

Phase II Documentation of Philippine Traditional Knowledge and Practices on Health and Development of Traditional Knowledge Digital Library on Health for Selected Ethnolinguistic Groups: The ISNAG TRIBE of Katablangan, Conner, Apayao, Cordillera Administrative Region.

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2013

The Knowledge and Practices on Health of the Isnag tribe of Katablangan, Conner, Apayao

Ethnographic Findings

I. Community Profile

Geography and topography

Barangay Katablangan is a home for the Isnag tribe in the Municipality of Conner, province of Apayao in the Cordillera Administrative Region (CAR) of Northern Luzon. It is a community in the middle of the fertile hunting ground where almost all fruit bearing trees thrive. It is also the remotest village among the 21 barangays in the municipality. It has a total land area of 21,361.56 square meters where in the largest part of it is forest followed by the swidden farms and rice fields. Least portion of the land area is utilized for residential areas.

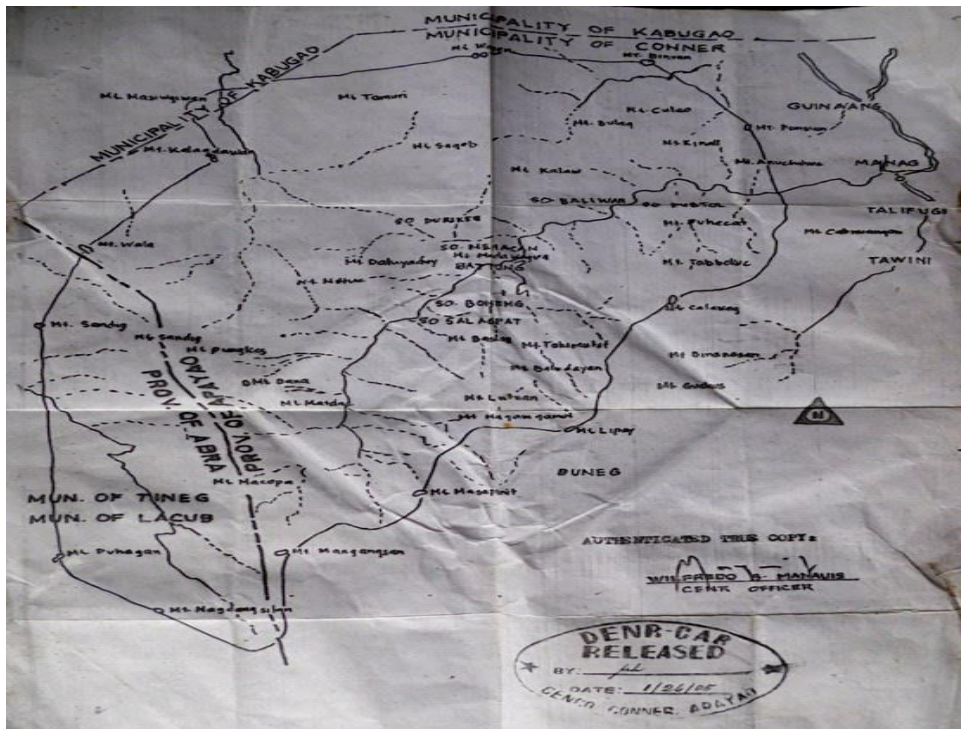
This village is found in the upper most portions of the rich Barren River and in the middle of abundant natural resources in the gentle mountains and rolling hills. According to their latest barangay profile, it has a total population of 692 and 236 households distributed in two large clusters which are further divided into six Sitios. One cluster is Upper Katablangan which is composed of Sitios Battung, Salagpat and Buneng. Another is Lower Katablangan composed of Sitios Puriked, Mehacan and Baliwan. Sitio Mehacan is considered the village center. There was one sitio called Pudtol but there are no inhabitants there today. What were left are farm huts and *talon*. From the center of the barangay, a person has to walk a maximum of one hour to reach the other sitios.



Rice fields and the rolling hills in Upper, Katablangan, Conner, Apayao

The village has rich bodies of water. It has tributary rivers that flow down to the Barren River. Most of these tributary rivers are potable and crystal clear. Along the rivers are rice paddies where half of the rice harvest of the Isnag comes from. Peoples in their neighbourhood are the Tingguians from the Municipalities of Lacub and Tineg; and the people of Kabugao from the municipality of Kabugao in the same province. The Isnags often meet the Tingguians from Barangay Talipugo of Lacub because they are passing through the village whenever they travel to Manag to purchase their household supply. Travelling to Manag, Conner is easier for the Tingguians of Talipugo instead of going to their town center in Poblacion, Lacub, Abra. They said that travel time to Manag is lesser and the goods are relatively cheaper.

The noticeable in their map released by the Community Environment and Natural Resources Office (CENRO) is that all the boundaries of the village with other villages are mostly mountains. The community is then surrounded by several mountains namely Mt. Mansiwsivan, Mt. Binwan, Mt. Cabnuangan, Mt. Calawag, Mt. Dinanasan, Mt. Magapinit, Mt. Nadagdangsilan, Mt. Puhagan and many more. Like the other tribes in the region, they are maintaining peaceful relations with their neighbouring tribes by not encroaching on each other's territory.



This picture of a map was taken a photo by the research team in Sitio Mehacan of the village. It is a map released by the CENRO and is in the care of Ely Bunagan, the president of the Señor Citizen. (right photo)

Access

In the community profile, the village is reached by a 25-kilometer foot trail from Barangay Manag of Conner, Apayao. Manag is 11-kilometer away from the Municipality's center in Caglayan. In the experience of the researchers, Caglayan is reached by a 17 hour-bus ride from Baguio City via Tabuk City; twelve hours from Baguio City to Tabuk City and a five hour bus ride from Tabuk. From Caglayan, the research team rode tricycle to be able to reach Barangay Manag – the take off for the hike to Katablangan. From Manag, a person has to spend five to seven hours of hike to finally reach the area.

There is a trip from Baguio City to Conner but it has only one trip daily that departs from Baguio to Conner at 5PM. This direct trip however is not regular, if they do not meet the minimum number of passengers for the day, they will cancel the trip. This trip costs PhP580 – PhP600 (US\$13.5 – US\$13.9) for one way. On the other hand, the trip via Kalinga costs PhP668 (US\$15.5); PhP518 (US\$12) from Baguio to Tabuk and PhP150 (US\$3.4) from Tabuk to Conner.

If a person takes the one and only trip that goes directly to Conner from Baguio at 5PM, he/she will reach the area by 4PM to 5PM the next day. This is considering that the said person did not rest in Manag. Meanwhile, if he/she takes the 6PM bus via Kalinga, he/she will reach Tabuk at 5AM or 6AM, ride the only trip to Conner from Tabuk at 6AM, arrives in the center of Conner at 12noon. Most people when they reach the town center at noon or late in the afternoon, they will hike to Katablagan the next day. Thus, it was what the research team did. The time in transit therefore is two days.



One of the portions of the foot trail to Katablagan, Conner, Apayao. It is s resting and drinking place. Beside the people in the picture is a spring to fetch water for drinking.

Population

As of the population survey made by Narcisa Bunagan, Barangay Health Worker (BHW) in 2012, the village has a total population of 692 with 391 males and 301 female. Below is a table showing the division of the population by age group and gender.

Age Group	Male	Female	Total
0-11 months	2	1	3
1-5 years	33	30	63
6-9 years	30	22	52
10-24 years	137	105	242
25-59 years	154	107	261
60 and above	35	36	71
TOTAL	391	301	692

Education

Education is very difficult in the village. Aside from Amalia Tecnga who had been teaching in Lower Katablangan Elementary School since 2008, almost all the teachers cannot endure to stay for long in the village. After several months or one school year, they leave the village. One of the reasons is the distance of Katablangan to the town center and another is they do not hail from the village. The community is hoping that someday, the teachers who will be deployed in their barangay will be come from their ranks for them to stay longer.

Amalia in an interview said that in 2008 when she first taught in the barangay, she handled grades 1-4 in two class rooms. It was very difficult for her but they cannot do anything about it. She explained that there is a quota of enrolled pupils for them to be able to request for another teacher. In 2009, they had a volunteer teacher who handled grades 3-4. That was a relief she said for her and finally in the same year, the Department of Education (Dep Ed) approved one item for a permanent teacher. Today, they already have two permanent teachers and one volunteer.

Amalia divulged that in order to complete the grades 1-6 in the school to accommodate pupils of grades 5-6 despite their very low number, they enrolled “ghost pupils” in order to pass the quota. This she said addressed the problem of a pupil having to leave the village to continue

studies in Talifugo or Manag at a very young age. The absence of the grades 5 and 6 also lead the other pupils to stop studying because they do not want to stay away from their families.

Livelihood

The Isnag tribe in the village is living by farming. In the interviews, the elders said that there were no rice paddies before thus; they are cultivating *koman* (swidden farms) where they plant rice and various kinds of vegetables and legumes. Today however, they were able to build *talon* (rice paddies) where they are planting rice. According to the elders who participated in the documentation process, the presence of *talon* has enabled them to have another source of livelihood. From depending only to the produce from their *koman*, they now have two main source of livelihood. A family farms sparingly in the *koman* and in the *talon* to be able to live.

Aside from their harvest in their *koman* and *talon*, the Isnags of Katablangan are into hog raising; *laga* (weaving) handicrafts like *teppeng* (vase), *begao* (basket), and *lagba* (winnowing) out of rattan and bamboo; hunting wild animals and gathering rattan and bamboo in the forest; gathering fresh water creatures from their *uweg* (rivers); and entering into per day wage system in carpentry, *koman* cultivation including weeding and others.

The community describes their production as “stomach progress”. This is because of the difficulty of transporting their produce to neighbouring villages. If a family do not have a horse, they use their backs to carry their goods to Manag (a village where they purchase household goods). Therefore, the community stores their rice and other harvest for their consumption. In order to buy basic commodities like salt, sugar, oil, gas, soap and clothing, they go out of the community and enter into per day wage in Manag or in other villages of Conner that are near the town center.

Some families have *Sari-sari stores*. These families are usually the ones who own horses for transporting goods from Manag to Katablangan. Purchasing goods takes place in one or two days depending on the strength of a person. A healthy and young Isnag can travel by back and forth in just one day. However, for many, they spend two days. They depart from Katablangan before the sun is up and reach Manag at around 11AM. They spend the rest of the day buying goods and resting. The next day, they hike with their horses up to Katablangan.

During the fieldwork, the research team was surprised that despite the difficulty in the transportation, the prices of goods are not sky rocketing. The community explained that if they will increase the prices of goods, the villagers cannot afford.

During *sinag* (dry season), Ely Bunagan, chairman of the senior citizens said, it was the time for hunting *laman* (wild pig), *ugsa* (deer) and others.

Also, summer is the right time to gather fresh water fish like *palileng* in their rivers. Perfecta Calanggat added that then and now, the Isnags of Katablangan are gathering various kinds of fresh water creatures in their *uweg* like *akonit*, *amleng*, *dayap*, and *agama*.

Domesticated animals

One of their source of cash raising domesticated animals like pigs, chicken, dogs and buffalo. They sell the pigs and chickens during emergencies like having to pay the tuition of children and health emergencies. Dogs and buffalo on the other hand are raised to serve as their help in the farms and in hunting.

Fruits

Fruits like *bagat* (banana), *apaya* (papaya), and *pinya* (pineapple) are endemic in the area. Those who have means of transportation are selling *bagat* in Manag. To most of them however, it is for “stomach progress”. One particular variety of *bagat* is use to feed the pigs.

Handicrafts

Other source of cash are handicrafts made out of rattan and bamboos. Men gather rattan and bamboos in the forest and women are in-charge of its *laga* (weaving). They are selling the *teppeng* (vase), *begao* (basket), and *lagba* (winnower) for PhP50-PhP250 (US\$1.19 – PhP5.95) depending on the quality, the material used, size and the kind of handicraft. Handicrafts made out of rattan are relatively expensive.

These handicrafts are sold to the members of the village who do not know how to weave. These are also carried down to Manag and displayed. However, the market is more difficult in in Manag because there are also women in the area who are weaving baskets, vases and winnower.

Another way for them to market their woven handicrafts is to sell it during town fiesta. All the barangays in the municipality are allotted one booth in the municipal ground in Caglayan where they display their products. This however entails hard work in presentation because of more competition.

Begao (baskets) woven by the women in Katablagan ready to be sold



Pordia

After planting, men and women move out of the village to look for per day wage while waiting for the harvest. Women look for jobs like weeding of farms, and other works in the farms and they are paid PhP100 (US\$2.38) per day. Men on the other hand are hired in the lowland for carpentry where they are paid PhP250 (US\$5.95) and above per day.

Small scale mining (SSM)

Some of the men in the village are engaged into small scale mining while waiting for the planting and harvest season in their farms. One area for SSM is in Mt. Patayao, a boundary of Kabugao and Katablagan.

The said area is a subject of their dispute with the people of Kabugao but it was resolved declaring that the area is owned by the Isnags of Katablangan.

One SSM area where men of Katablangan are doing mining is in Alawing. It is a private mine area in the territory of Manag. The land is owned by former Mayor Paul Delwasen. Private financiers enter into an agreement with the land owner to conduct SSM and the owner gets one share of the mined minerals. Today, it is not only the Isnags who are engaged in the area. Most of the financiers came from different provinces. Isnags of Katablangan who are doing SSM in the area are now tied with an agreement with the financiers. Thus, this activity is not already done while there is no work in the farms.

Those who have prioritized earning cash are now working in the said mine area. Those who are still depending on their harvest in their fields prefer to do SSM in Patayao.



A closer look at the Alawing mine site



Alawing mine site. A view from the foot trail bound for Katablangan.

Natural resources

1. Forest

Tracing the history of the Isnags of Katablangan, forest for them is not just a source of livelihood but a place of worship. In their barangay profile, it was stated that Isnags before the introduction of Christianity particularly the United Church of Christ in the Philippines (UCCP) were animists.

