

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PADSICO, ROBELINE T. APRIL 2013. *Between the Living and Unseen Spirits: Documentation of the Practice of “Am-med” and “Bayani” in Kapangan, Benguet.* Benguet State University, La Trinidad, Benguet.

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ABSTRACT

The study was conducted at the Kankana-ey barangays of Kapangan, Benguet namely Sagubo, Balakbak, Paykek, Cayapes, Pudong, Central, and Cuba. It was conducted from December 2012 to January 2013.

The study documented the processes associated in the practice of „Am-med“ and „Bayani“ in Kapangan, Benguet, specifically it determined the socio-demographic profile of the respondents; identified the reasons why the rituals is usually done; described how these rituals are practiced before, during, and after; determined the messages being communicated. It also identified the perceived importance of performing such and values gained in the practice; discussed the changes; and determined the challenges faced by the community in practicing „Am-med“ and „Bayani“.

The data gathered from the Kankana-ey community respondents and key informants were through guide questions.



The findings revealed that both Ibaloi and Kankana-ey people practiced these rituals but were termed as „Kadaring“ and „Tinmongao“ in Ibaloi. These rituals were performed depending on reasons like to cure illnesses, ask for bountiful harvest, guidance, and permission to cultivate „their“ territories. The materials being prepared during the rituals were different including the set-up for offering but have no difference in the processes of both rituals. Respondents also claimed that there were values gained in the performance of these practices like strengthening family ties, honor to ancestors, respect to elders, cooperation and coordination in the community, values of sharing, and respect to malevolent spirits and environment.

There were also perceived importance of these practices such as good health, longer life, bountiful harvest, and safety during travel. Also, several changes in the practice specifically in the sacrificial animals and wine used were noted. The changes were bile interpretation, performance of „tayaw“ and „sadong“, and „ngilin“ in „Am-med“. Moreover, the challenges encountered by the performers were proliferation of modern religion, lack of interest among the young generation, and the economic aspect.

Recommendations derived in the study were: more studies on „Am-med“ and „Bayani“ should be conducted to validate and strengthen the results of this study; a study on „Kadaring“ and „Tinmongao“ should also be done for the comparison and contrast of these two rituals in the context of the Kankana-ey and Ibaloi people; as recommended by Aludos, a compilation of „Am-med“ and „Bayani“ prayer should be done in order for it not to be forgotten; a study on the content analysis of the communicated messages through prayers be conducted to serve as the basis of the next generation to come; as recommended



by the respondents, these practices may still continue because of the many cultural values attached to it; sensitive considerations as to how outsiders and religion converted individuals regard these practices should be properly observed as these practices are still seen to be effective and respected by majority of the community members.



INTRODUCTION

Rationale

Communication plays an important role in performing rituals. It is because of communication that a ritual can be successfully done. Thus, as one main component of communication, the messages being communicated to the spirits of unseen creatures are significant to the people.

These messages communicated by the „mambunong“ during rituals are directed to the unseen gods and to the spirits of dead ancestors. These mostly contain phrases, which ask for guidance, forgiveness and a request for healthy life and bountiful harvest.

Yet, the messages being communicated maybe dynamic. It may change from generation to generation. The style of messages communicated in this present generation may not be the same with the messages, which will be communicated by the people of next generation. Thus, these messages need to be stored for the use of next generation.

In Kapangan, Benguet, the practice of „Am-med“ and „Bayani“ has been embedded in the life of the Kankana-ey people. As observed, this was still practiced by most Kankana-ey barangays in the municipality.

The „Am-med“ or „Kadaring“ in Ibaloi is a ritual done for the spirits of dead ancestors while „Bayani“ or „Tinnongao“ in Ibaloi is performed for the unseen gods and spirits of the trees, rivers, caves and rocks. The two rituals are usually done to appease the



„Am-med“ and „Bayani“, which causes the sickness or sufferings of a person. In here, they butcher sacrificial animals and offer some materials like breakable plates, blankets and money.

„Am-med“ and „Bayani“ is also done by the Kapangan community to ask the permission of unseen gods and spirits of the dead ancestors to allow the community in digging up or working in „their“ places for the establishment of something (a project or establishments) in the area. These rituals are performed through „mambunong“.

However, despite its familiarity among the elders of the place, „Am-med“ and „Bayani“ seem not so familiar with the present generation. This may be the result of modernization and globalization happening in our environment.

As what was explained by Ruth S. Batani, a social science professor, we cannot totally erase these practices because they are part of our culture since time immemorial. Even if we are now in the religion as Christians, we are still integrating the practices of our ancestors before in our life. Also, in an Indian movie titled “Isi Life Mien” (In this Life Only) which showed a father who was against the modernized style of Indian woman because he wants to conserve their culture as a conservative and respectful Indian woman, it was highlighted in one of his statements that elders are not opposed to progress but they staunchly root for their culture which is a legacy that their children can inherit from them.

By means of documenting such rituals including the messages being communicated, it will then serve as a guide and basis of the next generation. Therefore, this ritual of today is then transmitted across time and space, stored, and later retrieved and used by the present and incoming generation.



Statement of the Problem

Generally, the study documented the processes associated in the practice of „Am-med“ and „Bayani“ in Kapangan, Benguet.

Specifically it answered the following questions:

1. What is the socio-demographic profile of the respondents?
2. What are the reasons why „Am-med“ and „Bayani“ is performed?
3. How is „Am-med“ and „Bayani“ practiced in Kapangan, Benguet?
4. What are the messages being communicated during the rituals?
5. What are the perceived importance of these practices?
6. What are the communicated values in the practice of „Am-med“ and „Bayani“?
7. What are the changes in the practice of „Am-med“ and „Bayani“ at present?
and,
8. What are the challenges faced in practicing „Am-med“ and „Bayani“?

Objectives of the Study

Generally, the study documented the processes associated in the practice of „Am-med“ and „Bayani“ in Kapangan, Benguet.

Specifically, it:

1. determined the socio-demographic profiles of the respondents;
2. identified the reasons why „Am-med“ and „Bayani“ is practiced;
3. described how „Am-med“ and „Bayani“ is practiced:
 - a. before the ritual
 - b. during the ritual
 - c. after the ritual



4. determined the messages being communicated during the rituals;
5. identified the perceived importance of performing these rituals;
6. identified the communicated values in the practice of „Am-med“and „Bayani“;
7. discussed the changes in the practice of „Am-med“ and „Bayani“;
8. determined the challenges faced in the practice of „Am-med“ and „Bayani“;
and,
9. produced a short video documentary of the practice.

Importance of the Study

One of the importances in safeguarding intangible cultural heritage is the transmission of knowledge. With this, the role of documentation is now being appreciated. The study may help the community and the younger generation to have better and clearer understanding of the rituals. This documentation may also contribute in the conservation of the culture and help the others who are new to this practice be familiarized with these practices. Further, this documentation maybe used for analysis and to support the process of transmission. It may also serve as a medium to bring back the consciousness of the community with these rituals.

Moreover, this documentation may bring awareness on the values communicated by „Am-med“ and „Bayani“. The results may also be used by other indigenous groups in promoting and preserving their indigenous knowledge, systems, and practices (IKSPs). Furthermore, this study may also serve as references to other researchers with related scope of study.



Scope and Limitation of the Study

The study was limited in studying the practices including the messages being communicated in the practice of „Am-med“ and „Bayani“ by the Kankana-ey of Kapangan, Benguet. It focused on determining the socio-demographic profiles of the respondents; identifying the reasons why „Am-med“ and „Bayani“ is usually done; describing how „Am-med“ and „Bayani“ is practiced before, during, and after the ritual; determining the messages being communicated during the practice of „Am-med“ and „Bayani“. It also identified the perceived importance of performing such and values gained in the practice; discussed the changes in the practice of „Am-med“ and „Bayani“; and determined the challenges faced by the community in practicing the „Am-med“ and „Bayani“.

The study was conducted in Kapangan Benguet where „Am-med“ and „Bayani“ is practiced.



REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Kankana-ey People of Kapangan

"Kankanay", also "Kankanai," "Kankana-i" or "Kankana-ey," has no definite etymological derivation. It refers to the culture, the language, and the people who, together with a neighboring group called Ibaloi, comprise the Igorot of Benguet, the southernmost province of the Cordillera region. There are two Kankanay groups: the northern Kankanay, also called Lepanto Igorot, and the southern Kankanay. Most of the northern Kankanay are actually located not in Benguet but in the southwestern part of Mountain Province. The southern Kankanay, on the other hand, are found in the municipalities of Mankayan, Bakun, Kibungan, Buguias, and the upper half of Kapangan in Benguet. "Benguet" is also a term used for the southern group of Kankanay, as well as for the other group of Benguet Igorot, the Ibaloi, who inhabit the lower half and the most urbanized parts of the province, which include the vegetable-growing valley of La Trinidad and the melting-pot city of Baguio (Velasco, n.d.).

Velasco (n.d.) added that in physical characteristics, there are hardly any differences between the northern and southern Kankanay. Both have brown skin, sometimes tattooed, large eyes, and prominent cheekbones. The two groups are culturally one, with similar institutions, beliefs, and practices. The more ancient northern Kankanay were called "Lepanto" by the Spanish colonizers. This refers to administration areas whose boundaries have changed through successive colonial regimes, but was known as the missing center of the Cordillera.

As posted in the blog of the pen name Sheyz dated 2008, she explained that Kankanaey's have been described in the early 1990 as like the Ibaloi but celebrates their



festivals “more splendidly”. Like the Ibalois, the Kankana-eyes are the original inhabitants of Benguet. Kankanaeys of Benguet perform rituals during weddings, death and illnesses where native priests called the „manbunong“ chant ritual prayers.

Beliefs and Rituals of the Kankana-ey of Kapangan

Every culture has its own religious beliefs and customs, which shape its people’s life ways. One aspect of these religious beliefs and customs is the performance of rituals on different occasions. Inherent to these rituals are the prayers and chants. The Benguet Kankana-eyes, like any other member of an indigenous culture, performs rituals where prayers are said or chanted by the native priest (*manbunong*). During these rituals, prayers are said or chanted. These prayers and chants, which are expressed beautifully, exemplify varied values and concepts of the Benguet Kankana-eyes (Orallo, 1999).

Undoubtedly, the Benguet people love ritual performances. Ritual practices and cosmological understandings cannot be separated from their daily rounds of subsistence practices. This reminds us once again that analysis of the Benguet beliefs and practices includes subsistence, kinship, and intimacy with the landscape and language. A general observation on why the Benguet people love rituals is the fact that through their rituals their collective beliefs and ideals are experienced, affirmed, and articulated in a much deeper and more meaningful way than in creedal or doctrinal formulations (Taray, 2008).

Taray (2008) added that Benguet people believe in a community of sacred beings with „Kabunian“ as the creator and prime mover of everything that exists. Included in this sacred community are the gods and goddesses, nature deities like the sun, moon, star and other heavenly bodies, spirits dwelling in nature, and ancestors who are now in the



ancestral abode. „Kabunian“, the gods and goddesses are perceived to have lived on earth, gotten married, and have borne children. While on earth, they performed rituals and taught people how to live and to observe the traditions. After death, they went to live in the sky world but their relationship with the human world goes on.

