

BIBLIOGRAPHY

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ABSTRACT

The study aimed to describe the Bontoc 'tapis' or 'lufid' in terms of its physical appearance, how it is made and how it is used; to describe the different types of 'lufid'; to identify the figures in its design and to determine the meanings of these figures. Ten elderly women who have been weaving 'lufid' for years served as the key informants in the study. Aside from interviews, photos were also taken of different types of 'lufid'.

The 'lufid' is the native garment for Bontoc women. It is woven using the backstrap loom or the "pinagud". There are six types of 'lufid' in Bontoc: "Kulibang-bang", "Kinain", "Kinawaan", "Kinuwafaw", "Kinayaan", and the 'lufid' for the dead. Their names came from the designs woven in them. Design figures of the 'lufid' include star, butterfly, flowers, human, snake, lizard, eye, spear, and shield. These figures stand for light, beauty, courage, regeneration, long life, guidance and protection, which are the things that are asked for from Kabunian in prayers, hence, it is considered as a prayer in itself.

It is also concluded that information about the 'lufid' is threatened so a more in-depth study on the 'lufid' should be done to validate the results of this study. It is further recommended that information materials on the 'lufid' and its special attributes should be

prepared to help educate the people, especially the youth. There should be a school that will train the next generation how to weave so that the material culture will be preserved.



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INTRODUCTION

Rationale

The dawn of the new age sanctions the transformation of the way we live. The exponential growth of information has brought about technological advances. These technological advances inevitably cause several changes in the way we think and act, thereby discarding what are no longer needed and adopting new things to survive.

These changes however, should not totally preclude our identity and our roots, of which are heavily entrenched in our traditions, customs, arts, beliefs, and the like. Less civilized cultures are the basis of development for they give way to a better and more comfortable way of living. When you examine the history of the society, it is obvious that its culture has changed over time. Some of the shared behaviors, beliefs, and values that were common at one time are modified or replaced the next time. As Carol and Melvin Ember (2002) stated, “culture refers to the total way of life of any society, not simply to those parts of which the society regards as higher or more desirable, thus culture, when applied to our own way of life, has nothing to do with playing piano or reading”.

Mountain Province of Northern Luzon has a distinct culture of its own. It has its own assortment of traditional values, customs, beliefs and practices handed down from generation to generation. Some nuances of this culture however, have been totally forgotten, some are in the brink of extinction, and some are just starting to fade away.

The ‘tapis’, for one, is an aspect of the culture of Mountain Province which may soon lose its importance. Only a few of the old folks are wearing it and often times, only on special occasions. The younger generations may not even have an inkling on how this



piece was developed, its relevance to their heritage, and the meaning of the symbols woven into the fabric.

The garment is more popularly referred to with the term ‘tapis’ borrowed from the Ilocanos but it is called ‘lufid’ in Bontoc and ‘gabuy’ in other parts of Mountain Province. Considering that this study is on the Bontoc garment, it is henceforth referred to as ‘lufid’ in this study. ‘Lufid’ literally means “thread”.

The ‘lufid’ is worn by women. It is a native woven skirt which is wrapped around the waist and covers the waist down to the knees. This is held tight by a thick woven belt called ‘wakes’, about five inches wide, wrapped around the waist and the ends hanging at the back of the wearer.

The lack of information about the symbolical meaning of figures in the ‘lufid’ reduces their significance and implications. Researchers have done studies on Igorot Culture but rarely focused on the ‘lufid’, its history, meaning and importance.

This study would then be a means of advocating the use of ‘lufid’, understanding its meaning (particularly the symbols) and its importance to the lives of the Bontoc people, thereby preserving its value and place in the culture.

Statement of the Problem

This study endeavored to answer the following questions.

1. What is ‘lufid’ and how is it made and used?
2. What are the different types of ‘lufid’?
3. What are the designs and patterns woven into the ‘lufid’?
4. What are the meanings of the designs woven in to the ‘lufid’ ?



Objectives of the Study

The specific objectives of the study were:

1. To describe the 'lufid';
2. To determine the different types of 'lufid';
3. To describe the designs/patterns used in the 'lufid'; and,
4. To determine the meaning of the designs woven in the 'lufid'.

Importance of the Study

In understanding one society, it is important to also identify and understand the significance of material culture. More often than not, especially among indigenous peoples who are predominantly governed by oral traditions, material culture, like native garments, embodies some meaning and significance in the lives of the people and the community. Experts say that indigenous people's life ways are interrelated. This means that understanding their life ways, traditions and beliefs requires keen understanding of all the aspects of their lives -- from their culture, socio-political institutions, governance, economic activities, and to some extent, their symbols, artifacts or their material culture.

