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Pig Is Money

***Aremag* (Funerals) among the Ibaloy of Upper Loacan (Itogon, Benguet)**

Among the rituals of the Ibaloy of the Philippine Cordillera, the *aremag*, the first funeral cycle, prepares a person's departure to the next world. Drawing on several projects designed to share the elders' traditional knowledge with the youth in Upper Loacan in Benguet, we analyze specifically the killing of the pig and its squeal that mark a transfer of vitality and allow a series of transactions. The pig's meat embodies the notion of money: wealth for the deceased and inheritance, luck, bountiful harvests, or gold ore for the living who provide the pigs. *Aremag* testifies to how rituals participate in Ibaloy cultural resistance.

KEYWORDS: FUNERALS • DEATH • IBALOY • PIGS • CORDILLERA

Among the Ibaloy of Upper Loacan¹ (Itogon, Benguet), death is seen as a form of life. The dead no longer reproduce sexually, but their numbers increase. Above all, they act and react in response to the practices of the living. Their bodies are placed in graves near the house, not in a cemetery. From their postmortem places, the deceased protect or punish. They may take possession of a living person's body to express themselves, as witnessed in *shepo* (spirit possession), which happens especially when rules are not respected or when funerals are not conducted properly. Like the living, the deceased feed on pigs and need a multitude of things in their lives after death.

This article aims to contribute to the field of death studies. It provides a detailed analysis of contemporary death rituals that use pigs extensively and discusses the role of these animals as wealth to be exchanged. Our choice to focus on the pig derives from the ethnographical material we began recording in 2012, in which we noticed that no funeral in Upper Loacan could be conducted without pigs. We have been influenced by Pierre Lemonnier (2007, 34), who, in his work among the Anga of Papua New Guinea, points out the “auto-amplification effect” of pigs, which reproduce easily and hence are useful as a kind of currency.² Among the Ibaloy, the capacity of using pigs as a substitute for money is not always explicit, but the pigs' financial value is marked as they are considered a kind of wealth. Lemonnier also observes in the Highlands Region of Papua New Guinea that life emerges from and feeds on death. This idea also applies to Ibaloy death rituals that feature pigs. The vitality of the animal can be transferred to the deceased through its killing. Among the Ibaloy, pigs are killed using a wooden stake (*owik*) and expected to squeal, which indicates a successful transfer of life.

The *aremag*, the first funeral cycle, serves to manage a person's departure for the next world. Yet death does not entirely exclude the person from social life. The living and the dead continue to interact with each other. The living provide the dead with pigs and objects while caring for their remains, keeping them dry, and protecting them from termites and other impurities. In these dealings the living have two main motives. First, they wish to keep the dead, at all costs, from bothering them with requests or inflicting illnesses on them, which can occur if some rituals have been done improperly or if the remains have not been taken care of properly. In this sense Maurice Bloch (1993) is right: The living perform rituals to rid themselves of the dead. But they want

more. They hope for blessings, prosperity, health, luck, and fortune from the dead. Even when separated from them—by multidimensional distance or because their needs are no longer quite the same—the living still eat with the dead, even if they are invisible. The Ibaloy explain that before each meal one must say loudly *kalejo mengan* (Let's eat) to invite the dead to the table. As in many societies, the Ibaloy also often communicate with the dead through dreams. The dead warn the living about prospective dangers by sending messages or animals, such as snakes, that appear surreptitiously on roads or in homes.

But what motivates the dead in these exchanges? They need the living so that they can live a good postmortem life. They remember their descendants and expect support from them with each new death, where the living are able to provide them with money and pigs and thus help them live better in the hereafter. During the funeral the living give money to the deceased person for distribution to others when he/she goes to one of the postmortem places. This idea is the basis for the *opo* tradition, which we will discuss later. Moreover, the Ibaloy emphasize that the dead need pigs to bring their *karashowa*, their soul, to raise their own pigs.

In this article we examine the pig's role in the funeral context. By reading the pig's liver, the living can tell how satisfied the dead are and measure the luck they are given. The pig's flesh, blood, and *karashowa* have equally specific destinies. We suggest that the pig is a form of money in the sense that it is exchanged as wealth that socially and economically binds the deceased and the living. The pig is not a sacrificial victim nor an extension of the human body, as it is among the neighboring Ifugao (Remme 2014). Rather, it helps establish a connection between two worlds. Offerings to the dead are necessary for the living to obtain health, luck, protection, and benediction. As Robert Hertz (1907/1928) and Bloch (1993) clearly understood, the “dead” of the ritual are no longer alive but nor are they totally dead.³ The two groups simply evolve in different worlds; the living come together and reaffirm their solidarity with them, while the dead move on to their postmortem places. And to move there, they need the support of the living.

On a more general level, the Ibaloy participants do not conceive the continuity of death rituals using pigs in Upper Loacan as a hybridization process. Like the notion of syncretism, that of hybridity has become a classic topos in history and the social sciences. However, if the concept is used on a descriptive level to refer to the process of combining two or more different

traditions, it fails to be an adequate analytical tool since everything is by nature **hybrid and fluid and never pure**. Moreover, the Ibaloy never use such a concept; they rather refer to cultural resistance in a context where they face assimilation and where many churches oppose “traditional” death rituals. Upper Loacan residents point out the importance of their death rituals and, at the same time, identify themselves as Christians. Lastly, Ibaloy traditions are always subject to variations due to exogamous marriages that are still predominant, as many Ibaloy find their partners outside their community, which results in many elements from outside (indigenous or not) being brought into their society. Death rituals, like those studied by Queeny Lapeña and Stephen Acabado (2017) among the Ifugao, are part of Ibaloy cultural resistance and consolidate their community according to the elders. These practices are by no way disappearing but are very present in Upper Loacan.

We begin by briefly describing the Ibaloy of Upper Loacan. We then discuss their death ritual, focusing on cosmology, the role of pigs in transactions with the deceased and ancestors, offerings, prohibitions, exchanges, and the *kape*, a sequence of actions that closes the ritual and demonstrates the role of pigs in renewing ties between the living and the dead. Thus, pigs facilitate transactions: They either represent “love” from the children of the deceased or replace money for the whole community during funerals.

