

A Survey of Literature on Indigenous Burial Practices and their Archaeological Implications

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Indigenous peoples in the Philippines vary with regards to preparing the body, grave goods, manner and location of burial and post-burial practices. Death beliefs and practices reflect the disposition of their cultures. This survey of written records on indigenous burial practices in the Philippines was divided into four periods – Spanish, American, post-World War II and contemporary periods. Many of these practices may no longer be examined archeologically due to the disintegration of the material. But the survey allows us to make archeological correlates – a number of which have been substantiated by excavation sites all over the Philippines, in order to complete or correct an unfinished or misinterpreted record of our history.

Introduction

Death is a universal concept. All societies regardless of their technological development have ways of coping with this phenomenon. Generally, death beliefs and practices reflect the nature of culture including the values it deemed important. Different societies have different perspectives regarding death — from the moment of death to preparation of the body for burial, from mourning to actual burial, from post-burial rituals to belief in the afterlife.

In the Philippines, ethnohistoric documents and ethnographic researches reveal that the early inhabitants as well as the many ethnolinguistic groups of the islands have diverse beliefs in the afterlife and practiced various forms of burials. These have been confirmed by archaeological studies.¹ The type of burials range from jar burials, coffin burials, unenclosed pits, stone graves, to even cremation. Jar and coffin burials were either placed in caves or buried. Some Spanish documents indicate that some wooden coffins were even placed on top of trees. The whole body or only the bones were buried after the flesh disintegrate. Whole bodies, mummified remains, or selected bones from various individuals may be interred together. Some were solitary burials. Grave goods as well as the manner and type of burial signified diverse social factors. However, not all aspects of death and burial rituals are archaeologically recoverable or have perceptible correlates. Thus, ethnography can provide us with a clear picture of this important stage in an individual's life cycle.

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Binford² and Kamp³ made a comparative study on mortuary treatment in 40 and 55 cultures selected from Human Relations Area Files respectively. Their studies are very relevant to archaeologists interested in studying burials for these provide clues to body treatment and disposition, orientation and location of disposal and form and quantity of grave goods. Distinctions among these three variables have been made based on the condition of death, location of death, age, sex, social position, social affiliation, personal identities and other idiosyncrasies.

Archaeology is the investigation of past lifeways through material remains and other observable traces of human existence which include artifacts, ecofacts, settlement patterns, features such as postholes, structures and ditches, habitation, midden and burial sites. Most of the time interpretation of the archaeological record paints an incomplete picture of the site and the society being studied. The behavior that produced the archaeological record, in this case, the manner of burial, location and orientation, form, quantity and quality of associated materials are beyond the grasp of the archaeologist. Whatever inferences made can never be cross-checked for the informants are long gone. However, analogical reasoning can be utilized "to infer similar functions for archaeologically found items from the observed similarities between these items and others whose functions are known."⁴ From the time the first systematic collection of artifacts was practised, the archaeologist with no adequate means to interpret her data would turn to living cultures for explications.⁵ Ethnographic analogy has always been used to give meanings to prehistoric materials. Analogy as a form of reasoning assumes that objects with similar attributes will have similar functions. Ethnology is thus used to serve as a basis for the interpretation of the archaeological record. One kind of analogy is the *Direct Historical Analogy* which involves the use of documents.

Patterned after Binford's and Kamp's works on the comparative analyses of mortuary practices worldwide, this article aims to survey written records on indigenous burial practices in the Philippines and examine what mortuary customs will be reflected archaeologically. This study is very relevant because it first identified what materials and physical traces of funeral practices can and cannot be archaeologically retrieved. Second, this ethnological survey can be used as analogies for the understanding of objects already recovered from burial sites for it will

associate material remains to the systemic human behavior that produced them.

The works surveyed were divided into four time periods: the Spanish period (works written prior to 1898); the American period (1898-1950); post World War II (1951-1980); and the contemporary period (1981-present). The earliest work was by Pigafetta in 1525 and the latest was by Valencia in 1999. Several post-World War II and contemporary works were based on earlier studies conducted during the Spanish and American periods.⁶ Works written during the Spanish period were mostly recorded by the conquistadores and missionaries. Most of the documents focused on lowland groups. During the American period there was an influx of American anthropologists who focused mainly on ethnolinguistic groups found in the highlands and remote areas of Cordillera and Mindanao. They were able to observe a number of burial practices earlier recorded in the Spanish period including forms of grave goods, burial location and post burial ceremonies. This suggests that there are similarities of funeral rites among local groups that persisted from the Spanish Period to early 20th century. In the same way, several practices recorded during the American period continued until the post-World War II Period.

A total of 37 ethnolinguistic groups occupying the northernmost to the southernmost parts of the country were surveyed for this research: 16 groups are located in Luzon; nine in the Central Philippines including Palawan and Mindoro; and 12 are found in Mindanao and adjoining islands. In Table 1, the first two columns identify the ethnolinguistic group and their habitat location. The third column describes the burial practices of each group. The last column lists the possible materials that were part of the burial practices listed in the previous column, which can survive time and decay and can be archaeologically recovered.

