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The Kalinga and Ifugaw Universe

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1. SOURCES

The Kalingas and Ifugaws inhabit the mountains of northern Luzon, Philippines. Their neighbors are the Kankanays, the Bontoks, the Balangaws of the Siffu River Valley.

The present systematic description of the world view of the Kalingas and Ifugaws is based almost entirely on folk literature and centuries of tradition.

The ancestors of the Kalingas have composed a number of epics in which the prowess and bravery of the main heroes are vividly described and celebrated. These rhythmic creations called *ullálim* are chanted at nightly festal gatherings by an expert soloist, either a man or a woman, to a melody which keeps the attending crowd spellbound for hours (Billiet, Lambrecht, 1970, 1974).

The Ifugaws possess a rich repertory of romances which primarily praise the wealth of fictitious heroes and heroines. From morning to evening during the harvest seasons, and from evening to morning during funeral wakes, a woman of age intones verse after verse. The listening group at the close of a verse chant in unison a stereotyped commentary phrase which, by its peculiar pitch, invites the soloist to resume her solo. These exceedingly popular romances are called *hudhúd*.

Such folk literature brings to light only a part of their cosmology and touches only upon certain characteristics and fragmentary details. Consequently, careful study is needed to join fragment to fragment, in order to attain a reliable and integral description of the world vision of these people.

Some traditional folk stories called *Lubú*, that deal with the great flood, contain cosmic terms or expressions. These *Lubú* and a few others, when recited at sacrificial rites, are generally considered magical tales and are called *abúwab*.

2. KALINGA NOTIONS OF THE UNIVERSE

2.1. Names

2.1.1. Kalinga

Kalinga is actually the misspelled official name given today to the so-called Kalinga tribe. Outsiders gave the tribe this name; and they pronounced the word

Kalingga (Ka-líng-ga) not Kalinga (Ká-li-nga). The last is the correct pronunciation.

Actually, the Kalinga tribe have no tribal name. They call themselves, *tágukamí* 'we are men', or *iLútakamí*, 'we are the people of the earth.' However, nowadays, natives of the area use the name Kalinga (pronounced Ka-líng-ga) – as do government officials and anthropologists – to designate the ethnic group inhabiting Kalingaland.

How, then, did Kalinga (Ka-li-nga) come to be applied to this ethnic group? Kalinga is a noun meaning enemy, fighter, headhunter. This ethnic group, the tagukami were at one time fierce headhunters who raided the inhabitants of the Kagayan and Isabella provinces for heads. As a result, they were called Kalinga. The Spaniards, in the latter part of the 19th century, also began calling them Kalínga, but pronounced the word Ka-ling-ga (Keesing, 1962 p. 232). They probably took the word to have an ethnic meaning. Later, American officials used this name thinking it to be the ethnic name of the tribe. The above, in short, is the story of how Kalinga came to be used, although it is devoid of any geographic, ethnic or cosmic basis.

2.1.2. Itneg

Inhabitants of the western coastal area of Northern Luzon, the Ilokos call the Kalingas who settled in the Kalinga province as well as those who emigrated into the Abra province, *Itneg*. The Kalingas pronounced it *Itnóg*. *Itneg* is composed of the prefix *i* 'the people of' and the word-base *tingeg*. The *i* of *tingeg* is eliminated under the influence of the prefix *i*. Together they mean 'the people of Tinég.'

Tinég is also the name of the tributary that flows into the Abra river near Bangued, the capital of Abra province, and of a village situated in the northern part of Abra province, along the headwaters of the Tinég River, at a distance of some 20 miles east from the northernmost boundary of Kalinga province. Many Kalinga emigrants dwell in this area.

The Kalingas established at Tinég and in other areas of the Abra province, and even some in the Kalinga province proper, often traveled to the coastal plains to purchase, among other things, jars and chinaware from the Ilokos. The Ilokos, seeing these strange people enter their villages clothed in gee-strings, a head axe on their hip, wearing a disheveled headdress that floated on their shoulders, and speaking a queer language, asked them whence they came. Most answered: 'We come from Tinég.' For this reason, the Ilokos believed them to belong to the Itneg Tribe.

2.1.3. Tinguían

The Spanish administration, as early as the 17th century, (Keesing, 1962, pp. 126–128) called all those who settled in the hill country, Tinguianes. The word Tinguianes (Spanish spelling) is composed of *tinggi* (tingui in Spanish spelling) – an obsolete Tagalog word (Tagalog is the language of Manila and surroundings) meaning 'hill' – and the Spanish ending, *anes*, meaning 'ly.' The province of Abra is hilly.

When the Augustinian missionaries founded missions in Bangued (1702), Tayum and other villages, they used the name, *Tinguanes*, to designate the inhabitants of Tinég and of the more distant areas, whose culture and language they later learned were very different from the Iloko culture and language.

Fay-Cooper Cole (Cole, F.C., 1922) called these people Tinguian (Cole's spelling) because he thought they had been driven into the mountainous region by the Ilokos. If Cole had entered Kalingaland proper, he would have discovered that they were all Kalingas: those who emigrated from the region of Salegseg (western region of Kalingaland) as well as those who came from central and southern Kalingaland. He would have learned the reason they came here was that they had heard wet rice was cultivated in the province of Abra. At that time, only dry rice was cultivated in Kalingaland. Moreover, Cole would have learned that the dialects spoken by the Tinguian(s) are dialects of the language spoken in Kalingaland and that the inhabitants of Kalingaland do not call these migrants Tinguian but *iDay-ás*, 'the people of the plains' in accordance with the Iloko term *day-as*. The explanations of *Itnég* and *Tinguian* show how geographical names can get to be understood as ethnic names.

2.2. *Origin and History of the Kalingas*

In anthropological circles, the Kalingas as well as their neighbors of the southern mountainous areas, the Kankanays, the Bontoks, the Balangaws of the Siffu River, and Ifugaws are believed to have emigrated from the Asian continent, seemingly from Vietnam or the southernmost part of China. Nowadays, there are still three small areas in which the inhabitants speak a language and possess a culture akin to the language and the culture of those who migrated into the mountain provinces of Luzon, i.e., the Kalingas and their neighbors.

Self-conservation may have forced these people to leave their original habitat, perhaps two thousand years ago or even before. Originally, they probably composed one tribe. This supposition is based on the fact that even now the languages spoken by the Kalingas, the Bontoks, etc., are akin to each other.

Did some of these emigrants cross the China sea and land on the western coast of Luzon, where the Ilokos lived? Did they follow the route along the Asian and Formosa coasts, passing the Batanes and Babuyan Islands, to land at the mouth of the large Kagayan River at the northern shore of Luzon where the Ibanags were living? The latter question can be answered affirmatively; comparative studies of the languages involved seem to confirm that they have travelled this route. But the former question cannot be answered affirmatively. It would imply that the Tinguian, the people of the Hills are not Kalingas, and this is not the case. Keesing seems to believe the opposite.