Aside from hunting wild animals in the forest, they are gathering various kinds of food at during their seasons. These are native Anibong shoots and *bugbog* (young stalks of rattan). It is in the forest where they are gathering materials for their houses like bamboo and woods.

More importantly, it is where they gather their medicinal plants. Some of their medicinal plants cannot be grown in the residential and farm areas. They can only be found in the forest. Even

during the community consultative assembly, they mentioned that most of the effective medicinal plants that are used by their elders before are in the forest.

Moreover, their ancestral land is also a home for mineral resources which they have defended from being usurped by foreign corporations. It was shared by the informants that in 2005, there are several foreign mining companies that have applied for mining operations within their domain. With the help of peoples organizations (POs) particularly the Save Apayao Peoples Organization (SAPO), the Isnags not only of Katablangan but including neighbouring villages united and successfully shooed the corporations away. They firmly said that if there are people who can extract the mineral resources, it is the Isnags of Katablangan.



The Anibong shoots gathered by Ernesto Bunagan during the fieldwork.



Bugbog (rattan young stalks) also gathered by Ernesto Bunagan.

2. Water

Katablangan is rich in water as it has still thick forest cover. The Barren River which is flowing from Kabugao down to Manag is the river that leads people to the village. From Manag, which is the take off for the hike to Katablangan, the people just head towards where the river comes from. Some of them even do gathering of fresh water resources while on their way to the community especially when they are already near the village. To reiterate, the Isnags are gathering *igat* (eel), edible frog, *palileng*, *amleg*, *agama* (crabs), *akonit*, and many others from their *uweg* (river).

In the hike up hill, people do not need to bring with them water for drinking because there are several potable springs in the foot trail. During the field work for the data gathering, the research team observed that there are five potable springs in the foot trail.

In the list of the National Commission on Indigenous Peoples (NCIP), the Isnags of Katablangan belong to the Isnag of the Barren Region of Conner, Apayao. This is because they are within the areas where the Barren River flows. Aside from the Barren River, Katablangan has various tributaries found in every Sitios.



The Barren River between Sitios Mehacan and Baliwan



Bamboo Bridge for crossing one of the tributaries of the Barren River along the foot trail connecting Sitios Mehacan and Puriked. During rainy seasons, this bridge is very useful especially for the elementary pupils because the school is in Mehacan. Often, this bridge is washed away by the strong current of the river during continuous rains. Every time that happens, the elementary pupils of Puriked cannot go to school.

3. Orchard

The village uses portions of the ancestral land for orchard where they are planting coffee, fruit trees namely, cacao, banana, pineapple, papaya, star apple, coconut and others.



Newly harvested coffee beans being dried under the sun.

Community Leaders

The recognized community leaders today are the elected barangay officers namely the Barangay Chairman and his councillors. The informants said that they are voted for by the community therefore, the people recognize that these people can lead them. Some of the leaders of the village Ely Bunagan said are the elders lead by the chairman of the organization of the elders.

During the *kalinga* (warrior society) however, where there was no government, Soriano Sibayan said that the recognized leaders are those who were brave; those who had been into head hunting. This he said was to ensure that the village is protected by enemies. Soriano recalled that there was this man named Gayawan “*Gayyaw*” who was very popular for his bravery in the *kalinga*. He was respected and recognized as leader of the community.

There was a community organization called *Saranay* before but it is already inactive. It was supposed to be strengthening their practice of helping one another during in the agricultural activities but because of the boom of SSM, some members are already into mining and starting to abandon their *koman* and *talon*. The ones leading this organization before were women.

There are organizations created by the government namely the Kalipunan ng Liping Pilipina (KALUPI) and the organization of the beneficiaries of the Conditional Cash Transfer (CCT) popularly known as Pantawid Pamilyang Pilipino Program (4Ps). These organizations however according to the informants are only active if there are activities at the municipal and provincial level.

Ethnolinguistic groups

Katablangan according to the informants is a land of the pure Isnags. There are other Isnags they said in Kabugao and other parts of Apayao province but they are the group that can be called *puro nga Isnag* (pure Isnag). Almost all the population belong to Isnag except from the *pakamang* (people who married in the village) from Tinguians, Kankana-ey, and Iloko.

Weather/Seasons

Like all the areas in the Cordillera region, the Isnags recognize two seasons which are the *Sinag* (dry) and *Amiyan* (rainy) seasons. Some of the weathers recognized by the Isnags of Katablangan are *tikag/ingge* or drought, *udan* or rain, *lennas/benben* or flood, *sal-it/kilat* or lightning and *addog* or thunder. Moreover, they call the day as *algew*, the night as *gabi*, and morning as *wah'nit*.

English	Filipino	Isnag Language
Sunny	Tag-araw	Sinag/Kalika
Drought	Tagtuyot	Tikag/Ingge
Rainy	Tag-ulan	Amiyan
Rain	Ulan	Udan
Rain shower	Ambon	Agam-ammise
Flood	Baha	Lennas/Benben

Lightning	Kidlat	Sal-it/Kilat
Thunder	Kulog	Addog
Day	Araw	Algew
Morning	Umaga	Wah'nit
Night	Gabi	Gabi

II. The People

Origin of the Isnag tribe of Katablangan

In their barangay profile, it said: “A glimpse on the original settlers of Katablangan shows that they came from the Municipality of Conner and others from the Province of Abra. In the early days the place was virgin forest and there were no inhabitants. However, due to the tradition practice of the tribes of hunting and search for wild plants for food, the area was discovered traditionally dominated the Eastern province of Kalinga and speak the Isnag dialect where their tribe’s name was derived.”

In the interviews with the elders, no one from them can tell how the Isnag of Katablangan came about. They said they have not heard stories from their ancestors of where they came from. Soriano Sibayan, 77 years old however recalled how the name Katablangan came about. When their ancestors discovered the area, the entire area particularly in Upper Katablangan is red due to the flowers of the *Tablang* tree. He even guessed that their ancestors may have discovered the place in summer. He explained that *Tablang* flowers usually bloom during February to May. Moreover, summer is the time when people move far from their villages in search for food. It is the time for hunting.

Soriano further recalled that the original settlers of Katablangan came from Kambabangan. However, as to where the location of Kambabangan, he do not have an idea. The place he said may be found in Kalinga, Abra or in Apayao.

The Barangay Profile corroborated what Soriano mentioned. It said *“The first settlers in what is now Katablangan in Apayao and Barangay Tineg in Abra came from Babangan, an area between Dagara, Kabugao and Tineg.*

These people built their houses along the Tineg river thus, they were called “Isneg/Isnag” from the Ilocano words IT-NEG meaning inhabitants of Tineg River.”

Their language is called *Isnag/Isneg*. Felisa Leguiab in a discussion said, the correct way to spell the name of the tribe and the language is *Isnag*. It is often spelled as *Isneg* because of the how the people of the tribe pronounce it. They pronounce it in a way that the letter “A” sounds like letter “E”. That also goes to Manag which is pronounced as “Maneg”.

They call their village as *babbalay* and their selves as *ibabbalay*. They consider their village as the origin of the Isnag tribe. They call the people from Kabugao, *Iyapayao*, people from Nabuangan, *Inabuangan*, but they call their selves, Isnag. Those from Kabugao and Nabuangan also belong to Isnag but they do not call themselves Isnags. On the other hand, they call the people from Katablangan, Isnags. Perfecta said they are different from that of the people from Abra, Kalinga, even those from Kabugao and other neighbouring villages. She iterated that they have distinct culture, tradition, language and even attitudes.

Names of mountains/places

In the course of the data gathering, there nobody from the Isnags of Katablangan can explain why the Sitios of their village were as such. Even in the barangay profile there was no mention about what were the origins of the names.

However, one mountain that they can remember how the name was derived is *Mt. Mansiwsivan*. It was where their ancestors *siwsiw* (prepare the rattan for weaving) the rattan on their way to *kayaw* (tribal war). This mountain is found near their boundary with the Municipality of Kabugao.

The typical Isnag

A typical Isnag according to the informants are brown in complexion. They said those who are not brown in color are not pure Isnag and if they are, they are not into farming. In their observation, there are no Isnags who bear a white complexion. When it comes to height, the tallest Isnag that Ely have seen is about 5’6” and the shortest is 5’2”. He said he have not seen an Isnag who is below five feet in height.

The typical Isnag teeth Ely added is like that of the IKalinga who have red and black teeth due to chewing betel nut. The stain he said from the betel nut is difficult to erase even if the person is regularly brushing his/her teeth. He observed however that their ancestors who were chewing betel nut have strong teeth. There were even old people who maintained their teeth until they die unlike today that their teeth are very prone to decay and tooth ache.

Their nose according to Silverio and Ely are pointed. Not all the Isnags however have pointed nose but it is the common feature of a nose for them. This was also observed by the research team during the fieldwork. Almost all of the Isnags of Katablangan have beautifully carved nose.

Soriano added that during the head hunting years, Isnags have well built body figure. He described the isnags as *natayag ken nabaked* (tall and firm). This is a requirement he said for the role that men were assuming then. Today, body built is varied. Those who are always in the field are usually the ones who are *nabaked*. Body built he said depends on the work that a person is assuming.



Isnag children of Katablangan, Conner, Apayao
(above photo)

Unforgettable Events

1. Japanese occupation

Among the informants, two of them said that they witnessed the Japanese occupation. Soriano Sibayan and Perfecta Calanggat said that she was 15 years old when the Japanese came to Katablangan during the war. Perfecta said they evacuated to the in the mountains to take refuge from the war taking place. The Japanese she said burned the houses in the village.

After a week, they were informed that the war was over and the Japanese surrendered. They then went back to the village and started anew. Soriano recalled that during the Japanese occupation, the head hunting was over.



Isnag men and women during the community consultative assembly in Katablangan, Conner, Apayao. (Above photo)

2. 1987-1988 *Bakwit*

The event in Katablangan that is still crystal clear in the memory of the villagers not only of the elders is the 1987 *Bakwit*. This particular event was the turning point of the village in terms of settlement. This was the battle between the New Peoples Army (NPA) and the government soldiers.

Soriano said he had no idea what was happening why that battle between the NPA and the soldiers happened. All the villagers evacuated to Manag and others in Malama. The battle took place for almost one month. He recounted how difficult for them to leave their farms and animals behind. They did not even have time to harvest their rice. Three of the civilians died during that the battle, two in Mehacan and one in Upper Katablangan.

Silverio Saboy, *mangkeddet* (traditional healer) recalled that during the evacuation, he and his wife were not able to carry any belongings down to Manag. All they brought along with them were their children. When they were already in Manag, they were called by the soldiers for interrogation. They were used to verify if the people that soldiers captured were members of the NPA. He cannot describe how they felt that time. His wife was traumatized so when the evacuation was over, she decided for their family to stay in Manag instead going back to Katablangan. Aside from trauma, it was easier he said to stay in Manag because they do not have to carry their supplies for several hours.

Moreover, Ernesto Bunagan said that before the battle, they were living peacefully even during the presence of the NPA. The guerrillas thought the Isnags many things. It only became bitter when the battle took place inside the community that has driven them away.

Ely Bunagan said that after the evacuation, half of the villagers did not want already to go back in Katablangan. The other half decided to go back and restore what they left in the village. Ely he said was one with those who went back and did not buy parcel of land in Manag. Most of them bought parcels of land mainly for residential purposes in Manag because land was cheaper that time. "*Idi tiempo ti bakwit, PhP150 lang ti per square meter. Maalam ti PhP3000 to 10x20,*" (During the evacuation, the price of the lot is PhP150 (US\$3.57) per square meter. You can buy a 10x20 lot at PhP3000 (US\$71.43)) Ely said.

Ely continued that even those who did not settle in Manag bought residential lots and built houses. These served as their halfway home. Today, almost all the residents of Katablangan have halfway house in Manag. If they go down to Manag, they can rest there for a night before going back. For others who are into *pordia*, their halfway houses serve as their homes for a month.

III. Economy

Agricultural cycle

Rice varieties

In their *koman*, Perfecta said that they were planting various kinds of upland rice that includes *inaba*, *day-usan*, *manamey*, and *ginitanan*. Today the only varieties left from what they were planting before are *inaba* and *day-usan*. Soriano Sibayan said that he remembers two rice varieties namely *Hanahan* and *Duwahagin*. Ely on the other hand said that the varieties that are popular today in the village are *Kabugao*, *Gobyerno*, *Bunuan*, *Cory* and *Taiwan*. These are named in the village according to where they came from except from *Cory* and *Gobyerno*. Ely assumed that it was named before the late Philippine President because it was introduced by the government during the time of President Corazon “Cory” Aquino. *Gobyerno* on the other hand was simply introduced by the government thus; it was named as such by the community.

Ely Bunagan added that upland rice is more aromatic than that the rice harvested from the *talon*.

Soriano Sibayan said that when he was younger, their family was only cultivating *koman* because there were no *talon* that time. Because of this, they had large swidden farms where they are harvesting two *bukel* which is equivalent to 2,000 rice bundles. This he said was more than enough for them in the period of one year. When people have already built rice paddies, the area for swidden farms lessened. He said that it was how the *isnags* protect their environment. They realized that they have look for another way to plant food so that they will not cultivate *koman* farther in the forest where the wild animals abode.

The table below explains the cycle of agricultural work in the swidden farm and rice paddies. In the *koman*, they are only planting varieties that are for one cropping only for the period of one year. Their *talon* however are harvested twice a year. Narcisa Bunagan mentioned that *koman* nowadays is only to augment the harvest from the *talon*. Those who have wide *talon* can survive even without cultivating *koman*. It is the reason she said that not all the households in the village are into swidden farming.