The survey shows that Philippine ethnolinguistic groups follow general funeral procedures. Rudimentary steps include the following:

- a. washing of the dead
- b. clothing and adorning of the body
- c. wrapping of the body with a mat or a blanket
- d. interment of personal possessions and other objects for various

reasons

Table 1: Burial Practices of Thirty-Seven Ethnolinguistic Groups in the Philippines and their Archaeological Correlates

Ethnolinguistic Group	Location	Burial Practice	Possible Archaeological Correlates ¹
1. Ibatan	Batanes	The dead are buried in burial vessels; plates, jars and oars are placed in the grave (Manuel 1953).	Skeletal remains in vessels; jars; plates; oars may be in deteriorated condition.
2. Negrito	Ilocos Norte	Buried in the mountains with flint stone, weapons, pieces of wild game meat and the dead's favorite part (Blumentritt 1882).	Skeletal remains with personal possessions and animal bones.
3. Apayao	Apayao	When a person dies, heads are taken from enemies and these are interred with the body including food and wine; bodies adorned with their personal ornaments and jewelry are wrapped in 20 expensive blankets and buried under houses or granaries, caves and actual cemeteries; others are placed against their shields in a sitting position with spear and lunch for their travel to the afterlife (Scott 1974). Important persons are buried with jars (Keasing 1962).	Skeletal materials with more than one skull; ornaments and jewelry; cloth and mat remains/impressions; remains of shields; postholes of a building structure. Food remains reflecting the belief of a journey to the afterlife may not be recovered anymore.
4. Isneg			Jar burials may be interpreted as elite status markers.
5. Tingulian	Abra, Apayao	Dead are dressed in their best garments decorated with valuable ornaments; beads and silver adorn the neck; surrounding the body are blankets, bolts, cloaks, woven skirts – these are gifts for their dead ancestors (Worcester 1906; Cole 1922). Corpses are wrapped in mats and buried in extended position under houses or in yards. Graves are reused. Stone slabs buried three feet mark the grave of deceased kin. The oldest female relative of the dead gathers the bones and reburies them in a corner (Cole 1922).	Traces of cloth; ornaments
		The poor are buried at the edge of the farm and their graves are covered with stones and logs; sometimes a structure is built over it (Worcester 1906). An iron point is placed over the grave to ward off evil spirits (Cole 1922).	Postholes to signify habitation structure; mat impressions; multiple burials. Since stone slab burial markers are buried under ground at three feet deep, burial sites in this area may be difficult to locate. Periphery of farms are possible burial sites; markers include stone calms; logs may not survive the elements; postholes for structure over graves If left undisturbed, the iron point may be recovered. However, this is almost impossible judging the nature of the area, there is a possibility the iron point be redeposited somewhere else.

¹ This refers to probable materials and other tangible traces of human behavior that remained of the burial practices listed in the preceding column. These objects and structural features have a higher probability of being archaeologically retrieved and documented than the rest of the funeral paraphernalia.

6. Kalinga	Central Cordillera	<p>Dead buried under the house and fence is constructed around grave (Worcester 1906). Children are buried near houses or granaries. Adults are buried in graves measuring 6 ft deep and 3 ft. wide and lined with small rocks at the bottom and sides. On top of the corpse, flat stone slabs are placed then filled with earth. A thatched roof held by 4 bamboo poles is constructed above the grave (Barton 1949; Dozier 1967).</p> <p>In Pasway, betel nut, charcoal and lemon leaves are placed on the grave to ward off evil spirits who eat corpses. Food offering of rice bread is hung from the thatched roof (Dozier 1967).</p> <p>Nine days after the burial, all the personal belongings is placed on the grave; a man's in a carrying pack and a woman's in a basket (Dozier 1967).</p>	<p>Skeletal remains near postholes for fence and habitation or storage structure; fragmented skeletal remains beneath slab stones.</p> <p>Exposed to the elements; difficult to recover.</p>
7. Igorot	Bontoc	<p>Heads of the victims of beheading are buried under the stones of a habitation upit after the lower jawbone is detached to serve as handle for a gansa²; after three years the skull is dug up and placed in a basket with other skulls which hangs in the house; skulls will be eventually buried under the stones again; the bodies are buried along the trail which leads to the town of the perpetrator (Worcester 1906).</p> <p>Deceased is wrapped in blanket; interred in a coffin and buried in the ground; ordinary persons are buried in fields near their houses and those with high status in the outskirts of town; children are not placed in coffins and buried under or close to the house or granaries for protection (Worcester 1906; Scott 1974).</p>	<p>Stone structures in Bontoc are possible burial grounds of skulls taken from enemies; old trails may also be surveyed for signs of burials.</p>
8. Igorot	Lepanto-Benguet	<p>Betel nuts are hung on the dead person's belt; buried seated against their shields under rocks, caves or in trees (Scott 1974).</p> <p>Body is interred in wooden coffins and deposited in caves or under big rocks (Worcester 1906; Scott 1974).</p>	<p>Traces of textile; remains of skeletons in coffins; grave sites of children may indicate habitation site; location of adult grave may signify status and distance of habitation site.</p> <p>Chances of recovering the betel nuts are very small; remains of shield and scattered skeletal materials may be retrieved.</p> <p>Caves, rockshelters and other rocky formations may be investigated for the presence of coffins.</p>

² Similar to a gong.