In dealing with the languages spoken in northern Luzon, he writes: 'The Lepanto (i.e. Kankanay) and Bontok dialects are relatively alike, and so apparently are the Kalinga and Gaddang dialects on the east side. Pangasinan, Ibaloi, Isinai, Ifugao, Tinguian, and Apayao all appear to be specialized along distinctive lines.' (Keesing, 1962, p. 341) His assertion that the Kalinga and Gaddang dialects are relatively alike cannot be true, since Gaddang is an Ibanag dialect.

The Kalingas adopted a number of words from the Ibanag language, but its dialects are not understood by the Kankanays and Bontoks. Moreover, the Ifugaw language and its dialects is very similar to Kankanay and Bontok speech; and it bears no similarity to the Kalinga language.

After having landed at the mouth of the Kagayan river, the emigrants did not remain in the Kagayan River valley. Probably for the sake of self-conservation they moved westward into the mountainous region. Since the natural traveling ways into an unknown country are generally riverbeds, it seems likely that one group traveled along the tributary of the Kagayan River now called Chico River, and established itself in the Bontok area. Afterwards, some of its members established themselves in the Sabangan area: these are now commonly called Bontoks and Kankanays. Another group travelled by way of the Siffu-River and settled somewhere in that area. Nowadays they are called Balangaws. Still another group probably followed the riverbed of the Magat tributary and occupied the region afterwards called Nueva Vizcaya by the Spaniards: these are the Ifugaws. A group which most probably remained longest in the Kagayan River valley followed the Chico River, finally to settle in Kalingaland. These are the Kalingas.

2.3. *Self-Conservation of the Kalingas*

The problem of self-conservation arose again when the Kalingas increased in number and established themselves in various small villages. The population of these hamlets became a threat to each other. As a consequence, the people of each hamlet were forced to adopt a policy of safeguarding their own habitat, their own *úma*.

Today, the term *úma* is used in the sense of 'swidden.' However, in those early times, when the inhabitants of a hamlet or village belonged to the same kin, it probably meant a territory required by each community group for their livelihood and recognized as being their own. *Úma* is a Malay word originally designating a long building that housed a large matrilineal family comprising the living members of, say, four generations. Later, *úma* acquired the meaning of the land cultivated and owned in common by the whole group.

In those early days, the Kalingas were forced to defend their *úma* against all incursions which 'a priori' were not approvable. The old men of two or three generations stated this in the following adage: 'An unknown man within the limits of our *úma*, must be driven away or killed. For would I not be driven away or killed in the same manner should I enter the *úma* of another group? It is for them, as for us, a question of food, of life.' Unfortunately, if an intruder was killed, those who belonged to the *úma* of the slain man considered themselves to possess the right and the duty to avenge his death by killing any member of the *úma* in which the slayer lived. In short, this sort of retaliation led to feuds without predictable end.

Self-conservation soon led the Kalingas to the conclusion that cutting off of heads was the most radical and the most effective means of protecting their

source of livelihood. However, headhunting came to serve other purposes as well. It was an easy way to prestige, wealth and the admiration of their wives, of young marriageable girls, and those who stayed home. Ultimately, it became a form of recreation and of self-gratification. *Úmas* with well trained fighters often promoted headhunting expeditions for this purpose. Of course, headhunting for fun was not approved by Kalinga custom law. Nevertheless, strong warriors who enjoyed attacking neutral, neither friendly nor hostile communities which were unaware of this danger, justified their headhunting expeditions by maintaining that they protected all who lived in the many villages related through exogamy.

Were no attempts made to stop headhunting? Were no peace pacts ever arranged between two or more communities? Indeed there existed a few peace pacts, called *podón*, fifty or more years before the American authorities arrived. The oldest such peace pact was arranged between the southern communities of Kalingaland four generations before 1920. In the year 1920, the American authorities imposed peace pacts which abolished headhunting. These pacts were called *bodóng* from the Iloko term *bedeng* which actually means landmark.

However, a long time before peace pacts, there were peace-agreements called *dúsa*, 'punishments' or 'fines.' These were imposed on those who led headhunting raids purely for the sake of recreation. Such raids were a breach of the custom law of war. The trouble was it was difficult to determine whether a breach of the law had occurred. It was well understood, of course, that an attack on or threat against a neutral *úma* violated custom law. In such a case, if the attack was successful, it was required that the injury and the damage caused must be paid off before peace could be established. The leaders and commanders of the raids paid the price, the *dúsa*, fixed by the offended chieftain. If the delinquent paid the *dúsa*, his guilt vanished and the peace agreement was a fait accompli.

2.4. *The Five Constituents of the Cosmos*

According to the Kalingas, the universe is composed of five, and only five, distinct zones: (1) the Upperworld, (which we shall call the Skyworld, in order to avoid using the term heaven); (2) the Underworld; (3) the Upstream region, or cosmic *Dáya*; (4) the Downstream region, or cosmic *Lágud*; and (5) the earth, *Lúta*, the area extending between the cosmic Upstream and Downstream regions.

There are two distinct usages involved in the words, *dáya* and *lágud*. One is geographic; the other, cosmic or theological. The geographical meaning is that of pointing towards this or that direction. Thus *dáya* refers geographically to a place lying upstream and *lágud* to a place lying downstream.

The terms designating the five constituents of the universe convey a meaning easily understood. These terms tell us that Kalinga cosmologists believed the universe to be static, even though they had no specific word for conveying this idea. They expressed it indirectly by enumerating its constituent parts. Mere enumeration, of course, cannot make explicit what is the unifying element

keeping the parts together and in their proper place. However, Kalinga folk literature, especially a number of *ullálim* epics, provide excellent information about this unifying element, which is said to be located where the earth joins the cosmic Upstream and Downstream regions. This element we shall call the Sky-Cupola in default of a Kalinga term.

2.5 *The Sky-Cupola and the Skyworld*

The Sky-Cupola is the solid, hemispheric, domelike cover of the earth; it resembles in shape the firmament described in the biblical creation account. It rests on the areas of the cosmic Upstream and Downstream regions which surround the earth. Its primary function is to sustain the Skyworld; to keep it high above the earth.

The Skyworld is the abode of the supreme being, called Kabunyán, and of the higher deities with their respective subordinates. Although the gods of the Skyworld are believed to be more powerful than those who inhabit the cosmic regions, they are, nevertheless, anthropomorphic beings like all Kalinga deities and spirits. Since the Kalinga shamans are women of age who avoid being questioned and do not wish to dictate invocations, prayers or magical texts, the *ullálim* do not inform us about the gods of Skyworld.