Agricultural Calendar for *koman* and *talon*

Months	Agricultural work	
	<i>Koman</i>	<i>Talon</i>
January	Clearing of another <i>koman</i> to plant vegetables for consumption like pechay, legumes, tomato, chili, sweet potato and others.	<i>Raep</i> (planting rice in the <i>talon</i>)
February	Preparation of the <i>koman</i>	<i>Sagawsaw</i> (Weeding in the rice paddies)
March	Harvest of the vegetables and legumes plantes in January	
April	Harvest of Vegetables and legumes Burning of grasses that were dried after the preparation of the <i>koman</i> . <i>Togno</i> – planting of upland rice in the swidden farms. They also plant <i>mait</i> (corn) and various legumes	
May	<i>Gait</i> – clearing of weeds which grow in the swidden farm	<i>Magani</i> (harvest of the 1 st crop in the <i>talon</i>)
June		<i>Bunubon</i> (sprouting of seeds)

		for planting)
July	Harvest of corn and legumes that can be harvested after three months from the planting	<i>Raep</i> (planting of the sprouted rice seed to the paddies)
August	<i>Magani</i> (harvest) of the upland rice	
September		<i>Magani</i> (Harvest) in the <i>talon</i> for the 2 nd cropping
October		
November		
December	<i>Agbayo</i> (pouding) of the harvested and dried rice	<i>Bunubon</i> (sprouting of rice seeds for planting)

Social stratification ladder

Some elders like Soriano said that the villagers of Katablangan have the same status in terms of properties and livelihood. Ely Bunagan on the other hand said otherwise. For him, there are three levels of the social stratification ladder in the village. These three levels are the following:

1. *Napipiya ti panagbiag* (Better life) – These are the families that have *talon*, *koman*, live stocks, and house. Their harvest is more than what they need and they do not need to buy food.
2. *Gumatang da ti kanen da* (They buy their food) – These are the families that need to buy food because their harvest cannot suffice for a year.

3. *Kaasi launay iti panagbiag* (pitiful life) – These are the families that can only afford to buy salt and they cannot produce their own food because they cannot work due to old age or illness. Worse Ely said is those whose children are out of the village because nobody would have time to help them when everybody is busy in their own fields. He added that there are several families in the village that belong to the third level of the ladder.



Anyone Ely further explained can go up or down the social stratification ladder. “*Mabaliwan a ta nu awan ti kabbalay mo ket nakapsot kan, saan ka nga makatrabaho. Saan ka makabirok ti kuwarta, bumabbaba kan. Malaksid nu kumpleto ti anak mo a mangtaraken kenka, mayat kuma diay,*” (It changes when you have no companion and you cannot work. You will not be able to earn so you go down the ladder. It is good if you have your children with you to help and take care of you).

Beliefs and practices in Agriculture

Saranay

During planting and harvest (*koman* and *talon*), they helping each other through their practice of the *Saranay*. In Kalinga, they call this practice *innabuyog*. It is an exchange of labour. If ten people went to a person's harvest, the said person with the help of his/her family members to fulfill all the obligations to each of the ten people.

Sanib

They do not have so much belief or ritual when it comes to planting and other agricultural activities but when it comes to harvest, their ancestors were very particular of the ritual called *sanib*. This is done mainly for the harvest to stay longer as possible and that it can last until the next harvest season. The Isnags believe that the rice grains have what they call, *kadkadwa* which will double the harvest. Today, the elders said, this is not already being observed. The lesser harvests in the *koman* and in the *talon* today are associated by the elders with the non observance of the ritual. They said, the *kadkadwa* of the rice grain went away that is why the harvest is meager. On the other hand, even though the harvest is good without practicing the ritual, the rice harvest will easily be consumed.

Meanwhile, Perfecta said that the Isnags of Katablangan then and now are planting for consumption. It is their belief that selling rice harvest is *kaniyew* (bad). If they will use it to trade for other basic goods, it is ok. The *kaniyew* she iterated is selling the rice harvest for cash if the family do not have enough supply from the harvest.

IV. Material Culture

Settlement Patterns

The houses in the village are clustered into six sitios. Like in Western Uma, Lubuagan, Kalinga, those who are in the same cluster belongs to one clan. Also, most of the *pakamang* (people who married in the area) from Abra are in Sitio Puriked. This is because Puriked is their entrance to the village and it is where they usually sleep for a night in transit to Abra every time they go down to purchase goods in Manag.

Sharing of resources is also observed in the clusters. According to Ely, they have a tradition called *Manawis*. This is a tradition of sharing what a person hunted. When a hunter comes home with *laman* or *ugsa*, he prepares it by *dawis* (____) and then divides it according to the

number of households in the cluster. During the first data gathering field work in January, the research team was able to taste a hunted *laman* and *ugsa* from the neighbour of the host family.

The problem however with their cluster is communication. If there are emergencies or community gatherings, they need to send somebody to inform every cluster. Buneng and Salagpat is on the other hand better because the houses are in one area.

House Materials

The common house materials prior to the coming of the cement and G.I. sheets are wood like *dalutan*, *adamey* and *narra*; bamboo for roofing and rattan for tying these materials. Ely explained that people before cannot afford to buy the commercial house materials which were available in Malama and Manag. However, since the Isnags of Katablangan were involved in *panagbalitok* (gold mining), there are now houses in the village made out of cement and G.I. sheets.

The problem he added is the hauling of these materials from Manag up to Katablangan. Some are hiring horses to haul the materials but a horse can only carry one sack of cement at a time. Therefore, it is noticeable that even today; the indigenous materials of houses persist like bamboo roofs and wood walls. This is due to the difficulty of having to carry materials for five to seven hours.

Isnag house architecture is described by William Henry Scott as boat like. It is different from other house architectures in the Cordillera region. In Scott's *Cordillera People and Architecture*, it said, "*The Isnag floor plan, in contrast to the square houses higher on the Cordillera, is conceived in an elongated form, the underpinning vaguely suggesting marine architecture to the layman, with girders sometimes exceeding 24 feet, thus doubling the longest timbers of the buildings of the Southern Strain*".



Moreover, it stated that aside from not being square in plan, its opposite ends are quite different from one another. The Isnags of Katablangan have a tradition called *Abon* where every person who knows something about carpentry volunteers to construct the 1st house to be built for a new family. Until today, Ely said the practice is persisting.

Traditional attires and ornaments

The Isnag of Katablangan like many other tribes in the Cordillera region wear their traditional attires during special occasions. Soriano said, the attire is called *sinalsalukot*. But he added that their ancestors were wearing softened tree barks as *g-string*.



The Isnag traditional attire is noticeable by its blue dominating color. The above displayed attires are woven by the Isnags of Kabugao. The Isnags of Katablangan according to Silverio are buying from the *iApayaos* of Kabugao. One pair of male and female attire cost them PhP500 (US\$11.90) per pair. They have similar design with the other villages in Apayao but others differ in color combinations. Some have dominant blue while others have a balance of red and blue.

On the other hand, the female traditional attire, *tapis* is useful in their harvest ritual. They *sabdo* (hang) the *tapis* beside the area where the newly harvested rice is to be placed. It is part of the *sanib* ritual. It is also believe to facilitate the labor process of a woman giving birth.

Staple food

Rice is the staple food of the Isnags of Katablangan. Their ancestors were only planting rice in their *koman* and gather viands in the forest or rivers. In the accounts from the elders in the village, they have not experience food crisis except during the 1987 *Bakwit* when they had to leave their village and their harvest for security purposes. Their rice harvest in their *koman* and in their *talon* sustains them for one year. Some small families have even more than enough.

Like most of the tribes in Kalinga and Apayao, Isnags are coffee drinkers. Only the babies are not drinking coffee. For some children, they even use the coffee as their viand especially when they do not like the viand served or there is no viand available.

They like their coffee to be drunk fast therefore, they prefer having their coffee served in a *sagu'* (bowl made out of coconut shell) so that the temperature goes down easily. Like the Uma tribe in Kalinga, coffee for them is strong and sweet. They cannot drink coffee without mixing sugar. Brewing coffee means brewing coffee and sugar. They put the coffee and sugar at the same time in the hot water. The taste they said is better than mixing sugar after the coffee is brewed. Moreover, coffee is always present in all community gatherings.

The tribe also have an interesting way of cooking their viand. They are cooking most of their gathered food from the forest and rivers in a bamboo. They call this way of cooking, *binasal*. They boil the gathered food like *anibong* shoots, *bugbog*, crabs, frogs and others and then put it inside the bamboo and heat it above the fire until it is cooked. They put the seasoning when the food is cooked. *Binasal* is usually stored longer inside the bamboo.

Meanwhile, the boom of gold mining is threatening their food production. People saw that gold mining is an easier source of cash. Some have made it their major economic activity instead of it being an alternative. Some have started to abandon their *koman* and decided to buy rice. Gold mining before is only for the community to have source of cash to buy basic commodities.

Food for special occasions

For special occasions, the usual food is native pork and rice. This requires a family to raise native pigs even just for special occasions and not for selling. Some who are not raising pigs buy or borrow from those who have.

They are also serving sticky rice with coconut especially during service for a *boda* (wedding) and *waksi* (one year death anniversary). Today, sticky rice and coconut is a staple food for any kind of service like house blessing, thanks giving and many more.

Aside from sticky rice, pork, and plain rice for occasions, the villagers are also brewing *basi* (sugar cane wine) especially for *bagungon* (wake) and *waksi* (one year death anniversary). A family usually starts brewing during the month of December. The *basi* is best when harvested after one year.

Today, because of the existence of gin, brewing is not already prioritized. Only a few families are still brewing. During wakes, this is one of the help given by relatives and neighbours to the bereaved family. If a family have available *basi*, they harvest it and bring it to the wake. Like the practice of *Saranay*, the bereaved family will also have to extend help to those who helped them when they need it.

The elders have a realization that *basi* is still better than gin. Petty crimes they said like shouting and creating chaos in a gathering was lesser when there was no gin and the only drink available was *basi*.





Phase II Documentation of Philippine Traditional Knowledge and Practices on Health and Development of Traditional Knowledge Digital Library on Health for Selected Ethnolinguistic Groups: The ISNAG TRIBE of Katablangan, Conner, Apayao, Cordillera Administrative Region.

V. The life cycle of Isnag and their corresponding beliefs and rituals

1. Childbirth

Pregnancy

In the Barangay Profile, it was mentioned that every Isnag family anticipates the coming of a child. Failure on the part of the married woman to get pregnant creates suspicions that something is wrong in the relationship. The people believe that eating *ananaan*, an herb growing on trees, facilitates pregnancy. A pregnant woman is discouraged from eating certain types of sugar cane and twin banana fruit. To ensure easy delivery, the Isnag carries along the *anglaka*, another kind of herb. Related of beliefs and practices are: visitors are not allowed to sit or stand on the ladder; rice ladles should never be left inside the rice pot. A pregnant Isnag continues her daily chores, including pounding of rice and working in the *koman*. In some cases, a woman gives birth in the *koman*.

Labor

During childbirth the woman may be attended by her female relatives. It is very rare that a male member of the family is allowed inside while the delivery is ongoing. In those rare cases, it is the husband alone who may be permitted to go inside the house. The woman is required to wear *tapis* when giving birth. When delivery is difficult, a midwife or the *mana-lon* is called upon to assist. To facilitate childbirth, the woman may be asked to kneel on the floor. A small fungus called *pulpulog* is placed on her body to help her. Narcisa Bunagan said that according to her experience they are asked to drink *denu* (coconut oil), also, they are made to drink water mixed with salt.

Narcisa added that when the woman is into long labor, they would hang a *tapis* in the door. It is a symbol she said that the person is into hard labor and that they are asking God to make the child birth easier for the woman. Also, they set the ladder of the house upside down. Right after giving birth, Isnag woman Narcisa added is made to drink a soup made out of snake's bile. This they believe helps regulate and cleanse the woman's blood. Afterwards, they drink hot water.

When the baby is out

When the baby comes out, the umbilical cord is cut with a sharp bamboo sliver. The navel is then rubbed with salt to hasten healing. The after birth is tied with ginger and some herbs and then placed in a coconut shell and buried. The placenta which they call *kadkadwa* is buried just beside the house particularly in the area where water drops from the roof. They believe that it

makes the baby healthy. Moreover, if the family wants the baby to grow intelligent, they burry his/her *kadkadwa* with a pencil and paper.

Other related practices according to the Barangay Profile include the following: the father puts some ashes and water inside the coconut shell and leaves this behind the door. Sometimes a pillow or coconut shredder is used. After the delivery, the windows of the room where the mother and newly born are kept close. The mother protects herself by sticking some herbs given by shaman. These herbs are stuck in her headband: she puts a piece of ginger at the back of her small knife which is also stuck in her head-hand. The ginger protects her from spirit *Tolomasin*. Four to five days after giving birth, the mother can go to the river. In some places, she may only after a month. She brings with her a few herbs including ginger and a handful of which are left in the river and the rest brought back home. These are placed at the foot of the house ladder.

Naming the baby

When one of the members of the tribe specially their relative dies on the day or several days before the baby is born, they name the baby before the said person. It is a way of respect to the dead person. Another way Narcisa said of naming the newborn child is to name them before their ancestors especially those ancestors who have done great things while when they were alive. They are also named before their brave ancestors like the renowned warriors. Even names of plants can be used as names for a baby.

Breastfeeding

The baby is normally breastfed. After giving birth, a mother cleans her breasts with warm water and clean towel or cloth before breast feeding the baby. This according to her avoids a situation where a woman faces difficulty in pumping out milk from the breast. Those who really have problems with breastfeeding are advised to cook papaya with coconut and drink the soup. This Narcisa added facilitates the production of milk.

For the women who really cannot pump milk from their breasts, they extract the juice of the sugar cane and give it to the baby to drink. This is especially in their situation where they can hardly buy formula milk and that they are very far from the town center. Narcisa said that in her whole life in Katablangan, she did not witness a baby being bottle fed unless the mother is dead. In order to facilitate the good condition of milk production, the mothers are compelled to eat food with soup. They are prohibited to eat any dry food for they believe that it will hinder good breastfeeding. The baby may be given cooked rice previously chewed by the mother.