9. Ifugao	NW Nueva Vizcaya; SW Isabela	Buried in specially constructed burial houses; or under own houses (Worcester 1906). Skeletal materials except for the ribs and vertebrae are put on a large beam under the floor. Some graves are covered with rocks and clays or a single stone with carvings of a dancing man or crocodile in bas-relief. Blood relatives are usually interred together. The elite inter their dead in hewn-out logs, sealed with resin and placed under their houses. Infants are placed in jars. Others practiced cain burial (Barton 1945). Dead is covered with a native death blanket. Gold and jewels are never buried but pass on as heirlooms. Women who died of childbirth are buried under houses and is deemed as a detestable death. Babies are also buried under houses (Dulawan 1957). Dead is left in his house; family and relatives take valuables and abandon house (Worcester 1906). Dead wrapped in a bark blanket; weapons placed with the males and ornaments and utensils with the females. Dead man's house is burned and abandoned. The body is left on a bamboo table constructed near the house and left to decay (Demetrio 1991). The body is interred with pots, axes, bolos, salt and other things that it may need in his journey (Valencia 1999).	Skeletal remains near postholes. Skeletal materials with missing parts in vessels under stone cairns or under a large stone with carvings; multiple burials; coffins. Skeletal and cloth remains; skeletons identified as females and infants may suggest area of habitation. Burials with no grave goods must not be interpreted as belonging to a lower social status. Skeletal remains in habitation sites
10. Ilongot	SE and southern Isabela; eastern Nueva Vizcaya		Left to the elements; difficult to recover.
11. Dumagat	Cagiguan		All can be recovered except for the salt; however, this might be interpreted by the archaeologist as status markers instead of requisites for his journey to the afterlife.
12. Zambal	Zambales	Chiefs were buried wearing two robes; gold objects, food and a slave (Perez 1990).	Multiple burials, gold objects, traces of food and textile.
13. Negrito		Body is wrapped in mat and buried in a 3-4 foot deep grave (Worcester 1906). Or in hollowed-out tree trunk coffins with their iron-arrow points. The head is covered with a crude cloth. The grave is protected by a fence (Blumentritt 1882).	Mat impressions on skeletal remains. Coffins with skeletal remains and spear points; postholes.

14. Negrito	Batjan	Graves are located far from the habitation area and sheds and fences are constructed around graves to keep animals out. (Reed 1904; Worcester 1906).	Postholes around graves.
15. Tagalog	Southern Luzon	Body is wrapped in a mat; placed in a hewn-out tree which serves as the coffin and buried in a high place. (Reed 1904). A chief who died is buried in a boat which serves as the coffin under the porch; a small structure is constructed on top of the grave; different animals of both sex takes the place of human rowers (formerly male and female slaves acted as rowers). (Plasencia 1599; Chirino 1502). If a warrior dies, a slave is tied to the body and dies this way. (Plasencia 1599). Interred in coffins and buried under the house; poor in pits under houses. (Chirino 1602; Morga 1609). A piece of gold object is placed in the mouth of the deceased and coffins are decorated with precious stones. (Bobadilla 1640). Gold ornaments are removed unless a cleansing rite is offered; the body is interred in a wooden coffin or a dug-out coffin and buried; the grave is then covered with unhusked rice. Some coffins are placed in sheds and some are abandoned in their own homes, specially if the person who died is a powerful and rich man. Sometimes a slave is buried with a rich man. (Scott 1994).	High spots may be investigated for burials; skeletal remains and mat impressions. Boat coffin; postholes immediately surrounding grave; bones of animals and humans; multiple burials. More than one skeleton - multiple burial. Remains of coffins and skeletons; post holes big enough to support a habitation structure. Gold objects, precious stones, remains of coffins, skeletal materials. Gold objects; skeletal and coffin remains; multiple burials. The coffins placed in sheds or abandoned may not survive the elements.
16. Bikolano	Bicol	The corpse is dressed in new garments and placed in a coffin made of four bamboo poles and tied with rattan and filled with bamboo slits. The coffin is buried under the sand near the water. Above the grave a small hut is constructed. Mourners bring daggers, bow and arrows, plates and cups, rice and food, for use of the soul. (Samson 1957).	Shore areas may be investigated for the presence of burials. However, coffins may be in deteriorated condition because of the sea. Things found with the dead are not his personal belongings and should not be use as a gauge of his status.
17. Baték	Palawan	The dead is buried in the woods; his own dishes and earthen pots are broken on top of his grave to mark it. His house is torn down. (Worcester 1899)	Difficult to recover; broken pots may be redeposited.
18. Tagbanuwa			

19. Mangyan	Mindoro	<p>The dead is buried near the house and will be interred with the clothes it has on. No personal belongings will be included in the burial. Sometimes the dead is left in the house and is abandoned or the house is burned with the body inside (Macada 1967).</p> <p>Dead wore jewelry and as much gold as possible; and surrounded with blankets; prominent persons buried in coffins made of hard wood, and decorated with carvings; hairloom valuables like porcelain jars, plates, saucers; masks and mouthpieces made of gold, bejeweled side arms are interred with the body (Chifino 1902; Morga 1909; Bobadilla 1940; Jocano 1975; Scott 1994).</p> <p>The poor were buried in simple wooden coffins made of thin boards or bamboo (Scott 1994).</p> <p>Interred in coffins and buried under the house; poor buried in pits under houses; some were buried in glazed jars (Pigafetta 1525, Chirino 1902; Morga 1909; Scott 1994).</p> <p>An ax handle was interred with a <i>bingi</i>, "a woman who had known no man other than her husband" - only the ax head made for the ax handle will fit it. (Scott 1994).</p> <p>Men were buried with their weapons and women with looms or other implements of work (Morga 1909).</p> <p>Infants were buried in jars with Chinese porcelain as lids (Scott 1994).</p> <p>The dead is dressed in beautiful garments and is interred with other items like bracelets, earrings, spears, knives, ritual plates as a preparation for its journey. An important man is interred in a dug-out coffin with carvings, and after several months, the bones are removed, washed and wrapped in black cloth and placed or suspended from the eaves of the house (Demetrio 1991). They also practiced tree-trunk burial for important persons; bodies are wrapped in mats and placed in hollow out large trees in a standing position. The bones are likewise removed after a period of time and washed. An ordinary person is buried in the ground. If someone gets sick before the first anniversary of the bone-washing ceremony; the bones are placed in a stoneware jar and placed in a specially constructed platform under the house. All the bones of the children of the deceased will be interred in this jar and will be buried under the house if all siblings are dead (Jocano 1968).</p>
20. Visayan	Cebu	<p>Body left to the elements or even buried is hard to recover archaeologically. Similar to the Ifugaos, burials without grave goods must not be considered as non-elite burials.</p> <p>Remains of coffin, gold objects, ceramics; textile may be recovered but probably in deteriorated condition; porcelain vessels; skeletal remains.</p> <p>Remains of coffin; skeletal materials</p> <p>Remains of coffins and skeletons; glazed jars; post holes big enough to support a habitation structure.</p> <p>The archaeologist can identify the ax handle but not the behavior related to it; human bones.</p> <p>Archaeologist will be able to correlate artifact with gender of skeleton.</p> <p>Jars and Chinese porcelain; skeletal material.</p> <p>Skeletal remains suspended from eaves of house will be difficult to recover. The jars that are buried under houses will reveal secondary multiple burials; mat impressions.</p>
21. Sulod	Panay	