Taray (2008) further explained that „Kabunian“ is said to have lived in Mt. Pulog (found in Kabayan, Benguet and second highest mountain in the Philippines) with his beautiful wife Bugan. He protected his people from sickness and famine. He even cooked rice for a family who had nothing to eat and henceforth, the family never went hungry again. The story goes on to say that when „Kabunian“ and his wife died, they went to the sky world and the people started performing rituals to remember their good examples and to thank them for their generosity and kindness. Such a story speaks of a people’s belief in a deity who partook of the joys and difficulties of the human condition and who acted with compassion. Part of the sacred community are the „Ap-apo“, „Ka-apuan“, „Eyon-a“ or „ammed“, men and women who died generations ago and are now in the ancestral abode with „Kabunian“ and other deities. In their earthly lives the „am-med/ka-apuan“ may have produced offerings and celebrated „kanyaw“ (rituals) for the spirits of those who had gone before them.

Practices Associated with Unseen Spirits

Notably, much of the Benguet rituals are those that are performed in honor of their ancestors (Taray, 2008).

Taray (2008) added that the persistence of ancestor reverence among the Benguet people is due to the understanding that ancestors play a vital role in the fulfillment of their



aspirations as individuals and as an indigenous community. Ancestors remain part of their community, their link to the divine, and their source of solidarity and resilience amidst the joys and perils of life. Also, some of them may have been influential members of their communities. Now, in the afterlife, they are bestowed the rank and respect that befit their actions when they were men and women of this earth. Some were great warriors who outlived their adversaries and now share the status of godhood. Some acquired their prestige in the afterlife because of the rituals performed in their honor. Ancestors remain members of the family or clan and their sacred status bestows on them the power to grant blessings of prosperity, health, fecundity, and long life to their descendants. When the living relatives remember their ancestors, they are helped in the fulfillment of their needs, but if the ancestors are forgotten or neglected, it is also within their power to cause illness or misfortune to the living. For the Benguet people, their mode of action is rooted in lineage, consanguinity and affinity.

On the other hand, according to the data of NCIP-Benguet, as a people wealthy of indigenous practices, the locals believe in spirits who guard the forests, which they call as the „Bayani“ or „Tinmongao“ and enchanted trees. In connection, taboos or prohibiting laws and beliefs associated with supernatural beings had been the locals“ guide in protecting himself or herself against bad luck caused by spirits. Moreover, these laws have been helpful in the conservation of the forest as the people would first think twice before planning to engage in activity detrimental to the forest because of their fear of a divine punishment for wrongdoings (*inayan*).



These divinatory rites are performed through the „mansip-ok“ and „mambunong“ then followed by a sacrificial feast where animals are butchered and offered to the spirits believed to be the causes of ailments (Velasco, n.d.).

Belief System in Rituals

The two major ethnic groups of Benguet: Ibaloi and Kankana-ey, are not far apart in their belief systems. According to Sacla (1987), Benguet people believe in the existence of unseen beings that emanate from the skyworld and the underworld. These unseen spirits are believed to have power over man and can be manipulated by man to his advantage. With these beliefs, the people strive to win favor of the spirits using prayers and material offerings in a ritual (Sacla, 1987).

Sacla (1987) also noted that a ritual is being performed when these spirits are offended, because they become vengeful and may cause sickness, death, poverty and misfortune to man. The ritual is done to appease these spirits.

In Nakiangan Abatan, Buguias, a ritual called „Denet“ is still performed by the community. The study of Camiling (2012) defined „Denet“ as a simple ritual, usually performed in the garden as a form of thanksgiving. This is done because the farmer expects for a bountiful harvest. In addition, Sacla explained that their belief of appeasing the spirits to void and be free of misfortune inflicted upon man, which resulted to a belief system. Thus, became the basis of the healing and thanksgiving rituals. These rituals became part of the thought and life ways of people.

In an interview with Alsado A-at, he said that during rituals, the „mambunong“ „read“ the bile organs of the sacrificial animals. According to Allad-iw (2005), Kankanaey of



Kibungan, Benguet believed in the bile-reading practice as this is performed in rituals related to their lives as indigenous people.

Messages Communicated in the Practice of Ritual

For a ceremony to occur, something must be out of order. An individual or family must identify an illness, an impending or recently completed journey, or other crisis as disrupting the harmony that should exist. Arranging for the ritual proclaims this crisis, calling forth aid from family and friends. The patient becomes the center of supportive attention and is painted and sung over, his or her trouble is identified, and preliminary rites mimic the release from evil the ceremony is designed to achieve. In the company of others, the patient is purified by emetic, washing and sweat (Spickard, 1991).

In the study of Basalong (2009), it was explained that every ritual has prayers addressed to different spirits. The prayers uttered were either through chanting or simply reciting. The „mambunong“ states the names of the host family or the patients, enumerates the offered materials, and recognizes the spirits when the prayers are addressed to, and asks favors from the spirits. The prayers are uttered before the animal offering is butchered, after it was killed, and before it is eaten.

The Benguet people“s aspirations for a fuller life or for well-being in this life and in the next have no systematic and coherent textual articulation. In fact, their hopes and dreams are often articulated in almost all their rituals. For example, the ritual meal, which is always a part of their rituals, does not simply mirror their aspirations for solidarity, abundance and sharing, but they are actually living out and experiencing such aspirations in the here-and- now. When they come together to relax, to tell stories, and to share a



meal with the spirit-human worlds, they are living out their vision of communal solidarity where people let go of their personal concerns in order to celebrate life and strengthen their relationships. Social solidarity has always been primary among the Benguet people. In their ritual performances, the Benguet people often articulate their aspirations for wealth, health, long life, fecundity, unity, peace and stability in their village (Taray, 2008).

Communicated Values in the Practice of Rituals

According to Taray (2008), rituals are tools for enhancing life in its broad sense and hence, ritual performance is an indispensable means in the attainment of dreams and aspirations of the Benguet people. Equally important is the belief that such blessings can only be granted with human cooperation and work. Work is understood as a participative action of the spirit-human worlds in order to bring such blessings to this life and to the next. The fruits of one's labor are not only for personal satisfaction but also for the enjoyment of the community. Such sharing of blessing is actualized in the ritual meal where the community of visible and invisible beings come together to nourish themselves. Generosity/benevolence is part of their ethical life. They believe that the more a person shares her/his blessings to the community of the living and the dead, the more blessings will come into her/his household and to the community.

Also, in the study of Nuval (2010), he proved that a ritual has its own values. In the case of „ba“diw“, values are being told through stories. This includes discipline, morality, relationship with others, lessons learned from experiences, shared relationship with others, emotional development, reconciliation for family members.



On the other hand, in the study of Camiling (2012), it was found out that the values communicated includes; enhancement of cooperation among farmers, respondents claimed that they honor their ancestors, participants respect and obey the advice and suggestions of elders, they share one's blessing and strengthens family ties because of everyone's presence. It was also revealed by Palcon (2012) that in the case of „mangmang“ as a ritual, unity; respect, volunteerism; generosity and protection of their own practice were the values associated in it.

Changes of Cultural Practices

All Cultures are inherently predisposed to change and, at the same time, to resist change. There are dynamic processes operating that encourage the acceptance of new ideas and things while there are others that encourage changeless stability. It is likely that social and psychological chaos would result if there were not the conservative forces resisting change (O'Neil, 2006).

According to the respondents of Palcon (2012) in her study; „mangmang“ today has many changes. They no longer practice „kapyra“ instead; they now utter the prayer which is offered to the Lord for the reason that only few elders know the „kapyra“ and that most of elders don't attend the practice because of illness. Also, the use of sacrificial animals changed because nowadays it is not only limited to native animals but foreign breeds can also be used.



Also, in the study of Camiling (2012), „Denet“ as a practice has also changes: in the old practice, rice wine are used but now, they can use any wine as a substitute; „pudong“ is only placed nowadays in one corner of the garden not necessarily placed in every corner; and the meat from the butchered sacrificial animal can now be eaten in the garden not necessarily in the house because it can already be performed at daytime unlike before that they only perform the ritual at night.

On the other hand, in an interview with the elders of Kapangan, Benguet, they said that the practices of rituals in this generation are not that strict. They cited the burial practices wherein the relatives of the dead can already take a bath after the burial unlike before that they will wait for weeks before they could do such thing. They also added that because of the changes in the rule of sacrificial animals like the acceptance of chickens only instead of pigs, other people are not much afraid to do again their mistakes thinking that chicken is cheaper than pigs.

Challenges Encountered in the Practice of Rituals

Every ritual requires the offering of sacrificial animals (Camiling, 2012). Besides, it requires every farmer to raise chickens and if he does not raise any, he is obliged to buy two native chickens and liquor for the ritual. Also, during the ritual, if the meat is not enough for the number of farmers present, they need to butcher again another chicken. Proliferation of modern religious beliefs and lack of interest among the young generation were also included.

The same with the study of Bag-ayan (2010), financial problem became one challenge too. Although Karao possesses rich cultures, some of their cultural practices are being neglected and are selectively practiced because of financial requirements. One of



their grandest cañao was now being ignored because of the growing international economic crisis which causes goods to cost higher and higher. A small pig for example costs thousands.

Change in spiritual beliefs is also one challenge because of the introduction of Christianity that there is only one and only God. Her one respondent said that Christianity made them realize that there are no other gods but God alone (Bag-ayan, 2010).

The finding is the same with the argument in the study of Bae (2007) that ancestor worship is incompatible with Christianity or any religious beliefs. Also Napolitano (1997) stated that the priest and their assistants are criticizing the traditional ritual of Mexico such as the fifteenth birthday and virgin celebration among the girls.

On the other hand, during the rituals, only few young people are observing when „bangil“ is being done (Mang-osan, 2012). Moreover, while older and middle-aged folks stay together and concern themselves about a certain preparation for a certain ceremony such as „pedad“, very few of the young people were present. They are found out to be busy watching telenobelas and/or music television (Bag-ayan, 2010).

Definition of Terms

„Am-med“. This is a Kankana-ey tribe ritual for men and women who died generations ago and are now in the ancestral abode with „Kabunian“ and other deities.

„Bayani“. It is another ritual of „Kankana-ey“ tribe specifically to appease malevolent spirits („tinmongaos“).



METHODOLOGY

Locale and Time of the Study

The study was conducted in Kapangan, Benguet (Figure 1). It is about 29 kilometers away from the Provincial Capitol of Benguet and 35 kilometers away from the city of Baguio. The municipality of Kibungan, South by Tublay and Sablan bound it on the North, East by Atok and West by the Province of La Union.

Rugged mountains and hills with the highest elevation of about 1,700 meters above sea level and lowest elevation of 200 meters above sea level characterize the municipal's terrain. It is accessible via air and land transportation. The common means of transportation are jeeps and buses.