Death Rituals in the Cordillera and among the Ibaloy of Upper Loacan

Among the indigenous peoples of the Cordillera of Luzon, death practices have been well documented, and excellent archaeological and historical studies on mummies are available, especially in Sagada, Mountain Province (Morimoto 1993; Picpican 2003) and Kabayan, Benguet (Salvador-Amores 2012; Beckett et al. 2017; Beckett 2020). Much has been written on funerary rites in the Cordillera (Afable 1975; Canol 1981; Celino 1990; Laban 1995; Piluden-Omengan 2004; Ameda et al. 2011). In many communities of the province of Benguet, Ibaloy death rituals are still performed, demonstrating the vitality of Igorot traditions (Russell 1989; Anacin 2009; Tolentino 2018) and the continued importance of religious practices (Lewis 1992; Camte-Bahni 2017). Fifty years ago, Patricia Okubo Afable (1975) vividly described the aremag. Her report provides valuable details for comparison with contemporary practices, which are useful in

showing that Christian traditions often remain separated from the rituals in Upper Loacan.⁴

The Ibaloy of Upper Loacan inhabit a barangay of Itogon in the southern portion of the province of Benguet, near Baguio City, the regional center of the Cordillera. Although they practice terrace farming today, they also used to mine gold on a small scale since they trade it with the Chinese, the Spanish, and the Americans (Caballero 1996; Canilao 2011). The community of Upper Loacan is mostly Catholic, but other denominations are present, such as the Evangelical Church. The group we stayed with had long ago been evangelized by the Missionary Sisters of the Immaculate Conception as well as priests from several religious orders, notably American Jesuits. Christian identity is important to the Ibaloy, but it has not erased the traditions the elders wish to preserve.

In the course of several projects to help pass on traditional knowledge from the elders to the youth, we have had the opportunity to work with the Upper Loacan community since 2012.⁵ The information presented in this article comes from a series of twenty-one interviews and three workshops of intergenerational transfer of knowledge with Ibaloy elders conducted by a team of Ibaloy speakers and youth.⁶ The verbatim accounts of these discussions and life story records are published in Nabaloi and are provided with an **English translation in Laugrand et al. (2019a, 2019b, 2019c, 2020a, 2021a, 2021b)**, totaling six volumes in each language.⁷ The elders and youth who participated in the discussions all agreed that their words and their names would be published in an academic work. In fact, the elders emphasized the importance of stating the name and locality of the speaker, as each person has a different experience, acknowledging that knowledge is not abstract but connected with a localized context and varies from one family to another. Participants paid more importance to giving their oral consent to the researchers than committing to any written ethical declaration, such as the Free, Prior and Informed Consent (FPIC) proposed by the National Commission on Indigenous Peoples (NCIP) representatives, which they explained could be used against them. They furthermore declared that performing rituals together and eating the same food were a mark of common trust. In fact, after each workshop, the proper rituals were performed, and several pigs, hens, and roosters were slaughtered and eaten by the group. The discussions and rituals took place at the Senior Citizen Association’s Hall in Upper Loacan.⁸

Afable (1975) provides an excellent piece of work on the aremag in the neighboring municipality of Tublay. Interestingly, the Upper Loacan variant is quite different from neighboring practices. For example, whereas Afable argues that the Ibaloy easily forget about the deceased after a while, the Ibaloy of Upper Loacan seem almost obsessed with them. Death rituals clearly vary extensively depending on the localities and families. Variants can even be observed in Upper and Lower Loacan. Our study focuses on Upper Loacan.

While many of their features have changed, contemporary death rituals have retained their meanings. Obviously, losing a member of the family is always a painful and emotional moment **for the family**. As outsiders, we were struck by the fact that aremag, the first funeral cycle, is attended by not only the family of the deceased but also an enlarged group composed of close relatives and in-laws and even other members of the whole community who can suddenly connect with their own deceased. Every day, actions are performed to support the deceased's departure and great journey. On-site the family is never left alone, and visitors are welcomed and fed. The death of a person creates a context for all living people to communicate more directly with the deceased community at large. Some level of intimacy can be seen in the deceased's house, but outside, all the living participate in the ritual. To facilitate the transfer of vitality from the living to the deceased person, the participants not only kill several pigs but also restrain their own vitality, avoiding any courting or sexual relationships. Death thus appears as a dangerous moment. On the one hand, it involves sharing meat and wealth widely, but on the other hand, it is marked by restrictions and prohibitions that aim to smoothen the transfer of vitality. Death immediately activates a series of prohibitions for the family, such as taboos on work and sexual relations, which the Ibaloy call *ngilin*. Without these prohibitions, rituals are useless and powerless, and the deceased loses his/her *karashowa* (soul) and becomes one of the *kedaring*, a deceased spirit.⁹

Death as a Cosmological Issue

Funerals last between four and nine days with various rituals. Each ritual has several sequences that are coherent units and can be combined in various ways. Some sequences can be added to make a new ritual.

When death happens in a family, a series of questions is immediately discussed to determine which rituals to organize. As soon as possible after the death of a person, close kin and neighbors come to the deceased's house.



Fig. 1. Lolo (elder) Marcial Monang uttering a madmad to his deceased relative, telling her that the family is conducting the aremag accordingly, Sabkil, Upper Loacan, March 2020

Source: the authors

The incident opens the first day of the ritual, called *sepit*. First, the family waits for a few hours to check if the person is really dead or not. In our workshops, elders recalled many examples of deceased people who, shortly after their death, decided to come back to smoke or do something they had forgotten and returned to life. A second issue to resolve is to know if the person died inside or outside their house, as different procedures apply. If the person died inside the house, the living will have to position the body with the head facing east and, for the burial, the feet taken out first. If the person died outside the house, the body has to be transported back to their house. The family then performs the ritual *dawit* during the first day, which requires some of the deceased's clothes, a rooster, and a *madmad*—a ritual saying to address the dead (this address to the dead is called a *bonong* if it is uttered by a *mambonong*, a ritual officiant or shaman; see fig. 1). It is assumed that when someone dies, their *kedaring* will depart from the body and wander around. The *dawit* is meant to call the *kedaring* back home. A chicken is used as transportation for the *kedaring*, so it is not killed in the ritual. Later, when the chicken is seen pecking something on the ground, this indicates that the *kedaring* has returned home.