22. Ilongo	Negros Island	Coffin shaped like boats are used (Anima 1976). The dead is dressed in its own clothes and the others are put in the coffin, which is made of bamboo splits or pieces of wood tied together with a rattan (Oracion 1960).	Skeletal and coffin remains Skeletal and cloth remains; plank biers.
23. Negrito			
24. Maghat		Corpse is wrapped in pandanus mats and is interred with its personal belongings which would be needed in his life in the other world. Food is placed on the grave for three days after burial (Oracion 1954).	Mat impressions; skeletal materials; and other objects.
25. Boholano	Bohol	Personal belongings including extra clothes is placed in the coffin for those are believed to be used in the afterlife (Demetrio 1991).	Coffins and other objects.
26. Manuvu	Southern Bukidnon; NE Cotabato; NW Davao	The dead is placed on a platform beside a tree or wrapped in a mat and bamboo slats and suspended from a tree. Sometimes it is wrapped and abandoned in its house or buried under the house and is still abandoned (Manual 1973).	Those burials left to the elements will be difficult to recover. Burial grounds may suggest areas of habitation.
27. Bukidnon	Bukidnon	The corpse is dressed in his best clothes and wrapped in a mat and placed on a lantern ³ ; if he has no children all garments will be placed with him; a man is buried with his weapons while a woman with her beads and trinkets; the body is then interred in a rectangular crypt lined with split bamboo tubes about 4-feet deep; on top of the grave the lantern and a torch is placed along with bamboo spikes to keep evil spirits away; if the dead was a chief he is interred with Chinese jars (Cole 1956).	Cloth remains and mat impressions or remains; weapons and beads; bamboo tubes; Chinese jars; the objects placed on top of the grave cannot be recovered anymore
28. Subanon	Zamboanga	The dead are wrapped in <i>binaraw</i> – a native blanket. Plates, antique jars are buried with the dead. If the person died of a communicable disease, a suspended burial is executed or abandoned in his own house; if of a natural cause, left in the notches of the forest (Anima 1978). The corpse is wrapped in white cloth and placed in a coffin made of hewn-out logs and bound with rattan strips (Christie 1909). A plate and other useful articles are placed in the coffin. Sticks are placed at the bottom of the grave; a small mound is made on top of the grave and a crude shelter is built on top of it.	Skeletal remains with mat impressions; vessels; if burial left to the elements, it would be difficult to recover archaeologically. Skeletal and cloth remains; coffin remains and beneath it bamboo sticks; plates; postholes.

³ A bench specially constructed for the corpse to be lain on during the wake (Cole 1956).

29. Tinuray	Maguindanao	<p>If dead is a grown male, a kris is placed by his side; if a woman a gold necklace (Demetrio 1991).</p> <p>If an infant dies and still has no teeth, a ring is placed in the mouth to act as teeth in leaving the bark of the munuk (<i>Ficus benjamina</i> Linn). If a dead baby has teeth, a knife is interred with the body to cut the munuk bark so it can suck the sap (Demetrio 1991).</p>	<p>Burial goods signifying gender and lifestyles.</p> <p>Both metal objects are archaeologically recoverable, however its meaning may be interpreted by the archaeologist differently.</p> <p>Since this is left to the elements, this would be difficult to document archaeologically.</p>
30. T'hall	Cotabato	<p>Dead is wrapped in a piece of cloth and mat and interred in a dug-out coffin made from koto tree. The lid and body is held together by nails, rattan or resin. Instead of burying the coffin, it is suspended from treatops (Anima 1978). Or sometimes abandoned in the house of the deceased.</p>	
31. B'laan		<p>The coffins are hollowed out trunks of trees and strung up in trees and left to the elements; or placed in hollow trees and sealed (Cabrera 1987; Anima 1978). The house of the dead is burned and abandoned.</p>	
32. Bagobo	Davao	<p>The corpse is dressed according to gender and interred in coffins carved with a crocodile. Ordinary burials are covered with cloth strips arranged in a pattern that replicate a crocodile. Mats are laid at the bottom of the grave beneath the coffin. Burials are done under houses of sometimes the body is left in the house and abandoned. Items like rice, coffee, areca nuts and buayo leaves are offered to the dead for his journey (Watson 1916).</p>	<p>Carved coffins, skeletal remains and cloth remains; mat impressions.</p>
33. Mandaya		<p>A dead person in dressed in his best clothes and wrapped in an abaca cloth. The rich are buried in a hewn-out solid log and the poor are wrapped in a mat and covered with stones or buried. The rich will be interred in the forest and a small hut on top of the grave will be constructed; food, spears, bolos, hats, shields, articles of furniture are placed on the grave to please the spirits (Neri 1979).</p>	<p>Coffin with skeletal and cloth remains; open pit burials, skeletons; mat impressions; objects placed on top of grave may not be recovered anymore.</p>
34. Manobo	Sarangani Peninsula	<p>The deceased is interred in his best garments and with his personal ornaments; charms and talismans are however removed for these are heirloom pieces. He is wrapped in mat or in European cloth if available. The coffin is hexagonal in shape and made out of a hewn out log. The coffin may be buried under the house upon request then it is abandoned; or in a high ground in the forest interior with a fence around it and a roof where an earthen pot is hung. A man is oriented towards the west and the women towards the east. (Carson 1931).</p>	<p>Coffin and skeletal remains along with ornaments and textile remains; differentiation of orientation based on gender.</p>