The Skyworld is definitely geomorphic and conceived as a replica of Kalingaland. Not only has it mountains and hills, villages with leveled yards, houses built on posts, but also creeks and streams flowing into the large Malánas River. During the upperworld's rainy seasons, typhoons pass over the habitats of the Skyworld's gods; the Malánas River swells and its torrential waters crash the boulders and stones at the bottom of the river against each other; this crashing produces the sounds of rolling thunder, heard in Kalingaland. These rolling sounds are different from the violent thunderclaps caused by the god of thunder, as some folk tales explain it, or by the gigantic pig of Kabunyán, as the Bontok people believe.

That the Kalingas say they can hear the rolling noise of colliding stones and boulders is significant; it proves that the Sky-Cupola can not be really hemispheric. If it were, the distance from the earth to the higher part of the cupola would be so great that the sounds of rolling thunder could not be heard on earth. The Sky-Cupola, therefore, might best be imagined as having more or less the shape of the upper half of an hemispheric dome.

2.6 *The Sky-Cupola and the Cosmic Dáya*

Besides supporting the Skyworld, the Sky-Cupola also separates the Earth from the cosmic Upstream and Downstream regions and serves as a ceiling for the earth proper. The cosmic complex *Dáya-Lúta-Lágud* is a kind of circular complex increasing in altitude in the *Dáya* direction. However, the circular areas of the cosmic Upstream and Downstream regions which surround the earth, cannot be very wide.

Is the cosmic *Dáya* accessible to man notwithstanding the fact that the Sky-

Cupola cannot be traversed? Certain *ullálim* give a surprisingly clear answer to this question. In describing how the heroes of the *ullálim* stories are enabled to enter the *Dáya* area at a given site, the singing bard uses the word *mantákang*, meaning that at the junction of the earth and the *Dáya*, the Sky-Cupola 'gapes.' In reality, the Sky-Cupola is believed to gape for a short time every day, and, exceptionally, more than once upon the magical command of the main hero of the tale.

The lower, rimming edge of the cupola is about three meters thick. By striking the earth thousands and thousands of times, it has made a deep ditch in the ground, which must be hardly wider than three meters, for the *ullálim* heroes can jump over it.

Why does an *ullálim* hero wish to penetrate into the cosmic *Dáya*? According to one story, the girl he wants to marry wishes him to show his daring and skill by killing the giant Gíttam who is believed to inhabit a small part of the cosmic Upstream region.

According to several *ullálim* stories, this Gíttam had killed and beheaded some of the girl's and her lover's forebears. After killing and beheading them, he established himself in the cosmic Upstream region, taking with him his wives and children, his pigs and chickens, his relatives and subordinates, their wives and children, and the valuable possessions and jewels which consisted largely of the booty he accumulated from each of his victorious headhunting raids.

The giant's village, rebuilt in the *Dáya*, is in no way different from the Kalinga villages of the earth proper. However, beyond the clustered houses built around the central plaza of the village and at a short distance from the solid Sky-Cupola, there stretches an empty leveled place to the extreme border of the *Dáya* area. At this border, a fence of iron bars has been magically planted which prevents the pigs and the children from falling into the precipice without bottom. Beyond this fence, there is nothing but abysmal space.

The above descriptions are not merely taken from *ullálim* stories; they belong to a tradition preserved in folk tales. No doubt, they are often believed to be fictitious tales, but only insofar as they tell of the actions of persons involved in any particular story. However, they provide a fair picture of how the cosmic Upstream region appears to the Kalingas.

2.7. *The Sky-Cupola and the Cosmic Lágud*

When the Sky-Cupola gapes at the cosmic *Dáya*, what happens at the cosmic *Lágud*? The very notion of gaping implies that the phenomenon occurs only on one side. The Sky-Cupola is not said to raise itself entirely, but to gape a little and only for a very short time. It then returns to its closed position, refilling the ditch it has made by striking the ground at the cosmic Upstream region. Consequently, no visible gape appears at the side where the earth meets the cosmic Downstream region. Moreover, no visible gape happens at the *Lágud*, because the dynamic force which daily produces the gape at the *Dáya* is wholly magical.

Since the dynamism of the Sky-Cupola is an effect of magical force manifesting

itself at an enormous distance, the cosmic *Lágud* area was considered inaccessible by the ancient Kalinga cosmologists. Only the gods and the souls of the deceased under the guidance of certain supernatural beings were believed to be able to pass through the Sky-Cupola. Yet descriptive details about the cosmic *Lágud*'s boundary at the junction of the earth and even at the extreme border of the cosmic Downstream region are given by some old men who base their knowledge on a tradition preserved in folk tales. These details are not referred to as if humans had witnessed them, for no culture hero, it is believed, has ever traversed the Sky-Cupola to enter the cosmic *Lágud* area. These descriptive details are patently the product of ingenious ancestral reasoning.

This reasoning has as one premise the existence of a big body of water reaching as far as the Sky-Cupola at the cosmic *Lágud*, called *lobóng ud Lágud*, 'the lake of the (terrestrial) *lágud*,' or *lobóng simián*, 'the lake with rippling water.' The lake has other names as well, for example, *lobóng ud Bananoya*, or *lobóng ud Kindiyan*, the 'Bananoya' and 'Kindiyan,' being the names of mythological places supposedly found at the hither bank of the lake from where an island can be seen. Descriptions, often detailed, of this lake appear in several *ullálim* epics.

The following abbreviated selection from an *ullálim* is an example:

One of the outstanding characters of the epic story cannot win the girl he loves, unless he would kill the terrible giant who inhabits the island that, so to speak, juts out of the big lake. A huge python guards the giant's habitat. The brave boy crosses the water using his shield as raft. He lands on the island not very far from a tall tree in the midst of which the python is hidden. Without more ado, the python swallows the boy. Soon afterwards, the main hero of the *ullálim*, magically informed by an eagle, appears with his companions at the bank of the lake. Standing on his shield, he drives over the water and lands. The huge python who was sleeping awakes; but before the beast could devour the intruder, it is killed and its head cut off. Prudently the hero opens the stomach of the python with his headax; he lays the boy, still living, on his shield and floats back to the bank.

This fragment and other fragments found in prose folk tales seem to establish that this lake, which is said to cover a very great part of the geographic *Lágud*, really represents the sea, which the ancestors of these mountain people crossed long ago. Apparently, it is a mythologized memory of that event. The Kalingas who travel to the coast of the China Sea e.g., to buy rice wine jars from the Iloko people, know the Iloko word *baybáy* meaning sea, but those who never left Kalingaland, especially the women, if perchance they hear travellers use the strange word *baybáy*, think that it refers to the *lobóng* at the terrestrial Downstream region.