This study is a modest attempt to help the readers have a deeper understanding of the relevance and significance of the 'lufid' to the Bontoc culture. Furthermore, it tries to address common misconceptions in the use of the 'lufid' and the role it plays in the lives of the Bontoc people. It also draws attention to a closer look on the culture of the indigenous peoples of the Cordillera and hopefully, corrects misguided notions, and probably, discriminating acts committed towards the people concerned.

Results will also serve as documentation of a part of the Bontoc material culture.



Scope and Limitations

This study is qualitative and primarily used open-ended questions to gather information from key informants in Samoki, Bontoc. Some key informants who migrated from Can-oo, Bontoc but are now working in Baguio City have also been interviewed. The benefit of a quantitative analysis was not employed at all. It is also limited to the Bontoc 'tapis' or more accurately called 'lufid' in the locality.



REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Culture is the total way of living. In a sense, culture makes people intact, hence it gives the authority for an action to be practiced until it slowly changed and later habituated.

The thirst for knowledge particularly about the cultural heritage has become not only a necessity but also a fundamental factor in nation building. In the Cordillera, existing cultural heritage is mostly limited to oral transmission and such has yet to be documented, published and adopt as component for socio-economic development. The people of the Cordillera are called 'Igorots' a derivative of two words from the Spanish Era, 'golot' meaning 'mountains' and the prefix 'I' meaning 'people'... 'Igorot' literally means 'peoples of the mountains'. The peoples of the Cordillera however, prefer to identify themselves with the names of their tribes or groups.

To a large extent, the indigenous customs and traditions of the people of the Cordillera as a whole have persisted through the centuries, although there have been many changes and accommodations of non-indigenous practices especially in Town Centers. Among these many cultures and traditions of the Cordilleras is their cultural dress- the 'lufid'. These are integral to the community's way of life, which connects the material world to the spiritual world of the Cordillera.(Vanoberbergh, 1929)

Native Wear and Design

The art of weaving is a very old art indeed. It had its beginning even before history began, for man has been a weaver since he has been man and perhaps longer.



Some animals and birds use simple weaving methods (Wilson, n.d.)._Gagelonia (1946), weaving is so old that in fundamentals, it is the same in all parts of the world, so old that nothing really new has come to it for hundreds of years. In the Cordillera weaving is done by the women in a hand loom. The trade is not extensive as their clothing is limited.

The gossamer linens of ancient of Egypt, fine enough to be drawn through a fingering, are finer than anything we can weave today. Nothing more gorgeous than the old of the East will probably ever be woven.

The art of weaving was brought here many centuries ago, probably from India. The name for cotton, 'kapas', is of indo-Malaysian origin, as are also many of the methods and motifs. The natives here use the simple two-bar loom; where one bar is attached, per chance to a post under the house, and the other is held in front of the sitting weaver by a back strap. The woof is wound on a shuttle which is held apart by the rods Each time, the woman tamps the way down hard with a wooden batten, she changes the colors of the warp by altering rod or heddles.

The primitive designs used by the women in weaving cloth for clothing are the snake, frog, lizard, star, centipede, man and spear and shield. These are also designs used in tattooing the skin. And as Clifford Geertz popularized the idea that culture is like a literary text that can be analyzed for meaning, as the ethnographer interprets is (Ember & Ember, 2002).These patterns, explained (Cross, n.d.) in her interesting paper on the subject, are rooted deep in the forgotten past and represent the deepest fears and basic hopes of the people. They represent entities of great potency. Born of a primitive animism, common to most peoples, they represent a strong religious compulsion expressed in words of art. The woman feels that harm would come to them if they did not



represent the snake, frog and lizard in their weaving. These would be angry if left out. Basically these animals are considered to be 'anitos' who have taken that form. They are known to give omens, particularly of evil. If one crosses your path on a journey, appears or is heard during a 'Cañao', or other ceremony, it is a bad omen. A snake is a sign of good luck if it enters a house, but if seen going away, it takes the luck with it.

In the natives lore there are many stories and references to the snake, frog, lizard and centipede. Possibly the people brought them as part of their knowledge of weaving when they migrated to these mountains many centuries ago via southern Asia. In garments for the young, the frog is far ahead. The end comes when the snake is seen just in the act of about to engulf the frog. This is the pattern used on death blankets.

Thus the years and hopes and basic beliefs of the native are symbolized in the designs of their costumes.