35. Yaku	Basilar	<p>After ritual washing, the corpse is wrapped in white linen and dressed in his own garments. The grave is usually near the dead person's house. It is dug in a half-moon shaped where in another half-moon shaped is dug inside the straight side. The body is placed in this hole in a supine position with the head oriented towards the north. A roofed structure is constructed above the grave which is burned after a period of watching. On the 100th day of burial, a feast is celebrated. A ditch is dug around the grave where a wooden structure with a white cloth on top is constructed. Each corner is decorated with a triangular white flag. This represents a boat which will take the soul of the dead to the other side of the sea. On the grave, bushes with red or white flowers are planted (Wulff 1962).</p>	Skeletal materials, cloth and metal remains; postholes; graves marked by floral bushes.
36. Badjao	Tawi-tawi	<p>Dead is dressed and wrapped in bandages then in a tepot⁴ and the head cover is formed in the shape of a triangle. The priest and those who assisted in the burial wore cords around the wrists for protective purposes. These are thrown in the grave because death has contaminated it. A small mirror is placed on the corpse to frighten spirits away; or to show the way to the sky. Wooden planks are placed at the base of the grave where the body is lowered; the pit is not refilled. Instead wooden planks are placed on top of the hole and covered with soil. Above the head, a stone is placed⁵, grave enclosed with a fence and covered with a roof (Bottignolo 1995).</p>	Skeletal material wrapped in cloth and mat remains; remain of cords; mirror; remains of planks at the base of the grave; postholes of fence; headstone.
37. Samal	Sama Island	<p>The dead is buried with his earthly possessions in another island - bottle of freshwater, fruits, cassava, pieces of clothing, pots and pans, mirror, comb and jewelry. The boat used to ferry the dead is buried elsewhere in the island. The house of the deceased is dismantled and thrown into the sea (Anima 1978).</p>	Uninhabited islands must be surveyed for the presence of burial grounds.
			<p>Traces of human remains; mirror; coffin; traces of cloth or cloth impressions on coffin; traces of wooden board; main pit may be difficult to identify. White cloth would not be recoverable.</p>

⁴ A native straw mat (Bottignolo 1995).

⁵ This burial custom was initiated by the Badjao from Islamized people whom they lived with (Bottignolo 1995). The Islamic people used stone or wood to signify gender; for the Badjao just to indicate the position of the head. In contemporary times, this has been the medium of communication with the spirit of the dead.

- e. mourning period which lasts for a couple of days in some groups and several months to one year in others
- f. inhumation that takes diverse forms
- g. construction of a fence and/or roof above the grave
- h. offering of foods and other materials

Indigenous Burial Practices and Archaeological Implications

The Body

Several of the groups surveyed washed their dead right after death. Among the Tagalogs and the Visayans, the body is perfumed with the gum of the storax tree and other aromatic balsams to prevent corruption.⁷ The Tinguians believed that washing the body made the spirit clean;⁸ the Samals similarly believed that the washing help in the expurgation of sins.⁹ The Sulods of Panay rubs the body with juice pounded from ginger that they believed prevented evil spirits from devouring the corpse.¹⁰ Other aromatics used include *alagaw* (*Premna cordata* Blanco), *baraniw/tanglad* (*Andropogon schoenanthus* Blanco), guava (*Psidium guajava* L.), *kalamansi* (*Citrus microcarpa* Bunge), *sambong/subusob* (*Blumea balsamifera* L.).¹¹ After washing, the body is dressed in elaborate garments or sometimes with the ones he died in. Then, the body is wrapped in a mat or death blanket or sometimes a bark blanket as the Ilongots did.¹²

The preparation of the body prior to burial is very difficult to investigate archaeologically. Generally, the climate in the Philippines and the practice of secondary burial inhibits the preservation of the flesh leaving only the skeletal remains (which most of the time are in poor condition) to be recovered by archaeologists.¹³ The flesh (which absorbed the aromatics) had already decayed and can never be studied. Furthermore, a number of groups like the Sulods of Panay practiced secondary burial where only the bones are interred in a jar or suspended from trees.¹⁴

Early Spanish writings document the bravery of the locals; the braver the person, the more tattoos he had on his body.¹⁵ For reasons mentioned earlier, these symbols of bravery may not be examined archaeologically. The disintegration of the skin decreases the potential for study of symbolisms, an important aspect of the value system of societies. Tattoos are also a good source of stratification. The mummies

of Kabayan, Benguet¹⁶ which are intact and completely preserved may be considered for this purpose. With the advance in technology, other medical tests may reveal the nature of death — whether by diseases or violence. The former is a good evidence of what diseases are endemic to the population and what were introduced; while the latter alludes to conflict. Both are indications of social processes that took place.