Further evidence for the above opinion is that the Kalingas believe *iyu(s)* swim in the lake of the geographical *lágud*. It seems that the *iyu(s)* are whales which the Kalinga ancestors saw when they crossed the sea in their small boats to land somewhere near the mouth of the Kagayan River. Up to the present time, the Kalingas think the *iyu(s)* are like monster eels with bodies thick as coconuts. Some *ullálim* bards describe the *iyu* as a dragon, similar to the dragons painted on

their chinaware, or as a very great python called *malága*. In other words, since they have never seen an *iyu*, the Kalingas have reduced a whale to a size imaginable by them.

The final piece of evidence of a mythologized sea is that this big body of water is called *lobóng*, 'a lake.' The Kalingas attribute to it the properties of any lake existing in Kalingaland. It is a body of water surrounded on all sides by a bank, but the farthest section of the bank, the section nearest the cosmic *Lágud*, possesses an 'outlet,' which prevents the water from stagnating and keeps it flowing slowly toward the outlet. Here and there, the flow is almost imperceptible, but where the lake is imagined to be very deep, that is, beyond the 'island,' the flow shows gentle ripples. Essentially this description conforms to a mythologized version of the lake of the *Lágud*.

Where is the *Lágud* end of the Sky-Cupola located? No doubt, on top of the farthest bank of the lake. No Kalinga will deny this. And where does a Kalinga locate the farthest bank? He will point toward a place in the distance lying opposite to the peaks of the mountain range. This place is the upstream zone of his own habitat. In other words, whether a Kalingan, an *ullálim*-epic, or a folk tale is consulted, the *Lágud*-end is located in the cosmic *Lágud*. Thus every Kalinga fancies that he stands on or near the extremity of an imaginary path running straight from the cosmic *Dáya* to the cosmic *Lágud*. He never thinks that the Sky-Cupola's base is circular or that the cosmic *Dáya* and *Lágud* zones stretch around the earth, each covering half of the particular area proper to them. In other words, he is not aware of the contradiction between the circularity of the Sky-Cupola and the circle composed of the *Dáya* and *Lágud*.

There is still another problem which troubled the Kalinga cosmologists of yore: the 'water problem of the cosmos.' Since all the rivers flow toward, and pour their waters into, the geographical lake, and since the water of the lake passes through an outlet, all the water must flow to the very border of the cosmic *Lágud* where it must cascade into the abyss of nothingness. This conclusion, however, does not take into account the eroding and scraping power of running and falling masses of water. The Kalinga ancestors, inhabiting a mountainous region, were certainly witnesses to the damage caused by erosion and, therefore, must have realized that the continual destructive power of a huge waterfall at the border of the *Lágud* must mean the inevitable destruction of the universe. Such a waterfall would ultimately dig a gorge so deep it would engulf and destroy the Sky-Cupola and all that it supports.

Since this was not happening, the Kalinga cosmologists thought there must be at the extreme limit of the cosmic *Lágud* an enormous incandescent iron fence which always caused the water flowing through the outlet of the lake's bank toward the glowing adamant colonnade to evaporate.

Is the cosmic Downstream region habitable by men? Obviously not! No man, no culture hero, can pass through the Sky-Cupola or reach the farthest bank of the lake. The lake's dimensions, as described in folk literature, are too immense.

However, the souls of the deceased are capable of entering the Skyworld by passing through the lower part of the Sky-Cupola. After their bodies are buried, the souls are imagined to leave the place where they died, guided by supernatural, spiritual beings, to the cosmic *Lágud*. From here they take the path that leads them to the special abode reserved for them in the Skyworld.

2.8 *The Cosmic Earth and Inhabitants*

The Kalingas conceive the earth to extend over the interior of the universe. Its boundary is the base of the Sky-Cupola, which serves as a kind of partition to isolate it from the cosmic Upstream and Downstream regions. Theoretically, the *Dáya* and *Lágud* zones meet each other halfway; they are, so to speak, the border, the edge, surrounding the circular platform of the earth. Practically, however, only the areas nearest to the imaginary diameter of the circle compose the areas of the earth sung about by the bards of *ullálim* epics or described by the narrators of folk stories. The areas extending farther away from this diameter were never considered by the forebears of the Kalingas.

The earth's human inhabitants are the Kalingas, their neighbor tribes, and whatever other peoples are known to them. In their midst dwell a multitude of evil spirits, which live in boulders, springs, groves, etc. The Kalingas believe the main business of those spirits is to molest them, but they provide little reliable information about these spirits, about the modes of 'spiritual' molestation.

2.9 *The Underworld and its Inhabitants*

Ethnographic literature dealing with the underworld called *Dalóm* or *Dolá* gives little information about its depth, configuration, extension, substratum. The Kalingas have also not recorded the ritual invocations, formulas, sacrificial prayers, and magical tales used to deal with it. Nevertheless, Kalingas who are acquainted with their traditional cosmic notions believe that the underworld is surrounded by a heavy stone wall and closed underneath by a circular platform on which its inhabitants build their houses. It is also the habitat of certain supernatural beings: the Earthquake and his subordinates, other deities, and spirits who make human beings dream of no longer residing in bodies of their own and wandering hopelessly about.

2.10. *Light in the Kalinga Cosmology*

The oral Kalinga tradition contains nothing about the origins of light and darkness. Obviously, the Kalingas know that light comes from the sun, the moon and the stars. This is not the problem. The problem is: How did light come to be? Was it created? There is a derivative problem connected with it. The light shed on earth comes from underneath the solid Sky-Cupola. It does not shine on the Skyworld, the cosmic Upstream and Downstream regions, and the Underworld. The Kalingas believe these questions should not be asked, since they are unanswerable. However, they believe whatever light there is in the sun, the moon and the stars, and the Skyworld is produced by magic.

3. THE IFUGAW CONCEPTS OF THE UNIVERSE

3.1 Names

3.1.1. Ipugáw

The name *Ipugáw* (Spanish spelling *Ifugao*) is originally a ritual term. It usually stands in opposition to *Wigan ad Kabunyan*, 'Wigan of the Skyworld.' The shamans, when they recite magical tales, speak of them as opposites. They say, for example, 'Wigan of the Skyworld said to Wigan, the Ipugáw,' i.e., 'Wigan of the Earth.' *Ipugáw* is composed of the prefix *i* 'people of,' and *pugáw*, meaning the cosmic earth.

The Spaniards who at first called the inhabitants of Ifugawland, i.e., those dwelling in the mountainous region of the Nueva Vizcaya Province, by the name of their village, e.g., the people of Kiangan, the Quianganes, the people of Dukligan, the Dukligans and the people of Ayangan, the Ayanganes, began to call them Ifugaos. This happened when the first missionaries about 1845 established their missions in Bunhian and Balambang, area of Mayawyaw, and later in 1865 in Kiangan. Soon thereafter, Ifugao became the accepted ethnic and official name of all living in Ifugawland. The Spaniards, however, did not know that the inhabitants of the western area of the Ifugao subprovince were not really Ifugaws. Incidentally, *ipugáw* means, 'man,' or 'person' among the Kankanays.