Women's Costumes

According to Reid (1961), women clothe themselves in their best, brightly colored, intricately patterned, woven wrap-around skirts, secured at the waist by a woven waist band about 4-6 inches wide. This is tightly wound twice around the waist, and tied so that the 18 inch long strings from each meet at the center of the back and form a swaying tail when dancing. Blouses of cheap brightly colored cotton manufacture bought from Bontoc stores seem to be considered the ideal top covering. Women who normally do not wear a blouse of any description would never dance without some form of coverings. Older women shape themselves with their best woven blanket, passed under one arm and tied into a knot on the opposite shoulder.



He also stated that head dress is both colorful and varied. The bulk consists of the string upon string of beads, of many different kinds and manufacture. The head beads worn in normal everyday wear are all used. There are large white bead which, it is said, are made of shell, interspersed with strings of small red and red and white beads, made of a type of plastic, which can be bought cheaply in town. Added to these are the beads which are worn only on special occasions. These are the genuine stones which have been passed down through many generations, and are valued at hundreds of pesos per strand.

In addition, snake spine circlet, an important piece to any headdress, and one which takes a particular significance during child birth. To crown it all flowers maybe placed one on either side of the head – the common sunflower being often used or leaves of tobacco may be draped from the beads. A common tradition is a 6-inch piece of (*runo*) reed split to receive a piece of paper, or a bunch of peso bills, usually of the Japanese occupation currency variety.



METHODOLOGY

Locale and Time of the Study

The study was conducted in Bontoc, the capital of Mt. Province and in Baguio City where weavers from Bontoc are based. Bontoc is located at the heart of Mt. Province and is bounded on the north by Sadanga, northeast Tinglayan, Kalinga, east by Barlig, south by Banaue, Ifugao and Sabangan west by Sagada and northeast by Tubo, Abra. Bontoc can be reached by land transportation through the scenic Halsema Highway of the Mt. Trail or the Banaue-Bontoc Road or passing through the Tagudin-Cervantes road. Bontoc has sixteen barangays.

The sitios within two barangays of Bontoc are clustered along the national road and bounded by rice fields and mountain slopes. The place is chosen as the study area because of the unique practices and relatively intact traditions among family members. Bontoc also is one of the few places known not only for its beauty and peaceful environment but also for the rich culture that attract foreign attention.

The study was conducted from November 2006 - March 2007.

Respondents of the Study

Key informants of the study were selected on the basis of their expertise in the Bontoc 'lufid'. They are the following:

1. Five elderly women in Samoki, Bontoc who were engaged in weaving 'lufid' for sale and who were still wearing the garment;



2. Five elderly women who migrated from Can-ee, Bontoc and who were employed at the Easter Weaving Room. They used to weave 'lufid' back in Can-ee.

Data Collection

Key-informant interviews using guide questions were done by the researcher. Photos of the 'lufid' and the informants were taken. Details of the 'lufid' design were also noted.

The researcher personally asked the questions in an open-ended form to allow the informants to elaborate their answers. A tape recorder and digital camera were used to come up with a more reliable document.

Data Gathered

The data gathered were the physical features of the 'lufid', how it is made and used, the figures in the designs and their meanings.

Data Analysis

Since this is a descriptive study, data were simply consolidated, summarized and presented in narrative form. Differences and similarities were also noted and described.