Grave Goods

Grave goods are materials interred with the corpse. The placing of goods has diverse reasons as well. Generally, personal possessions were placed with the body as practised by the Apayaos,¹⁷ Boholanos,¹⁸ Magahats,¹⁹ Manobos,²⁰ and Samals.²¹ The Kalingas²² and the Tagbanuwas²³ did likewise but the goods were left on top of the graves. These personal possessions are believed to be needed in the afterlife by the deceased. The Tinguians²⁴ and the Visayans²⁵ were buried with gold objects and other jewelry, blankets and porcelain wares that served as gifts for their ancestors. It was believed that if they depart rich they will be received warmly but coldly if they are poor.²⁶ Aside from personal belongings, the Apayaos,²⁷ Dumagats,²⁸ Bataks,²⁹ Sulods,³⁰ Magahats,³¹ Boholanos,³² Bagobos³³ and Badjaos³⁴ placed other items such as daggers, pots, salt, and food that they believed were needed by the deceased in his journey to the beyond. A belief that ghouls will eat the corpse made the Badjaos³⁵ place a mirror on the chest of the body to drive the evil presences away. Similarly, the Kalingas³⁶ placed betel nut, charcoal and lemon leaves on top of the grave to ward off evil spirits that might consume the remains.

The Isnegs,³⁷ Zambals,³⁸ Tagalogs, Visayans³⁹ and Bukidnons⁴⁰ interred the body with goods that befit the status of the deceased. A chief or a person of stature was interred with gold objects, Chinese jars, porcelain and sometimes a slave. Another determinant of the form of grave goods is gender. The Ilongots, Tiruray⁴¹ and Bukidnons,⁴² interred females with ornaments and utensils. In some societies like Tiruray⁴³ and Visayans,⁴⁴ the males were buried with their weapons.⁴⁵ Both genders were likewise interred with their implements of work: females with looms, males with spears and iron points. A woman in the Visayan⁴⁶ society who died and only had one husband was buried with an ax handle with only

one head fitting the handle. This symbolizes that the woman had known and loved only one man. In Maguindanao, the Tiruray⁴⁷ placed a kris with the body if the deceased happened to be an adult male. In the same group, infants without teeth were buried with a ring placed in their mouths (to serve as teeth), while those with teeth were interred with a knife. The ring is for tearing the bark of the tree and the knife for cutting the tree. The sap from the tree is believed to provide nourishment for the young corpse.⁴⁸

The grave goods of the Ivatans of Batanes,⁴⁹ Negritos of Ilocos Norte and Zambales⁵⁰ reflect their mode of subsistence. They buried with them oars and flintstones, iron-arrow points, and meat respectively.

The objects were placed with the body for three reasons: first as a gift to ancestors and gods; second as provisions for the journey; and third to repulse evil spirits. Most of the burial sites excavated in the Philippines yielded the same materials mentioned above.⁵¹

Materials left on top of the grave may not be recovered anymore since natural processes such as erosion, flooding, earthquakes, etc. can redeposit them. Organic materials such as wood and food offerings have lesser survival rates especially those exposed to the elements. Likewise, the nature of the soil matrix will determine the level of preservation and decomposition of organic materials particularly of skeletal materials. The high acidity in the soil may completely disintegrate skeletal materials as the case in some Philippine sites.⁵²

Archaeology relies heavily on the investigation of tangibles to study the past but because of direct and indirect cultural and natural disturbances, the archaeological record may yield incomplete information with regard to prehistoric burial practices. Regardless of these impediments, there is still need to conduct archaeological research because these materials are sources of information on our prehistory and are part of our cultural heritage that needs preserving. Recognizing the drawbacks of archaeological research, it becomes the responsibility of the archaeologist to seek other sources of data, which can aid him in reconstructing a complete picture of the past. These sources include ethnoarchaeology, ethnographic research, oral history, folklore as well as survey of written materials — documents, journals, chronicles, etc.

Given a burial site, the archaeologist most of the time, interprets grave goods as status symbols and are evidence of social organization. Though there were several groups that interred goods that did not necessarily reflect social ranking. The reasons behind the interment of an ax handle with a *bingil* by the Visayans⁵³ and a ring and knife with infants among the Tiruray,⁵⁴ will not be archaeologically reflected and will forever be lost to the archaeologist. At the same time, not all burials without grave goods may be interpreted as those of the non-elite since there are societies like the Ifugaos and the Ivatans who do not place any object with the dead⁵⁵ for the possessions of the deceased such as jewelry were passed down to family members as heirlooms. Being familiar with early historical accounts of the local inhabitants can assist the researcher to develop his theories on past social systems. Consequently, it can elucidate materials already excavated.

The analysis of grave goods can generate studies on what items were locally produced vis-a-vis those that are foreign including their countries of origin. These may even be compared with those retrieved from other Philippine sites as well as Southeast Asian sites to check variations in forms and methods of production.

Manner of Burial

Out of the 37 ethnolinguistic groups surveyed, 21 utilized wooden coffins; seven were buried in open pits; four were placed in jars; five were suspended and interred in hallow trees; two utilized stone slabs; and, one left to decay in the forest. A number of societies, such as the Ifugaos,⁵⁶ Tagalogs,⁵⁷ Sulods,⁵⁸ Manuvus,⁵⁹ Mandayas,⁶⁰ and Subanuns,⁶² practiced more than one type of burial.