3.1.2. Ilagwet

The inhabitants of the village of Lagawe, five kilometers east of Kiangan, call themselves *Ilagwet*. Nowadays, there are only a few old men and women who speak the queer Ilagwet dialect; all the others speak the dialect of Kiangan, or of Central Ifugaw.

3.1.3. Ikawáyan

The settlers of the western area of official Ifugawland are mostly called *Ikawáyan(s)*, or *Antipolo(s)*. They are practically the same people as the Ilagwet. Now and then, they travel to Bambang, a village of Nueva Vizcaya, to buy and sell things. Their dialect is well understood by the Bambang people.

3.2. Origin and History of the Ifugaws

Since the time the emigrating forebears of these mountain tribes landed near the mouth of the Kagayan River, those who now bear the name Ifugaws, moved to the south, following the Magat River. They settled permanently in the northern area of the valley now called Nueva Vizcaya, the territory of *Paniqui*, say some Spanish missionaries. However, a small group settled in an area near the Magat some distance from the Gaddangs of Santiago de Carig.

How long ago was this? The Ifugaws answer, *Handih wandí* 'very far in the past.'

It seems probable that the Isinay(s) preceded the Ifugaws and established themselves in the Ituy area, southern part of Nueva Vizcaya. Only a small hill separated the two tribes.

The Ifugaws and the Isinays were and remain friends, not only because their languages are akin, but also because the Isinays, who learned to cultivate wet rice within the two last decades of the 16th century (some of them no doubt went to see the wet rice terraces of Nueva Ecija province and brought seedlings to their habitat) gave the Ifugaw rice seedlings and showed them how the seedlings were to be cultivated.

The first Spanish expedition into the Upper Magat in the year 1591 resulted in the Isinays being subdued without difficulties. Its commander planned to advance farther north into the so-called Paniqui region where the Ifugaws had built their hamlets and were already cultivating wet rice in some places, but unable to collect food, he ordered the expedition back to the lowlands, to the Pangasinan province. A second Spanish expedition reached the Ifugaws; it found all the hamlets empty: the women and children gone. A few men remained who succeeded in killing with their bows and arrows seven Spaniards. In one or two places the soldiers burned the houses and they captured two men by surprise, one of them the chief of a hamlet. The commander of the expedition told his Isinay guide to explain to the chief that the expedition was not warring against his people, even though the soldiers carried rifles. However, since the Ifugaws had resisted the expedition and killed some of its men, the guide was to say that the commander felt compensation must be paid; the chief must provide as hostages a number of women and children who would be freed when the expedition left. The chief agreed to the terms, but he never kept the agreement. A few days later, the expedition left for the Pangasinan province.

To this abbreviated history the following important statement from Keesing must be added: 'In the period following the two first Spanish military penetrations, and perhaps before Father Tomas Gutierrez started mission work in 1632, many at least of these wet-cropping people had moved into mountain country, since there was a sharp shrinkage in population numbers' (Keesing, 1962, pp.321-322), especially among the Ifugaws, who occupied the Paniki area.

The emigres from the Paniki area followed the riverbed of the Ibulaw River. Those who cultivated rice terraces somewhat farther northeast near the Magat River migrated into the mountains by way of the Alimit River. A small group of Ilagwets probably moved along the Lamut River and its tributary which flowed through the large Nayun-forest to arrive in the Lagawe region. A few Isinays may have traveled along the Matung River until they reached the mountains of the Kawayan area.

3.3. *Self-Conservation of the Ifugaws*

During the three first decades of the 17th century, all of these emigrants moved in small groups thus creating room for a number of Gaddangs inhabiting the region of Carig, Santiago de Carig, to establish themselves gradually in the so-called Paniki area, i.e., in the villages of Bagabag, Solano and Bayombong. During the first half of the 18th century the Spanish Dominicans founded missions in this area.

The basic reason that the Ifugaws moved into the mountains was self-conservation. They thought that the Spaniards would not settle in the mountain zone. Consequently, the Spanish would not be able to stop them from observing the laws received from their forebears and from offering sacrifices to their gods and spirits. Under the Spanish rule, they were forbidden to live their traditional life. 'Let us go away,' they said, 'we can make a living in the new land, the more so, because we all know how to cultivate wet rice on the terraces we build. And when our children get sick, we shall be able to save their lives by killing our pigs and chickens. We will be able to perform our many required rituals as when our wives give birth, our youths marry.'

3.4. *The Five Constituents of the Cosmos*

The Ifugaws' world-view is the same as that of the Kalingas, but there are differences of a minor sort. The Kalingas speak of an iron fence magically planted at the end of the *Dáya* and the colonnade at the extreme border of the *Lágud*. The Ifugaws do not mention this. On the other hand, the Ifugaws have inherited from their ancestors who wrote the *hudhúd* romances, a rich encyclopedia of invocations, prayers, and magical tales which provide important information about the Sky-Cupola, the Skyworld and its inhabitants – the Supreme Being, the gods, the spirits of the dead and the Earth – and the Underworld, its geography, its gods and spirits. The Kalingas do not provide such information.

3.5. *The Sun, the Moon and the Stars*

In Kalinga folk literature, the Sky-Cupola has no proper name, but its function and mechanism are described in the Ifugaw *hudhúd* literature. Chronological phrases which include the word *algó* 'the sun' sometimes end with the term *ad Nangimbukig*. Whenever this expression ends the first verse of any stanza, *hi* being metric is inserted as follows: *ad NangimbúkiHIg*. The addition of *hi* indicates the location of the sun at any time of the day. Instead of chanting 'the sun in the Sky,' the *hudhúd* chantresses sing 'the sun *at Nangimbúkig*.' The marker, *ad* 'to' is essentially locative. The word base of *Nangimbúkig* is certainly *bukig*, the *hudhúd* equivalent of *búkid*. In a number of Philippine languages, *búkid* means 'mountain'; combined with *nang* and *in*, it means 'something mountain.' Therefore the complete phrase, *algó ad Nangimbukig*, translated literally means, 'the sun at that which is already (present perfect tense) mountainlike.' Another chronological clause in *hudhúd* literature further helps to clarify the meaning of *Nangimbukig*. The *hudhúd* singer sings: 'When it (the sun) had already moved down to its afternoon place,' and the chorus responds, 'the sun at its mountainlike site (the sun in the Sky).' What is more mountainlike than the cosmic dome which rests on the Earth and sustains the Skyworld? Thus *Nangimbúkig* must be the proper name for the Sky-Cupola.