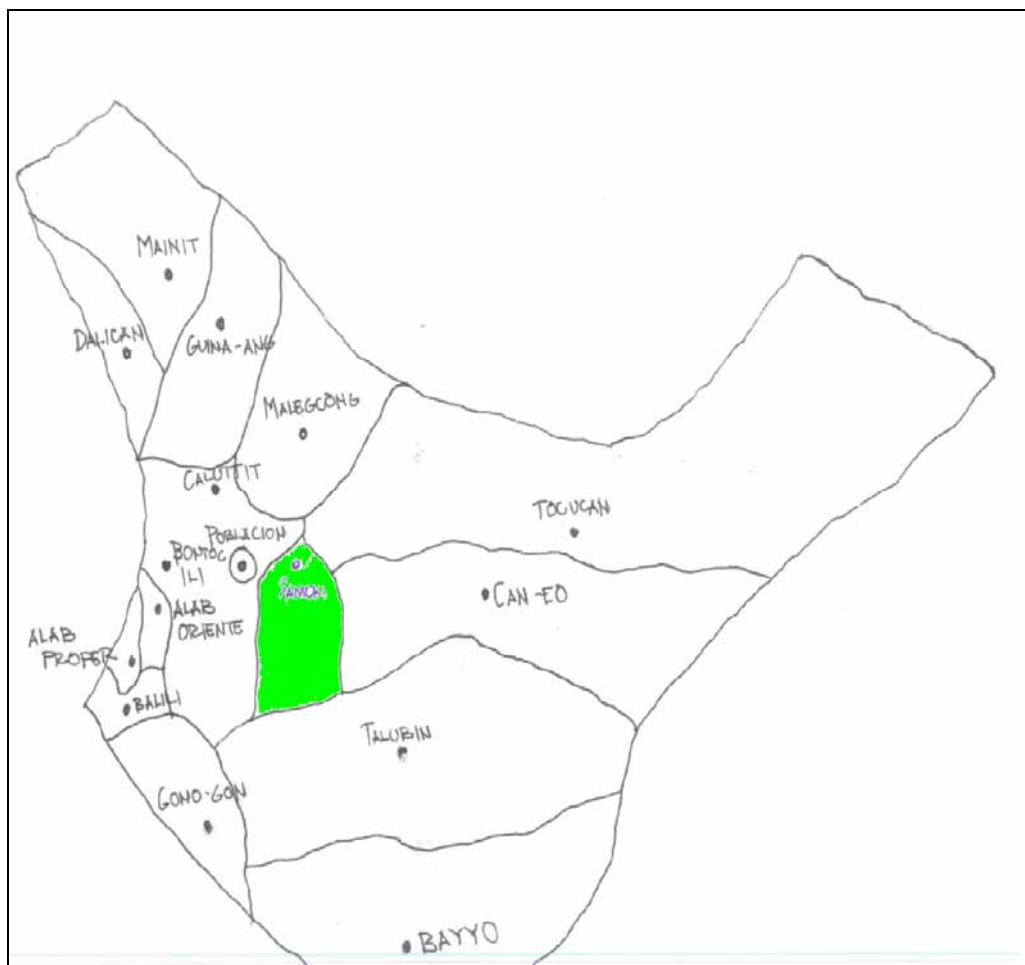


Figure 1. Map of Mountain Province showing the locale of the study



RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Description of the 'Lufid'

General description. The 'lufid', an intricately patterned woven cloth, is the native attire of the Bontoc women. It may just seem to be a piece of clothing primarily used to enclose the body. But it could be a reflection of the history of the Bontoc people's rituals, festivities, and lifestyles. Not one of the informants, however, was sure where the 'lufid' came from and when people started wearing it.

The 'lufid' is a rectangular garment consisting of colorful horizontal stripes with distinctive designs of varying shapes. Many also have white strips with designs in the middle that are easily distinguished from the other stripes. The dominant colors in the Bontoc 'lufid' are white, red, black and green although none of the informants could explain the choice of colors. These are seen in two of the more common types shown in Figures 2 and 3. The green one is popularly referred to as 'sinamoki' with reference to Samoki, the place where it is woven. In other parts of Mountain Province, it is called 'binontok' meaning it is 'of Bontoc'.

Its width ranges from 28 to 30 inches while its length varies from 40 up to 55 inches long. King size is 55 inches, regular is the 45 inches and small is the 40 inches long.

Legend. According to key informant Mary Waay, her great grandparents once told her of a story about the origin of 'lufid'. Long ago, there was a hardworking carabao. The carabao tirelessly worked in the fields, plowing and tilling the soil. One day, *Lumawig* (son of God, Kabunian) was watching how hard the carabao worked and





Figure 2. The dominantly red 'lufid' of Bontoc worn during special occasions



Figure 3. The dominantly green 'lufid' of Bontoc unique to the place is also worn during special occasions



realized that the carabao needed to rest. So He decided to turn him into a human being assigned to weave clothes for other people. Each part of his body was made into something that would help him weave. Like, the skin of the carabao became the 'tsakufan', the leather strap which supports the hips and the lower back of the weavers. The 'kuku' (hoof) of the carabao, became the "ipitan" or thread holder. The carabao's body parts were transformed into the different parts of the 'pinagud' (a machine used for weaving). The first product from the carabao's transformation was the 'lufid'.

How the 'lufid' is made. According to key informant Victoria, weavers use the back strap loom or what they call 'pinagud' to weave 'lufid'. The 'pinagud' is usually made by the 'lalakays' (old men) in the barrio and sold to the weavers. It is a set of sticks and some pieces of wood. Using the 'pinagud' is more tedious but the device is portable. It is usually set up under the house or even outdoors in the front yard.