The municipality has an approximate total land area of 17, 327 hectares. Gadang is the largest Barangay with an area of 2,925 hectares consisting of 16.88% of the municipality. Gaswiling was the second largest area with 2,825 hectares constituting 16.30% of the municipal land area and third was Barangay Sagubo while Cayapes is the smallest with an area of 287 hectares. Kapangan belongs to the fourth class municipality of Benguet.

The study was conducted on December 2012 to January 2013.



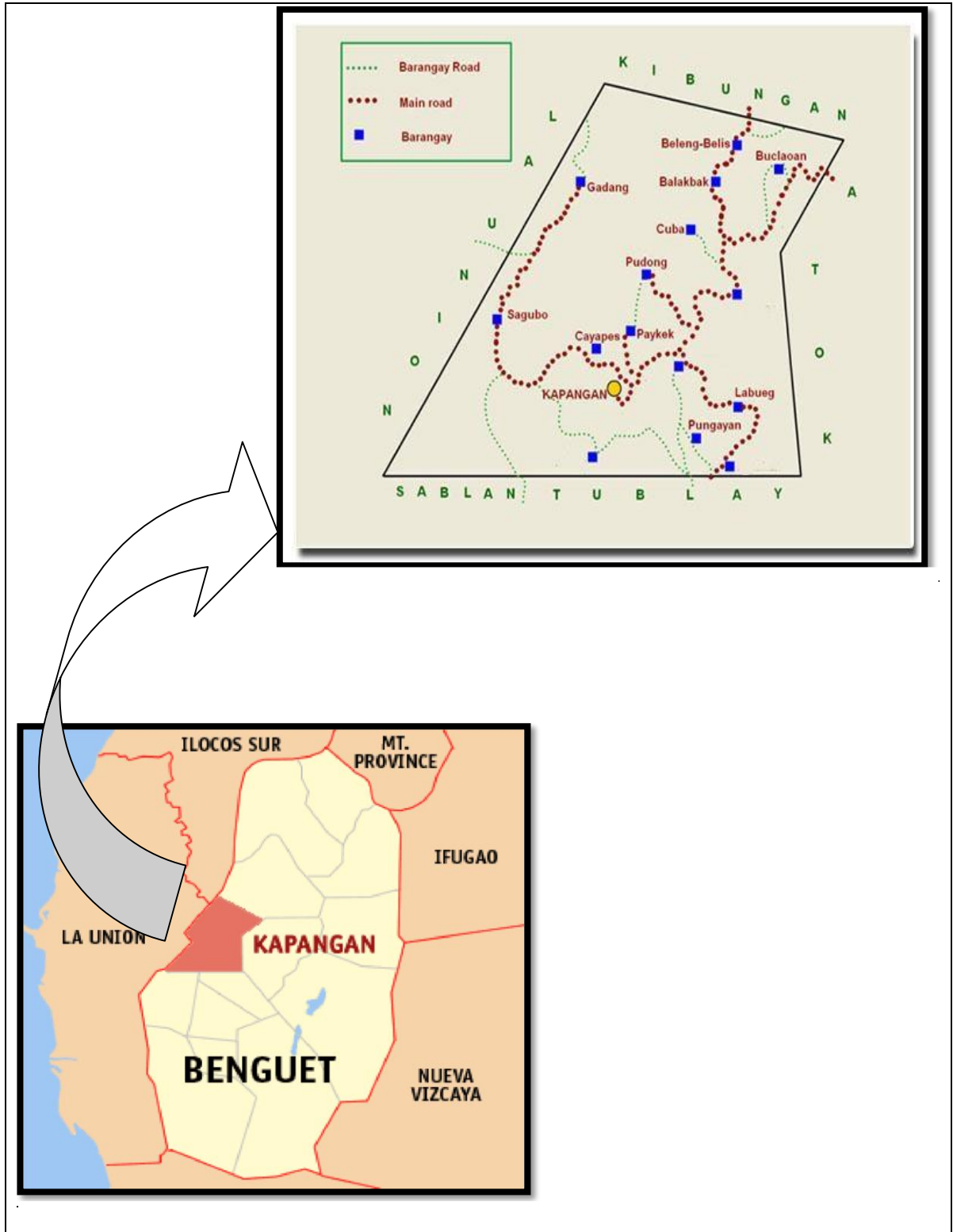


Figure 1. Map showing the locale of the study

Respondents of the Study

Nine respondents from Kankana-ey Barangays were purposively selected for the study with the following as the criteria: a resident of Kapangan and belonged to Kankanaey group; and able to witness and participate in the practice of „Am-med“ and „Bayani“. They were also the ones highly recommended by the community members because of their varied knowledge about „Am-med“ and „Bayani“. These nine respondents were referred to as the „community respondents“.

There were also five key informants who served as the source of knowledge about these practices including those who performed the said practice.

Data Collection

The data from all the respondents were collected through personal interview using guide questions.

To enumerate the methods used in collecting data, the researcher conducted site visits, observation, and direct interaction with the key informants and the community respondents. Kankana-ey was the language used for easier interaction as preferred by the respondents specially in terms of identifying the reasons; discussing the changes in the practice; describing the processes involved before, during, and after the ritual; structure of prayers; identifying the perceived importance of the rituals, messages and values being communicated; and determining the challenges faced by the community in practicing the rituals.



Archive retrieval and review of existing documents were also conducted for additional information that contributed in attaining the objectives of the study.

Data Gathered

The data gathered focused primarily on the processes involved and the messages being communicated in the practice of „Am-med“ and „Bayani“. Specifically, the study was able to gather the socio-demographic profile of the respondents; reasons why „Ammed“ and „Bayani“ is usually performed; and values being communicated in the practice. Processes involved on „Am-med“ and „Bayani“ before, during, and after; structure of prayers being communicated; perceived importance; and changes in the practice of the rituals at present were also noted including the challenges faced by elders and the community in practicing the rituals.

Data Analysis

The gathered data were consolidated, tabulated and analyze using descriptive analysis and were processed and presented in a narrative form.



RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Demographic Profile of Respondents

Table 1 presents the demographic profile of the six key informants who were categorized according to name, age, address, and number of years of performing the ritual

„Am-med“ and „Bayani“. They were interviewed for the intensive explanation of „Ammed“ and „Bayani“.

The key informants belonged to Kankana-ey ethno-linguistic group and had performed „Am-med“ and „Bayani“ for more than 20 years and were knowledgeable on the said practices.

They were „mambunong“ Bilaro Aludos, Blas Wallac, Alsado A-at, Betina Comila, Gaynap Eslao, and Legazpi Aniban. It can be noted that most of the „mambunongs“ were male. The other informants explained the reason why there were lesser number of women who performed „Bayani“ and „Am-med“. Aniban and Wallac, both key informants, said that *“no babae gamin ay mambunong et lasuyen da, adi dan egyatan tan kanan da ay la-lalaki kanu dadin kaadwan ay Bayani”* (If the „mambunong“ is a female, there is a tendency that the „Bayanis“ will not listen to them since many believed that „Bayanis“ are mostly male).

As shown in the table, it can be said that they were proficient in the said practice because they have been performing this for more than 20 years and the community trusted them to perform such.



On the other hand, there were nine community respondents who also belonged to kankana-ey ethno-linguistic group and were categorized according to name, age, address, and number of years of participating in the rituals.

It was shown in this study that they have been participating in the rituals for more than 20 years with only one who had 12 years of experience (Table 2). Teodora Balangcod having the longest number of years in participation was also blessed by God to perform the ritual „Am-med“. They also claimed to be knowledgeable on „Am-med“ and „Bayani“. This proved the statements of the community members that they are indeed knowledgeable of these practices; thus, recommended to be interviewed for this study. The longest number of years participating in the rituals was 70 years. During the interview, most of these respondents noted that they had been witnessing the rituals since childhood.

Among the nine community respondents, five were from Barangay Balakbak. Two were from Central and the two were from Cuba and Sagubo. It can be noted here that most of the respondents were from barangay Balakbak. This is so since the said barangay was the most active performer of „Ammed“ and „Bayani“, as attested by all of the key informants. In addition, almost all of the community respondents attested that residents of barangay Balakbak are more conscious in the existence of these two practices because it has been practiced in their area for long.

During the conduct of this study, it came out that residents of other barangays are not already practicing these rituals because of some factors, which were discussed in the latter part of this study.



Table 1. Demographic profile of the key informants

NAME	AGE	ADDRESS IN KAPANGAN	NO. OF YEARS OF PERFORMING THE RITUALS
Bilario Aludos	80	Sagubo	36
Legazpi Aniban	77	Balakbak	53
Betina Comila	63	Paykek	36
Gaynap Eslao	85	Cayapes	23
Blas Wallac	89	Sagubo	20
Alsado A-at	81	Pudong	20

Table 2. Demographic profile of the community respondents

NAME	AGE	ADDRESS IN KAPANGAN	NO. OF YEARS PARTICIPATING IN THE RITUALS
Lais Tagtag	84	Sagubo	20
Rita Sapigao	70	Central	12
Bokto Palaksa	85	Central	50
Calisto Cabinta	70	Cuba	35
Sally Sagayo	81	Balakbak	50
Alice Danis	55	Balakbak	40
Janette Danis	29	Balakbak	20
Rita Aglasi	75	Balakbak	60
Teodora Balangcod	83	Balakbak	70



Reasons why „Am-med“ and „Bayani“ are Performed

It was found out in this study that there were reasons on why the kankana-ey people of Kapangan believed and performed these rituals. The key informants explained that „Am-med“ (dead ancestors and the ritual itself) is done when their dead ancestors are asking for „something“ through appearing in the dreams of „their“ living relatives. Also, it can be performed during „agamid“ (remembering dead ancestors) to show that „they“ are still remembering „them“ and consider „them“ as part of the family. These were the other situations for performing „Am-med“: when „they“ want to be moved from the place „they“ were buried; „they“ just requested for the food and drinks; forty days as „Am-med“; „laya“ and „walsi“; and in any ritual wherein „Am-med“ are involved such as „pamakan“ and house blessings.

On the other hand, „Bayani“ (malevolent spirits and the ritual itself) is performed just for two reasons. One is to appease and ask forgiveness from these malevolent spirits who caused illness to the person who hurt „them“ and the other reason is to ask permission from „them“ to allow the people in cultivating „their“ territories. On the latter part of this study are the extensive explanations on the reasons of conducting these rituals.

Am-med. The term „Am-med“ for Kankana-ey people and „Kadaring“ for Ibaloi people referred to their dead ancestors. All of the respondents claimed that „Am-med“ for the community is a ritual performed for their beloved ancestors.

According to the key informants and community respondents, performing „Ammed“ had really been part of „Kankana-ey“ people of Kapangan, Benguet and had been embedded in their life since birth. They also emphasized that this should not be



neglected because „Am-med“ guide and bless those who remember them. Also, „Am-med“ can be performed during „agamid“ (remembering dead ancestors) to feed and give them things and to show that „they“ are still honored and remembered as part of the family.

To further elaborate, Aludos, key informant, explained that this ritual is usually done when the „Am-med“ is asking (through dreams, unidentified illness or in different ways as identified by a „mansip-ok/traditional fortune teller or „mambunong“) for clothing and blankets as a replacement for their decayed things. Another situation is when „they“ want to be moved from the place they were buried because accordingly there are some instances (e.g. when there are house of termites inside the area) why the dead ancestors are not comfortable with „their“ place.