The Ifugaws say the sun is always *at Nangimbúkig*, at the Sky-Cupola, from which place it sheds light on the Earth from morning to evening. Thus the

question Where is the sun at night? would undoubtedly be answered as follows by the shamans: 'During the night, it is in the Skyworld. Our ancestors of yore told their descendants that the sun is a god who abides with his wife, Búgan, in the Skyworld.' Furthermore, they would probably say much the same about the moon, his wife, Lingan, and his daughters, the stars. During the day and partly during the night because he is also a god, the moon abides in the Skyworld; Lingan, being a goddess, and their daughters, at least the brighter ones, may accompany their father. Thus when they are beneath the Sky-Cupola they are able during the nightly hours to diminish a little the darkness of the earth.

3.6. *Itinerary of a Culture Hero to the Skyworld*

Important information about the Sky-Cupola and the Skyworld is given in Ifugaw folk literature and ritual text through the adventures of a culture hero. We will follow the progress of a culture hero into the Skyworld, describing the path he takes, whom he meets and why he has gone there. First, the culture-hero must pass through the gaping Sky-Cupola. This is not mentioned by the Ifugaw story-teller, who takes it for granted that every Ifugaw knows this. After going through the gap, the culture hero arrives at the Cosmic *Dáya* in an area outside the Sky-Cupola. Now he can ascend to the Skyworld. He walks the zigzagging path running across the slopes of the mountains and hills crowning the Cupola. On his way he passes through or by the villages inhabited by the gods and spirits of the cosmic *Dáya*. He continues climbing past an uninhabited zone until he reaches the abode of the Skyworld gods. At this point he does not know what path to take among the many paths before him.

The culture hero has a very strong reason for making this hazardous trip to the Skyworld. He seeks the village of his grandmother who died a month ago. Just the other day he dreamt that his grandmother wants to take the soul of his little boy to her home in the Skyworld. She is lonely and the little boy would keep her company. He is anxious to persuade her to leave the little boy alone. He approaches some Skyworld inhabitants who tell him to follow the main path, pass through the yard of *Wigan ad Kabunyán*, 'Wigan of the Skyworld,' the Supreme Being. Then he must take the descending path which will lead him to the abode of the deceased Ifugaws; one inhabitant tells him where he is: 'You are now in the zone of Amkidul,' Thunderer of the Skyworld.

The culture hero approaches the Thunderer sitting in the underyard of his house. He asks him: 'My older daughter, whom we are about to give in marriage, was lying flat on her back while you were thundering, will she be incapable of reproduction?' The Ifugaws believe that it is taboo for a woman to lie flat on her back when it is thundering; they believe thunderclaps cause sterility. The Thunderer answers: 'She will be capable of reproduction, if you sacrifice your fanged pig to me.'

After promising the Thunderer to sacrifice his pig to him, the culture hero continues his journey toward the hill covering the 'pole' of the Sky-Cupola above which the house of *Wigan ad Kabunyán* stands. He stops to speak to the

Supreme Being; he tells him he has promised the Thunderer his pig. After that he hastens toward the Skyworld zone reserved for those who died in their terrestrial villages. Finally he meets his deceased grandmother. He assures her if she does not take his little boy, he will give her a new blanket and skirt which he will place as quickly as possible on the path leading toward his habitat on Earth. These gifts satisfy her. Knowing now that she will not take away the soul of his little boy, he departs for his home on earth. He returns the same way he came, passing through the gape of the Sky-Cupola.

3.7. *Wigan of Kabunyan, the Supreme Being*

Among the Kalingas, Kabunyan is the name of a place where the *buni(s)* are the gods; this place is practically to be understood to be the Skyworld. Wigan, however, is a proper name given by the Ifugaws to the Deity who has his abode in the Skyworld above the pole of the Sky-Cupola. The shamans apply it, in magical tales or other ritual recitations, to some of the subordinate deities and even to a man. For example, they say, *Wigan Ifugaw*, 'Wigan, the Ifugaw,' or *Wigan Pugaw* 'Wigan of the earth'; *Pugaw* means the cosmic earth, in opposition to *Kabunyan*, the Skyworld.

In two folk tales, Wigan of the Skyworld is described as having made the earth, but there is no mention of his creating the universe. To quote one folk tale,

Malandih Wigan ad Kabunyan, ... 'Long ago it happened that Wigan of the Skyworld made the earth. Then he put his son, Kabigat, and his daughter, Bugan, on the earth he had made, that they might be the first ancestors of men. Kabigat and Bugan knew that they were brother and sister, so they ran away to the Downstream region and married there. There, they brought forth three sons, all three, Deities. The first was Ampuwal, who became the ancestor of all evil spirits. The second, Ngillin, who became the ancestor of jealous spirits. The third, Ambumabakal, who became the ancestor of all the Matungulan gods, the claimants of debts to be paid to them. Leaving their three godly sons, Kabigat and Bugan returned to the earth, where they bore many children. Their children and their descendants intermarried and soon the earth was thickly populated; there was hardly place for all. Then, Wigan of the Skyworld caused the great flood. He made it rain for many days and all living beings were submerged in the water, except Ballitok and Bugan. These two, brother and sister, were saved, for they had made a raft and so floated above the waters. Ten days later, their raft landed near the top of Mount Napulawan (some 20 to 30 km. north of Kiangan). They waited there until the water subsided. When the Earth was dry again, they went down to Otbobon valley and settled on the hill of Kiangan near the site of Habiyan. Ballitok and Bugan lived there for the rest of their life. They had several children: Tad-ona, Pattiwan, Bihakon, Indungdung, In-uke and some other younger children. Tad-ona married In-uke and they became the ancestors of the Kiangan people.

The Ifugaw tales about Wigan of the Skyworld plainly ascribe to him the making of the earth. This description is in contradiction with what is said elsewhere that he dwells on a hill above the pole of the Sky-Cupola. This means that the earth was already in existence; therefore he could not have made the earth. The Ifugaws and the Kalingas are not aware of this contradiction in their cosmology.

The above tale tells that Wigan put his son, Kabigat, and his daughter, Bugan, on the earth he had created. The Ifugaws know, of course, that women are necessary for children to be born and believe that the deities of the Skyworld have wives. However, the Ifugaw genealogists, when reciting the genealogy of beings, speak first the name Wigan, who is Wigan of the Skyworld; and they say he has no wife. The shamans say of the gods of the Skyworld: 'Our ancestors told us that we have to offer sacrifices to them; more than that we do not know.'