The bigger size of 'pinagud' is two hundred fifty inches long while the smaller one is one hundred inches. This is used by tying one end to a sturdy beam underneath their houses and the other end is tied to the weaver's waist. All of the weavers in Samoki, Bontoc use the 'pinagud' to make 'lufid' (Figure 4- 5).

In the middle 80's, the 'tellar' was introduced and brought by the Ilocanos from Bangar, Ilocos Sur (Figure 6). The 'tellar' is a lot easier to use than the 'pinagud'. By using the 'pinagud', a weaver can finish one 'lufid' in six days but with the 'tellar', one 'lufid' is finished in four days only.

In using the 'tellar', the steps are as follows: 1) determine the set of your cloth, or how many threads per inch the fabric will be; 2) calculate the yarn requirements; 3) wind the yarn using a warping board or warping mill called 'gul-on' in the Bontoc





Figure 4. Weaving the 'lufid' using the back strap loom 'pinagud'



Figure 5. Weaving with the 'pinagud'





Figure 6. Weaving with 'tellar'



language; 4) remove the warped chains and place them on the “tellar”; 5) thread the heddles, following the design; 6) wind the warp onto the back beam; 7) tie the warp ends to the front beam; and 8) start weaving.

Only a few however use the ‘tellar’. Weavers from Bontoc who are now based in Baguio prefer to use the ‘tellar’. Their crafts are sold in stores in Bontoc and Baguio.

How the ‘Lufid’ is Used

There are different ways of wearing the ‘lufid’. Some users wear it in such a way that the navel may or may not be covered. In the case of pregnant women, the whole abdomen protrudes above the ‘lufid’.

Figure 8 shows how the ‘lufid’ is put on. Both upper corners of the ‘lufid’ are held one in each hand, keeping the cloth spread open at the back, about waist-high. The left hand corner is then pressed to the right hip. The right-hand is then pressed to the left hip tucking in the tip. To keep the ‘lufid’ in place and secured, the other tip is also tucked in.

Lola Fadtec stated that Bontoc girls usually do not wear the ‘lufid’ before they are seven or eight years old, however it is not extraordinary to see girls of eight, nine or even ten years old go bare naked. Sometimes they even wear a small blanket. In the absence of the two, women wear strips of dried banana leaf sewn to string and wrapped around the waist. When they work in the rice fields, or when it rains, they sometimes lift up the ‘lufid’ and tuck it in front of the girdle. Sometimes they take the two ends of the ‘lufid’ and pass it through their legs toward the back and tuck it at the back. However, they often take it off entirely, and wear nothing but a girdle with a piece of a banana leaf or some





Figure7.Steps on how to wrap the 'lufid'.



herbs, that would cover either the front part only or the front and the back part. Sometimes they do without even this miniature garment, and go bare-naked; however, they cover themselves at the approach of strangers.

Jenks (1904) stated that when things as part of performing practices and rituals are seen rarely in the community, it implies that the activity had changed or is not in practice anymore. On the other hand, if ancient belongings still exist in the present time in the eyes of the people, there is a great possibility that cultural practices of their ancestors still live. During earlier times the 'lufid' was being used everyday but now, only the old folks wear them. The younger generations only wear them during festivities or other occasions.

Types of 'Lufid'

The different types of 'lufid', as identified by the Bontoc weavers are 'Kulibangbang', 'Kinain', 'Kinuwafaw', 'Kinawaan', 'Kinayaan', and the 'lufid' for the dead. Table 1 presents the features of the different types of 'lufid'. The term for each type is usually based on the main features of the design.

Kulibangbang. 'Kulibangbang' is a native term for butterfly and this type of 'lufid' has several butterfly-like figures in the design. The dominant colors are red and black stripes, the design is in white, yellow, green and blue which are considered colors of a butterfly. This can be usually made in one to three days. This type of 'lufid' can be used by anybody. This is shown in Figure 8.



Table 1. Features of the different types of 'lufid'

TYPE OF TAPIS	DOMINANT COLORS	GENERAL DESCRIPTION
Kulibang-bang	Yellow, red or green, black	May be dominantly red or green. The butterfly-like design dominate the outer horizontal strips. The middle white and black strips are designed with some other figures and adorned on the sides with embroidered flowers. May be woven in 3 days.
Kinain	Red, black, green, yellow, white,	May be dominantly red or green. Its distinguishing feature is a big 'X' embroidered in the middle. May be woven in 3 days.
Khinawaan	Green, black, red, yellow, blue, white,	Dominantly green. Main feature is the middle ('khawa' in the Bontoc language) strip of black and white with embroidered adornments at the sides. May be woven in 3 days.
Kinayaan	Red, white, yellow, black	Simplest in design consisting of uniform horizontal lines throughout the garment – no distinct designs in the middle. May be woven in 1 day.
Kinuwafaw	Red, black, yellow, green	Dominantly red with black and white stripes in the middle with designs. Most intricate in design. May be woven in 4 days.
Tapis for the Dead	Black, blue, red, yellow, white	It is purely black in color with designs in both sides.