„Am-med“ can also be performed when a „mansip-ok“ figured out that dead ancestors request for foods and drinks because they want to taste the success of their children. Balangcod, community respondent, cited one event when the „Am-med“ appears in the dream of his/her child asking for food and drinks because they had a good life in terms of financial wherein they followed the request and had continued to live a good life.

This is also executed just after their 40 days as „Am-med“ (40 days after burial of a certain ancestor). Wallac said that the „Am-med“ will get all his belongings when he was still alive. There is also the situation during the burial of the dead which they call as „laya“ and „walsi“. This is performed through the use of water sprinkled to the residents of the community and will serve as a cut off line between the living individual and the dead.



This means that they communicated with the „Am-med“ that there will be no living individuals who will die and follow him/her in the next days or coming weeks and months.

It is also a ritual performed in another ritual as long as a certain or group of „Ammed“ is/ are involved or required to be communicated in a certain event or situation. One example of this is the „pamakan“ during peace rituals. Wallac, key informant, said that it is called „pamakan“ because the purpose is to feed the spirits of dead soldiers. During this kind of ritual, the „manbunong“ always pray for and ask blessings from the dead veterans and soldiers who fought for the freedom of the community and contributed a lot to the attainment of peace and development in the community and nation as well. Another is during the conduct of house blessing where they can call for their „Am-med“ to feed them and at the same time asks for a continuous guidance and blessings.

Another ritual where „Am-med“ is done will be during „Agamid“ or „Palagip“. In this event, the children will again offer food, money and clothing to the „Am-med“ or just simply pray for their souls.

Balangcod, explained that *“obligasyon tako ay anan-ak din panag-amag sina ay ritual kas pananglagip ya panangipaila c respeto tako en daida”* (performing this ritual is our obligation as children to show our honor to our beloved ancestors). Taray (2008) in her study titled, “Understanding Ancestor Reverence in the Benguet Tradition” has this to say with regards to this respect to the dead ancestors of the community:

“The persistence of ancestor reverence among Benguet people is due to the understanding that ancestors play a vital role in the fulfillment of their aspirations as individuals and as indigenous community.” Meanwhile,



Comila, another key informant, added that the spirit of the ancestors help the living people in many aspects like in health and bountiful harvest. She proved this when she saw an „Am-med“ in her garden in the form of rats. These rats were responsible in eating those pests like larvae of cabbage butterflies. Comila believed that

„Am-med“ could take on different forms such as an animal or insect. Comila believed that during travels, people who did not forget their „Am-med“ are given safety away from any accidents. She cited one situation when a couple met an accident in the mountain slopes but they saw their dead ancestor lent their hand and helped them get out of the car until they reached the road without any bruises.

For Aludos, he believed that the soldiers who have died during the World War II would guide them in their journey to this world since they have the power to guide their „kailyan“ being considered as heroes of the community. With these belief and respect of the community to the „Am-med“, there is a need for them to perform such to feed them and to show that their great contributions were not forgotten even if they are in another life. Taray (2008) supported this by explaining that “the people who have been influential during their lifetime are bestowed the rank and respects that befit their actions when they were men and women of this earth”.

It was noted that base on these beliefs of the „Am-med“, the kankana-ey people of Kapangan are performing the ritual whenever they suffer the situations because they believed in „their“ existence and role as dead ancestors. *Bayani*. „Bayani“ for Kankana-ey and „tomongao“ for Ibaloi refers to the malevolent spirits. The key informants stated



that this „Bayani“ is a ritual performed for the unseen spirits who are believed to be living in caves, body of water, trees, and mountains.

There were three origin of „Bayani“ gathered during the interview. In the explanation of Comila, during the first days, „Bayani“ were considered as the first creations of God (*Kabunian*); however, they were not humans. But because there were no wide lands and fields to cultivate, „Kabunian“ decided to put them in mountain slopes (*bakras*), caves (*liyang*), middle body of waters, water spring (*ubbog*), and places where rivers and creeks meet. These became their home.

On the other hand, in the version of A-at, another key informant, „Bayani“ were from the blood of Bangan (a goddess) who stayed up above before. Because her children were so naughty to her, she decided to put them in the earth and assigned them to those places. Also, in the story of Wallac, „Bayani“ originally lived in the sky above but was sent in the earth because they are sinners. Thus, they were assigned to stay in caves, mountain areas, trees, and body of waters.

It can be noted here that the origin of the „Bayani“ differs from one respondent to another. What is common to them however, is „their“ nature and places where „they“ stay. According to Eslao, when these malevolent spirits are being hurt, they will cause illnesses to the people who are responsible. She cited some circumstances wherein a person had cultivated parts of the mountain and cut trees they owned that caused illness to him/her. Also, they do not want individuals to urinate and leave their feces and other personal waste on any bodies of water because it is their home. She highlighted that because of these



beliefs, some are becoming aware of the consequences making them more careful to their actions.

This is related to the data of NCIP-Benguet which stated that beliefs associated with these supernatural beings had been the local's guide to think twice before planning to engage in activity because of their fear of a divine punishment for wrongdoings (*inayan*).

Sacla (1987) has this to say about this belief systems of the community: "Their belief of appeasing the spirits to void and be free of misfortune inflicted upon man, which resulted to a belief system. This became the basis of the healing and thanksgiving rituals. These rituals became part of the thought and life ways of people.

Based on these beliefs, the people are performing the ritual upon knowing the cause of their sickness (the same with „Ammed“ in the role of „mansip-ok“ and „mambunong“) because they accept their mistakes. During the interview, Eslao explained that this ritual is done when some of the „Bayani“ will cause illnesses to the person/s who has/have hurt „them“ physically and/or emotionally. Physically, Eslao explained, in the sense that „they“ have been harmed by the people who are working in the mountains as part of their „kaingin“ (burning of trees in the mountains for cultivation purposes) activity. In one event she performed is when the person who cut trees for „kaingin“ got sick because he had hurt the „Bayani“ physically. In here, they prepared a chicken and rice to ask forgiveness and settle the created problem.

It is emotionally on the other hand when the person put his/her waste in what these „Bayanis“ consider as „home“ like the creeks and caves. Eslao cited one case wherein a



lady threw her used sanitary napkin on the water spring and got sick. She called a „mambunong“ to perform the ritual and offered chicken to appease the malevolent spirits and asked forgiveness for what she did.

The statements of Eslao support what Sacla (1987) noted that a ritual is being performed when these spirits are offended, because they become vengeful and may cause sickness, death, poverty and misfortune to man. The ritual is done to appease these spirits.

Aludos added that „Bayani“ is also performed when people will ask for permission from the „Bayani“ to cultivate a certain land or for development purposes. Such was the case in the performance of „Am-med“ and „Bayani“ in Kapangan, Benguet when the community asked for permission from the „Am-med“ and „Bayani“ to cultivate some part of „their“ territory for the establishment of a mini-hydro project in the area. This was conducted along the river of Pudong, Kapangan. During the ritual, the „manbunong“ asked permission from the „Bayanis“ to have this project be implemented in the area since their “home” might be affected. They also asked for guidance from these unseen spirits to give strength to the laborers and workers of the project to make it successful for the betterment of the community.

Processes in the Practice of „Am-med“ and „Bayani“

There were no major differences as to how „Am-med“ and „Bayani“ are practiced in different occasions or situations in Kapangan, Benguet, this is according to the respondents. Discussions here include the common materials needed, symbolisms of materials used, activities done and the messages being communicated before, during, and after the rituals as narrated by the respondents.



Before the ritual. There were specific materials required to complete the rituals. In the practice of „Am-med“ and „Bayani“, the materials needed were not the same but the procedures of completing both rituals were the same (Table 3 and Table 4).

Usually, a consultation with the „mansip-ok“ (traditional fortune teller) is done when an individual is suffering from illnesses. According to the key informants, in this generation, most of the people calling for „Am-med“ and „Bayani“ were those with illnesses that cannot be identified and explained by medical experts. In a case observed during the study, this consultation was done to figure out if the cause of the illnesses was either „Am-med“ or „Bayani“. After figuring out the cause, the „mansip-ok“ relayed the wish of spirits if what kind of materials they needed. Next was going to the „mambunong“ to set the specific date for the ritual.

On other situation wherein people will voluntarily perform „Am-med“ for their beloved ancestors, concern party will just set specific dates with the „mambunong“. It is the same when the purpose of performing „Bayani“ is to ask permission from „them“ in order to cultivate areas of „their“ home.

During the rituals. During the rituals, the following activities were done based on actual performance observed: preparation of materials; prayer before cooking the sacrificial animals; butchering the animals; reading the bile; cooking the meat; and another prayer for the cooked food specifically to call „them“ as the priority to eat.

„Tayaw“ (male cultural dance) and „sadong“ (female cultural dance) is also done after eating.



In the preparation for „Am-med“, the materials needed depend on the cause or situation why it is performed. But all of the key informants cited the usual materials used during „Am-med“ as far as they can recall. These were: pig or chicken, rice, rice wine („tapey“), money („pilak“), blankets or „galey“ (ordinary for poor „Am-med“, for rich male „Am-med“ is „denli“ or „pinagpagan“ while „kuabaw“ or „bandala“ for female), and complete set of clothing depending on the sex of „Am-med“.

The materials generally needed for „Bayani“ were: pig/chicken, rice, breakable plates („pino“), breakable bowl („malukong“), mug („tasa“), gold and silver colored money („palata“), jar out of clay („kuli“), pot („banga“), „tapey“, and two blankets („pinagpagan“ and „kundiman“). All of the key informants explained that the materials for the „Bayani“ are breakable because they are rich. The breakable materials symbolize their prosperity. In the set-up of materials for „Am-med“, „galey“, „pilak“, and the clothing were placed in a „liga-o“ together with „tapey“ and the sacrificial animals (Figure 1).

In the case of „Bayani“, the two blankets were hanged and below it are the animals and „liga-o“ where the others materials were placed (Figure 2).

Gaynap, a key informant, explained that the blankets for the „Bayani“ should be hanged for the unseen spirits to notice that a ritual is being performed for „them“. After the preparation and set up of materials, the „mambunong“ will appeal to the „Am-med“ and „Bayani“ through prayers. A sample prayer for the unseen spirits is presented in Table 5.



Aludos explained that these were the set up that have been practiced by the past „mambunongs“ and their ancestors before, therefore they have to follow the same considering that they are now and the „mambunong“ in the community.

In the prayer for „Bayani“, the „mambunong“ needed to specify the names of places where „they“ live for „them“ to understand and consider that „they“ were the ones called for to gather and celebrate the ritual.

After the prayer, the assigned residents butchered the animals. On the other hand, the „mambunong“ uttered a short message as he offered the drinks to the „Am-med“ and „Bayani“ (Figure 3).

Other respondents said that in some instances, other „mambunong“ are offering the „tapey“ while uttering the prayers to the spirits (Figure 4). After few minutes, the individual who called for the ritual will also drink to show that he/she socialized with the unseen creatures.