The use of wooden coffins was the most widespread form of interment among Philippine ethnolinguistic groups. Three variants of the coffin were observed: the dug-out coffins that were hewn out of a single log like those of the Bikolanos;⁶² bamboo coffins made of bamboo splits such as those of the Negritos of Negros Island;⁶³ and, coffins made of wooden planks like those used by the Badjaos.⁶⁴ Some coffins were carved with figures of a crocodile and/or human.⁶⁵ The crocodile or snake-like designs were perceived to be the protector of the corpse eyed by flesh-eating ghouls.⁶⁶ To fasten the coffins, nails, rattan and resin were used. Prior to lowering the coffin, the Bagobos placed a mat on the

bottom of the grave.⁶⁷ Similarly, folk literature relates the use of coffins by several ethnolinguistic groups from Luzon to Mindanao.⁶⁸

Those buried in open-pits were most of the time wrapped with mats and the bottom of the grave were lined with bamboo tubes as practiced by the Bukidnons.⁶⁹ Stone-slab burials were only utilized in Northern Luzon by the Tinguians⁷⁰ and the Kalingas;⁷¹ the latter lined the bottom of the grave with small rocks. Usually the stone-slabs were placed on top of the corpse and then covered with earth. The problem with this is that the weight of the slabs may cause the heavy fragmentation of the skeletal remains and other objects.

Jars were used in Batanes, Cordillera, Panay and Cebu. The Ifugaos interred infants in jars.⁷² The Visayans likewise placed their infants in glazed Chinese jars.⁷³ The Sulods of Panay used stoneware for family bones.⁷⁴ Based on the survey, no jar burial was observed among the lowland groups during the Spanish period except for infants inhumed in jars. Excavations in Southern Luzon and Pangasinan⁷⁵ attest to this fact. Juvenile and adult skeletal materials were buried in open pits and infants were placed in jars. As for the highland groups studied during the American time, no jar burials were likewise observed. Prevalent in archaeological sites are jar burials which date from the Late Neolithic (800-1000 B.C.) to the Protohistoric Period (1000-1521 A.D.).⁷⁶ However, the practice was only documented after World War II by Jocano in 1968.

Tree-trunk burial and suspension were widely practiced in the island of Mindanao by the Manuvus, Subanuns, T'bolis and B'laans. The Manuvu suspended their dead wrapped in mats or blankets from the top of trees.⁷⁷ The T'boli and B'laans placed their dead in a coffin before suspending them in trees.⁷⁸ The Sulods buried the important people in hollow trees. Like the Sulod, the B'laans also practiced the inhumation of the dead in hollow trees.⁷⁹ The Subanuns left their dead in the forest wrapped in blanket if he died of natural causes, or suspended in trees if of a communicable disease.⁸⁰ These types of burial made the bodies more exposed to the elements and susceptible to faster rate of decay, making recovery virtually impossible. Similar to jar burial, tree burial was documented only after World War II.

Aside from grave goods, the burial repository is also a status marker. Coffins of hard wood with crocodile carvings were usually used by the rich while the lower classes used coffins made of thin boards and bamboo. With this information, chancing upon these types of burials, at the same time taking into account the form of grave goods each burial contained, social ranking in specific sites can be inferred.

Location of Burial

As dictated by their customs, a large number of ethnolinguistic groups buried their dead under or near houses, granaries or in yards⁸¹ like the Tinguians,⁸² Kalingas,⁸³ Igorots,⁸⁴ Ifugaos,⁸⁵ Tagalogs,⁸⁶ Visayans,⁸⁷ Bagobos,⁸⁸ Manobos;⁸⁹ or in fields near their homes like the Igorots and Yakans.⁹⁰

The Tinguians performed their burials at the edge of farms while the Igorots in the outskirts of town;⁹¹ some in woods and forest like the Tagbanwa,⁹² Mandaya,⁹³ Manobo.⁹⁴ The Negritos of Ilocos Norte used the mountains for burial;⁹⁵ or as the custom of the Negritos of Bataan⁹⁶ and the Manobos in high places far from habitation.⁹⁷ Other past burial places included the sand near a body of water which were preferred by the Bataks;⁹⁸ and caves as practiced by the Apayaos and Igorots.⁹⁹ The Badjaos utilized an island away from habitation.¹⁰⁰ Some such as the Sulods of Panay suspended the corpse from house eaves.¹⁰¹

Among other groups such as the Ilongots, Bikolanos, Manuvus, Mangyans, Subanuns, Bagobos, T'bolis and Manobos the house of the dead is abandoned and sometimes burned whether the body is interred in a coffin and buried under the house or not, or just wrapped in a mat.¹⁰² The reason for this practice is that living relatives believed that the spirits that caused the death of their kin are still wandering in the house to claim more victims. In order to prevent further deaths in the family the house is either abandoned or burned with the body in it.¹⁰³ Other groups, like the Tagbanuwas, B'laans and Badjaos, but still abandon or tear the house down for similar reasons.¹⁰⁴ This may also be the rationale behind the utilization of burial places far from habitation by some groups.

The manner and the location of the burial depends on the age of the dead, nature of death (NOD), status, and gender (Table 2). The Igorots and the Ifugaos of Northern Luzon have the most number of social

determinants of burial custom. Members of the elite interred their dead in hardwood coffins; while those belonging to the lower class were wrapped in mats and buried in open pits or in thin-board coffins.¹⁰⁶ To mark the graves of the latter, stones or logs are used to cover the graves. Igorot victims of beheading were buried along trails leading to the guilty party's town.¹⁰⁶ The Cordillera people had this belief that certain spirits eat the flesh of the dead, and since children are too young to battle these spirits, the family buried the dead child under or near the house and granaries so the family can protect it. In the Visayan region, the infants were interred in jars.¹⁰⁷ The Manobos buried their dead according to gender; if the head of a male is positioned towards the west and a woman's towards the east.¹⁰⁸ It may be hypothesized that the more the determinants are, the more complex a society is.

