptapian yo pay.

Here are the things that both of you husband and wife desire in a dream. Here are the blankets that you will use later and the cooked food for you to eat soon. You shall endow to your family your good fortunes in transportations and in other businesses. Call also your companions following you.

Here is a sum of money amounting to more than two thousand pesos (Php2,000.00) for your fare. Use it if your money is not enough.

Endow in them your good fortunes that what they had provided to you and eaten with you, you return more.

Sources of Knowledge on ‘Manbunong’ Practices

Table 4 shows the sources of knowledge of the ‘manbunong’. Four of them acquired it from ‘Kabunian’ or ‘Ap-apu’ (spirits of the dead ancestors) through dreams. This corresponds to what Baucas (2003) stated that native priests (‘manbunong’, ‘mansip-ok’ and ‘mankotom’) acquired their knowledge from “God”.

One ‘manbunong’ acquired his knowledge from another ‘manbunong’. Their individual stories follow:



Table 4. Sources of ‘manbunongs’ knowledge

‘MANBUNONG’	MODE OF ACQUIRING
Baket Teling	from Kabunian or Ap-apu through dreams
Lakay Katso	from Kabunian or Ap-apu through dreams
Lolo Belalai	from Kabunian or Ap-apu through dreams
Uncle Silyo	from Kabunian or Ap-apu through dreams
Lolo Stoney	from other manbunong

Baket Teling. She dreamt of four situations before she became a ‘manbunong’. First, she dreamt that while she was catching tadpoles for viand in a river, an old woman blocked the flow of water so that it would go to the opposite direction. The old woman said that she would catch tadpoles where the water flowed. When she went home at dusk, she saw a very bright light.

Second, she dreamt that her grandmother who was a ‘manbunong’ gave her a ‘kayabang’, a native basket made of closely woven bamboo. Her grandmother ordered her to follow her steps. They separated ways after that and on her way home, she saw a bright light again.

Third, when she was pregnant with her third child, she dreamt that her grandmother presented milled, not milled, and newly harvested rice and let her choose what she would bring home. She did not choose any; instead, she only got small quantity from each. On her way home, she accidentally dropped the rice grains.

After three days, she had severe stomach ache. She consulted a ‘mansip-ok’ and related all her dreams. She was advised to butcher two pigs. And she did. The pigs were



tethered with a rope and the ‘manbunong’ held the rope and passed it to Baket Teling as a sign of passing and accepting the gift. After which, her stomach ache was gone.

Lastly, she dreamt that her grandmother asked her what she would choose – to be a ‘man-ilot’ or ‘manpadto’ (to interpret omens and foretell the future). But she did not accept any of the two because she said that if she would become a ‘man-ilot’, she would get tired always and if she would become a ‘manpadto’, she was afraid of giving wrong interpretations and predictions. Because she did not choose any, her grandmother gave her a red cloth which symbolizes being a ‘manbunong’. Hence, she became a ‘manbunong’.

She said that “A ‘manbunong’ whose knowledge is given by ‘Kabunian’ or ‘Apapu’ is more knowledgeable than those who acquired it from other ‘manbunong’.

Lakay Katsso. He dreamt that a man whom he did not know personally brought him to heaven where he saw an old man whom he believed to be ‘Kabunian’. The old man commanded him to work as a ‘manbunong’.

From then one, he suffered from unexplainable body aches and severe headache. Because of this, he performed ‘canao’ after which, he fully became a ‘manbunong’ and a ‘mankotom’. Due to his abilities, he became famous in their place and in other places.

Lolo Belali. He dreamt that the dead ‘manbunong’ uncle who used to live with them went home with his uncle’s clothes. He did not understand what his dream meant so he asked the elders and they interpreted that to mean that his uncle was passing his knowledge to him.



To check if the interpretation was right, he started performing rituals for his family and these worked. Since then, his neighbors had been asking him to do ‘bunong’ for them.

Uncle Silyo. He lost his sanity. He had been seeing seven spirits. Among these sprits were a lady and a big man who could transform his body into clouds. These two would always talk to him. They accompanied him to a mountain where the lady taught him to do ‘ilot’ and the big man guided and taught him the ‘bunong’ and ‘sip-ok’.

Uncle Silyo’s family called a ‘manbunong’ to perform a ‘daw-es’. He was healed eventually.