When the animals were already butchered, the „mambunong“ read the bile. This process is the same with the article of Allad-iw (2005) saying that the Kankana-ey of Kibungan, Benguet believed in the bile-reading practice as this is performed in rituals that are related to their lives as indigenous people. Bile reading is being done and interpreted by the „mambunong“ through the position of the bile and water present in it (Figure 5).

Aniban, a key informant, said that through this process, they will be able to determine if the spirits accepted the offers. Every „mambunong“ has his/her own interpretation of what the bile represented. To some „mambunong“, a „sumlit“ (the bile is out) means that something is wrong but to some „mambunong“, this means good because



the individual who called for the performance will easily regain the cost of the materials used in the ritual. On the other hand, if the „mambunong“ had seen bad signs in the bile, they will offer another sacrificial animal that will manifest good signs.

Aludos and Wallac said that in the rituals they have performed, the maximum number of animals offered was only two. After reading the bile, the meat of the butchered animal were sliced and cooked. While cooking, community dancing was done either as a form of thanksgiving, to continue to appease the spirits, or to just have fun.

During the observed rituals, „tayaw“ were usually performed with the presence of the „mambunong“ who uttered prayers every after a certain routine. After a prayer, a „tapey“ was served and drank by the dancers and those people surrounding the dancers.

According to one respondent, in cases that the „tapey“ was plenty, the community members who are present during the ritual may also drink. Elder women usually served this. After the meat was cooked, the „mambunong“ again appealed to the unseen spirits. The people who have called for the ritual will be together with the „mambunong“ for another prayer. The sample prayer before meal is shown in Table 6.

As observed during the study, offering of the foods together with the drinks was done during the prayer. This practice of calling the spirits first meant that „they“ were the priority in this ritual (Figure 6). Balangcod, a community respondent said, *“kasapulan ay daida di damu ay maayagan ay mangan tasay mankuri nan naiamag ay ritual, daida di damu tan daida di gapu na nan ritual ay naiamag”*(they should be the first to be called for meal in order for this ritual to be successful, besides they are the main reason for performing this ritual).



According to some respondents, to some „mambunong“, they are pouring a small amount of wine during the offering. A-at said that the small amount of wine poured is for the friends of their „Am-med“ and the „Bayani“. After that, the family or other individuals who called for the rituals will then be called after a minute to eat with the spirits. As what Balangcod stated, this will show that they are having socialization with „them“. She added that this shows the value of their „Am-meds“. After few minutes, the foods were served to the people who have attended the ritual.

Process after the ritual. When the meal is over, the „mambunong“ will talk to the living relatives of the „Am-med“ and will impart some advice that he/ she received from the spirits. It is the same with the „Bayani“. Moreover, if the „Am-med“ and „Bayani“ had asked for „tayaw“ and „sadong“, this is performed after the meal. But, to some events, „tayaw“ and „sadong“ are performed while waiting for the food to be cooked. Wallac, key informant, explained that this is another form of socialization between the living and the spirits. The families of „Am-med“ and community will join the „tayaw“ and „sadong“. For „Bayani“, Balangcod said that the dance is only „tayaw“ because of the belief that „Bayanis“ are naughty to female persons.

During the cultural dance, the „mambunong“ will also bless the participants through uttering words, which they call „Bugaw/Basabas“(Figure 7). The key informants explained that as one of the changes in the ritual, this practice of „tayaw“ does not need to be performed nowadays. Thus, the community may just leave or may opt to stay in the area after the meal.



Table 3. Processes and Symbolisms of Materials needed in ‘Am-med’

STAGES OF THE RITUAL	PERFORMER	PROCESS	MATERIALS	REPRESENTATION OF MATERIALS
<i>Before the ritual</i>	‘Mansip-ok’ and the family of ‘Am-med’	Consultation with the ‘mansip-ok’		
	‘Mambunong’ and the family of ‘Am-med’	Setting specific date for the ritual		
<i>During the ritual</i>	‘Mambunong’ and the family of ‘Am-med’	Preparation of the materials to be used	Rice	Food for them. A set of rice with special viand
			Pig/chicken	
			‘Tapey’ (rice wine)	To serve as their drinks
			‘Pilak’(coin/paper money)	For them to buy what they want/need
			‘Galey’ (ordinary blanket)	The ‘Am-med’ is poor
			‘Denli’	Special blanket for rich male ‘Am-med’
‘Kuabaw’	Special blanket for rich female ‘Am-med’			
		Clothing	For their protection against the weather	

Table 3 continued...



	'Mambunong' and the family of 'Am-med'	Setting-up of the needed materials	'Liga-o' (handicraft out of bamboo)	To officially offer these things to them
	'Mambunong'	Praying for the offerings	Set-up materials	
	Assigned individuals	Butchering of the sacrificial animals	Pig/chicken, bolo and sharpened bamboo	
	'Mambunong'	Offering of 'tapey'	Cup and 'tapey'	To start the socialization
	'Mambunong'	Reading the animal's bile	Bile	To know if they have accepted the offers
	Assigned individuals	Cooking of the meat		
	'Mambunong' and the family of 'Am-med'	Prayer before the meal and offering of drinks	Prepared materials, soup, rice and cooked meat	To bless the food and eat with the 'Am-med'
	All of the people present in the ritual	Eating the prepared food	Soup, rice and cooked meat	To socialize with the unseen spirits
<i>After the ritual</i>	'Mambunong' and the family of 'Am-med'	To give some advices from the 'Am-med'		



<i>STAGES OF THE RITUAL</i>	<i>PERFORMER</i>	<i>PROCESS</i>	<i>MATERIALS</i>	<i>REPRESENTATION OF MATERIALS</i>
<i>Before the ritual</i>	<i>'Mansip-ok' and the concern individual</i>	<i>Consultation with the 'mansip-ok'</i>		
	<i>'Mambunong' and the concern individual</i>	<i>Setting specific date for the ritual</i>		
<i>During the ritual</i>	<i>'Mambunong' and the concern individual</i>	<i>Preparation of the materials to be used</i>	Rice Pig/chicken	Food for them. A set of rice with special viand
			'Tapey' (rice wine)	To serve as their drinks
			'Palata' (gold and silver colored coins)	For them to buy what they want/need
			'Pino', 'tasa' and 'malukong' (breakable plates, bowl and mug)	'Bayani' are rich unseen spirits
			'Kuli' (jar out of clay)	Prosperity
		'Pinagpagan' and 'kundiman' (expensive blankets)	For their protection and as storage of their things	



Table 4 continued. . .

	‘Mambunong’ and the concern individual	Setting-up of the needed materials	‘Liga-o’ (handicraft out of bamboo), stick and the expensive blankets	For the ‘Bayani’ to notice that a ritual is being done for them
	‘Mambunong’	Praying for the offerings	Set-up materials	To officially offer these things to them
	Assigned individuals	Butchering of the sacrificial animals	Pig/chicken, bolo and sharpened bamboo	
	‘Mambunong’	Offering of ‘tapey’	‘tasa’ and ‘tapey’	To start the socialization
	‘Mambunong’	Reading the animal’s bile	Bile	To know if they have accepted the offers
	Assigned individuals	Cooking of the meat		
	‘Mambunong’ and the concern individual	Prayer before the meal and offering of drinks	Prepared materials, soup, rice and cooked meat	To bless the food and eat with the ‘Bayani’
	All of the people present in the ritual	Eating the prepared food	Soup, rice and cooked meat	To socialize with the unseen spirits
<i>After the ritual</i>	‘Mambunong’ and the concern individual	To give some advices from the ‘Bayani’		



Table 5. A sample prayer uttered by ‘mambunong’ to the unseen spirits

KANKANA-EY LANGUAGE	ENGLISH TRANSLATION
Prayer for ‘Am-med’:	
<p><i>Sik-a ay (nagan di Am-med), ilam od nan (sakit ya nagan din ipogaw), tan laton ay naamuan ka, ilam adi ta tultulungam sisya ta mu (plano da sin biyag da) yan mansiged. Na-ey di dakdake ay ubuan ay panganam, adika ungunan, amum adi tan ewed di manok ed niman ay taraken ay native et maki-manok kas nan broiler ay nay tan say idawat nan sik-a. Iyaan dakas galey mo nu nadunot, nay di badom, kamisetam, sapatos, pilak nu way piyan mo ay lakuan. Ilam adi ta tultulungam nan apom ay nay ta nu makaadal da ta way panginemnemnan dan sik-a, nu dumateng ka yan wada din nauto, sik-a adi yan manga ka si kanem, tan samu maila ka od, nanbalin ka ay ispiritu sunga nay iyaan dakas gamit mo et ilam nan (sakit ya nagan din ipogaw). Din siged di itulong mo isnan apom. Tulungam abo nan udom ay apom ta maragpat da di palno da et siya adi nan pansigedan ay tulong mun daida. Bukod mo nan badbado, galey ya amin na. Adika ipap-papes si gagait mo tan para en sik-a na. Na-ey pi di inum, nu wada di manasaiding en sik-as gayem mo, sanay paki-inuman da.</i></p>	<p>(Name of the ‘Am-med’), you oversee (illness and the name of the person), now that you are known, help him/her that his/her (plans in life) will succeed. This big hen is for your viand, hoping that you will be satisfied with this. We ask for your understanding because we don’t have native chickens and so we have this broiler offered to you. We give you blankets if it was putrid, clothing, t-shirt, shoes, money if you want to buy something. You guide and help your grandchild that he/she will finish his/her profession so that they will remember you. If you arrived in this home and you see some cooked foods, you serve your own because we cannot already see you physically for you are now a spirit. Thus, we give you these things for you to take charge of this (illness and the name of the person). Help in the success of this grandchild. Also, help your other grandchildren that they may reach their plans in life. You owned personally this blanket, clothing and all of these. Don’t let others get it. These drinks, if you have friends with you, you can share it with them.</p>



Table 5 continued...

Sample prayer for ‘Bayani’ as narrated by a ‘mambunong:

ay maayagan ay man beey sinan ay Dayag ay sana.