Finally, if a person died by accident, murder, or suicide, the family of the deceased must first perform the ritual *shaw-es* using a dog, then the

selchi using a chicken, before killing any pig. These two rituals are meant to discourage the *karashowa* of the living family members from following the deceased in this abnormal death.¹⁰

On the first day, the deceased's family has two more points to carefully discuss. The first one has to do with the length of the funeral. The family has to decide whether the funeral will take four, seven, or nine days, depending on their financial capacity, social ranking, and the ascendants' tradition. For example, if a man's father had a nine-day funeral, his children may also have nine days or fewer, but not more than his father's. The second point to be discussed is the coffin, which has to be made with a straight pine tree. The wood used cannot be bent, like those for making a house. Today, this tradition has eroded as funeral services are usually able to provide a commercial wooden coffin, but some still make pine tree coffins. The burial should not take place on a Sunday, as this day is reserved for Christian traditions. The Ibaloy are careful not to mix Christian traditions with their own practices. Once these issues are settled, the family members wash the deceased person's face using his/her own right hand while wishing the deceased to help them in the future. This procedure is meant to help the deceased look good before departing for the postmortem place and meeting other deceased.

On this first day, *madmad* or *bonong* are required at various times: when the family members wash the face of the dead body, when they put the clothes and the blankets on the body of the deceased, when the body is placed inside the coffin, when the first pig is killed, and just before the food is served. Here, the uttering consists of addressing the deceased, stating things like, "this pig is offered for you." When the deceased leaves a spouse behind, the *tek-oy* ritual is required. The *mambonong* pours some *tapey*, rice wine, on the earth to make the *kedaring* aware that the person who just died is now separated from his/her spouse and is prepared for the great journey.

Then, some *sap-sap*, runo reed grass, is collected to be used as a mat where the pigs will be killed and butchered (fig. 2). The first pig is killed lying down on its side, facing the east. It has to be killed with the *owik*, a wooden stake made from a guava branch, and the pig must squeal. The pig's skin is burnt with a flamethrower to remove its hair. Then, its body is butchered. Its liver is taken out first and checked by an elder or a *mambonong* to see if it is complete. The liver, along with the gallbladder attached to it, must have five or more parts. Five or more parts mean luck. If there are fewer than five parts, another pig has to be used and butchered on another site. The kidneys



Fig. 2. Two men butchering a pig, Sabkil, Upper Loacan, March 2020

Source: the authors

(*batin*) also need to be checked. If one is missing, it means something bad is to be expected.

When the pig is butchered, three pieces of each part of the pig (liver, stomach, neck, etc.) are separated and skewered using an iron wire to be cooked and eaten separately by the close family members and the children of the deceased. This separated meat is called *ayag*. Other pieces of meat consisting of liver and a few pieces of fat are roasted and eaten first as *demshang*, snacks, while waiting for the boiled meat and rice. The deceased's family members are the first to eat before the meat and rice are distributed to the rest of the participants. The first pig that is butchered is considered the *balon* or lunch for the *kedaring* of the deceased for its journey. The pig used for this meal is called *kameng to*, which literally means the wealth of the deceased.

All the participants, except the widow/widower and the deceased's parents, share and eat the pig's meat called *shangdis*, the meat used during funerals. However, there are people who are unwilling to eat it and are called the *mantekili*. This refusal is well accepted as the Ibaloy know that some people get sick from eating during funerals. But as commensality is



Fig. 3. Lolo Bering, a mambonong, performing the kibdong, Sabkil, Upper Loacan, March 2020

Source: the authors

essential, these people have to eat their own food on-site in a separate house nearby called *penganan ni eg mangan ni shangdis*.

After the eating of the pig's meat, a mambonong leads the many rituals that will take place, especially the *kibdong*. This ritual consists of the mambonong blessing the whole family and all the participants with sugarcane and water in a basin (fig. 3). A five-peso coin is placed in the water, which each member of the deceased's family can rub on their knees to get luck and blessing from the deceased. The *intestines (sosot)* mixed with ginger and rice wine are consumed together while the mambonong utters a bonong. After this ritual, the deceased's close family starts the ngilin or taboos, which is usually practiced for a month, except for the spouse of the dead, who must do it for a full year.

Lolo Marcial Monang, an elder from Doting, describes the kibdong:

We have to do the *kibdong* at the beginning of the wake and at the day of burial. . . . The purpose of this *kibdong* when someone died is to serve us who are still living so that when you go anywhere, you will not dislike any food that they will serve you. I believe this because there are other people who do not eat the food served in a funeral because they were not present during the *kibdong*. (Laugrand et al. 2019a)

The kibdong allows the participants to overcome *ekel*, disgust for eating the meat during a funeral, next to a dead body.

Finally, some of the participants start building the *daktang*, a structure where the leftovers of the meat, including all the owik, *killing stakes*, and gallbladders, are kept for the next meal and away from dogs (fig. 4). At least one or two close family members are requested to stay near the deceased person for the whole night, but usually, many people stay awake overnight.

At night people sing songs, tell stories and riddles, drink, and gamble. Women and those who wish to sing and speak more quietly remain inside the house, while the men and those drinking and playing stay outside and make noise until the sun rises.

From all these actions, the first day of the funeral is characterized by the need to prepare the dead for their journey. The living must ensure that the body is complete and ready. They kill a pig, the "wealth of the deceased," from which the ayag, meat cooked for the close relatives, is not mixed with other meats but eaten separately. This ritual distinguishes the deceased's family from all the other participants, but this distinction gradually collapses as the funeral goes on.



Fig. 4. The daktang, a structure made of bamboo to keep the leftovers, Sabkil, Upper Loacan, March 2020

Source: the authors

Pigs for the Deceased and the Ancestors: Clearing the Path

The second day of the funeral is called *bangon to*, literally, “the person wakes up.” On this day (although this can also be done on the first day), men must collect firewood in the forest. They first perform the ritual *peltik*, asking permission from the *tinmongaw*, the owner of the tree, to cut the tree. They must leave and come back as a group. Nobody stays or returns alone, and no one should fall down carrying the loads. Should any of these things happen, it would mean that the *karashowa*, the living soul, of the person would remain stuck in the forest. Meanwhile, the women have to stay near the deceased person and cook food.

Once the men have returned, a man will kill a dog by hitting it over the head with a piece of wood. Its throat is sliced with a knife, its blood collected, and the butchered dog is placed on banana leaves and served to the men who have collected the firewood. As the dog needs to be paired, a second dog of the opposite sex will have to be killed during the funeral. Vegetables are also required, especially the *pising* (taro). If the coffin and the clothes are available on the first day, no pig is butchered on the second day; only a dog is killed. In all cases, a dog’s *karashowa* is needed, as it will clear the path for the *kedaring* of the deceased person on their journey. The dog is thought to remove the mist on the trail as the *kedaring* does not like to get wet.