Child minding and working

The Barangay Profile stated that as soon as the baby is strong, the parents take the baby to the relatives who are expected to give the baby small head bracelets. Later the baby is carried by the mother on her back with the blanket tied around her. The mother's hands are then free to work. There are also times when the parents have to do work which necessitates leaving the child alone. It is the advisable that a child be given name right after the birth to prevent any spirit from naming or owning the child. Anybody may suggest a name for the baby. When the child gets seriously ill, the name may be change. This, they believe would make the evil spirits forget the baby.

Weaning

Weaning takes place as soon as the infant is about the year old or when another baby is born. There is no definite period for weaning the child, but it is usually done within the first three years. In the case of Narcisa who have birth to 11 children, she has to wean every child before reaching the age of two because she was giving birth every year. What she did was to stay in Manag for three to five days. Her husband assumes the child minding. They usually buy a milk particularly condense milk with a popular brand, Liberty. Her husband mixes this with soft rice and water. She recalled that they weaned all their children once they are one year-old. Some mothers are rubbing chilli in their breast as a technique for weaning but she never did that.

2. Childhood

Isnag children have much freedom to go around and play in the village and in the surrounding stream and forest. However, they are expected to help their parents as soon as they are able. The older assumes child minding of their younger siblings and run errands for the elders. Strict discipline is enforced in the older children while the little ones are spared from punishment. Older boys and girls are expected to be courteous and obedient to conform to the behaviour patterns of the group. Punishment may be in the form of scoldings, advice or whipping.

Some of the chores that children assume starting from the age of six according to elder Ely are fetching water, washing dishes, child minding and cleaning the house and its surroundings. The easiest and the earliest chores for a child is fetching water and washing dishes. The said chores are mainly assumed by girls but if a family do not have a female child, then the boy assumes the tasks. Ely added that children are not yet advised to take part in cooking.

Narcisa mentioned that at the age of three, a child already knows how to take a bath by him/herself. To maintain a healthy body, they advise to take a bath regularly and keep their surroundings clean. If they do not obey, a punishment is done by scolding.

3. Adolescence

There are no special ceremonies or invitation rites to herald the entrance of boys and girls into the age of puberty. Girls are not made to observe any taboos and restrictions during menstrual period. Circumcision, otherwise, it is done by the boy himself or his friend upon reaching the age of ten or twelve. Adolescents tend to be conscious of themselves and therefore display certain peculiar behaviour or attitude. Some remain dependent on their parents or elders while others become easy going and carefree. They are free to mix, talk or socialize. Oftentimes, they go visits in groups from house to house, sometimes eat or sleep in friends' houses. But it is maintained that they share responsibilities at home with the family.

It is in this period Narcisa said that they take more responsibility in return, the adolescents are usually forgetting about their health. They are then prone to various kinds of ailments like urinary tract infection (UTI) because they often times forget to drink water and they enjoy eating with vinegar. Male adolescents are often victims of ulcer because they forget to eat and bring *baon* whenever they are in the field to work.

For the female adolescents who are having their menstruation, they are prone with the ailment called, *Siped* (menstrual cramps). This is attributed by Narcisa to the love of the adolescents to vinegar. This condiment she said hampers the smooth flow of blood causing menstrual cramps. Women are advised not to eat sour food in the course of their menstruation.

Women who are having their menstruation are prohibited to lead any agricultural activity particularly planting because they believe that it may lead to poor growth of the plant.

During adolescence, female and male are ashamed of having skin related illness specifically scabies and *buyuy* (boil). Also, whooping cough to them is shameful.

4. Courtship and Marriage

Contract Marriage

Among the Isnag, some marriages may be contracted. In this case, the parents of both parties negotiate and perform the necessary ceremonies preceding the actual; marriage normally comes when the girl and boy reach the age of fifteen or sixteen. Other parents arrange marriages even without consulting the children. However, such contracted marriage may be broken if and when one finds and another party to transact with in this case, the (*tadog*) bride price is returned to the boy's parents.

Courtship

For a girl to be attractive, she should have smooth and fair skin. Fair complexion, to most Isnags, is very much an asset. One is considered beautiful when she is fat or plump. Foremost however, of these criteria, is diligence and love for work, when the girl is *nalagpat* or diligent, she becomes attractive. Physical attributes take a minor importance. Flirts are often shunned and considered immodest. It is not important that the boy is handsome. It is preferable that he is brave and diligent too. What counts most, however, is his diligence. If he is diligent, then he becomes a *nataram* (handsome). There are many ways by which a boy attracts a girl's attention. He may play a musical instrument such as the nose flute or the jaw harp. He may also sing love songs. Interwoven with the song are sweet words supposed to move the girl.

Herbs called *kaddat* taken from the shaman or *mangkaddat* are used as love potions. The herb is ground and pulverized and then mixed with coconut oil and kept in a bottle. Once this come into contact with the girl's body, the girl is believe to fall for the boy. This called *Angngimud*. A new way to win the girl is by writing love letters. Night visits are often: when the boy is assured that he is accepted by the girl. At this time, he can sleep with her. Ceremonies are carried out when the boy informs his parents about the existing relationship.

The tribe Ely said has a rule that a person cannot court and marry his/her close relatives particularly until the 1st degree cousins. Ely mentioned that his spouse is his 2nd degree cousin. His case is recommended by the elders to strengthen the kinship. However, they are very strict about marrying cousins in the 1st degree.

Manadug (agreement on the bride price)

The initial ceremony is the *manadug* where in the boy's relatives get to the girl's house to ask for her hand. Three people who compose the *patugaw* party start for the girl's house the evening. An unmarried female relative of the boy brings a basket of native delicacies. Delicacies are usually made of *diket* cooked in coconut milk. After a few minutes, the delicacies are distributed among the girl's relatives. While the drinking *basi*, the girl's spokesman inquires about the purpose of the visit. Thus, begins the discussion where the boy's father enumerates several articles of the bride price or *tadug* to persuade the girl's parents and close relatives to consent to the marriage. The second person is an elderly man who brings of spears and clothes.

The third person is an elderly woman, but who should be a widow, who carries a string beads. If the suit is accepted the gifts are given and the *tadug* is agreed upon. *Basi* is served; a chicken may be butchered. However, if the families are poor, the feast may be dispensed with. The *tadug* usually consist of jars and beads which are valuable for the Isnags. Night visits of the boy continue until the day of the *boda* (wedding). The wedding ceremony or visit takes place as soon as both parties are prepared.

Ely explained that today, Ely explained that today, *tadug* is still practice but it changed as to the materials to be given to the parents of the bride. Instead of properties, jar and beads, the boy gives money at an amount not less than PHP3000 (US\$71.42). He added that it is not only the parents who are given gifts. If the girl has older siblings who are still single, the boy gives them gifts in cash because they have a belief that if a younger child in the family gets married earlier than the older, the latter will be experiencing difficulty in settling down.

***Boda* (Wedding)**

On the day of the wedding, the girl's relatives go to house, the women carrying native delicacies while the men bring along pigs. They all proceed to the boy's house. They are accompanied by a *manglakkat*; a young unmarried girl garbed in *tapis*. This is believed to facilitate childbirth later on. In the groom's house, the bride's relative wait outside while the bride is forbidden to enter until presents of jars and heads are presented, she enters and sits on the blanket spread on the floor. The bride's mother immediately pulls away the blanket. Pig, chickens and dogs are butchered. The feast lasts through the night. Gifts are exchanged; presents of beads and clothes are given by the boy's relatives and outsiders in exchange for the native cakes, baskets, and portions of meat brought by the girl's relatives. Gifts of spears, headbands and jars are offered by the boy's relatives and outsiders to the men of the girl's party. The usual cakes and portion of meat are given in return. The following day after the *boda*, the *tadug* is given to the girl's parents.

Polygamy and divorce are practiced by a few Isnags. A man may have two or three wives. There are various grounds in which divorce may be decided: adultery, habitual laziness. And lack of hospitality, where the woman does not show courtesy to guests and relatives, and therefore, shames the man. If the wives do not get along well with each other, the man separates the most troublesome one.

In divorce or *maxadi*, the woman returns to her parents. She brings along the younger children. If the husband is at fault, he is heavily fined; the *tadug* is not given back. If the woman is guilty everything is returned to the man.

However, in the experience of Ely and Narcisa, they have not witnessed any couple who separated because of problems. They said that if they cannot prove that a person is having an affair, they cannot separate because the woman has to pay the *tadug*. The *tadug* is hindering the problematic couples to divorce.

5. Property and inheritance

Husband and wife retain their own inheritance and individually acquired property. If the mother dies before all the children are married, the unmarried children inherit her property. If the father dies, his property is divided among the unmarried children with the smaller ones getting more since it is presumed that they are not yet able to support themselves. If both parents die, the children are taken care of by elder relatives. Widowers rarely remain unmarried. If a widow chooses not to marry, she may go and live with her relatives.

6. Death and burial

When someone else dies a member of the family goes around to notify relatives. Meanwhile, other members of the family perform rituals. In preparing the body, its clothes are removed and the body is washed and cleaned and garbed in the best clothes available. The garments are torn on one side of the pond Others put pieces of *libno* herbs inside the clothes. It is believed that on his way to the realm of the dead man will be waylaid by old woman.

Meanwhile, the eyes and mouth of the person are closed. The men prepare the *tadug* or the bamboo bier. This is brought inside the house and body laid on it. The dead man is given a pillow and nice blanket and his arms such as rice, wine, vegetables, dogs and chickens.

During the wake, friends and relatives come to the house of the deceased. Women, divide into groups, take turns lamenting. As a means of showing their grief the men play the *bisnag*. This is game of endurance wherein a man bares his thigh to be spanked by the others. People in the wake are served with food and *basi*. The bereaved family and relatives butcher pigs to feed mourners. At night, a few mourners remain awake to watch that no spirit can take the body away.

The surviving spouse stays in a certain required position until after the burial. The men build a make shift tent called *arobong* near the hearth. The tent consists of few boards and blanket for the cover. If the *arobong* is not used, the surviving spouse must cover himself with a blanket. If the bereaved is a male, he goes with a male relative to the river the day after the wife's death. A hole is bored near the river, when this fills up with eater. The widower dips his little finger into it. He must not bathe until the end of the mourning period. The ceremony is usually practiced only by brave men who are believed to be pursued by spirit. The wake lasts from two to three days except when they have to wait for relatives coming from far places.

The coffin is prepared by the men during the wake. This is usually made of roughly hewn boards, but in places where wood is scarce, bamboo staves are used. Pebbles are sometimes lined against the grave. During the funeral the coffin is brought to the grave.

Several objects are interred along with the body. Some of these are *tariyaw*, a Chinese dish or a cup filled with cooked rice; a container or water; viand wrapped in leaves, a head axe if the deceased is a man and *iko*, knife, if a woman, tobacco, betel nut chew, a bottle of basi, spears and shields.

For the wealthy, the following may be included: a strand of beads called *saxaban* which is worn around the head; a bead necklace and jar. Before the coffin is lowered to the grave, the latter is strewn with ashes of *langpa* leaves. This is believed to protect the dead from rain in the next world, since the *langpa* palm is used to make raincoats. The ashes are supposed to prevent the body from turning into *balangobang*, a ghost which will frighten the people. A few pieces of the *saklag*, vine is also added for the same purpose. The coffin is then lowered to the grave with strips of rattan. The lid is placed to cover the body. Several items may also be placed on the mound; cigar stumps and or a spear. These will prevent the spirits from eating the body.

A small shed with bamboo roofing is later erected over the grave. If burial is made beneath the house. Pebbles are arranged all around the grave. After the burial, the people position themselves in a place near the house and pelt it with stones in order to drive away the spirits who might rob the grave. A pig or dog is butchered by the relatives of the deceased. A coconut tree may also be cut down as part of his shaman. For three consecutive nights following the funeral an old women goes to the grave to build a fire and perform a dirge. It is also believed that the spirit *taxagon* guards the grave during these days. The surviving spouse wears white or black clothes as sign of mourning.

A white headband is also worn by the wife and mother of the deceased. A white head band is also worn by the wife and mother of the deceased. The mourning period may last for two months or a year, depending on the decision of the nearest relative. One month is more common. Several practices are also observed during this period. The house may be surrounded with a bamboo or wooden fence to warn strangers about the death of someone.

In other places, only the relatives of the deceased may enter the house. The surviving spouse and relatives do not eat rice or taro during mourning period. The taboo *maglo* prohibits the consumption of food preferred by the deceased. This practice is observed not only by relatives but also by other people close to the relatives. Activities engaged in by the deceased may not also be done. For instance, if the deceased used to be a good guitar player, the mourner stops playing the instrument until after the mourning period.

Another taboo involves the prohibition of fishing in an area near the settlement in which the person recently died. This is called *lapat*. Between the funeral and the *abobat* or the end of the mourning period, the surviving spouse must not visit the relatives of the deceased. The spouse and nearest relatives are allowed to go back to work few days after the funeral.

During the *abobat* ceremony in which pigs are butchered, the *maxinito* ritual is performed by the shaman. She is supposed by the spirit of the deceased who voice out his sentiments if there are any, through the shaman. If a dog is butchered, the *maxinito* is not performed.

During this time, the mourners change their mourning clothes. A male relative may also give the surviving spouse a complete set of new clothes and string of beads. By this time the widow is again free to be courted and may marry again if she desires. The Isnags believe that the *kaduduwa*, the soul of dead person crosses the pond and goes to the realm of the dead. The soul is carried by means of a ferry piloted by the spirit *kutaw*. The later refuses to immediately bring the soul across if is not garbed in new clothes torn in some parts.

The realm of the dead is known as *aglalanawan*, where the inhabitants perform the same activities they did on earth such as planting and harvesting. Sometimes, the *kaduduwa* is believed to return to the realm of the living to take a relative or talk to through the shaman.

For the villagers who are going home from a wake, they have to place a *runo* stick across the foot trail. This is done to ward off the spirits from the wake who wish to go with them. Usually, the last person in the queue is the one who puts the stick across.



VI. Socio Political

What makes a leader?

A community leader today Ely said is a person who is actively participating and leading community gatherings and activities. During *Saranay* and *Abon* a person who is considered a leader is the one on the lead. This he said is the quality of the person running for a position in the Barangay Local Government Unit (BLGU). It is also the characteristics of other leaders like elder leaders and youth leaders.