He also dreamt that he flew using anahaw leaves as his wings. The elders said that he was given the knowledge of ‘bunong’ so they advised him to butcher a pig to finally receive the gift. And he did.

This corroborates what Zabdaculog (1990) stated that “before a person acquired his authority to become a ‘manbunong’, he experiences a unusual dream, for example if a person dreams that he defeated a snake barehanded, he was privileged to become a ‘manbunong’.

Lolo Stoney. He did not dream like the other ‘manbunong’. He was always asked by other ‘manbunong’ to assist them whenever they would perform ‘bunong’. He stated that he could not forget the ‘bunong’ he heard. Hence, he already learned ‘bunong’ and when they died; he took their place as ‘manbunong’.

But he emphasized that he could not do the ritual ‘daw-es’/ ‘chaw-es’. He said that this is not performed often. Though he witnessed other ‘manbunong’ doing it, he was



not able to learn it. He explained this by saying, “Like in formal education, there are several stages and I am still in the first grade.”

Transferring the Knowledge of a ‘Manbunong’ to the Younger Generation

Four ‘manbunong’ said that they do not transfer their knowledge because they believe that only ‘Kabunian’ and ‘Ap-apu’ have the ability to do it. For example, Lolo Belalai said that “It would be good if I can pass my knowledge to the students through seminars but I know that only ‘Kabunian’ has the power to transfer it. Hence, I could not transfer it.”

On the other hand, Uncle Silyo teaches ‘bunong’ to the younger people who want to learn it. For instance, a man approached him and asked to be taught the ‘bunong’ so he taught him. But after this man tried to perform ‘bunong’, he dreamt that an old man discouraged him, saying: “No matter how you try, you cannot be a ‘manbunong’ because only ‘Kabunian’ has the power to give the gift.” Thus, he did not pursue it.

This is also corroborated by the story of Lolo Belali about his neighbor who jotted down all the prayers of his mother who was a ‘manbunong’. When his mother died, he read verbatim one prayer for himself so that he could test if this would be effective. However, his voice became hoarse until now. This supports what Baket Teling said, “The prayers of those people who try to be a ‘manbunong’ without ‘Kabunian’s will, will not be granted.”



SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Summary

The study aimed to describe the rituals that require a ‘manbunong’ in Kapangan, Benguet; to determine the activities carried out by the ‘manbunong’ during rituals; to record the prayers uttered by the ‘manbunong’ during rituals; to determine the sources of knowledge on ‘manbunong’ practices and to determine how the ‘manbunong’ transfers his/her knowledge to the younger generation. Data for the study were gathered from five manbunong and eleven patients.

Rituals requiring a ‘manbunong’ are ‘liyaw’/‘diyaw’, ‘sangbo’/‘sengbo’, ‘kedaw’/‘kechaw’, ‘kemtad’, ‘agamid’, ‘lawit’/‘dawit’, ‘daw-es’/‘chaw-es’, ‘kafe’ and ‘sumang’. ‘Agamid’ and ‘sumang’ are Kankana-ey rituals while ‘kemtad’ and ‘kafe’ are Ibaloi rituals. These rituals are mostly asking for protection and blessings. Activities during the rituals are butchering animals, offering of materials and food to the spirits, and of uttering prayers. Some ritual performed the ‘tayaw’.

The ‘bunong’ states the names of the host family or the patients, enumerates the offered materials, recognizes the spirits whom the prayers are addressed to, and asks favors from these spirits.

The ‘manbunong’ acquired their knowledge from ‘Kabunian’ or ‘Ap-apu’ through dreams and from other ‘manbunong’. Knowledge of ‘manbunongs’ could not be passed because it is God-given.



Conclusions

Based on the findings of the study, the following conclusions are drawn:

1. Rituals requiring ‘manbunong’ are those rituals asking for blessings and protection from the spirits.
2. Traditional material offerings during rituals can be substituted with modern items.
3. Only the ‘manbunong’ should utter the prayers during rituals and ritual prayers should only be uttered during rituals.
4. Knowledge of ‘manbunong’ is not taught or learned in a formal education setting.

Recommendations

The following recommendations are forwarded:

1. Further studies on indigenous knowledge of the ‘manbunong’ and ways of knowing should be conducted among all the ‘manbunong’ in the region in order to validate and support the findings of this study; and,
2. Information materials showing that traditional practices can be applied side by side with Christianity should be prepared and disseminated.



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