If the coffin is made from a pine tree, men have to cut a straight pine tree on the second or third day. Here, no metal nails are to be used, only wood. A *madmad* must be said when the body is put in the coffin. Wooden coffins are readily available nowadays, so the family usually buys the coffin, often on the first day. Nevertheless, the dog is still needed, and the collected firewood is used for cooking the dog and the food for the duration of the funeral.

The deceased now has to wear white clothing called *manta*, and the rest of the clothes have to be put in a box, which will be buried beside the body, so the deceased will be able to find them later, within a year. It is assumed that the living and the dead cannot wear the same clothes. The clothes the deceased wore just before death must also be buried. Nowadays, the body is embalmed to meet government regulations; a funeral service member removes its blood and buries its clothes next to it. In the past there was no embalmment, but, according to Lolo Manuel Castro, an elder from Labilab (Loacan), guava leaves were burnt to lessen the smell of the dead

body (Laugrand et al. 2019b). At present, funeral services are available for a reasonable price. Lights, decorations, posters, the coffin, and the opo box are brought and installed on-site.

Once the body has its *manta*, it is wrapped in two blankets. The first blanket for men, called *kolebaw*, is white, and the one for women, called *sapey*, is black. A second blanket is used depending on the social rank of the deceased and on what has been used for his/her ascendants. For example, if the ascendant of the deceased used a *shindi* blanket, which is for rich people, he/she can also use it; the *shindi* can be used as well for both men and women. If the deceased is from the middle class, a *sinobel* blanket would be used. Poor people only use *sapey* and *kolebaw*.

While putting the clothes on the body, an elder or a *mambonong* will say a *madmad* or a *bonong* to the deceased, begging him/her to be flexible and asking permission from the family to place his/her clothing and blankets properly. Every ritual has to be said with the deceased’s relatives drinking a cup of gin. White pairs of shoes and socks also have to be purchased and placed under the coffin.

Lolo Nardo Bato, an elder from Tolibeng, describes the importance of the clothes:

We are not going to put the shoes on the feet of the deceased because he/she might not like it, especially if the shoes are made up of rubber. We will just put on the clothes and the blankets but not the shoes. The deceased are like us, they need clothes. If our clothes are destroyed, we would get new ones, so we need to give the deceased new clothes as well. Otherwise, they will ask from us, especially if they see that we are lucky. They may ask, “Can you give me new clothes?” It is the same with us when we see that our parents, especially our father, get money, we will ask, “Could you give me money for me to buy tobacco and sugar?” For us who are still living, we also ask our parents but it is not like that for the deceased, for them we need to perform a ritual. If we have extra clothes and money that we can share, we may share these. We may say, “I will give you these clothes.” It is important to give clothes to our deceased family or relatives. (Laugrand et al. 2019a)

The deceased must be presentable in the afterlife. During the *aremag* a cap or a hat for a male is required, and a *madmad* must be said to indicate to

the kedaring that it is intended for him. Just as any living person would do, if the kedaring sees that his/her relatives have savings, he/she might ask them to buy him/her a new set of clothes.

Lola Lucia Puga, an elder from Anteg-in in Upper Loacan, remembers when her family members made a mistake with the blanket used for her deceased husband:

In those seven days of his wake, we killed and butchered pigs. When Paltoki [a member of Lola Lucia's family] came to my husband's wake, he said that we must remove the *kolebaw*, the white blanket used for the dead, that we had used. He said, "Nowadays, poor people don't use blankets anymore." I was angry when they removed the blanket. When they removed the blanket, my daughter Nina, who was pregnant at that time, dreamt of her father and her father said, "Leave the white blanket alone," thinking that he was not yet buried. But then, we had buried the dead body already. I asked the elder Awal, "What should we do? Can we bury that on his grave?" He said, "Yes, you bury that when it is dawn." And then someone buried the blanket that Paltoki asked to be removed from my husband's body. (ibid.)

As for the food, eight plates of rice and meat are placed beside the dead body (fig. 5). The deceased's children and close family, except the widow/widower and the deceased's parents, if they are still alive, are welcome to eat this food. Lola Juana Willy, an elder from Lower Loacan, explains:

The widow/widower can't eat the meat from the pig they butchered in the wake of her husband because it can give sickness. It triggers asthma. Their children will be the ones who eat the meat of the pig in the funeral of their father/mother. You can't eat the meat of the pig butchered in your child's wake because he/she came from your flesh, your blood. But if it is your parent's funeral, it's okay to eat. (ibid.)

At night singing is performed. In the past the Ibaloy used the *ba-diw* and the *atob* chants, but new songs and music are now accepted. A male elder would sing the *ba-diw*, while the females would sing the *atob* chant. In the *ba-diw* the singers would ask for good health, good life, and good luck for the deceased's family. Again, at night, one or two family members would be



Fig. 5. Grilled snacks or demshang are placed near the deceased and beside the donation box, Sabkil, Upper Loacan, March 2020

Source: the authors

requested to stay near the deceased person the whole night. The widower/widow can choose to stay in his/her own house or go to another house, but he/she should not step on the *apay* (the sap-sap grass put on the soil to cut the pig). To do so would be the same as eating the pig offered to his/her deceased spouse. Moreover, he/she should do nothing and avoid looking at anything moving around to avoid *siring*, tics.

The second day of the funeral is also focused on the preparation of the deceased so that he/she can travel smoothly to the postmortem place. Gender distinctions appear; men look for firewood while women cook. Mobility is also marked; for the deceased to move on, the living should stand still and privilege immobility. A dog is used to clear the path of the deceased, whose body is now covered with the proper white clothing or manta.

Offerings, Prohibitions, and Exchanges: Loss and Vitality

The remaining funeral days deal with offerings and vitality. They are marked by the killing of pigs that come from a wider social circle. Family, children, and people from outside the family now get involved in a set of exchanges of meat and money.

On *katdo*, the third day, the eldest married child gives the first *semmek*, or literally “love,” pity or compassion, which is a pig to be butchered on that specific day. Semmek is the pig directly offered to the deceased by the children, siblings, or close relatives. A widower/widow cannot give semmek to the deceased. Other children and the closest relatives follow the eldest married child. But semmek must always be paired. So, if a person gives a female pig, the second must give a male pig. And if the family has an odd number of children, a fourth relative will have to give a semmek as well. Only children are obliged to give semmek; failure to do so will anger the deceased parent. If the deceased has no children, the close relatives must give a pair of semmek instead. Usually, several pigs are killed on that day. These pigs are not money; they are the expression of love offered to the deceased parent.