Although the Ifugaws fail to realize what it means to say that Wigan of the Skyworld is supreme, they nevertheless affirm that the supremacy of *Wigan ad Kanunyán* is due to his goodness. He is good toward men. He does not compel them to make sacrificial offerings of pigs, chickens, and rice wine. He even positively helps them. In magical tales he is said to come down to earth, in order to advise or help a man who is incapable of completing tasks by himself, such as constructing rice field terraces to provide his household with enough to eat. He is good to the gods and spirits, not only to those who abide in the Skyworld, but also to those who inhabit the other cosmic zones. Although he never interferes with the attempts of supernatural beings to obtain sacrificial offerings from men, nevertheless, the shamans say, he has taught their ancestors how to avoid or block harassment by the gods and spirits, as long as they make offerings of pigs and chickens. 'That is what our ancestors told us; and they heard this from Wigan of the Skyworld whom we, all of us, know to be good for men.'

However, can one say that Wigan of the Skyworld is absolutely good if he was the author of the *lubú*, the great flood? He destroyed all living beings except Ballitok and his sister, Bugan. The above Kiangán story of the flood needs amplification. A more detailed version is told in other areas of Ifugawland.

A long, long time ago, the earth was a large plain; there were no mountains, except the Amuyaw and the Kalawitan. *Wigan ad Kabunyán*, who was very fond of hunting, frequently dived down to the earth to capture the stags which roamed in the forests of the earth. However, his dogs were unable to overtake the stags which ran more swiftly than the dogs, since the earth was flat in all directions. One day, Wigan of the Skyworld dived down near the end of the earth and stuck his great and wide knapsack into the bottom of the large river, so that its water could no longer flow away. He made a heavy rain fall upon the earth, so that the earth was entirely covered with water and all men were drowned. Only Wigan, the Ifugaw, and Bugan, his sister, were able to reach the top of Mount Amuyaw, because Wigan of the Skyworld, who wanted to save mankind, showed them the way to the Amuyaw. When Wigan and Bugan arrived there, they saw nothing but water around them. They were worried because they had no fire to cook their food. Suddenly, they saw that a fire was burning far away on the top of Mount Kalawitan. They sent their cat to get a torch from that mountain. The cat reached the Kalawitan, got a burning torch and swam back to the Amuyaw, but before the cat arrived, the fire was extinguished. Then, they sent their dog, who succeeded. Wigan of the Skyworld brought them some rice and a cooking pot. Some days later, he went to the *lágud* end of the earth, took out his knapsack, and let the water masses rush with force from the *Dáya* zones to the *Lágud*. He saw that his eroding system had worked well: deep fords, wide valleys, hills, mountain chains were formed in all directions! Assuredly, his hunting expeditions would no longer be unsuccessful, for his hounds would be able to overtake the stags. When the water had subsided, Wigan, the Ifugaw and Bugan came down from the Amuyaw and after a half day's journey established themselves at Bawang.

Wigan of the Skyworld came to visit them. He taught them how to get their living and, especially, told them how they could avoid the evils the other dieties and spirits would torment them with: to offer their pigs and chickens to them and let them drink rice wine.

This is the folk tale of the great flood as told in the Mayawyaw area. Since time immemorial, the tradition in all Ifugawland is that Wigan of the Skyworld caused the deluge. The reason is clearly given in the above version: successfully to hunt the stag. In the Kiangang version the reason given is that the earth was thickly populated, with hardly a place for everybody. There is reason to believe that the Christian who wrote down the Kiangang version misunderstood what he was told. This opinion is strengthened by the fact that in the Banawe, Hapaw, Central Ifugaw area, the tale of the deluge is practically the same as that told in the Mayawyaw area. According to the shamans, this is a magical tale always recited at certain sacrificial rituals.

All versions of the flood tell of impossible events: the getting of fire from the Kalawitan (the distance to this place is too great to swim); the swift downward rush of the waters from the high *Dáya* to the *Lágud*, which cannot be the case, if the earth is described as a great plain.

3.8. *The Earth as the Habitat of the Pinading*

Pinading(s) are evil spirits. The Ifugaws generally believe that they were men in times past, but bad men, thieves, fighters, trouble makers. After their death, supernatural beings pulled their souls to the abode of the deceased, somewhere in the lower part of the Skyworld, a part situated at a distance from the cosmic *Lágud*. When these souls began to steal and make trouble even there, they were driven out and incarnated as rats, snakes, and other noxious animals. When these animals died, they were compelled to live in the boulders of rivers, creeks and springs, in rocks and on cliffs, in certain tall trees, and in other places. In every case they kept their evil habits. They often left their unpleasant dwelling places to roam about, seeking to steal the souls of the living or to make them sick in order to force relatives to offer up sacrifices to them. If they heard the sounds of gongs which often meant that some wealthy family was celebrating a feast, they would invisibly appear at the celebration to lean against the posts of the house or its walls; or against nearby trees or projecting stones. The Ifugaws believe the Pinadings think one at least of the many pigs offered to the gods will be sacrificed to them. At all sacrificial rituals, the shamans invite the Pinadings to drink the soul of the rice wine in case nothing is sacrificed to them. Any ritual invocation to Pinadings will include all of them: those who live on top of high mountains as well as those who dwell somewhere in the Skyworld or the Underworld.

Ketéma, also called *agbá*, is a divination rite performed by certain shamans, or by a small group of women, in order to induce one or another Pinading to take possession of a person, usually a woman, known or believed to be easily possessed. The Ifugaws know that someone is actually possessed when he or she begins to tremble. The trembling, of course, must not be a natural shaking,

shivering, or trepidation caused, for instance, by intense fear or malaria; it must be a magical tremor of the muscles of the cheeks, the arms, the thighs, and the legs; there must be signs of excitement, nervousness, and restlessness.

The Ifugaws believe, when a man, woman, or child becomes seriously and strangely sick, a Pinading has taken possession of their soul to force relatives of the sick person to offer a sacrifice of a pig, a chicken, or anything else. Unfortunately, they do not know what the Pinading wants; the *Ketéma* rite is performed to find out.

The shaman recites the magical formulas which invite the Pinading to take possession of a man or woman reputed to be easily possessed. He or she is present at the ceremony. As soon as the medium begins to tremble, this is taken to mean that the Pinading has taken possession. Now the shaman offers the Pinading rice wine; then he asks him to state its name and the site where it abides. After these questions are answered, the shaman tries to arouse compassion in the Pinading for the sick person and to convince him to set the sick soul free. Often in reply the Pinading will complain about being mistreated. The shaman may humbly admit the rightness of the complaint or plead ignorance. To placate and win over the Pinading, he asks what he wants as an offering. The Pinading answers, but he mumbles so that those present cannot understand what he is saying. Then the shaman gives him more rice wine to sip, asking him to speak more clearly. At long last after much persuasion, the Pinading states what he wants: 'One pig and two chickens to be sacrificed beneath the big stone in which he dwells; more rice wine; a new skirt for his wife; and rice cakes for all his children.' The shaman and all present promise to fulfill the Pinading's requests on the third day. The Pinading accepts. A few minutes later, the strange trembling of the medium ceases. Everyone is now convinced that the sick person will be cured within a few days.