Figure 8. Picture of the 'Kulibang-bang'

'*Kinain*'. There are two kinds of 'kinain', the red and the green. Unfortunately, none of the informants had an example of the green 'kinain'. The design however is the same except for the colors. Interviewees were asked why they call it 'kinain' and they answered that the name 'kinain' was just passed from generation to generation and they really do not know the reason. The word 'Kinain' cannot be found in the Bontoc dialect except that it refers to a type of 'lufid'. The 'kinain' (red lufid) will be recognized with the big X design which is embroidered at the center. The same as the 'kulibang-bang', 'kinain' can be done in one to three days.





Figure 9. Picture of the '*Kinain*' (red)

'*Kinuwafaw*'. Being the most beautiful among the types, '*kinuwafaw*', is usually woven in 4 days. This type is where most of the symbols can be found, the lizard, the star and others. The most dominant color present here is red and black, with stripes of green, yellow and white. Majority of the weavers claimed that in most occasions, this is the main type that everybody use for this type since it is original than the '*kinain*'. There is also the letter X and diamond embroidery but a little bit smaller.





Figure 10. Picture of ‘Kinuwafaw’.

‘*Kinawaan*’. Fourth is the ‘*kinawaan*’, it is called such because most of its design is found in the middle which is purely embroidery. In Bontoc language, ‘*khawa/gawa*’ means middle.

‘*Kinayaan*’. Among all of the ‘*lufid*’, this is the simplest because it is purely made of horizontal colors of yellow, orange and black. This kind of ‘*lufid*’ can be woven



in one day. Sometimes they call it ‘sinangbituin’ (looks like a star) because most of its horizontal lines are designed with stars. They claimed that before, this kind of ‘lufid’ was for the poor. But now, even poor people will buy other kinds if they can afford to.



Figure 11. Picture of ‘Khinawaan’



Figure 12. Picture of the ‘Khinayaan’

A ‘lufid’ can be identified with the designs in the middle and/or in the stripes. There is a special type of ‘lufid’. This is the one designed for the dead. It is purely black with geometrical patterns in white, yellow and red. It is made simpler for it is believed that it’s just an accessory as the person is dead anyway. While still alive a person can request her relatives that she be buried wearing the ‘lufid’ or it will just be placed beside her coffin. Interviewee Julia stated that tradition dictates that women who already



reached the menopausal age are the ones to weave the 'lufid' for the dead people. However, Lola Victoria clarified that anyone who is willing to weave such kind of 'lufid' can do so.

In case, however that a 'lufid' is brought for or used by the weaver's relative or any young person, the weaver is no longer allowed to weave 'lufid' for the dead. She however can continue to weave other types of 'lufid'.

The 'lufid' for the dead people have two classifications. One is for the rich people and the other one is for the poor people. Victoria stated that if it has eight-nine 'mata-mata' (eye-liked) designed in both sides of the 'lufid' for the dead, it is for the rich, while if it only has six- seven eyes, it is for the poor.

The Bontoc people are like the Chinese, in that they prepare for their death. They buy the clothes and accessories they want to be adorned with when they die. 'Lufid' for dead are not supposed to be for public display. They are only brought out when someone intends to buy one in preparation for her death. This is even given to the buyer in a sealed package. The 'lufid' for the dead cannot be seen by anyone except the weaver and the intended user. If somebody else request to look at a sample or take a picture of the said 'lufid', there is a need to first butcher a 'besa-ang' (black piglet) to asked permission to the 'anitos' (Deities). The picture used for this study (Figure 13) a 'lufid' for a rich dead person was provided by the researcher's relative, primarily for the purpose of this study. And there was no need to butcher a pig.





Figure 13. Lufid for the rich dead person

As to the use of a belt, 'wakhes' in Bontoc language, Janet said that any kind of belt can be used for any kind of 'lufid' except only for the 'wakhes' of the dead. Bontoc 'wakhes' has two kinds, the 'kuspala' and the 'palasan'. 'Kuspala' is said to be the original belt.