But on that third day, any relative can now also give *teknal*, a pig offered to one’s deceased relative. Teknal translates as “throwing something with little effort.” It can be done on the third, fifth, sixth, and eighth day of the funeral. It is assumed that the newly deceased person will bring and offer the teknal pig to the deceased relatives once he arrives in the Aponan, or literally “gathering place,” a postmortem location where the deceased ones reside. A madmad has to be said so that the deceased person can act as a messenger. If both parents are dead, they will share the teknal. It is the same for dead siblings. To avoid jealousy among all the kedaring, a madmad must be said so that one might not think that the pig is offered to only one of them, asking the deceased to share it with the others.

Also on that day, participants at the funeral, outside of close relatives, may start doing the opo, giving money as a *pawit*, a gift that will be brought to another deceased through the newly deceased person. The children and the family of the newly deceased cannot give opo as they already gave semmek or teknal. Thus, opo is only given by others for their own deceased. When one gives opo, one has to write one’s name, followed by the name of the deceased relative to whom he/she is sending it, on a piece of paper. Everyone can give opo to their relatives through the deceased person so long as they have a deceased parent. A madmad is needed for the opo in case the kedaring who receives it does not know how to read the writing on the paper. If one has two dead parents, one must give equal donations to both of them to avoid provoking jealousy among the kedaring. Otherwise, the kedaring that has not received enough will come to the living relative through shepo or spirit possession, sickness, or a dream to ask for more money.

Not giving opo might result in serious problems, as Lola Juana Willy recounts:

In *opo*, this is when we would give *paw-it*, sending money to the deceased. For example, if my parents are already dead and I want to send some money to them, I believe that the *kedaring* of the dead person will send and bring the money to my parents. If I don’t send money for my parents, they will ask the *kedaring* of the dead person. When he will arrive in the spirit world, the others will say, “Why they didn’t give anything for me?” And the *kedaring* of the dead person will reply, “No. They didn’t give anything. You, go and ask.” (ibid.)

On that same day, the third day of the funeral, anyone can give the deceased’s family donations or *solpon*, a voluntary contribution in cash or kind for the expenses and preparation of the aremag. Food and materials are used right away, but money is placed in a separate box and opened only after the funeral. However, all the family members who gave a teknal are requested to offer and drink a glass of gin or rice wine, as proof of offering something to the kedaring, and say a madmad.

Another pig is butchered, and those who gave the teknal are the first ones to eat. They will also bring home a fresh piece of pig meat from their teknal, which is called *watwat*. The presence of a mambonong is welcomed on that day, but otherwise, elders can do the madmad intended for the kedaring. Finally, if the deceased owns animals, such as a cow, a carabao, or a horse, one of them has to be butchered on that same day and paired with another animal of the opposite sex the next day.

At this point, everybody is invited to eat, not only the living people but also the deceased spirits, the kedaring. The meal starts with the demshang, grilled meat, and continues with boiled meat. At night singing can be performed. Again, one or two family members are requested to stay near the deceased person for the whole night.

On the fourth day (*kapat*), a pig is butchered; it is also called kameng to. Its liver is checked to see if the kedaring will give luck to the immediate family in the future. On that day, donations continue, but not opo.

On the fifth day (*kalima*), the giving of teknal continues, especially for the second child. Opo and donations also continue to be given to the deceased and his/her family, and another pig is butchered. The liver is

checked to see if the kedaring will bring the family luck in the future. If the deceased person is an elder, contributions of the Senior Citizens Association members are expected that day.

On the following days, when such an extension has been planned, repetitions of preceding days are performed. *Kanem* (sixth day) is described as a repetition of the fifth day. The third, fifth, sixth, and eighth days are usually the same, and the second, fourth, seventh, and ninth days are also the same, except for the burial day. *Kapito* (seventh day) is the same as the second, fourth, and ninth day. *Kawedo* (eighth day) is when the last semmek is offered. This pig is called the *segpep*, “to run out of time.” After the *segpep* is offered, *tekna* is no longer given. However, if there are still pigs to be given, they are called *kameng to*. The eighth day is the same as the third or sixth day if the *aremag* lasts four or seven days.

On the burial day, *soybokan*, or literally “injured by having been thrust in the abdomen,” or *ponpon*, the ninth day in Ilocano, outsiders can no longer offer pigs. The burial day can also happen on day four or seven. On that day, the moon must be visible, and the burial usually takes place in the afternoon. However, as Afable (1975, 118) also notes, the burial will be delayed should an owl’s hooting or the calling of particular birds be heard, if a person sneezes, or lightning or an earthquake occurs.

The animals that belonged to the deceased are butchered on the burial day. A pig or several pigs, depending on the number of participants, are used. Each pig is again called *kameng to*. If the deceased person has a cow or a horse, one of them is killed. In the past no *tekna* was allowed on that day, but today it is possible to offer pigs on the burial day as long as the *segpep*, the last pig, has not yet been offered.

A madmad is said to ask permission from the deceased to dig the land at the chosen spot for the burial. Participants ask for a sign to indicate where the kedaring wants to be buried. The *peltik* (pouring gin on the ground together with madmad) is required. Afterward, the men start digging the earth to bury the coffin later. The place is often found near the house of the deceased, and the head always points eastward or *badalan*.¹¹ Once the hole is made, a thorny plant called *sebbit* is placed in it to prevent any *karashowa* of the living from entering the hole and going with the deceased’s kedaring.

The family now also prepares a pack of food called *balon to* for the deceased to eat during his/her journey. Inside the “lunch box” are two eggs,

rice, and chicken meat (from a hen and a rooster) that are placed in a plastic box and then in a bag. A madmad is said: “This is your balon.” The widow/widower will hold the balon to, which the elders will eat eventually.

After eating the pig, the family members and other relatives or neighbors bring the coffin outside the house to put it first beside the grave. Those who carry the coffin must be family members or close relatives, as this gesture brings luck.