3.9. *The Ifugaw Underworld*

The Kalingas do not have much to say about the Underworld, but the Ifugaws in their *hudhúd* romances, ritual invocations, prayers, and magical tales provide a great deal of data about their beliefs concerning the underworld and its supernatural inhabitants.

Ifugaw folk literature and ritual texts ascribed a very large area to the underworld, or *Dalóm*. It is located not only under the habitable earth, but also under the big lake, the *lobóng ad lágud*. The ritual invocations reveal that the Ifugaws believe the underworld is heavily populated by gods and spirits. Its chief deity is the Earthquaker identified in some magical tales as the friend of the Thunderer of the Skyworld. However, his status as chief deity is not recognized by all the underworld gods, particularly the gods dwelling in a concave-shaped sub-underworld.

The ritual invocations of the underworld deities, in particular those recited by the shamans in the Mayawyaw area, give the impression that their ancestral shamans must have tried to solve the problem of the underworld's 'bottom.'

Why does it not fall into the abyss of nothingness? Those forebears, in some way, imagined that the earth's substratum of big stones was the ceiling of the underworld and that the empty space under the ceiling was closed all around by heavy stone walls which, at the same time, supported the cosmic *Dáya* and *Lágud*. But how could those stone walls, which also sustain the Sky-Cupola, and the thick irregular stone pavement of the underworld's villages remain fixed to the universe? The answer, of course, was through the operation of a mighty magical power. The Mayawyaw ritual tells us in what this magical force consists: the very bottom of the underworld and, consequently, of the universe is a deified entity believed to have a soul. Indeed, the heavy bottom is invoked by the shamans under the twofold name of *Támok ad Dalóm* and *Dopón ad Dalóm*, the former meaning, 'Solid Foundation of the underworld,' the latter, 'Bottom of the underworld.'

Certain *hudúd* romances tell how a given culture hero can enter the *Dalóm*. In one romance he is described as standing in the yard in front of his house. Taking the *balíga*, the sword of his wife's weaving loom, he makes a ladling movement into the ground of his houseyard. At the same time he pronounces a magic formula. The earth gapes open. The hero jumps into the hole and glides down until he alights, like a bird, on or near the abode of the deity he wishes to accost. A magical force again enables him to make the return trip. This *hudhúd* story seems to indicate that the Ifugaws believe no man can enter the *Dalóm* without the help of magic. Furthermore, in this *hudhúd* incident, the soloist makes her hero use a *balíga* with which magically to open a way of descent into the underworld and the zone inhabited by the deities and their subordinates. The *balíga* has somewhat the shape of a double-edged knife. At the loom, it serves to widen the gap made by the bamboo rod which raises the even warp-threads of the weaving chain, so that the shuttle can easily be shot through the gap. Since the soloist is a woman who knows how to weave and to use the *balíga*, she imagines that it can make a gap in the ground wide enough to serve as passage way for the hero of her story.

In another romance, the culture hero follows another path to the underworld. The deity or spirit he wishes to visit is believed to dwell in a village of the underworld lying deep under the lake of the geographical *lágud*. First, he travels on foot in the bed of a given large river until he arrives at the hither bank of the big lake. There, he calls up the alligators which, under the spell of the hero's magic command, emerge, align themselves side by side over the calm surface of the lake. The hero marches on their scaly backs until he reaches the island that juts out from the water. On arriving there, he dives into the lake and, in a magic moment, alights on the level yard of the submerged habitat where the Spirit, *Pingkíhan*, rules. As soon as he lands, he looks upward and sees that the village has a ceiling of water upheld by magical power. Looking around, he sees houses, pigs, and chickens. He approaches the center house to be amiably met by the chieftain. The chieftain complains that the hero has hurt the invisible children playing in the plaza. Looking through the doorway of *Pingkíhan's* house, he

sees that many costly necklaces are hanging side by side on the walls. To see the precious jewels better, he steps on the lower rung of the house ladder. After examining them, he turns to the wealthy spirit to inform him of the purpose of his visit. 'My younger sister,' he says, 'is celebrating her marriage feast, but she refuses to join the ritual parade, if I do not find for her two resplendant necklaces: one with blueish pearls that shine like blue-violet centipedes; the other with beads that shoot out rays like those emitted by reddish centipedes.' Spirit *Pingkihan* smiles and nods; he jumps into his house and, in a magic instant, jumps down with two brilliant necklaces. 'Wonderful,' exclaims the *hudhúd* hero. *Pingkihan* puts them in the hip-bag of his visitor saying: 'Tomorrow, you ought to sacrifice for us your fattest pig.' Then he takes his visitor's spear, makes him stand on the prongs of its blade, and with magic power hurls him upward through the water above, until he lands on the bank of the big lake.

Both *hudhúd* episodes vividly reveal how the ancestral cosmologists imagined the underworld. They imagined the lower part of the universe to be an immense cavity 'enclosed' by a ceiling of stones, a bottom pavement of stones, and surrounding stone walls, all three magically maintained. Thus the *Dalóm* is completely enclosed and inaccessible to human beings. It is for this reason the Ifugaws believe no man can enter it without magical help.

4. CONCLUSION

The ultimate meaning of life for the Kalingas and the Ifugaws is the life itself. After death the inhabitants of the earth are conducted by the inhabitants of the Skyworld toward the cosmic *Lágud*. They pass through the Sky-Cupola and then ascend its slope until they arrive in the Skyworld, in the abode reserved for them, where they will live the way they did before.

The abode is geomorphic. In the folk literature, when the narrator describes how a culture hero enters the abode of the deceased, it becomes clear that the ideas the Kalingas and the Ifugaws have about afterlife are replicas of the life on earth. The spirits in the Skyworld want to have what men and women living on the earth need: a blanket, a pig, chicken, rice wine for men, a new skirt for women, etc. They inform their relatives living on earth through the shamans about their need. Once the relatives are told that the spirits are in need, they exhume the bones of the deceased and perform the sacrificial rites which are connected with exhumations. They place the corpse sitting in a death-chair, and offer them chicken and pigs strangled without using knife. Often, instead of exhumation, the relatives hang blankets and clothes, or set rice wine jars in a conspicuous place near their villages.

The sacrifices are performed in accordance with the custom laws, which are believed to have been dictated obscurely by the Supreme Being to their ancestors of yore. It seems that these custom laws could be called ultimate reality for the Kalingas and Ifugaws. They try to scrutinize them and penetrate their mysteries in order to preserve their lives: This is the purpose of the sacrifices as

well as of folk literature. The methodic research on the custom laws is far from being finished. It is up to the coming generations of the Kalingas and Ifugaws to provide us with a thorough study on the Kalinga and Ifugaw contribution to a greater and deeper understanding of the ultimate reality and meaning of human existence.

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