Also, a person is recognized a leader if he/she is a pure blooded Isnag. The people in Katablangan accepted that they have the tendency to disregard a person's leadership attitudes if he/she is *pakamang* or *mestizo/a* (half blood). This is also noticeable during the fieldwork where a barangay councillor who is a *pakamang* cannot decide on how the process of the research be conducted in their sitio. He said that he still has to consult with the elders who are really members of the tribe. He was uncomfortable that the tribe may say something bad about him deciding on matters that is a concern of the tribe. He may have been elected as a councillor but when it comes to matters relative to the tribe's culture and tradition, he said he is not credible.

Moreover, a half blood Isnag who also served as a barangay councillor is still not confident on sharing about Isnag culture and traditions because he might be ridiculed by members of the tribe telling him that he does not have the credibility to talk about those things because he is a *mestizo*.

On the other hand, Soriano in a separate interview said that a leader before should be a brave warrior. He mentioned three of the recognized and popular leaders before because of bravery. These persons were Gayew, Libak and Bitagong who participated in the *kalinga* (head hunt) during the *kinnayaw* (head hunting) years. He added that they were the ones who always survive a *kalinga* because they are good in battle. "*Natutured ken alisto da iti laban*" (They were very brave and swift in battle) he said. The Isnags before were following what these people says because they are respected.

Who has the power?

The power in the community belongs to the Barangay Chairman, a recognized elder leader and the Barangay LUPON. The tribe does not have any particular establishment or building of where the elders or the community discuss. When the community has to discuss and decide about something, the LUPON and other leaders in the tribe meet in the elementary school grounds in Sitio Mehacan.

The villagers have high regard to people who are successful in their own fields. The Begtang family who hails from the village are respected because they are successful in their studies, profession and politics. Even though the said family is not residing today in the village, they have the say in decision making. In this particular research project, the tribe had to consult with Vice Mayor Begtang for him to comment on the Memorandum of Agreement (MOA) between the community and UP Manila. The Barangay officials cannot even decide on their own after the community meeting where the villagers were in principle agreed for the research to be conducted. Some were even ready to share their knowledge even during the meeting.

On the other hand, politics in the village according to Narcisa had become a politics of money. She explained that regardless if a person is considered a leader or not if he/she does not have the resources for the election, it is useless. She further said that vote buying has radically changed the mindset of people regarding who holds the power in the community.

Tribal war and peace pact

Like many other tribes in the Northern Philippines, Isnags of Katablangan participated in tribal war or what they say, *kalinga*. *Kalinga* was defined by Soriano as an act of attacking another village's territory for reasons like conflicts on territorial boundaries. Also *kalinga* is use to avenge a member of the tribe killed or injured by another tribe. It is the law he said prior to the coming of the government systems. It is a method of meting out vengeance until justice is realized. They however are practicing bilateral *Bodong* (peace pacts) with neighbouring villages and tribes in Apayao, Abra and Kalinga. This peace system had sustained their peaceful relations to their neighbours for so long. The tribes to which they forged peace pacts with are considered as their brothers and sisters. Silverio said that *bodong* is very important if a person travels. He himself is a traveller and whenever he reaches the territory of their *kabodong* (tribes to which they forged peace pact), he is welcomed like member of said tribe. Until today he said, *bodong* is still essential because it unites not only one tribe but two different tribes. The head hunting days Silverio said was over but *bodong* should not perish as well because it is still useful.

VII. Relationship with the environment

The Isnags of Katablangan turned Christians long ago but they still possess beliefs showing their connection to their environment like the belief that every animal, plants and particular areas in the forest have spirits who are serving as stewards. Whenever these spirits felt violated, take avenged to the living by casting ailments that cannot be healed by any kind of Western medicine. Only the *mangkaddat* or the traditional healer has the capacity to diagnose and cure the ailment. The healing system mainly aims to appease the spirits and for them to bring the person back to health.

In the Barangay Profile, it is stated that long ago, the Isnags were animists. They do not believe in one Supreme Being but they believe in various spirits. Below is the list of spirits that they believe to exist. It is however important to note that these belief had been erased by the existence of Christian church.

1. *Bago* – the spirit inhabiting in the bush;
2. *Saparat* – formerly a young girl who got stuck in a rock in the river became a spirit;
3. *Siriman* – lives in the a cave by the river;
4. *Bilunlunan* – who has a shape of a Carabao and lives underwater between Bayag and Sabangan. He can also metamorphose into a dog;
5. *Balintwag* – a female spirit wearing a *tapis* and living in a poll in the river;
6. *Labay* – who resided in a banana tree in the river;
7. *Usat* – who resides on top of the Cordillera;
8. *Dirson* – who inhabits the source of Sinalingan river;

Other spirits with no definite habitation are:

1. *Naglalaneban* – who lives outside the world;
2. *Iwaxan* or *Wagan* – a male spirit who used to be mean but was frightened by a tattooed brave and therefore, never returned;
3. *Xiamaligan* – the sister of *Iwaxan* and who never ate anything;
4. *Hangit* – a group of spirits from the sky and who are believed to possess shama;
5. Several spirits are guarding the ladder leading to the sky world.

There are also spirits of peculiar shape like the *Lannup* who has a tall body and keeps the sun from shining. *Dalummayan* is a female spirit whose body melts like wax under the heat of the sun. Other spirits include *Batawag* who lives in the river and keeps on sneezing. The other spirit *Lidap* looks at the people with sorrowful eyes while *Busisikan* is a drunkard.

Other spirits are believed to have been mortal men but joined the Anito group. One group is the *Inagkawan*, the first men and therefore ancestors of the Isnags. These Anitos wear Isnag clothes and ornaments and even engage in similar activities like talking, quarrelling and headhunting. Some of the Anitos, however, look like more animals and the rest have human

forms. Another group is the *Balagnuban* or revived bodies of dead people which later on disintegrate.

Moreover, they still believe that their harvests have spirits and rituals of harvest like *sanib* should be performed in order for the said spirits not to leave. If these spirits leave, their harvest would be finish earlier than expected.

They also have high regard to their environment because it is the one giving them their medicinal plants. They have a belief that if a person go and purposely look for a medicinal plant, these plants would hide from the person. These medicinal plants they said will just show in time and when they are needed the most. The elders particularly the *mangkaddat* do not gather medicinal plant more than he/she needs.

Meanwhile, the villagers believe that the direction of the river affects how fast a person walks. In hiking up to Katablangan, Narcisa and Silverio said that it takes them longer hours than going down. Hiking up they said is more tiring because they have to go against the flow of the river. To them, they are struggling with the river while when they go down, the flow of the river facilitates their hike and it takes them lesser hours. At the same time, they feel less tired.

VIII. Leisure

Today, their rest hours are spent mainly by *magaamhang* (chatting) to neighbours and family. They also listen to radio and watch movies in the households who have portable DVD/VCD player and Solar power.

Electricity is not available in Lower Katablangan. Upper Katablangan on the other hand has a hydro-electric power plant that is supplying the two sitios namely Buneng and Salagpat with electricity at night time. The power plant was donated by one non-government organization (NGO) that is working on Community Based Renewable Energy Sources (CBRES). Families in the other sitios that are aspiring to have electricity will have to buy a solar panel. Their engagement to gold mining has facilitated only a few families to buy the said panel.

To those who have power source, they spend several hours of the night watching movies they bought in Manag. The researchers observed that the villagers are fond of watching action movies specially the Tagalog. Another most watched are the music videos of other ethnolinguistic groups in the Cordillera particularly the *Kankana-ey* of Benguet.

During special occasions and gatherings like *boda*, *bodong*, and *waksi*, people who are good at playing traditional instruments like *tulali* (nose flute), *battengo'* (bamboo instrument) and gongs are called to play. The villagers dance to the beat of gongs.

They also have several dances namely, *salip*, *talagente* and *pinadwes*. *Salip* Silverio said is the community danc; the *talagente* is also a community dance but only two gongs are played; *pinadwes* is a courtship dance which is slow in tempo. Two pairs of dancers can dance to the beat of gongs at the same time.

IX. Non government organizations (NGO)

There are non government organizations working in the area like the Save Apayao Peoples Organization (SAPO) that was very active in its education campaign on anti development aggression call. SAPO was having regular field work in the area when the issue of the mining applications of foreign corporations was strong. When they were able to stop the corporations from their application, it was only the members of the organization who are visiting the office of SAPO in Malama or updates and organizational matters.

The Sibol ng Agham at Teknolohiya (SIBAT) was also active in the area specifically in Upper Katablangan because it is the organization that facilitated the constructed of the hydro-electric power plant until its turn over to the community.

In the accounts of the villagers, there are several NGOs that worked in the area but for profit purposes only. One of these organizations is related to one of the churches in the village. They went to the community and take videos of their material culture, their dances and traditions and even shoot a short film within their territory. These activities were done they said without making them understand how they will use it. After the activities, they were informed that the video footages of their village were already used for several music videos and are available in the market. In the videos, they were only recognized as “Apayao folks”. The short film on the other hand is being circulated in the churches not only in the Philippines but even overseas without their consent.

This particular event led the community to doubt every organization going up the village. They became a little hostile to visitors today especially if these visitors are to conduct any kind of research. This situation has affected the pace of the research project.

X. Community Issues

Transportation

In the course of the data gathering field work, the number one need that the community was raising is the transportation. Their foot trail from Manag had been a subject for road construction long ago. However, the budget they said was corrupted. They even heard that the road is already declared even during the Martial Law as finish and the project that can be approved for the particular area is maintenance. Their difficulty in transportation affects all the basic social issues like health, education and economy.

Health

Up to this time, they are still into *Bullig* system when transporting a sick person to the town center. The village does not even have a clinic. They have several BHWs but they are complaining that no trainings were given to them. If a person feels that he/she is sick, he/she goes down to Manag before it gets worse. Others rely on the *mangkaddat*. On cases however of health emergencies like accidents, strokes and others, they have to carry the person as fast as they can to reach the nearest hospital.

Child birth can easily be managed in the community because they have skilful traditional midwives. Other women can even manage to give birth on their own. To note, there were no cases of mortality for women giving birth in the village. This is because during their pregnancy, they are advice by the traditional midwives and the elders of what to do in order to have a smooth labor. The government however is now prohibiting the delivery in homes. They require all women to deliver in hospitals and health centers. The major problem they said is the distance. Another is that they are not comfortable in giving birth to health centers, they prefer giving birth at home where they can perform positions that they are comfortable with that facilitates the birthing process.

Another problem that they voiced out relative to health is, they do not have a regular midwife visiting in their community.

Economy

The villagers wanted their road open in order for them to transport their goods for cash purposes. Some of them are producing more than enough for consumption and they want their other crops sold in the town center. This is to buy basic commodities and to support their children in going to higher education.



Phase II Documentation of Philippine Traditional Knowledge and Practices on Health and Development of Traditional Knowledge Digital Library on Health for Selected Ethnolinguistic Groups: The ISNAG TRIBE of Katablangan, Conner, Apayao, Cordillera Administrative Region.

HEALTH KNOWLEDGE AND PRACTICES

I. Concept of Health and Disease

Isnag in Katablangan have no local term for health. They believe that everything they do unto others has repercussions on their health and total well-being. If they hurt others, they may later become ill. If they caused or contributed to the cause of one's death, death is expected to come unto them.

Diseases they see common in teens are toothache, UTI, cough and ulcer. Common in women would be UTI because the women like vinegar. *Sipet* is a condition described as flu-like symptoms and headache experienced by women who are menstruating. This is believed to be caused by eating sour food and vinegar before and during menstruation. Common in men would be cough because they would forget to change clothes when it gets wet from sweat after working. Another common in men is ulcer because they skip meals. Diseases they consider shameful would be *buyuy* (boil), cough, and *hasa* (scabies).

Diseases common in elderly would be asthma, tuberculosis (TB) and anemia. Asthma and TB are believed to be caused by improper care for ones self. Anemia is said to be caused by lack of nutritious food in the diet of elderly.

II. Health-seeking Behavior

Isnag of Katablangan have to travel for hours by foot to reach the nearest health care facility and seek the help of health professionals. Health professionals travel to Katablangan from time to time to give specific services such as circumcision.

The people seek health advice from traditional healers. Traditional healing methods and the use of medicinal plants is applied.

III. Anatomy and Physiology

External body parts in English	External body parts in local language	Uses/relevance
Hair	Abu	It protects the brain
Ear	Talenga	Use for hearing
Forehead	Muging	Used when thinking
Face	Hupa	It differentiates a person from another person
Eyes	Mata	Used for seeing.
Nose	Igung	It is used for smelling
Mouth	Simu	It is used for eating, drinking
Teeth		It is used for chewing
Neck	Butlaw	Part of the body. One is not considered human without it.
Arms (upper and lower) and hands	Ima	It has many uses such as for working and eating.
Back	Likud	Part of the body. One is not considered human without it.
Breast	Susu	For breastfeeding.
Abdomen	Sinay	Where food goes.

Buttocks	Ubet	Where feces (<i>kawet</i>) goes
Waist	Siket	Part of the body. One is not considered human without it.
Thigh	Apel	Used when walking
Knees		Used when kneeling (when praying).
Leg	Butoy	Used when walking
Feet	Saka	Used when walking

Internal body parts in English	Internal body parts in local language	Uses
Brain	Utak	Used for thinking
Heart	Puso	This organ is responsible for loving a person.
Lungs	Bara	The informant does not know the use of lungs
Stomach	Sinay	Where the food when one is eating goes
Kidney	Kidney	Gives strength to the body.
Bones	Tulang	Without bones, one will not be able to walk.

IV. Knowledge and practices in pregnancy and childbirth

Pregnancy

A pregnant Isnag woman is allowed to eat all kinds of food. She is also allowed to travel to other places for as long as she can endure the hike or the trip.