For the last time, the coffin is opened, and the body is checked. If there is a pillow, it is removed as well as the *sebbit* plant from the grave. Then, a widow or an elder woman accompanies the living spouse and circumambulates counterclockwise. This is, in fact, the final greeting to the deceased. It is an emotional moment, and people cry. The spouse goes inside the house, and the participants outside cover the coffin and bury it with earth along with the list of names of the *opo*, which is placed beside the coffin in the grave. No grave goods are used, unlike in the past when the knotted string (*sikgut*) was used to serve as a mnemonic device for all the *opo* given to the deceased (ibid., 119). Flowers and a bottle of water are placed beside the grave so that those who pass by will not get sick. The *sebbit* is put on top of the grave. No one should sneeze during the burial as this would be a bad omen. Lolo Nardo Bato reports that in earlier times, “children were not allowed to attend because they might suddenly sneeze” (Laugrand et al. 2019a). Sneezing means the deceased is not yet ready to be buried.

Finally, when the participants return from the burial site, they first have to walk across an open fire on the ground where the meat is cooked and wash their hands and face to prevent their *karashowa* from going along with the deceased. Afterward, the relatives and the family gather outside the house in a circle. They again do the *kibdong*, as on the first day.

Afable (1975, 119) notes that the Ibaloy of Tublay address entreaties to the dead one throughout the burial; the living participants would tell the dead, “go and leave us alone,” or “go and leave us your good fortune and your wealth.” The Ibaloy of Upper Loacan similarly entreat their deceased, but the widow/widower does not make such statements.

This final day of the funeral cycle is essential. The dead is given his/her balon to, and the kedaring is said to depart for the postmortem place. The living must separate again from the deceased and expect good luck by jumping over the fire.

Cleaning and Getting Back to Life

The next day, the first day after the funeral, is called *si-si*, “the cleaning up.” In the early morning, everything is cleaned and burned. In the past the bamboo platform called *daktang* was torn down, and a fire was set throughout the funeral site. Nowadays, branches and leaves used for the rituals are still burned. The house floor is cleaned and washed, so are the people who participated in the funeral. The siblings and children of the deceased have to take a bath in the river or in their house to remove bad luck. And when they return home, they must wash their faces. In the past none of them would wash themselves during the funeral cycle.

The family will now count the *opo* collected and use it to pay the debts left by the deceased as well as the debts of the family for the costs of the *aremag*. Before using this money, the *mambonong* must perform the *peltik*, saying that the money will be used to repay debts. The *mambonong* are not paid, but they receive the leg of a pig—a share of meat called *shoy shoan*. They perform the *dawit*, calling back the *karashowa* of the family members. In the *dawit* the *mambonong* holds a rooster as he says a *bonong* and calls the names of the family members one by one. The rooster is not killed. Afterward, if the rooster pecks the rice wine put in the coconut shell, it means that the *karashowa* of all the family members who wandered around are successfully carried back. This action is essential: If it is not done properly, accidents might happen. Then, a pig is butchered for the *kape* ritual, which is focused on the deceased’s spouse. At present, a priest sometimes joins the celebrations on the burial day to conduct a mass.

Within the following eight days after the burial, the children, including those who gave *teknal*, will perform the *kape* on the third, fourth, or fifth day. And to make all these rituals work, *ngilin has to be observed by the widower/widow and the relatives*. As observed in Tublay (ibid., 119), no work is allowed in the house of the deceased, except for the normal tasks involved in the preparation of meals, as well as in all the settlements or on sites of agricultural work that might be visible from the dead person’s house.

Lola Lucia Puga remembers:

Yes, if the person had a lot of children, all the houses of his children would have smoke because they had performed the ritual *kape* at the same time. The male children would help each other to check on the gallbladder of the pig they butchered. After one month, I would perform

my *kape* also as his wife. And I would say a *madmad*. (Laugrand et al. 2019a)

After one year, the family may perform the *kesheng ja waray batbat*, the cleaning of the remains, if the *kedaring* asks for it (Laugrand et al. 2020b). Otherwise, they will only perform the *batbat*, the feast, without unburying the bones. The cleaning of the bones may happen before a year. In the case of performing the *kail*, the digging of the remains, the parents of the deceased and the spouse are not allowed to clean the bones. Only children and siblings of the deceased are allowed to do it. The same prohibition goes for the parents who offered a pig for their deceased child; they cannot eat its meat as it would be like eating one’s own child.

Like in Tublay (Afable 1975, 124), the surviving spouse is usually subject to taboos of various types for a whole year following the death of a husband or wife, including having sexual relations, travelling, conducting business transactions, and working in the rice fields. Moreover, the fire must be maintained for a year in the hearths of the deceased person’s former house and the houses of his/her married children. However, the strict application of these rules varies, and many Ibaloy suggest that rules are less strict today than in the past.

Renewing Ties and Money: Teknal and Opo

Afable (ibid., 113) writes that “For many urban-dwelling Ibaloy [in Tublay], the context of the rites following the death of a close relative is an important occasion for renewing old ties and for reaffirming their membership in their home community.” We observed that during all the days and nights of the *aremag*, men and women were kept separate. Every day men remained together, taking care of the firewood, butchering the pigs and the dogs, digging the tomb, playing card games, and drinking together at night. Similarly, women took care of the rice, washed the dishes, played bingo, and sang together. Children also constituted a group and remained close to the women. The deceased’s close relatives mostly stayed inside the house near the dead body, welcoming guests, occasionally singing, cooking, and serving visitors. It may well be that those who are still fertile are expected to be separated from those of the opposite sex, whereas elders and young children are allowed to mingle with any group. The close relatives are supposed to follow the *ngilin* right from the first day. Another striking feature is joviality.

We observed that during the first six days of an aremag, people do their best to fraternize, laugh, joke, play, and drink. But on the day of the burial, people cry and show their sorrow just before the burial of the body. Thus, funerals are marked by contrasting feelings and behaviors. In Upper Loacan the deceased body is never left unattended. During this period called *mantokal*, all the participants gamble, drink gin, and sing songs at night.¹²

Like in Tublay, the Ibaloy of Upper Loacan always provide a male–female pair of pigs or other animals to the deceased person, which is considered the kameng to. Of course, the Ibaloy clarify that the recently deceased person will bring the karashowa of the pig, not the living pig. The transfer is operated through the *dowag*, the vapor of the cooked food. The Ibaloy believe that deceased people live in a place where they can raise all kinds of animals. The living can help the deceased by bringing them pigs. They also believe that once the deceased is raising the animals, there will be a time when the deceased will eventually give the family who offered the pigs luck.