It is made of mercerized fiber which is treated (cotton fabrics) with caustic soda or potash, so as to increase their colors. Its width is three inches and thirty two inches long. 'Palasan', which is the 'wakhes' most Bontoc women have now. It is normally white in color with a design of flower and made of cotton fiber, and measures eight inches in width and 32 inches long. As for the 'wakes' for the dead, it's just pure white with no design. The fiber is thicker, or 'slaser' in weavers language.





Figure 14. Picture of the Bontoc 'wakhes' (*Kuspala*)



Figure 15. Picture of the Bontoc 'wakhes' (*Palasan*)



Figure 16. Picture of the Bontoc 'wakhes' for the dead.



Designs/ Patterns and their Meanings

The different symbols that are found in 'lufid' are things that people commonly see in their environment. These figures or symbols according to Mary Maay, have significance to the Bontoc culture. However, most members of the community acknowledged the fact that they themselves do not know the significance of these symbols. Hence, a key informant who had more insights on the meaning of the symbols found in the 'lufid' was tapped.

Table 2 shows the different figures found in the different types of 'lufid'. The most common among the types of 'lufid' is the eye figure. It is found in four types, the 'khinain', 'khinain', 'khinawaan' and 'khinuwapaw'. Next is the human figure which is found in three types, the 'kulibangbang', 'khinain' and 'khinuwapaw'.

Table 2. Symbolic figures in the different types of 'lufid'

TYPE OF 'LUFID'	FIGURES
Kulibang-bang	butterfly, human, shield, flowers,
Khinain	X, human, eye,
Khinawaan	eye
Khinayaan	star
Khinuwafaw	human, lizard, star, eye, snake, shield,
Tapis for the Dead	eye



The 'khinuwafaw' has the most figures in its design: the human, lizard, star, eye, snake, and shield figures. It is also noted that three types of 'lufid' had only one figure: the 'khinawaan' with the eye figure, the 'khinayaan' with the star figure, and the 'lufid' for the dead with the eye figure. Only the 'kulibangbang' had flowers and butterflies.

The symbolic meaning of figures in the 'lufid' are presented in Table 3. Close-up pictures of the figures are also shown for easy reference. Some of the figures are easy to recognize but some needs a lot of imagination to see what the informants said they were supposed to represent.

The human and snake figures as presented in the table as easy enough to recognize as they are. On the contrary, the butterfly figure is not easily recognized. Some see it as a scorpion or a spider or a crab or even a snowflake. But the weavers see it as a butterfly, hence the name 'kulibangbang'.

According to the key informants, the human figure represents the Cordillera warrior which could actually stand for "courage" or "bravery". The star figure is not easily recognized but it symbolizes the light that brightens their path.

The lizard stands for long life supposedly because it grows back its tail when it loses it while the snake is for regeneration because it sheds its skin regularly. The lizard and snake figures are also seen in other material culture of Mountain Province like blankets and even wooden utensils like bowls and jars.

The butterfly and the flower figures are merely for aesthetic purposes. The shield and spear both stand for protection and the shield, guidance.

The symbolic meaning of the figures in the design are the very same things that are being solicited from Almighty Kabunian everytime a prayer is said.



Table 3. Symbolic meaning of figures in the 'lufid'


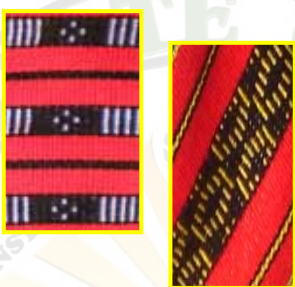




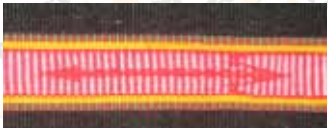

FIGURES	PICTURES	SYMBOLIC MEANING
Human		Representing a Cordillera warrior (bravery)
Star		Refers to light that will brighten their path
Lizard		Symbolizes long life
Snake		Meaning regeneration
Butterfly		For aesthetic value



Table 3. continued

FIGURES	PICTURES	SYMBOLIC MEANING
Shield		Protection
Spear		Protection
Eye		Guidance



SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Summary

The study aimed to describe the Bontoc 'tapis' or 'lufid' in terms of its physical appearance, how it is made and how it is used; to describe the different types of 'lufid'; to identify the figures in its design and to determine the meanings of these figures. Ten elderly women who have been weaving 'lufid' for years served as the key informants in the study. Aside from interviews, photos were also taken of different types of 'lufid'.