The Isnags believe that when a woman gets pregnant she may experience a condition which they call *ag-inaw*. *Ag-inaw* refers to the condition where the pregnant woman likes or dislikes a certain food to much or she does not like the smell of certain food. The pregnant woman may also favor a certain person during the time when she is *ag-inaw*. It is expected of the husband to provide the needs of his wife during this stage.

Pregnancy outside marriage is shameful for the community. They blame the woman for not considering their family's reputation. At present, teens are the ones who usually get pregnant outside of marriage.

Childbirth

The traditional birth attendants or *partera* assist the women in giving birth. Being a *partera* is a voluntary job. At times, the woman or her husband would give money or goods to the *partera*. But most who could not afford, the *partera* would only be invited for a meal usually after childbirth.

To make childbirth easier, the *partera* would tie a cloth around the body of the woman just above the bulge in the abdomen. This would be pushed downward together with the *ubban* (a light blanket used for carrying the baby). The covers of cooking pots are also removed. Oil is very important in childbirth. The mother is asked to drink some of the oil to facilitate childbirth. During a long labor time, the *tapis* (traditional wrap around skirt for women) is hanged in the door. It is believed to shorten labor and facilitate childbirth. At times, saline solution is given to the mother who is laboring. Other methods to hasten childbirth and shorten labor time is to put the ladder upside down.

The placenta is buried. It is buried where the water flows during the rainy season that the child would be *tolobug*. To ensure that the child would be intelligent, paper and pencil is buried with it.

Breastfeeding and child rearing

The breast is cleaned using warm water and clean cloth before the first breastfeeding of the child. This is believed to facilitate the flow of breastmilk. Those who are believed to have less breastmilk are given soup from greated young papaya and coconut milk. In the past when the mother produces less breast milk, the juice of sugarcane is extracted and given to the child. soup may also be given. This is not being practiced at present.

Fried and other dry food should not be given to the mother. She should always be given soup.

Bottle feeding is not being practiced in Katablangan. It is only practiced when the mother died after childbirth.

The child's name has to be chosen from the names of their ancestors. When a grandparent or grand uncle/auntie dies (before, during or days after a child has been born), the child would be named after him/her.

To wean the child, chili or extract from bitter food is placed on the tip of the nipple of the breast. A child may be weaned when they reach the age of 1 year. But it is believed that a child should be breastfed until the child reaches the age of 2.

A child is taught hygiene when he/she reaches the age of 3. One of the first to be taught is bathing.

Postnatal care

After giving birth, a solution of water and dried bile of snake is drunk by the woman. This is believed to help in cleaning the blood from the woman's womb. After which, the woman is asked to drink warm water.

Abortion

Abortion is taboo in the community. They believe that when a woman commits abortion, she may get sick or even die. Narcisa Bunagan recalls a woman who resorted to abortion died. She said that parts of the fetus did not come out. This caused the death of the woman.

Family Planning

Birth control is culturally un-acceptable. Isnag in Katablangan believe that reproduction is important. The more offspring the couple would have, the lighter their work would be.

In 1987, family planning methods were introduced by the midwives assigned in the area. Though it is culturally unaccepted, some were convinced to use especially those who cannot afford to send their children to school and those who do not have enough to feed their children. Family planning methods introduced are pills and Intra-uterine device (IUD). The women who tried complain of nausea and vomiting after using pills. Those who tried IUD complained that it affects their work. They were precaution not to carry heavy loads.

V. Traditional Health Practices and Traditional Healers

Traditional healing practices

Tangali

Tangali is considered very powerful healing oil. This is composed of oil from the *Labbaga* coconut and certain plants. The plants are collected, dried and stored while waiting for the Holy week. It is believed that the *tangali* is most effective when prepared during the holy week.

The process of making the *tangali* is called *panagtubong*. The bottle where the *tangali* would be stored is made to stand on a metal. This may be a knife or machete. It is believed that the metal would make the *tangali* more effective. The plants are placed inside the bottle. Oil from the *labbaga* coconut is then placed filling the bottle.

Tangali is used for the cure of several diseases. It may also be used as a protection against any harm especially against witchcraft.

Ilot/Irot

Irot is a kind of massage used when a person had *bullo* (sprain) or *lipo* (dislocation). The *mangngilot/mangngirot* (healer particularly doing *ilot*) would use oil to *ilot* the part where *bullo* or *lipo* is. The usual oil used is coconut oil. The *mangngirot* says it is best that she sees the person with *bullo* or *lipo* as soon as the incident or accident causing it happened. She says it is hard to do *ilot* if the body part has *letteg* (inflammation). *Ilot* may take several sessions per week depending on the gravity of the *bullo* or *lipo*. The patients are advised not to use the hand or foot with injury until healing is complete.

The medicinal plant *mahatuba* is used as poultice in the injured part. The bark of the *mahatuba* is placed above the injured part and is secured in place with cloth. This is replaced during the next *ilot* session.

Use of medicinal plants

The Isnag of Katablangan has been using medicinal plants in treating diseases. They either use one plant for treating a disease or they use a combination. The latter is more usual. The healers combine several medicinal plants.

Traditional healers

Silverio Saboy

Silverio Saboy believes that healers are chosen. Healers should be good people. They should not choose who to heal. They should not turn down anyone asking for their help.

Silverio was born with a cellophane-like layer covering a part of his body. This is believed to be a lucky charm. At age 22, he was asked by his mother to gather some herbs. He gathered these herbs near the river. When he returned home, his mother showed him how to prepare the herbs and what are their uses.

People who need Silverio's services find their way to him in Manag, Conner, Apayao. He claims that people as far as from Cagayan, Isabela and Ifugao seek his healing powers. He claims that though they offer him money or goods, he does not take it as payment. He takes only part of what is being offered.

In healing, Silverio uses the *tangali*. He has a ready-made *tangali* which he uses in all kinds of illness. He either lets the person drink some of it or applies it in the body part which is affected by the illness. If he sees that his ready-made *tangali* would not be effective for the person seeking his help, he would prepare another for that person. He may also dream of the outcome of his healing. He claims that he feels if the person would be cured or if the person would die. He claims he has healed more than a thousand.

Silverio also assists women in giving birth. He claims that those he assisted gave birth easily.

Agwangan Guiawan

Agwangan Guiawan is 83 years old at present. He discovered his healing ability when he was 32 years old. At around 11:00 in the evening, he had a dream that the *anito* of the *ruot* (weeds) told him that he should go to the river and wait for the *anito*. He went to the river and sat on a big, high rock. After 2 minutes, the *anito* came. Weeds were in the *anito's* head. He listened as the *anito* told him that he could use the weeds to cure any illness. When Agwanga woke up, he completely remembers the weeds the *anito* told him. He then gathered the weeds and placed it in a bottle with oil making it into a *tangali*.

Agwanga has healed a lot of people. he started healing when he was 35. He heals all kinds of diseases such as headache and other body aches. He would just get a few drops of the *tangali* and spreads it over the affected body part. He also claims that he recognizes the diseases caused by *al-alya* (unseen beings). He says that this disease usually comes in form of headache or chest pains.

Filomena Ulin

Felomina Ulen is a *mangilot*. She discovered that she has the ability when she had a dream that someone was teaching her how to do *ilot*.

She is not asking for payment. She only receives what the injured person voluntarily gives to her.

Teresa Melan

Teresa Melan is a healer who can provide remedy for problems in the eye. She inherited her ability from her Aunt. She uses the head of a safety pin to fix the crumpled outer layer of the eyeball. These crumples are usually caused when a piece of wood would hit the eyeball. She says that for as long as the crumple did not reach the *tao-tao* (lens) of the eye. She slowly pushes the crumpled parts to the side of the eye until it disappears. It may take several sessions before the eye is fully healed.

Yulo Sagudang

Yulo Sagudang came from the province of Abra. He became a healer through his parents. His parents taught him which plant is to be used for certain illness. One of the plants he mentioned to be a powerful plant is *kaliwawoy*. This, according to him, can cure several diseases. He also mentioned that he got some of his knowledge on medicinal plants from members of the New People's Army who passed by their house in the 1970s and 80s. One of which he mentioned was the *dippig* (a variety of banana) which could be used to cure ulcer.

Medicinal Plants of the Isnag Tribe of Katablangan, Conner, Apayao



I. *Takong Buha'*

1. General Data

Use of plant	The red bulb of <i>takong buha'</i> is used by the Isnag of Katablangan to treat anemia; to cleanse internal organs; and for the people who just recovered from illness to complete the healing process.
Scientific name	
Local name	<i>Takong buha'</i>
Common name in Filipino	
Common foreign name	
Planting, gathering and storing (if applicable)	The herb is not endemic so the families in the area are planting it in their backyard for health emergencies. The herb in the picture above are uprooted in the backyard of Narcisa Bunagan and the other one is from the backyard of Traditional healer, Silverio Saboy
Part/s of the plant use	Bulb
Preparation, measurement of the part/s use	<p>For anemia and cleansing of internal organs, pound one bulb and boil it with 3 cups of water until the water drops to 2 cups.</p> <p>For the person who just recuperated from an illness, pound 2 to 3 bulbs of the <i>takong buha'</i>, boil it for its desired time for extracting its juice, then mix it with the water for bathing.</p>
Additional information	

Dosage	<p>For anemia and cleansing of internal organs, a person is advised by the traditional healer to drink three cups a day for severe cases. When the health normalizes, he/she may drink two to one cup a day for maintenance.</p> <p>For bathing to complete the healing process of a person who just recuperated from an illness, he/she baths with <i>tabong buha'</i> for three days.</p>
Negative effects and precaution	None
Additional information	
Informants	This is a common knowledge for the Isnags of Katablangan, Conner, Apayao but was shared by Silverio Saboy (<i>mangkaddat</i>) and Narcisa Bunagan (volunteer Barangay Health Worker)
Address of the informant	<p>Narcisa Bunagan: Katablangan, Conner, Apayao</p> <p>Silverio Saboy: Manag, Conner, Apayao</p>
Name of data collector	Alma Bocad Sinumlag and Dexter Gallawen
Date of collection	March 12-15, 2013

2. Herbarium Data

Scientific name	UNCOLLECTED
Local name	<i>Takong Buha'</i>
Field Number	
Herbarium Number	
Collector/s	
Collector Number	
Place of collection	
Common area where the plant live	This herb grows in backyards in soft soil.
Latitude	
Altitude above sea level	
Habitat	
Measurement	The fully grown <i>takong buha'</i> is up to 1.5 ft in height.
Flower	
Seeds	
Name of specimen collector	

Date of specimen collection	
Place of storage	
Data collector	
Date	

3. Ethnopharmacological indication data template

3a if medical indication

If there are medical uses	
What are the ailments it can heal	<p>It can heal anemia and clean the internal organs.</p> <p>It is also use to complete the healing process of a person who just recuperated to health to avoid <i>begnat</i></p>
Description of the ailment	<p>The community describe anemia as a lack of blood. A person is suffering from anemia if he/she is pale and often feels dizzy. The lips are white.</p> <p>For cleansing of internal organs, they are doing this if a person has Urinary tract infection (UTI), TB and other ailments of the internal organs.</p>
Cause of the ailment	Anemia they said is caused by not sleeping well, not eating vegetables that facilitates the production of red blood cells

	<p>like bitter gourd.</p> <p>UTI on the other hand is caused by not drinking enough water. TB they said can be inherited and can be caused by carrying of heavy loads.</p>
How is it diagnosed	N/A
Healing	For anemia and cleansing of internal organs: Pound one bulb of <i>takong buha'</i> , boil it with three cups of water until the amount of water goes down to two cups, drink two to three cups of the decoction daily until the condition normalizes. For maintenance, a person can drink one cup daily.
Name of data collector	Alma Sinumlag and Dexter Gallawen
Date	March 12-15, 2013

4. Informant data

4a Silverio Saboy

Name of informant	Silverio Saboy
Address	Manag, Conner, Apayao
Birth date	March 15, 1953
Age	60
Sex (Male or Female)	Male
Work	<i>Mangkaddat</i> (traditional healer) and a farmer
Type of informant	
Type of healing	
Extent of healing experience	28 years
History of the case handled	He can heal various types of ailments from fever, cough and colds to unexplained ailment which are believed to be caused by spirits and by <i>Dulsong</i> (Kulam). He has a lot of patients from the Isnag tribe of Conner to their neighboring municipalities of Apayao to other provinces like Kalinga, Abra, Isabela and Cagayan Valley.
Name of family members and their relationships (if the informant is a healer)	N/A
Date	March 12-15, 2013

4b Narcisa Bunagan

Name of informant	Narcisa Bunagan
Address	Katablangan, Conner, Apayao
Birth date	
Age	
Sex (Male or Female)	Female
Work	Volunteer Barangay Health Worker (BHW) and farmer
Type of informant	
Type of healing	
Extent of healing experience	She only applies what she learned from the traditional healers like Silverio Saboy and the late Lakay Sengal
History of the case handled	She applies the herbal medicine to herself and to her family.
Name of family members and their relationships (if the informant is a healer)	N/A
Date	March 12, 2013



II. *Dangla*

1. General Data

Use of plant	<p>The dangla leaves are boiled and drunk by a person suffering from fever, cough and flu.</p> <p>Like the <i>takong buha'</i>, <i>dangla</i> is also used to complete the healing process of a person who just recuperated from an illness.</p>
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Scientific name	Vitex Negundo
Local name	<i>Takong buha'</i>
Common name in Filipino	Lagundi
Common foreign name	
Planting, gathering and storing (if applicable)	The healers, some health workers and elders in Katablangan plant the <i>Dangla</i> tree in their backyards. This is not endemic in the area therefore, they have to plant it. They are using the leaves fresh except for some healers that dries the leaves and mix them with other herbs and coconut oil and stored in a bottle.
Part/s of the plant use	Leaves
Preparation, measurement of the part/s use	For fever, cough and flu, they boil enough leaves and the patient drink one cup of the decoction three times a day. For other members of the community, they are using it for <i>suub</i> (traditional way steam bath) for the patients of cough and colds and flu. To complete the healing process of a person who just recuperated to health, they do the <i>suub</i> or boil <i>dangla</i> leaves and mix the decoction in the water for his/her bath.
Additional information	
Dosage	For cough and colds, fever and flu, patients are recommended to drink three cups of the decoction once a day until health is restored. For <i>suub</i> , they can do it once a day until health is restored.