Afable (ibid., 115) reports that “‘upu,’ *opo* in Loacan, may be presented to the dead man only on days which are part of the set of ‘days for the living’: the first, third, fifth, sixth, and eighth days of a nine-day long vigil. These are described as gifts from living humans to their kinsmen in the *kedaring* world, and are ‘sent’ in the care of the spirit of a newly-expired person.” In Upper Loacan no *opo* is given on the first day.

To understand the exchange relationship, let us briefly review one aspect of the first funeral: the relationship between the *opo* tradition, the money that the living offer to the dead, and the *tekna*, the giving of a pig. The Ibaloy say the living use the *opo* to pay for the costs of the deceased’s funeral, but they add that the newly deceased takes the money to the other dead, who expect to get paid their due whenever someone dies. If these conditions are met, the dead will, in return, bring luck to the living. Lolo Edward “Bante” Primo, an elder from Tolibeng in Upper Loacan, explains what happens on the third, fourth, and fifth days of the funeral when the deceased’s family kills a pig or the kameng to and gives *opo*:

The spirit of the deceased will bring with him the spirit of the dead animal and give it to the relatives of the deceased family of the person who gave the pig. The animals and money given on the fourth day of the funeral by the children, we call it “the wealth of the deceased” (*kameng to*), while on the fifth day of the funeral, they say that the



Fig. 6. The *opo* book, which contains the donor’s name, the amount given, and the deceased recipient’s name, Sabkil (Upper Loacan), March 2020

Source: the authors

relatives of the deceased will be the ones to give pigs and money as *opo*. (Laugrand et al. 2019a)

Kameng to is a transfer of wealth to the dead. This point is crucial, as are the blankets that must correspond to the rank of the deceased’s family. Through *opo* and *tekna*, the living pay their respects to all of the dead. Lolo Bante provides more details on *opo* and stresses that the dead will wait for the donations placed in a coconut shell. When the living give *opo*, they must first clearly state their name and the name of the deceased person who should receive the money (fig. 6).

An elder describes the value of *opo*:

We have a belief that if someone died, the spirits of our deceased parents, either father or mother, will be waiting for the money which we are going to give them at the Aponan. If they will not receive something, they will feel ashamed and that is the time when their spirits are going to visit us and ask for money or something they need. It is our belief that the spirits of our deceased family members will

hold a coconut shell and wait if someone will place or put money into it. If they do not receive something, they will come back to us and ask. They always carry their own coconut shell. (ibid.)

Not giving opo interrupts the cycle of exchanges between the living and the dead. It can only result in problems for those who do not give. In addition to opo, the deceased's oldest son usually has to offer a pig, the tekna. The Ibaloy say this tekna ensures prosperity for the dead; again, if no pig is offered, the living will experience misfortune. Lolo Bante explains that the money to purchase the pig has to be borrowed if needed:

If you don't have money yourself, you may borrow some from someone else. We have a belief that if you borrow money from other people which you use for your deceased parents or family, you will easily find a way to pay the money. We have a belief that the *kedaring* of your deceased parents or family will help you with your work so that you will pay your debt. If you planted crops or vegetables, you will notice that if you sell your products, people will pay for it the high price. (ibid.)

Similarly, children are expected to pay for the funerals of their parents, as it is considered the payment for a life-debt, that of being given life. According to Lolo Melanio Billit, "It's like you're paying for the service that your parents took care of you." If children cannot pay for the funeral, another person can pay for it, but he/she will be the one to inherit the land of the deceased. These accounts about the first funeral confirm the socioeconomic interdependence between the living and the dead. The latter need money from the former. Once a death has occurred, the living must help the deceased pass over to the other world and, in return, the dead will bring luck and prosperity to the living.

According to Afable (1975, 116) upu are gifts called *semek sha* to the household of the dead person; they are contributions (donations) to cover the costs of food and other expenses that are necessary to host all the people who come to visit the recently dead person, whereas tekna are the gifts only from close relatives of the deceased person. In Upper Loacan similar traditions can be observed.

To sum up, a funeral clearly provides an occasion for economic exchanges. We have seen that the deceased have to be buried following

traditions that depend on their social status. Blankets are used accordingly (cf. Shedden 2012). The animals owned by the deceased are killed as well. The pig itself is called wealth or love, but tekna and opo also involve economic transactions and are prerequisites to inheritance.

Afable (1975, 116) reports that in Tublay, "There is a large amount of reciprocity involved in 'upu-giving.' If A contributes 'upu' at B's death, any member of B's household is obligated to reciprocate in comparable form at the death of a member of A's household. Formerly, each contribution was signaled by the tying of a knot on a string kept near the corpse." Again, similar practices prevail in Upper Loacan. Yet, today, a notebook is set aside for this purpose.

More fundamentally, the Ibaloy consider that they are rich (*baknang*) when they are healthy and they have reached a state of *diteng* (well-being, healthiness), when they belong to a big family, and when they have a large social network. Diteng can only be reached after the dead themselves experience it, thanks to the efforts of the living who take care of their remains and make offerings to them. Then, luck and prosperity can be expected from the dead. However, no one should give and explicitly expect something back as this attitude would lead to bad luck and poverty.

All kin usually come to the funeral and eat and share the meal. Commensality indeed reunifies the group. However, economically, the one paying for the aremag expenses—even if he/she is not an "heir" or a close relative—is usually entitled to inherit the land from the deceased, as these rituals cost a lot for the living, who, more often than not must go into debt to pay for the aremag and assure that the newly deceased begins his/her journey with all the necessary things.

Conclusion

Among the Ibaloy, death is neither an inexorable fate nor a source of anguish. Nor is the corpse seen as filthy or polluting—quite the opposite. If during the burial, the one carrying the corpse to its tomb is smeared by any fluid or substance trickling down the coffin, one sees it as a sign of future prosperity. The body fluid or *sheddeng* of a dead person is still believed to be a source of good fortune and fertility.

Afable (ibid., 125) reports that in Tublay, as a reflection of the effects of missionary activity, an eight-day "novena" is sometimes held to mark the death of a person. The "novena," which starts only after the burial day, is

added to the funeral celebrations; it never replaces them. Similarly, Afable points out that although the idea of hell and punishment after death has not gained any acceptance locally, Christianity has penetrated Ibaloy traditions. Thus, a dead person is described as *engkiriyus*, “joining God,” and it is sometimes said that the kedaring is going to heaven or *langit*, an Ilocano/Tagalog loan word.