Bayani ed Kip-kipan, Bayani ed Maningil, Bayani ed Dayag, Bayani kayu sin ed mapud Lanas, Bayani kayu ed Takbu, dakayoy maayagan sina ay masinop tannay pakanen dakayo. Ta ila-en yo ta nu waday mai-amag sinas umali ay buwan ya adi kayo en pansaksakiten daida ya adi kayo en is-isikin da ida tan nay pakanen dakayo sina ya awilan dakayo si pilak. Na-ey day kukuli ay maidawat en dakayu ya palato ya palata ay nay ay idawat da en dakayo. Ay man-ganak kapay kanu ay Bangan ya wada ed Daya yan pagat ad-adu di ina-nak mo ay anggay napnoy duwa ay dekkkan. No yamyamam kanus daida ya pagat itidtidlaan daka duwan dakan tug-tugpa-an. Inka et kanu kanan, tumad-o kayod dallem ay udom, mangngadan kayos tumongao ya manbalin kayos bayani ta man be-ey kayos puon di bato, ubbog ya ka-ew ta no waday mamakas si be-ey yu ya waday pambalan yu si pansakiten di iipugaw ed dallem ya ta waday pakikanaan yu si busa-ang, daldalem ay – inapuy, daldalem ya kinwanem kanu ay Bangan. Ta mu ginanak mo et nay Bangan ya esa ka abe ay mankali no ginanak mo nas manbe-ey ed Kiwas ay na-ey, Kip-kipan ay nay ya manbe-ey ed Dayag ay doy. No waday mai-amag sina ay palanta yan ta adi da mansaksakit di mangi-amag nu waday i-amag das palanta ya pangapuan di silaw ta adi kayu pansaksakitin da ida yan ta laton ta maawilan kayus pilak yan maawilan kayus nan kukuli ya palato ay nay yan ay nan tasa .Nay tanu ginanak mo abe nan esa ka ay mankali Bangan, ta ginanak mo na ta adi en pansaksakitin kanu di man-ubla ya nu waday ma-ubla sina duntog ay nay ay nabilbilang

Bayani of Kip-kipan, Bayani of Maningil, Bayani of Dayag, Bayani from Lanas, Bayani of Takbu, you are thereby summoned to gather here for they will feed you. For you to oversee when next month comes, you will not bring sickness nor trouble to those who will work here for they offer you money bills, plates and old coins. Bangan, when you produced offspring in the upper world, you have so many offspring that two plains were filled and when you scold them they spit and stuck their tongues out on you. And you Bangan said, go down to the other world and be named Tumongao and will become Bayani. You will reside on rocks, springs and trees. And if someone will destroy your abode you will have an alibi to bring them sickness for you to eat pig, rice and internal organs. If these are your offspring Bangan, you shall speak to the Bayani of Kiwas, of Kipkipan, of Dayag. If a minihydro will rise to supply current, the workers will not acquire illnesses because you are offered money, jar of rice wine, plates and mugs. If these are your children Bangan, you are one of those who will speak for them not to cause sickness to those who will work on this mountain and others who lives in Dayag.

Prayer for ‘Am-med’:

Dakayo ay (nagan di Am-med) umali kayo ta man-uukob kayo ay mangan. Ilaen yo nan (sakit ya nagan din ipogaw). Et naey di naiuto ay panganan yo. Adi kayo adi ung ungulan nan naisagana. Et nay abo di sigarilyo et nu bilang mankurang yan



Table 6. Sample prayer for ‘Am-med’ and ‘Bayani’ uttered by ‘mambunong’ before meal

KANKANA-EY LANGUAGE	ENGLISH TRANSLATION
<p><i>manlako kayo tan nay di pilak ay paran dakayo. Naey nan galey, bado ya udom ay gamit. Et yan sika abu ay asawa na yan makikan ka. Nay et man-ukob kayo ay sinasawa, yan nay ilan yo adi nan (sakit ya nagan din ipogaw). Ilan yo adi ta maitul tuloy na di plano na si biyag na. Tan nay ay-ayatena iman sika et iyaana sikas badom, galey, pilak ya udom ay gamit mo et ta tulungam adi sisya. Maiayag en dakayo nan manok, doy ay kaman metlang en busaang tan anggoy di bayad na. Et yan dakayo isa ay gagait na ay Ammed, ilan yo adi ta din siged di itulong yo en daida ay singkapamilya. Sik-a abe ay Diyos et bendisyonam nan makan ay nay ay naisagana tan din siged metlang di maidawat en daida.</i></p>	<p>(Name of the ‘Am-med’), come together and eat. Oversee this (illness and the name of the person). This is a food cooked for you. Please like these offering. There’s also a cigarette, if you want some more, you can buy on your own because there is a money for you. There is a blanket, t-shirt and other things for you. And you wife, eat with your husband. You eat together and please oversee (illness and the name of the person). Oversee them that they may continue their plans in life. She loved you very much that she offers you clothing, blanket, money and other materials you need. This chicken is for you. It is like a pig because of the high price. You with your company, please help them that they may succeed. And You, Lord, bless these food prepared that it will bring success to these people.</p>



Table 6 continued...

Prayer for *Bayani*:

Bayani ed Kip-kipan, Bayani ed Maningil, Bayani ed Dayag, Bayani kayu ay mapud Lanas, Bayani kayu ed Takbu, umali kayo, dakayoy maayagan sina ay masinop et mangan kayo. Tannay nauto nan busaang ay idawat dan dakayo et ila-en yo ta nu waday mai-amag sina adi yan adi kayo en pansaksakiten daida ya adi kayo en isisikin da ida tan nay idawtan dakayos panganan yo. Yan na-ey di pilak, galey ya kukuli, palato ya palata ay idawat da en dakayo. Yan nan ginanak mo abe ay Bangan ay manbe-ey ed Kiwas ay nay, Kipkipan, ya manbe-ey ed Dayag ay doy yan maayagan kayo ay mangan. Et yan esa ka kuma ay mankali en daida ta no waday mai-amag sina ay palanta yan et adi da mansaksakit. Adi kayo pansaksakitin da ida tan laton ay ma-awilan kayus pilak, kukuli ya palato asi nan tasa. Et nay ay maayagan kayo ay mangan sinan nauto ay naisagana en dakayo et laton adi ay adiyoy pansaksakiten to danan man-ubla to sin sina.

Bayani of Kip-kipan, Bayani of Maningil, Bayani of Dayag, Bayani from Lanas, Bayani of Takbu, you are thereby summoned to gather here to eat. For the pigs offered to you were already cooked. Come and may you oversee those who will work here that you will not let them encounter trouble and sickness for they give you these foods. Here are money bills, special blankets, plates and old coins for you. Bangan, your offspring residing in Kiwas, Kipkipan and Dayag, you are one called to come here and eat. Thus, you must speak to them that if something will be established here, do not let the workers ill. Don't let them acquire illnesses because you are offered money, jar out of clay, plates and mugs. Then, you are again summoned to gather here to eat these prepared foods and oversee to it that the workers here will not get sick.





Figure 2 . The ' mambunong ' offering the materials placed in a ' liga -o' to the 'Am -med'



Figure 3 . The set -up of materials for 'Bayani'



Figure 4 . The ' mambunong ' offering the drinks after the prayer



Figure 5 . The ' mambunong ' offering the drinks during his prayer



Figure 6 . The ' mambunong ' reading the bile of the sacrificial pig



Figure 7 . The ' mambunong ' praying for the food and offering drinks



Figure 8 . The ‘ mambunong ’ performing ‘ basabas/bugaw ’

Communicated Messages during Rituals

Bilario Aludos explained during an interview that the messages being communicated during the ritual depends on the situation or reason (discussed on the previous part of this study) of performing such.

He cited event like when an ‘Am-med’ is asking for something, the ‘mambunong’ will talk to ‘them’ informing that the ritual is being done to settle the problem by offering ‘something’ they asked for. On the other hand, if situation is sickness because of destroying nature, ‘Bayani’ is done to tell the unseen spirits that they are sorry for misbehaving and that they offer something for the good health and guidance. *Structure of prayers being communicated.* Likewise, the structure of prayers being communicated during the performance of ‘Am-med’ and ‘Bayani’ depends on the situation why the ritual is being done. This supports what Taray (2008) noted in her study that among Benguet people, they often articulate their aspirations for wealth, health and long life.

In an interview, Aludos said that as ‘mambunong’, they do not have a book to look on which messages will be invoked to the unseen spirits. He explained that when they received their role in the society as ‘mambunong’, they had also received at the same time the knowledge on how to perform this such as how to deliver the prayers. He added that this was just passed on to them by the past ‘mambunongs’ through dreams. He added that the unseen spirits sometimes guided them in terms of the words they utter and even the way they do things during the rituals.

On the other hand, Comila stated that the arrangement of these messages depends on their part as ‘mambunongs’. All of the key informants said that there is no exact arrangement of the messages they incorporate in their prayers as long as it contains the concerns of those individuals. These concerns were guidance and healing if the person is sick and forgiveness if they have hurt those unseen spirits. As long as they knew the situation, they just based the contents on that reasons.

Based on the observation of the researcher and in her interviews, when uttering the prayers, the ‘mambunong’ always specify the names of the family of the ‘Am-med’ and concerned individuals who called for the ‘Bayani’, specify the names of the unseen spirits which they call upon, and also the materials for offering. This is the same with the explanation of Basalong (2009) about her study conducted in Kapangan that the prayers of ‘mambunongs’ addressed to different spirits through chants or simply recitations contains the names of the host family or the patients. It also enumerates the offered materials, and recognizes the spirits whom the prayers are addressed to, and asks favors from those spirits.

Eslao, key informant, added that every ‘mambunong’ has their own technique on how to communicate with the unseen spirits.



It can be noted from these explanations that there is no arrangement for the messages as long as the message contains the concerns of the living individuals who requested the ritual.

To support these statements, the researcher gathered sample prayers of ‘Am-med’ and ‘Bayani’ for each of the situations (Table 7 and table 8). The sample prayers gathered are either prayed during the set-up of the materials or before the meal.



Table 7. Sample prayers for each situation of ‘Am-med’

SITUATIONS	KANKANA-EY LANGUAGE	ENGLISH TRANSLATION
1. When the ‘Am-med’ is asking for clothing and blankets as a replacement for ‘their’ decayed things.	<i>Sik-a ay (nagan din ‘Am-med’) naey di idawat dan sik-a ay busaang, galey, badbado ay pansukatam mu sana ay nadunot dasan usal mo. Et ilaem dana ta iyaam abu daida si swelti da, umanduan da ya bumaknangan da tan adi daka met linasoy. Tungpalen da din kinudaw mo et umidawat ka si pansigedan. Iyaam daida et iyaan dakayo abu et tumulong ka abu ta manswelti da, umando biyag ya bumaknang da.</i>	(Name of the ‘Am-med’), here is a pig, blankets, and clothing for your use if your things are already decayed. May you oversee the providers and give them luck, long life, and wealth because they didn’t ignore you. They followed your request and may you change it with success. You give them and help them to receive luck, long life and wealth and they will help you also.
2. They want to be moved from the place they were buried.	<i>Naey yan mu maasneng kas nan kadam yan gustom sidi, ialis daka mon adikan en pansaksakiten daida tan naey ay maialis ka. No din inbagam siyay tungpalen mi tan tumulong ka abu tan usaley ka ay kina-diyos mi abu ay emey ed sadi langit ay manulong en dakami. Et naey di insagana da ay panganan yo ta ilaem ata tultulungam daida ay manpakan si busaang ta nu mankudaw ka yan waday idawdawat mi.</i>	If you don’t want your position and place, that you like it to be moved, they will move you so don’t make them sick because they followed your wish. What you said will be followed and may you help us because you are one of the gods that will go above to guide and help us. Here are foods prepared for your consumption. May you help them feed healthy pigs so that if you will request next time, they will be able to provide it.