The study revealed that no one knows the origin of the 'lufid' except for a legend about its existence. The 'lufid' evolved from pieces of banana leaves/ bark used in the ancient times as protective covering. The device used to weave 'lufid' is the backstrap loom or the "pinagud". Another machine used is the 'tellar' which was introduced by the Ilocanos. There are six types of 'lufid' in Bontoc: "Kulibang-bang", "Kinain", "Kinawaan", "Kinuwafaw", "Kinayaan", and the 'lufid' for the dead. Their names came from the designs woven in them. Design figures of the 'lufid' include star, butterfly, flowers, human, snake, lizard, eye, warriors, spear, and shield. The most commonly used symbols are the human and eye-like figures. The 'kinuwafaw' has the most number of figures so it requires a longer period of weaving time.

These figures stand for light, beauty, courage, protection, guidance, long life, and regeneration.



Conclusions

The following conclusions are drawn from the study:

1. The 'lufid' and its place in the history and culture of the Bontoc people is being threatened because not even key informants knew the basic information about the native garment like its history and how the terms for it came about.
2. The figures symbolize things that are normally included in prayers. It can be concluded that in itself, the figures 'lufid' is also manifestations of a prayer. This explains why the native garments, 'lufid' included, are considered sacred.

Recommendations

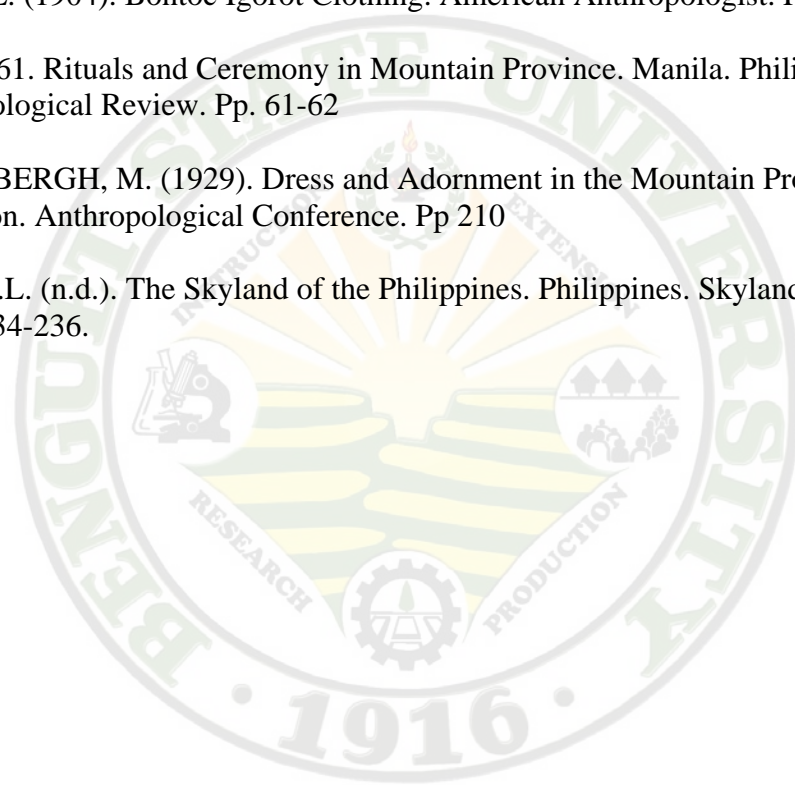
This study recommends the following:

1. A more in-depth study on the symbolic meaning of figures in the material culture should be carried out to validate the conclusions derived from the results of the study.
2. Information materials on the 'lufid' and its special attributes should be prepared to help educate the people, especially the youth.
3. There should be a school that will train the next generation how to weave so that the material culture will be preserved.



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APPENDICES

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Name:

Age:

Occupation:

Date:

1. What is the tapis?

- How is it used?

2. How did the tapis come about?

- How/When was it introduced?
- Is it indigenous in the area?

3. What are the materials used in making the tapis?

- How is it woven?
- Who does the weaving?

4. What are the different types of tapis

- What are the differences?
- When are they used?
- Why should use them?

5. What are the symbols and designs?

- What are the symbols?



- What are their traditional meanings?
- What are their contemporary meanings (if it has been changed)?
- * What caused these changes?
- What are the different designs with regards to the following:
 - Color
 - pattern
- What are the manifestations of the differences in the designs?

6. Have there been changes in the designs of the tapis?

- What are the old designs?
- What are the new designs?
- Who changed it? Why? (If there is)