The notion of *engkiriyus* can be found among the Ibaloy of Upper Loacan, but here not even those who died of suicide or who committed murder are said to go to hell. The Ibaloy assume that all these deceased might wander around or go to postmortem places, like the others. They separate the offerings to them to discourage the living from following them in their actions. This illustrates well the resistance of Ibaloy traditions to Christianity, even though most of the Ibaloy today belong to a Christian congregation, notably the Catholics in Upper Loacan. We observed that during the funerals, a priest would sometimes be invited to bless the body or officiate the mass. However, the Ibaloy have maintained their funeral practices and usually separate them from the Christian practices performed in the church. Thus, not much syncretism nor hybridity can be observed.

In Upper Loacan those who follow the rituals are said to live longer and obtain luck and fortune. Following rituals brings *diteng*, good health, and well-being. The pig is not marked as a substitute for a human body nor as “its somatic double” as in some societies in Papua New Guinea (Breton 1999, 310), but its killing and squeal mark a transfer of vitality. Its meat also embodies the notion of money: wealth for the deceased to carry on the postmortem journey and money for the living, who provide pigs and receive something in return—inheritance, luck, bountiful harvests, and gold ore. These points explain why we do not use the notion of sacrifice as many other scholars did in other contexts (cf. Wessing and Jordaan 1997; Kolb 1999). Among the Ibaloy, but also among the Blaán of Mindanao and the Alangan of Mindoro, such a concept is not fruitful in the discussion of their rituals nor their relationships with nonhuman beings (cf. Laugrand and Laugrand 2021).

Afable (1975, 125) points out that in Tublay, the sale or mortgage of some holdings or irrigated rice fields that belonged to the deceased and the loss of the few heads of cattle and carabaos the deceased owned during his/her life make the financing of these death rituals possible. These rituals clearly cost the Ibaloy financially, but it is worth bearing in mind that

contemporary Ibaloy have more money and participate more readily in Westernized capitalist systems than in the past.

The Ibaloy of Upper Loacan are aware of the high costs of the practices. They joke, “Our ancestors made us poor.” Pigs indeed represent a lot of money, and death rituals remain costly. While death leaves the living with heavy expenses, they also anticipate good fortune as part of their ongoing relationship with the deceased. Moreover, through the *aremag*, the Ibaloy of Upper Loacan maintain a **strong social community**. These rituals are the price of a vital culture and solidarity.

Notes

We express our thanks to the Ibaloy elders of Upper Loacan for welcoming us so generously, and particularly to Lolo Melanio, the Indigenous People Mandatory Representative of Loacan, Itogon, Benguet. The persons who appear in figures 1 and 5 have given their consent to appear in this article for publication.

- 1 The barangay of Loacan (Itogon, Benguet) is divided in two parts, Upper and Lower Loacan. The residents' practices, as well as religious beliefs, vary slightly.
- 2 Lemonnier (2007, 34–35) writes, “La capacité qu’a le porc de se reproduire joue un rôle important dans ce système, notamment par l’effet auto-amplificateur du ‘financement’ qui s’appuie sur un réseau de partenaires dont l’extension dépend elle-même de la circulation des animaux.” [The pig’s ability to reproduce plays an important role in this system, particularly through the self-amplifying effect of “financing,” which relies on a network of partners whose extension depends on the circulation of animals] Lemonnier also reports that in the past pigs were used to compensate for homicides or to pay for a wife (bride-price), cf. Breton 1999. In a 1992 paper, he uses the term “pigs” to mean “ordinary wealth,” cf. Lemonnier 1992.
- 3 Robert Needham translated Hertz’s 1907 book as *A Contribution to the Study of the Collective Representation of Death*. See Huntington and Metcalf 1979 as well as Bloch and Parry 1982 for the impact of this study on the anthropological study of death.
- 4 Additional information can be found in the existing ethnography of the Ibaloy, notably by: E. Pungayan (1980, 1985; Pungayan and Picpican 1978), who described their kinship system, history, and language; A. Bagamaspad and Z. Hamada-Pawid (1985), who compiled some of their oral stories; and J. Prill-Brett (1992), who studied their customary law and their use of land resources. The very first American ethnographers, such as C. Russell Moss (1920), also provided a wealth of information about Ibaloy traditions, cf. Moss and Kroeber 1919; Ballard 1978; Russell 1989.
- 5 Films about Ibaloy rituals have been made, including one on the exhumation of human remains (Laugrand et al. 2019d).
- 6 The Ibaloy team is led by Jazil Tamang and Gliseria Magapin, co-authors of this article, and their assistants Kimberly Bulcio, Raymund Apidos, Josie Pagnas, Ruel Oya-an, Murphy Magapin, and Irish Tumaga.

- 7 Once printed, copies of the books were given to the participants, and additional copies were given to the fifty schools of Barangay Loacan for education purposes. The event was also featured by the 2019 International Year of Indigenous Languages in the Philippines.
- 8 In addition, the activities were acknowledged and commended by Lolo Edward “Bante” Primo, mamnonong in Upper Loacan, Lolo Danio Fermin, chair of the Upper Loacan Senior Citizens Association, Lorenzo G. Liwan Jr., barangay *kagawad* (councilor), Henry M. Diamnuan and Andres C. Cuyan, *punong barangay* (chair), Lolo Melanio A. Billit, participant and indigenous peoples mandatory representative (IPMR) at the barangay level, Romeo J. Pocding, IPMR at the municipal level, Abilene A. Cirilo, NCIP Benguet provincial officer, as well as Atty. Victoria T. Palangdan, municipal mayor of Itogon.
- 9 We use the notions of “soul” and “spirit” as the Ibaloy have adopted them as well. They distinguish the karashowa, **the soul**, or *kadkadwa* (literally “second,” pair, or double) from the kedaring, the deceased spirit. The living, animals, and associated objects, such as sheets and blankets, clothes, money, and food, are said to possess a karashowa that can be given to the deceased through the offerings made for them. Moss (1920, 273) already noticed this: “Blankets, cloth, money, and food have souls, which are taken by the spirits of the dead when there are ceremonies.” Certain people, such as the mamnonong, are gifted to see both karashowa and kedaring, which resemble the form of the living person’s body.
- 10 Accidental death, death at the hospital, and suicide require some additional procedures, but these are beyond the scope of this article.
- 11 Afile (1975, 118) indicates that in Tublay, women are buried with their heads pointing westward or *ditopan*.
- 12 According to Afile (1975, 115), “The long sleepless nights give the designation ‘situkal,’ ‘time of staying awake at night.’”

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