-
3. The ‘Am-med’ just requested for foods and drinks because they crave for it and they know that their children can provide it. *Et siya mu naey mankudaw kayo et ibingayan da dakayo. Esten yo kuma abu daida ta mabigbig kayo ta bumaknang da adi metlang ta waday ibingbingay da. Yan na-ey di naisagana ay panganan yo, naey din kudkudawen yo. Et il-ilan yo adi metlang din pansigedan da.* Because you have asked, they will give your request. May you guide them also for your credit; help them to have a good life so that they can still provide your requests. Here are foods prepared for you to eat, these are your request. Again, may you guide them for their success.
4. Executed just after their 40 days after burial. *Alaem amin ay (nagan din ammed) din badom, alaem amin ay gameng mo tan nay tinaynam dakami. Et es-estem nan lupot mo ta way pansuksukatam. Adi kan i-eewey tan alaen di gait mo ay ammed et ewed di badum, pilak mo, estem ay es-es-et isan be-ey mo. Nay di makan, mo waday gagait mo isa ay tinun-od mo, ayagam abu sisya ta makikan, ta say mo wada abu di am-ameyan da yan ayayagan daka.* (Name of the ‘Am-med’), you get all of your clothes and all your things because you have already left us. You take care of your clothing for your everyday use. Don’t misplace it because other ‘Am-meds’ may get it. Keep this clothing and money safe with you. Here are foods, if you have companions with you, call them to eat with you so that if their relatives will perform ‘Am-med’ for them, they will also call you.
5. ‘Laya’ and ‘Walsi’ which was executed just after the burial.
-



Dakami ay nabay-an, tan nay ma-walsian kami sinan danum ay indawat Apo Diyos, tadunen mi nan danum ay umando, bumaknang, danum ay adi kasukpot si tyagew ya duam. Danuman na am-in ay kalubolubong. Et sik-a adi ay (nagan di ammed) yan ilaem, adi kan man-id-idin tan naey iman met ay inam di am-in ay kukuam. Ewed kuma di an-anapem, et itulok mo ta mu nan tinaynam abu et sumiged da kuma.

We, who are left in this world, will be blessed with this water which comes from God, water that gives long life, wealth, and water that can't be disturbed during rainy season and can't be dried during summer. This water that gives life to the earth. On the other hand, (name of the 'Am-med'), you oversee them and don't be naughty because you got all your belongings. We hope that you will not demand 'something' and allow the people you left to live peacefully.



Table 8. Sample prayers for each situation of ‘Bayani’

SITUATIONS	KANKANA-EY LANGUAGE	ENGLISH TRANSLATION
1. ‘Bayani’ are pissed off because they are hurt.	<i>Bayani kayo sinan (nagan din lugar ay kadan da), umali kayo, adi kayo en pansaksakiten dakami tan nay manbayad kami. Naey di manok ay paltien ya maipakan en dakayo. Nay mangan kayo et pakawanen yo danan nansakit en dakayo. Tan sana od iman ay adi kayo maila et dakayo kuma di manlis lisi a tan adi kayo od maila. Yan mo waday nadadael sin beey yo, naey di pinggan ay ibayad mi, et naey ida di pilak ay sukat dadin nadadael. Ilako yo tasay masukatan san gameng yo ay nadadael.</i>	‘Bayani’ of (name of the place or the area), come and receive our payments. Please help in healing this illness. Here is a chicken to be butchered and cooked for you. Come and eat and may you forgive the people who hurt you. Because you can’t be seen, please have the initiative to give way because we can’t see you. If you have things destroyed, here are breakable plates and money to change it. This money will also serve as a payment, you can buy new things to change what was destroyed.



2. The people want to ask permission from the ‘Bayani’ to allow them in cultivating their ‘home’ or place. (For building a house)

Bayani kayo sinan (nagan din lugar ay kadan da), umali kayo, naey di idawat da ay gameng yo. Ta mu mayad kayo yan kumaan kayo sina ay banda tan naey di palato, galey ya pilak ay idawat dan dakayo. Mat-an kayo kuma sin baken en mabe-eyan. Emey kayo sin kakakaewan ta say adi kayo madistorbo tan mu sina-ey et dekorasyon da na et kumaan kayos na. Et nu nailaw-an ay wada di nasakitan sin damu ay panang-obla da ket ala pakawanen yo mo wada di nadadael si bunag yo, be-ey yo. Mo waday nadadael si palato, na-ey di sukat na. Kumaan kayo, mat-an kayo sin baken mabalin ay mabe-eyan ay dondontog ya bakras.

‘Bayani’ of (name of the place or area), come, we have prepared things for you. We are here to ask you to move into another place. This money, breakable plates, and blankets are for you. We ask you to move in the mountainous areas which have trees and mountain slopes so that you will not be disturbed because this place is for us to build our house. If you are hurt during the first cultivation of this land and we have destroyed your things, here are the replacements. We ask you again to move in areas where people cannot build house for you not to be disturbed.



Perceived Importance of „Am-med“ and „Bayani“

According to the respondents, one importance of performing these rituals is for health and longer life. Most of them were calling for „Am-med“ and „Bayani“ because of illnesses that cannot be identified by physicians. Some respondents testified that they have been saved from suffering those unidentified sickness.

As Aludos testified, *“wada di in-amag ko ay naisaa napu ed ospital yan adida maanapan di sakit na, et doy nanpai-amag da yan kaasina met nanbiyag”*(I have performed one case wherein a person who came from the hospital because they cannot identify his/her sickness asked me to perform the ritual and was given another year to

live).

In the interview, it also came out that since this was the tradition of their dead ancestors, they should follow and perform such for them to show their respect. Performing such gives them the fulfillment in life as the rituals are viewed as an honor and thanksgiving to their dead ancestors. Aglasi also said that „Am-med“ is being performed to pray for the souls of their dead ancestors to be with Him.

Balangcod believed that „Am-med“ is really guiding and helping her family. She said that because of doing the ritual, her daughter who did not pass the board exam became a permanent teacher, earlier than those who passed. *“Il-ilaek ket saken ay nanam amag si „Ammed“ ket nanam-ayak met, anggan nan adi nakaiskwela ay anak ko ket kaasi na ay baken marigrigat, pati din naiaw-awan ay anak ko ay nan-marijuana et naisardeng na met yan nan-skwela si vocational et way ubla na ed niman. Pati nan aapok ket nakaad-adal da met ida”*(as I can see, practicing „Am-med“ makes my life easy, even my child who did not finish high school did



not became so poor, including my son who used drugs before stopped and came back to his senses and finished a vocational course.

My grandchildren finished their education and got the job).

In „Bayani“, the performance shows that they believed in „their“ existence and that „they“ were being remembered as part of the society. All of the key informants and community respondents believed in the presence of unseen creatures. Thus, they said that these unseen creatures must not be neglected when hurt for „them“ to guide the people and not to make them sick. These unseen spirits were believed by the respondents to have been guiding and helping them in their daily life.

Moreover, they perform these rituals when they asked for bountiful harvest, guidance and success in life.

To some respondents who want to preserve the practice, difficulty of life is not a hindrance because the practice goes along with the costly materials nowadays (discussed in the changes). It is not that strict already. They cited one example wherein before,

„mambunongs“ cannot negotiate with the unseen spirits if they can’t provide the pig but now they can bargain a chicken instead for a cheaper cost.

To the key informants, they wanted (as much as possible) that these practices would be preserved for the next generation. Since these had been the tradition of ancestors before, it should be passed on to the succeeding generations to come, Aglasi added. She also firmly believed that this practice cannot be easily eradicated because this has been the root of their identity and culture.



Values Gained from „Am-med“ and „Bayani“

It was found out in the study that there were values being communicated in the practice of „Am-med“ and „Bayani“ as perceived by the respondents. The following were the gathered values based on the interviews conducted.

Strengthens family ties. All of the respondents noted that through performing these rituals, their family relationship and how they respect their ancestors are being strengthened. Balangcod shared that when she calls for an „Am-med“, she makes sure that her children including their families and relatives are present for them to receive the blessings, too.

She further explained that nowadays, they could perform „Am-med“ for their dead parents as siblings and not as individual. Palaksa, another community respondent, also stated that when he calls for the rituals, especially the „Am-med“, he always invites his children who are working away from the community to come home and together perform the ritual.

The community respondents claimed that through everyone’s presence, they were always having bond with the other relatives who had been away for so long, which for them was a way of strengthening their relationship.

Having high regards or honor to ancestors. This value is obviously gained from the ritual of „Am-med“, as explained by all of the respondents. Some respondents added that the memories of their beloved dead family members will always be special; thus, their purpose of doing such.

Since „Am-med“ is a ritual specifically for the spirits of dead ancestors, the prayers are mainly to them. The prayer contains their gratefulness for their guidance and asked for the continuous blessing from them.



Rita Aglasi, a community respondent, said that performing „Am-med“ is one way of showing their respect to their beloved parents and other relatives. She added that this ritual is one way of practicing the commandment number five which says, “honor your father and mother”.

This further strengthened the analysis of Taray (2008) that the persistence of ancestor reverence among Benguet people is due to the understanding that ancestors play a vital role in the fulfillment of their aspirations as individuals and as indigenous community.

Respect to elders. All of the respondents believed that through these rituals, elders are more seen by the youth as reputable and respectable because of their crucial role in the conduct of the said rituals. According to some community respondents, the community elders who were given the task to manage such rituals are often consulted for advice and suggestions. All of the respondents also noted that the community will not start the ritual without the go signal of the elders.

The five key informants also felt the high respect of the community to them especially that the community is really following the orders coming from them.

The above result supports the study of Nuval (2010), Camiling (2011) and Palcon (2012) that respect to elders is a common value gained from these kinds of rituals because of the role they assume during these events.

Cooperation and coordination in the community. During the performance of these rituals, the community is lending their hands to do their part in the preparation of the foods, this according to some respondents.

Aniban and Eslao shared that during these rituals, the people, either adult or teenagers can be seen helping and working voluntarily from preparation to restoration without someone telling them to do so.



This is the same with the result of Camiling (2012) that there is cooperation among farmers when performing „Denet“. She explained that the farmers who attended the ritual already know that they have tasks in the ritual like butchering and cooking the chicken.

Respect to malevolent spirits. When a person called for a „Bayani“ because of sickness caused by hurting „them“ physically and emotionally, the respect is shown. Aludos said that when people admit their mistakes and asked forgiveness from the „Bayani“, this means they are sorry for what they did. This showed that they believed in the existence of unseen spirits. As Palaksa said, “*tao tupay iman ket mansakit nemnem na nu mainsulto, kaman metlang iman a sinan adi kaila ay masaktan da metlang*” (persons get hurt when insulted, this unseen creatures are just the same to get hurt when insulted). *Respect to environment.*

Eslao said, “*gapo ta mamati da ay wada di Bayani, dadin udom et umugyat da ay kalege-legem si putputo si kaka-iw ya manrugit si ginawang ya udom ay kapuan di danum,*” (because they believed in the existence of „Bayani“, the people are careful and cannot easily cut trees and throw waste to rivers or any bodies of water). She added that because of this, a tree can be saved and the waters will be free from pollution.

This statement is supported by statement in the data of NCIP-Benguet which explained that the beliefs associated with supernatural beings have been helpful in the conservation of the forest as the people would think twice first before planning to engage in activities detrimental to the forest because of their fear in a divine punishment „inayan“ (wrongdoings).