	Bathing is recommended for those who just recuperated for two to three days.
Negative effects and precaution	None
Additional information	
Informants	This is a common knowledge for the villagers of Katablangan, Conner, Apayao.
Address of the informant	
Name of data collector	Alma Bocad Sinumlag and Dexter Gallawen
Date of collection	March 12-15, 2013

2. Herbarium Data

Scientific name	UNCOLLECTED Vitex Negundo
Local name	<i>Dangla</i>
Field Number	
Herbarium Number	
Collector/s	
Collector Number	

Place of collection	
Common area where the plant live	This tree or shrub grows on backyards and anywhere that is not exposed directly to the sun.
Latitude	
Altitude above sea level	
Habitat	
Measurement	The fully grown <i>Dangla</i> is five to six meters in height.
Flower	
Seeds	
Name of specimen collector	
Date of specimen collection	
Place of storage	
Data collector	
Date	

3. Ethnopharmacological indication data template

3a if medical indication

If there are medical uses	
What are the ailments it can heal	It can heal fever cough and colds and flu. It is also used as a <i>suub</i> or bath to those who just recuperated to health.
Description of the ailment	Fever for the community is described as pain in the head, and rise of body temperature. Cough and colds is described as the difficulty in breathing because of the clogs in the nasal area, and whooping cough. Flu on the other hand is described as the pain all over the body especially in the joints with fever and even cough.
Cause of the ailment	<p>These illness according to the community particularly those who participated in the data gathering are caused by too much work, too much exposure to the heat of the sun, wind and cold.</p> <p>These kinds of illness may also be associated to spirits when it is not healed by the family by using herbs and some over the counter medicines. If this happens, they call the <i>mangkaddat</i> to examine the patient.</p>
How is it diagnosed	The traditional healer like the biomedical doctor talks to the patient to ask how he/she feels and about his/her past activities.
Healing	For fever, cough and flu, they boil enough leaves and the patient drink one cup of the decoction three times a day. For other members of the community, they are using it for <i>suub</i> (_____) for the patients of cough and colds and flu.

	<p>To complete the healing process of a person who just recuperated to health, they do the <i>suub</i> or boil <i>dangla</i> leaves and mix the decoction in the water for his/her bath.</p> <p>If the illness is caused by the unseen or the spirits, it is only the <i>mangkaddat</i> who has the capacity to heal. He/she also uses the same herbs but the <i>tangali</i> (mix herbs with oil stored in a bottle) is the thing that they believe heals a person who has been ill because of the spirits.</p>
Name of data collector	Alma Sinumlag and Dexter Gallawen
Date	March 12-15, 2013

4. Informant Data: Although the herb is a common knowledge to the Isnag tribe, we would like to acknowledge the traditional healer who shared the knowledge with the research team.

Name of informant	Silverio Saboy
Address	Manag, Conner, Apayao
Birth date	March 15, 1953
Age	60
Sex (Male or Female)	Male
Work	<i>Mangkaddat</i> (traditional healer) and a farmer
Type of informant	
Type of healing	
Extent of healing experience	28 years
History of the case handled	He can heal various types of ailments from fever, cough and colds to unexplained ailment which are believed to be caused by spirits and by <i>Dulsong</i> (Kulam). He has a lot of patients from the Isnag tribe of Conner to their neighboring municipalities of Apayao to other provinces like Kalinga, Abra, Isabela and Cagayan Valley.
Name of family members and their relationships (if the informant is a healer)	N/A
Date	March 12-15, 2013



III. *Lu'ney*

1. General Data

Use of plant	The leaves of the <i>Lu'ney</i> , <i>kataka-taka</i> in Tagalog are used by the villagers to heal <i>bullo</i> .
Scientific name	<i>Kalanchoe Pinnata</i>
Local name	<i>Lu'ney</i>
Common name in Filipino	Kataka-taka
Common foreign name	

Planting, gathering and storing (if applicable)	This is grown by the villagers in their back yard specifically in the stonewalls.
Part/s of the plant use	Leaves
Preparation, measurement of the part/s use	Pound sufficient leaves, mix it with coconut oil and apply as poultice over the <i>bullo</i> (____).
Additional information	
Dosage	It depends on the area affected.
Negative effects and precaution	None
Additional information	
Informants	This is a common knowledge for the Isnags of Katablangan, Conner, Apayao but was shared by Narcisa Bunagan (volunteer Barangay Health Worker)
Address of the informant	Narcisa Bunagan: Katablangan, Conner, Apayao
Name of data collector	Alma Bocad Sinumlag
Date of collection	January 25, 2013

2. Herbarium Data

Scientific name	UNCOLLECTED Kalanchoe Pinnata
Local name	<i>Lu'ney</i>
Field Number	
Herbarium Number	
Collector/s	
Collector Number	
Place of collection	
Common area where the plant live	This herb grows in backyards in soft soil and in the stonewalls
Latitude	
Altitude above sea level	
Habitat	
Measurement	The fully grown <i>Lu'ney</i> reaches a height of .4 -1.4 meters.
Flower	
Seeds	
Name of specimen collector	

Date of specimen collection	
Place of storage	
Data collector	
Date	

3. Ethnopharmacological indication data template

3a if medical indication

If there are medical uses	
What are the ailments it can heal	It can heal <i>bullo</i> .
Description of the ailment	<i>Bullo</i> is characterized by the community as discoloration and bulging of skin due to strong impact to hard matters.
Cause of the ailment	In the village, <i>bullo</i> is usually caused by accidents like falling of a person from higher elevation. In some cases, it is caused by domestic violence – referring to women having <i>bullo</i> .
How is it diagnosed	
Healing	Pound enough amount of <i>lu'ney</i> leaves, mix it with coconut oil and use as poultice over the area affected until the discoloration is lessened.
Name of data collector	Alma Sinumlag
Date	January 25, 2013

4. Informant Data: Although the herb is a common knowledge to the Isnag tribe, we would like to acknowledge the health worker who shared the knowledge with the research team.

Name of informant	Narcisa Bunagan
Address	Katablangan, Conner, Apayao
Birth date	
Age	
Sex (Male or Female)	Female
Work	Volunteer Barangay Health Worker (BHW) and farmer
Type of informant	
Type of healing	
Extent of healing experience	She only applies what she learned from the traditional healers like Silverio Saboy and the late Lakay Sengal
History of the case handled	She applies the herbal medicine to herself and to her family.
Name of family members and their relationships (if the informant is a healer)	N/A
Date	January 25, 2013



IV. *Sapitan*

1. General Data

Use of plant	<p>The roots to the leaf of this herb is used to complete the healing process of a person who suffered from flu or any illness that took several days before the person recuperates.</p> <p>It is also used as <i>suob</i> (____) for a person suffering flu or cough and colds.</p>
Scientific name	Cymbopogon
Local name	<i>Sapitan</i>
Common name in Filipino	Balaniw in Iloko

Common foreign name	Lemon Grass
Planting, gathering and storing (if applicable)	This is grown by the villagers in their back yards.
Part/s of the plant use	Roots to the leaves
Preparation, measurement of the part/s use	Gather sufficient amount of <i>sapitan</i> in any part then boil it as desired. Mix the decoction to the water for bathing. For <i>suob</i> (steam bath), gather sufficient amount of the herb in any of its parts and mix it with other herbs, boil it and do the <i>suob</i> with the patient.
Additional information	
Dosage	As long as it is sufficient for a pot of water.
Negative effects and precaution	None
Additional information	
Informants	This is a common knowledge for the Isnags of Katablangan, Conner, Apayao but was shared by Narcisa Bunagan (volunteer Barangay Health Worker) and Siverio Saboy.
Address of the informant	Narcisa Bunagan: Katablangan, Conner, Apayao Silverio Saboy: Manag, Conner, Apayao
Name of data collector	Alma Bocad Sinumlag
Date of collection	January 25, 2013

2. Herbarium Data

Scientific name	UNCOLLECTED Cymbopogon
Local name	<i>Sapitan</i>
Field Number	
Herbarium Number	
Collector/s	
Collector Number	
Place of collection	
Common area where the plant live	This herb grows in backyards. It is not endemic in the area.
Latitude	
Altitude above sea level	
Habitat	
Measurement	The fully grown <i>sapitan</i> reaches a height of 1 meter.
Flower	
Seeds	
Name of specimen collector	

Date of specimen collection	
Place of storage	
Data collector	
Date	

3. Ethnopharmacological indication data template

3a if medical indication

If there are medical uses	
What are the ailments it can heal	<p>It is necessary to complete the healing process of the patient specially those who had been suffering illness for several days. The community said, it is their way of avoiding <i>begnat</i> (_____).</p> <p>It also facilitates the healing process of someone having flu, fever and cough and colds.</p>
Description of the ailment	<p>Fever for the community is described as pain in the head, and rise of body temperature. Cough and colds is described as the difficulty in breathing because of the clogs in the nasal area, and whooping cough. Flu on the other hand is described as the pain all over the body especially in the joints with fever and even cough.</p>
Cause of the ailment	<p>Too much work, exposure to sunlight, wind and cold weather.</p>
How is it diagnosed	

Healing	Use the any part of the plant for decoction and mix it with the water for bathing. It is also used for <i>suob</i> where in, they boil the herb at a desired time and do the <i>suob</i> with the patient.
Name of data collector	Alma Sinumlag
Date	January 25, 2013

4. Informant Data: Although the herb is a common knowledge to the Isnag tribe, we would like to acknowledge those who shared the knowledge with the research team.

Name of informant	Narcisa Bunagan
Address	Katablangan, Conner, Apayao
Birth date	
Age	
Sex (Male or Female)	Female
Work	Volunteer Barangay Health Worker (BHW) and farmer
Type of informant	
Type of healing	
Extent of healing experience	She only applies what she learned from the traditional healers like Silverio Saboy and the late Lakay Sengal
History of the case handled	She applies the herbal medicine to herself and to her family.
Name of family members and their relationships (if the informant is a healer)	N/A
Date	January 25, 2013

Name of informant	Silverio Saboy
Address	Manag, Conner, Apayao
Birth date	March 15, 1953
Age	60
Sex (Male or Female)	Male
Work	<i>Mangkaddat</i> (traditional healer) and a farmer
Type of informant	
Type of healing	
Extent of healing experience	28 years
History of the case handled	He can heal various types of ailments from fever, cough and colds to unexplained ailment which are believed to be caused by spirits and by <i>Dulsong</i> (Kulam). He has a lot of patients from the Isnag tribe of Conner to their neighboring municipalities of Apayao to other provinces like Kalinga, Abra, Isabela and Cagayan Valley.
Name of family members and their relationships (if the informant is a healer)	N/A
Date	January 24, 2013



V. Bukubu'

1. General Data

Use of plant	The tribe use this herb to facilitate the growing of hair
Scientific name	Blumea Balsamifera
Local name	<i>Bukubu'</i>
Common name in Filipino	Sambong
Common foreign name	

Planting, gathering and storing (if applicable)	This is grown by the villagers in their back yards. It grows naturally in the area but it is not found everywhere that is why the villagers specially the health workers and traditional healers plant it near their houses.
Part/s of the plant use	Leaves
Preparation, measurement of the part/s use	Gather sufficient leaves of <i>bukubu'</i> , boil it and use it to wash hair and massage scalp.
Additional information	
Dosage	Use it every bath
Negative effects and precaution	None
Additional information	
Informants	Silverio Saboy and Narcisa Bunagan
Address of the informant	Narcisa Bunagan: Katablangan, Conner, Apayao Silverio Saboy: Manag, Conner, Apayao
Name of data collector	Alma Bocad Sinumlag
Date of collection	January 25, 2013

2. Herbarium Data

Scientific name	UNCOLLECTED Blumea Balsamifera
Local name	<i>Bukubu'</i>
Field Number	
Herbarium Number	
Collector/s	
Collector Number	
Place of collection	
Common area where the plant live	This herb grows in backyards. It also naturally grows in the fields of Katablangan.
Latitude	
Altitude above sea level	
Habitat	
Measurement	The herb reaches a height of 1.5 meters to 3 meters.
Flower	
Seeds	
Name of specimen collector	

Date of specimen collection	
Place of storage	
Data collector	
Date	

3. Ethnopharmacological indication

If there are medical uses	
What are the ailments it can heal	Extreme hair fall
Description of the ailment	Silverio Saboy describes the hair loss as losing large amount of hair especially near the forehead.
Cause of the ailment	Too much thinking. Problems, and those who were victims of cancer.
How is it diagnosed	
Healing	Make a decoction of <i>bukubu'</i> leaves and use it to wash the hair and massage scalp.
Name of data collector	Alma Sinumlag
Date	January 25, 2013

4. Informant Data: Although the herb is a common knowledge to the Isnag tribe, we would like to acknowledge those who shared the knowledge with the research team.