Values of sharing. As what was explained in the previous discussion, this value can be seen when siblings are as one in providing materials needed for remembering their

„Am-meds“.



During the ritual, this was also seen when the community are gathered and eat together while sharing foods and having conversations. Also this can be observed after the ritual because the „mambunong“ and other community members are given meats which were left after the meal.

This is more convincing when Taray (2008) stated that the fruit of one’s labor are not only for personal satisfaction but also for the enjoyment of the community. She further explained that such sharing of blessing is seen in the ritual meal where the community of visible and invisible beings come together to nourish themselves. They believed that the more person shares her/his blessings to the community of the living and the dead, the more blessings will come into his/her household and to the community.

Changes in the Practice of „Ammed“ and „Bayani“

It was found out in the study that there were several changes in the practice of these rituals like the use of the word Diyos instead of „Kabunian“. However, as to the process, only the practice of „ngilin“ and performance of „tayaw“ and „sadong“ were the noted changes. In the materials there are some changes in the sacrificial animals and wine.

Sacrificial animals. Before, the sacrificial animals should be native only but now that there are commercial pigs and chickens, they can be used. But Aludos still considered the color of animals wherein the pig should still be black and not white specially when performing „Bayani“. On the other hand, A-at said that the color will still depend on the wish of the unseen spirits because in his experience, he had used white pig for „Bayani“ because it was „their“ demand.

It can be noted from here that the materials needed including the colors of sacrificial animals still depends on the wish of „Am-med“ and „Bayani“.



The key informants explained that the acceptability of using commercial animals was because few people nowadays are raising native animals such as pigs and chickens.

Wine. Nowadays, „tapey“ can now be substituted with any alcoholic drinks. Before, „tapey“ was the only drinks offered to unseen spirits. But key informants still claimed that even a 500 ml „tapey“ should still be present when performing „Bayani“ because this has been the traditional drinks for them.

Aludos said that nowadays, „tapey“ is seldom made because of scarcity and decreasing yield of rice. He explained that the harvest are just good for their family and cannot make enough for „tapey“.

Interpretation of the bile. Wallac, a key informant, said that nowadays „mambunongs“ can bargain with the unseen spirits when „they“ asked for another animals as what was interpreted in the bile. According to him, this mostly happens when the family who calls for the ritual is poor. He added though, that this is case to case basis depending on the situation why the ritual is performed.

According to A-at, when the „mambunong“ negotiate with unseen spirits of not providing the number of animals they wished, the amount of money offered is higher.

The „ngilin“ of the ritual „Am-med“. Some changes in the practice of „Am-med“ include the „ngilin“. „Ngilin“ according to the „mambunongs“ is the rest day of the family after the ritual. Before, the family of the „Am-med“ is strictly required to have some rest day for at least two to three days. But now, it is not that strict already because the „mambunong“ can now negotiate with the unseen spirits. Wallac said that they can tell the unseen spirits that the living individuals needed to work in order to earn money for living.



Performance of „taway“ and „sadong“. The „taway“ and „sadong“ may not be performed by the family especially when they do not have and did not borrow the musical materials needed for these cultural dances. „Mambunongs“ can talk to these unseen spirits and explain the reasons.

According to the key informants, these several changes were caused by the environmental factors wherein the practice should cope up in order to maintain its existence. *“Kasapulan abu ay makikali sin ammed ya bayani ta anusan da nan*

naisagana adi tan anngoy narigat met abu nan biyag ed niman”, (there is a need to talk to „Ammed“ and „Bayani“ that they will consider what was prepared for „them“ because life nowadays is hard) said Aludos.

Also, Sagayo and Balangcod, both community respondents said that one cause of the changes is the fact that children of the generation needed to have money for

Table 9. Changes in the materials needed and incidences in the process of „Am-med“ and „Bayani“

	BEFORE	PRESENT
Materials needed:		
Native chickens or pigs		Commercial chickens or pigs
„tapey“		Any alcoholic drinks
Incidences in the process:		



The representation of the bile was strictly followed

It is not followed strictly
„Ngilin“ may not be performed

„Ngilin“ in the ritual „Am-med“ was strictly followed

„Tayaw“ and „sadong“ must be performed when asked by the unseen spirits

It may not be performed

education. It is not like before that living individuals can provide those costly demand because they do not need to send their children to school to attain education.

Challenges Encountered in the Practice of „Am-med“ and „Bayani“

Proliferation of different spiritual beliefs. Majority of the key informants and respondents claimed that proliferation of modern spiritual beliefs is considered as one challenge in the practice of „Am-med“ and „Bayani“.

Aludos and Eslao stated that there were few spiritual beliefs or teachings that criticize and consider these rituals as “paganistic” activity that makes individuals who were already converted as Christians not to perform the practice anymore.

This was the same with the finding of Bag-ayan (2010) in her study that the introduction of Christianity made some of her respondents realize that there are no other gods but God alone.

On the other hand, Comila and Balangcod shared that reverend of some churches don’t criticize them but rather encourage them to continue their God given talent as „mambunongs“. They explained that those leaders of some churches believed that this practice should not be negatively critiqued because they have significance in the society. However, some of the residents in the



community are the one considering the practice as part of being a pagan, which sometimes discouraged someone who performs these rituals. *Lack of interest of the youth.* The respondents said that the young generations nowadays are not much interested or aware of the practice. One reason cited is when the students went to cities for education and doesn't want to go home and attend the ritual. A-at said that the young generation of today are not willing to observe and know the details about performing such rituals. They spend more of their times on the technologies such as computer and television.

These statements were supported by the findings of; Mang-osan (2012) stating that during the rituals, only few young people are observing when „bangil“ is being done; and Bag-ayan (2010) explaining that while older and middle-aged folks stay together and concern themselves about a certain preparation for a certain ceremony such as „pedad“, very few of the young people were present. They are found out to be busy watching telenobelas and/or music television.

Aludos also stated that this has been a threat to the practice and to them as „mambunong“. He doubted that when they will be gone, the next generation might not know how to perform these practices.

Economic aspect. Only few of the respondents consider the economic aspect as a challenge. This is because of the changes in the practice. They can ask the „mambunong“ to bargain with the unseen spirits especially when they just had a limited budget for the ritual. Since the practice is coping up with the modern environment, the respondents can still perform it. Besides, according to the key informants, the money offered to the unseen spirits is still used by the living individuals who called for the ritual. This is because of their belief that only the spirits of money were the one needed by the unseen creatures. Aglasi and Balangcod said that the expenses will be worth it because of the blessings and guidance of the unseen spirits which bring success in



their life. Furthermore, the key informants added that in this generation that the practice is not that strict, the expenses are lesser because the maximum number of sacrificial animals being butchered is only two.

These explanations above contradict the findings of Camiling (2012) and Bagayan (2010) that financial or economic aspect was one of the challenges in practicing rituals. In the study of Camiling (2012) every ritual requires sacrificial animals that require every farmer to raise chickens and is obliged to buy two native chickens if no animals raised animals and to buy liquor for the ritual. Also, during the ritual, if the meat is not enough for the number of farmers present, they need to butcher again another

chicken.

The same with the study of Bag-ayan (2010) citing Karao as one of the tribe possessing rich cultures but are neglecting some of their cultural practices and are selecting practiced because of financial requirements.



SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

Summary

The study was conducted in the Kankana-ey barangays of Kapangan, Benguet to determine the socio-demographic profiles of the respondents; identify the events and situations where „Am-med“ and „Bayani“ is usually done; describe how „Am-med“ and „Bayani“ is practiced in terms of: beliefs involved, materials needed, symbolisms of materials needed, processes involved, structure of prayers being communicated in the practice of „Am-med“ and „Bayani“. It also aimed to determine the values being communicated, discuss the changes and to identify the challenges faced by the community in practicing the rituals.

This study also aimed to produce a short video documentary to show the actual performance of the practice.

The researcher interviewed six „mambunongs“ who served as the key informants of the study. There were also nine community respondents who were purposively selected to give additional information and to give more credibility to the study. Personal interviews with the key informants and respondents were done to gather all the necessary information about the rituals.

In the study, it was found out that both Ibaloi and Kankana-ey people practice these rituals. The „Am-med“ is termed as „Kadaring“ in „Ibaloi“ and „Bayani“ is termed as „Tomongao“ in Ibaloi. These rituals were performed depending on the specific situations like to cure illnesses, ask for bountiful harvest, guidance, and permission to cultivate

„their“ territories.



During the performance of „Am-med“ and „Bayani“, the materials being prepared were different including the set-up for offering. On the other hand, there is no difference in the processes of both rituals.

Furthermore, the key informants and respondents claimed that there are values gained in the performance of these practices. The practice helps in strengthening family ties, enhancing cooperation among the residents and shows respect to the elders. Also, they explained that by performing these rituals, it shows honor to their ancestors. Moreover, it was found out that the practice is significant to their life because they are guided, blessed and helped by the unseen spirits to finish their education and reach success in life. These became the reason of most respondents on why they want to preserve the culture.

However, few respondents don't want to preserve the practice because it is sometimes costly. About the changes of the practice, there are several adjustments on the negotiations between the „mambunong“ and unseen spirits. There are also minimal changes on the materials used.

In the challenges encountered by the performers, the proliferation of modern religion came out to be one. Other challenges were the present generation who don't have much interest on the practice. This reason threatens the „mambunongs“ or elders that the practice will be buried with them and may not be able to reach the next generation.



Conclusion:

In this study, the researcher concludes that:

1. Just like any rituals, „Am-med“ and „Bayani“ are based on beliefs of groups of people that had been passed on from generation to generation that became part of their belief system. With this, strong belief on sacred being still exists in Kapangan, Benguet that became part of their thought and life ways.

2. „Am-med“ and „Bayani“, which refer to both the unseen spirits and the ritual itself, are being performed for several reasons identified in different ways through mediators such as the „mansip-ok“ or „mambunong“.

3. The messages communicated to the unseen spirits depend on the situation why these rituals are being conducted.

4. There are several values that can be gained from these practices that support several studies on ritual performances.

5. Several changes occurred in the practice based on the changing slope of the environment.

6. There were noted challenges in the practice of these rituals brought about by modernization and introduction of several spiritual beliefs.



Recommendations

Based on the finding and conclusions of the study, the researcher recommends the following:

1. More studies on „Am-med“ and „Bayani“ should be conducted to validate and strengthen the results of this study.

2. A study on „Kadaring“ and „Tinmongao“ should also be done for the comparison and contrast of these two rituals in the context of the Kankana-ey and Ibaloi people.

3. As recommended by Aludos, a compilation of „Am-med“ and „Bayani“ prayer should be done in order for it not to be forgotten.

4. A study also on the content analysis of the communicated messages through prayers should then be conducted to serve as the basis of the next generation to come.

5. As recommended by the respondents, these practices may still continue because of the many cultural values attached to it.

6. Sensitive considerations as to how outsiders and religion converted individuals regard these practices should be properly observed as these practices are still seen to be effective and respected by majority of the community members.



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