Name of informant	Narcisa Bunagan
Address	Katablangan, Conner, Apayao
Birth date	
Age	
Sex (Male or Female)	Female
Work	Volunteer Barangay Health Worker (BHW) and farmer
Type of informant	
Type of healing	
Extent of healing experience	She only applies what she learned from the traditional healers like Silverio Saboy and the late Lakay Sengal
History of the case handled	She applies the herbal medicine to herself and to her family.
Name of family members and their relationships (if the informant is a healer)	N/A
Date	January 25, 2013

Name of informant	Silverio Saboy
Address	Manag, Conner, Apayao
Birth date	March 15, 1953
Age	60
Sex (Male or Female)	Male
Work	<i>Mangkaddat</i> (traditional healer) and a farmer
Type of informant	
Type of healing	
Extent of healing experience	28 years
History of the case handled	He can heal various types of ailments from fever, cough and colds to unexplained ailment which are believed to be caused by spirits and by <i>Dulsong</i> (Kulam). He has a lot of patients from the Isnag tribe of Conner to their neighboring municipalities of Apayao to other provinces like Kalinga, Abra, Isabela and Cagayan Valley.
Name of family members and their relationships (if the informant is a healer)	N/A
Date	January 24, 2013



VI. *Buybuyu'*

1. General Data

Use of plant	<i>Buybuyu'</i> is used by the tribe to stop bleeding from cuts and wounds.
Scientific name	<i>Ageratum conyzoides</i>

Local name	<i>Buybuyu'</i>
Common name in Filipino	Bulak-manok
Common foreign name	
Planting, gathering and storing (if applicable)	The herb is endemic in the area.
Part/s of the plant use	Leaves
Preparation, measurement of the part/s use	Gather sufficient leaves of <i>buybuyu'</i> , pound, mix it with coconut oil and use as poultice over the cuts and wounds.
Additional information	
Dosage	As long as the leaves are enough to cover the cuts or wounds.
Negative effects and precaution	None
Additional information	
Informants	Silverio Saboy, Narcisa Bunagan and Yulo Sagudang
Address of the informant	Narcisa Bunagan: Katablangan, Conner, Apayao Silverio Saboy: Manag, Conner, Apayao Yulo Sagudang: Katablangan, Conner, Apayao
Name of data collector	Alma Bocad Sinumlag, Melba Belen and Dexter Gallawen
Date of collection	March 15, 2013

2. Herbarium Data

Scientific name	UNCOLLECTED Ageratum conyzoides
Local name	<i>Buybuyu'</i>
Field Number	
Herbarium Number	
Collector/s	
Collector Number	
Place of collection	
Common area where the plant live	Endemic in the village
Latitude	
Altitude above sea level	
Habitat	
Measurement	It reaches a height of 1 ft to 2 ft.
Flower	
Seeds	
Name of specimen	

collector	
Date of specimen collection	
Place of storage	
Data collector	
Date	

3. Ethnopharmacological Data

If there are medical uses	
What are the ailments it can heal	Bleeding from cuts and wounds
Description of the ailment	
Cause of the ailment	Accidents
How is it diagnosed	
Healing	Pound sufficient leaves of <i>buybuyu'</i> , mix it with coconut oil and use it as a poultice over the cuts and wounds until the bleeding stops.
Name of data collector	Alma Sinumlag, Melba Belen, Dexter Gallawen
Date	March 15, 2013

4. Informant Data: For Narcisa Bunagana and Silverio Saboy refer to the previous herbs

Name of informant	Yulo Sagudang
Address	Katablangan, Conner, Apayao
Birth date	
Age	
Sex (Male or Female)	Male
Work	<i>Mangkaddat</i> with the specialization in snake bite
Type of informant	
Type of healing	
Extent of healing experience	He had been healing for more than a decade and he is known to effectively cure snake bites.
History of the case handled	
Name of family members and their relationships (if the informant is a healer)	N/A
Date	March 15, 2013



VII. *Kikkigmat*

1. General Data

Use of plant	<i>Kikkigmat</i> is use by one of the traditional healers in Katablangan to cure a person bit by a snake. Applying this herb he said can even kill the snake.
Scientific name	

Local name	<i>Kikkigmat</i>
Common name in Filipino	
Common foreign name	
Planting, gathering and storing (if applicable)	The herb is endemic in the area.
Part/s of the plant use	From roots to the leaves
Preparation, measurement of the part/s use	Gather sufficient <i>kikkigmat</i> , pound it, mix it with coconut oil and apply as poultice over the area bit.
Additional information	
Dosage	As long as the leaves are enough to serve as poultice over the bitten area
Negative effects and precaution	None
Additional information	
Informants	Yulo Sagudang
Address of the informant	Katablangan, Conner, Apayao
Name of data collector	Alma Bocad Sinumlag, Melba Belen
Date of collection	June 9, 2013

2. Herbarium Data

Scientific name	UNCOLLECTED
Local name	<i>Kikkigmat</i>
Field Number	
Herbarium Number	
Collector/s	
Collector Number	
Place of collection	
Common area where the plant live	Endemic in the village
Latitude	
Altitude above sea level	
Habitat	
Measurement	It reaches a height of 4-5 inches.
Flower	
Seeds	
Name of specimen collector	

Date of specimen collection	
Place of storage	
Data collector	
Date	

3. Ethnopharmacological Data

If there are medical uses	
What are the ailments it can heal	To cure a person bitten by snake
Description of the ailment	
Cause of the ailment	
How is it diagnosed	
Healing	Pound sufficient <i>kikkigmat</i> , mix it with coconut oil and apply as poultice over the bitten area. The healer instructs somebody from the family to check the area where the person was bitten. Most of the time, they found a snake lying dead on the said spot. When the snake is dead, they say the person bitten will be cured. The venom will not travel to the person's vein.
Name of data collector	Alma Sinumlag, Melba Belen
Date	June 10, 2013

4. Informant Data

Name of informant	Yulo Sagudang
Address	Katablangan, Conner, Apayao
Birth date	
Age	
Sex (Male or Female)	Male
Work	<i>Mangkaddat</i> with the specialization in snake bite
Type of informant	
Type of healing	
Extent of healing experience	He had been healing for more than a decade and he is known to effectively cure snake bites.
History of the case handled	
Name of family members and their relationships (if the informant is a healer)	N/A
Date	June 09, 2013

VIII. *Mahatuba*

1. General Data

Use of plant	<i>Mahatuba</i> is used by the traditional healers to treat sprains, fracture and bruises (<i>bullo</i>)
Scientific name	
Local name	<i>Mahatuba</i>
Common name in Filipino	
Common foreign name	
Planting, gathering and storing (if applicable)	The shrub is planted as a fence by some of the villagers especially the traditional healer specializing in <i>ilot</i> (treating sprains and fracture)
Part/s of the plant use	Bark and leaves
Preparation, measurement of the part/s use	Gather sufficient amount of <i>mahatuba</i> bark and leaves, heat it near the fire or over the fire, apply coconut oil on it before placing it on the bruised, sprained or fractured area.
Additional information	
Dosage	As long as it is enough to cover the affected area.
Negative effects and precaution	After the treatment, the patient is advised by the traditional healer not to eat foods that can induce itchiness.
Additional information	
Informants	Filomena Ulin

Address of the informant	Katablangan, Conner, Apayao
Name of data collector	Alma Bocad Sinumlag, Dexter Gallawen
Date of collection	March 14, 2013

2. Herbarium Data

Scientific name	UNCOLLECTED
Local name	<i>Mahatuba</i>
Field Number	
Herbarium Number	
Collector/s	
Collector Number	
Place of collection	
Common area where the plant live	Planted in the village as a fence in the rice fields and in the back yards
Latitude	
Altitude above sea level	
Habitat	

Measurement	It reaches a height 6 to 7 meters
Flower	
Seeds	
Name of specimen collector	
Date of specimen collection	
Place of storage	
Data collector	
Date	

3. Ethnopharmacological data

If there are medical uses	
What are the ailments it can heal	To cure bruises, sprains and fractures
Description of the ailment	
Cause of the ailment	Accidents
How is it diagnosed	
Healing	Gather sufficient amount of <i>mahatuba</i> bark and leaves, heat

	<p>it near the fire or over the fire, apply coconut oil on it before placing it on the bruised, sprained or fractured area.</p> <p>If the fracture is severe, it takes the healer 5 to 7 days to heal the patient.</p> <p>During the healing process, the patient is not allowed to eat food that induce itchiness <i>gabi</i>.</p>
Name of data collector	Alma Sinumlag, Dexter Gallawen
Date	March 14, 2013

4. Informant Data

Name of informant	Filomena Ulin
Address	Katablangan, Conner, Apayao
Birth date	
Age	80+ years old
Sex (Male or Female)	Female
Work	<i>Mang-ilot/Mang-irot</i> (the traditional healer that specializes in treating <i>bullo</i> , sprains and fractures)
Type of informant	
Type of healing	
Extent of healing experience	She had been healing since she married.
History of the case handled	<p>She is only healing the patients who had been into accidents and have <i>bullo</i>, sprains, and fracture. She said, she can heal the worst fracture as long as the nerves are not totally cut or else, there is no remedy.</p> <p>Like many traditional healers in the village, she came to know about the healing process in a dream where an old woman is instructing her how to do the healing.</p>
Name of family members and their relationships (if the informant is a healer)	N/A

Date	March 15, 2013
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IX. Tangali

1. General Data

Use of plant	<p><i>Tangali</i>, a combination of herbs stored in a bottle with coconut oil is used for several purposes. Primarily, it is used by the traditional healers to heal various kinds of illness like fever, cough and colds, stomach problems, flu and many others.</p> <p>To some healers, it is used to facilitate the healing process</p>
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	<p>of a person stricken by <i>dulsong</i> or <i>kulam</i>. It is also used not only by the healers but all the people who have it to ward off bad spirits and to avoid catching an unexplained ailment that may be caused by people who are <i>nalaing</i> (people who have the skill in <i>dulsong</i>).</p> <p>Some <i>tangali</i> are even hired by people to use in winning a court case.</p> <p>There are several types of <i>tangali</i>. One is called <i>a'but</i>. This is prepared by the traditional healer for a traveler. It wards off bad spirits and bad intentions to the person who is holding the said <i>tangali</i>. Another is the one used by the traditional healers to heal several ailments.</p>
Scientific name	
Local name	<i>Tangali</i>
Common name in Filipino	<i>Sumang</i> in Abra and Kalinga
Common foreign name	
Planting, gathering and storing (if applicable)	<p>Various herbs used for producing the <i>tangali</i> are harvested when the <i>Semana Santa</i> (Holy Week) is nearing. The healer dries them and during holy week, they will <i>tubong</i> (store) them together with oil in a bottle.</p> <p>Silverio Saboy, one of the traditional healers said that it is important for the herbs to be prayed over in the church to be more effective.</p>

Part/s of the plant use	
Preparation, measurement of the part/s use	The traditional healer usually used the <i>tangali</i> by applying it over the affected part of the body in a certain illness and let the patient drink several drops of the oil.
Additional information	
Dosage	
Negative effects and precaution	When the patient did not follow the instruction of the traditional healer on not eating foods that induce itchiness, the ailment worsens.
Additional information	
Informants	Silverio Saboy, Aguangan Guiawan
Address of the informant	Aguangan Guiawan: Katablangan, Conner, Apayao Silverio Saboy: Manag, Conner, Apayao
Name of data collector	Alma Bocad Sinumlag, Dexter Gallawen
Date of collection	March 12-15, 2013

2. Herbarium Data

Scientific name	COLLECTED
Local name	<i>Tangali</i>
Field Number	
Herbarium Number	
Collector/s	Alma Sinumlag and Dexter Gallawen
Collector Number	
Place of collection	Manag, Conner, Apayao
Common area where the plant live	
Latitude	
Altitude above sea level	
Habitat	
Measurement	
Flower	
Seeds	
Name of specimen collector	

Date of specimen collection	
Place of storage	
Data collector	
Date	March 15, 2013

3. Ethnopharmacological Data

If there are medical uses	
What are the ailments it can heal	To heal various kinds of illness including those that are caused by bad spirits or those that are caused by <i>nalaing</i> (people who are skilled in <i>dulsong</i>). It can also be used as a charm to be able to win a court case.
Description of the ailment	
Cause of the ailment	
How is it diagnosed	The traditional healer diagnoses any kind of illness by talking to the patient asking about the accounts of what a person did for the past days. It is highly recommended by the healer for the patient to be very honest especially on bad activities done. Silverio Saboy as a healer believes that all the actions of a person particularly the bad ones will go back to the person in the form of unexplained illness. These kinds of illness Silverio added can cause the death of a person if it is not cured. The spirit or the person who casted the spell should be appeased before the patient restores his/her health.

Healing	<p>When the patient tells truthfully his story to the traditional healer, the <i>tangali</i> is applied in the desired part of the patient's body. The healing may take up to two weeks. The <i>tangali</i> being applied by the healer will cast the spell away. In some cases, Silverio said he warns the person who had cast the spell on the patient to bring the sick to health.</p> <p>If the patient did something wrong that caused him his health, he/she has to apologize. In cases where he/she has taken something that is not his/hers, that thing should be returned to the rightful owners.</p> <p>In cases where the patient is only a victim of envious people, the healer will try his/her best to cast the spell away or haggle with the person who casted the spell.</p>
Name of data collector	Alma Sinumlag, Dexter Gallawen
Date	March 15, 2013

4. Informant Data: For Silverio Saboy's profile, refer to the previous herbs

Name of informant	Aguangan Guiawan
Address	Katablangan, Conner, Apayao
Birth date	
Age	83 years old
Sex (Male or Female)	Male
Work	<i>Mangkaddat</i> , He heals various kinds of illness through his <i>Tangali</i>
Type of informant	
Type of healing	
Extent of healing experience	52 years. He started healing at the age of 32 when he dreamt of an <i>anito</i> (spirit) who was instructing him how to heal using several kinds of herbs.
History of the case handled	<p>He has healed many people from the village and neighboring municipalities. Those types of illnesses were mostly casted by the spirits of the environment.</p> <p>However, it is a sacrifice he said because he cannot heal his family members specially those who are living with him in the same household. During the fieldwork in March 2013, his wife who was also more than 80 years old was bed ridden but he cannot do anything to bring her back to health. His <i>tangali</i> that he was using to heal for several decades was broken during that time. He told the team that he would prepare another <i>tangali</i> during the upcoming Holy</p>

	<p>Week.</p> <p>Few weeks before the next field work in April 2013, his wife died. His plan to make another <i>tangali</i> for his healing did not pushed through. He told the team that he has already loss his enthusiasm to heal. He was deeply upset that his wife died while he was helplessly watching because he cannot apply his skills on her.</p>
Name of family members and their relationships (if the informant is a healer)	N/A
Date	March 15, 2013; April 2013



Note: The herbs used by Silverio and Aguangan were not revealed during the fieldwork because they are not available in their backyards.