Ethnohistoric sources state that coastal areas of the Philippines were lined with settlements. And if ethnohistory and folk literature relate the burying under houses and granaries, it is possible that coastal burial sites are at the same time habitation sites. This may also be true with non-coastal burial sites. That is why the observance of postholes that can support a large structure in a burial site is very significant. A reconnaissance of burial locations is highly recommended. Subsistence may contribute to the practice of some societies that bury their dead in the vicinity of the settlement. It implies that these societies were sedentary agriculturalists. Meanwhile those who abandoned their dead and houses may indicate a slash-and-burn cultivation mode of livelihood.

Multiple Burials

Five groups practised multiple burials for different reasons. The elites of the Zambals, Tagalogs and the Bikolanos were at least accompanied by one slave to serve the master in his afterlife.¹⁰⁹ Burials yielding more than one skeleton suggest, with the help of the form of grave goods, a chiefly burial. The Apayao burials may contain several skulls; these were trophy skulls taken from enemies. Head taking signaled the end of the mourning period.¹¹⁰ The Tinguians and the Sulods practised primary and secondary multiple kin burial respectively.¹¹¹ After the flesh decays, the Sulods place the bones of all siblings and parents in one jar.

If financial sources allow, DNA testing will confirm if these multiple burials were a kin- or slave-burial. Slave burial and the presence of trophy

Table 2: Social Basis for Manner and Location of Burial in some Philippine Ethnolinguistic Groups

Ethnolinguistic Group	Basis	Manner of Burial	Location of Burial
Tinguians	Status	Poor buried and covered with stones or logs	Poor buried at edge of farm
Kalingas	Age		Children under house or granaries
Igorots	Age		Children near houses or granaries
	Status		Rich in the outskirts of town; ordinary people in field near their houses
	NOD*		Victims of beheading along trails leading to town of perpetrator
Ifugaos	Age	Jar burial	Babies under house
	NOD		Women who died of childbirth under house
	Status	Elite in wooden coffins	
Tagalogs	Status	Rich in coffins, poor in open pits	
Bicolanos	Status	Rich in coffins	Rich buried or abandoned in homes
Sulob	Status	Rich in coffins with carvings or, in hollow tree-trunk; ordinary are placed in open-pits	
Visayans	Age	Infants are placed in jars	
	Status	Rich in hardwood coffins with carvings; poor in thin board-coffins or bamboo coffins	
Subanuns	NOD	Suspended from trees if died of communicable disease	Abandoned in home if died of communicable disease; left in the forest if of natural cause
	Status	Rich in dug-out coffins; poor wrapped in mat and covered with stones or buried	Rich is buried in the forest

*Nature of death

skulls are good indications of rank in society and the type of social interactions that took place — slave taking and raiding. Kin burial on the other hand may allude to the nature of kinship relations.

Post-Burial

After burial, a hut, fence or both were constructed around and on top of the graves. A hut was always constructed on top of the graves of the rich Tagalogs and Mandayas.¹¹² The Negritos put up a fence to prevent animals from disturbing the grave.¹¹³ Usually a food offering placed in a jar with a hole at the bottom was hung from the hut. The Tinguians built a structure on top of the grave to ward off evil spirits.¹¹⁴ Fox¹¹⁵ in Calatagan and Hutterer¹¹⁶ in Cebu observed small postholes, suggesting fences or huts were constructed above the graves.

Food offerings placed in these huts cannot be recovered because they decompose easily. However, in some excavated burial sites, food offerings placed in jars — seeds, shells, fish bones and other animal bones have been documented.¹¹⁷ Substantial information can be obtained from these like past diet, mode of subsistence and technology. The past environment can also be reconstructed as reflected by what resources were available.

Conclusion and Recommendations

Indigenous burial practices are potential sources of information about our prehistory; from modes of subsistence and economic patterns to level of technological development; social stratification to internal and external trade and political relations; from religious ideas to worldviews.

In this paper, there is no attempt to attribute archaeologically investigated burial sites to the ethnolinguistic group found in the same area. Questions of continuity and discontinuity of a population inhabiting an area have to be established first. We have numerous excavated burial materials that need analyzing, this survey may provide probable interpretations of recovered artifacts.

A number of archaeological correlates listed in Table 1 are already substantiated by excavations of burial sites all over the Philippines.¹¹⁸ Stone slab burials have been excavated in La Union Province,¹¹⁹ open-

pit graves in Calatagan;¹²⁰ coffin burials in Bohol¹²¹ and Panhutongan;¹²² and jar burials in Palawan and Sorsogon.¹²³ Trophy skulls were found in Tanjay;¹²⁴ postholes in Cebu¹²⁵ and Batangas;¹²⁶ evidence of betel nut chewing in Palawan;¹²⁷ rockshelter and cave burials in the Visayan area;¹²⁸ trade items like Chinese porcelain and glass beads in Sta. Ana.¹²⁹ Some retrieved skeletons were disintegrated because of the high level of acidity in the soil which was the case at the Tigkiw na Saday Site.¹³⁰ Much of our prehistory is still to be understood through archaeology. The Spanish did not observe all practices of indigenous populations; perhaps some practices were discontinued prior to European contact; or had escaped the watchful eyes of the missionaries. The ethnographic record is not sufficient to understand our past since there are archaeological sites which offer new insights to Philippine prehistory. The stone-boat shaped burials in Batanes¹³¹ and the anthropomorphic potteries in Maitum¹³² were not recorded in ethnohistory. In this way, archaeology is used to fill gaps in written history or even rectify written history.

Burial sites outnumber habitation sites in the Philippines. This paper offers potential for the further study of burial sites. The survey presents possible and various explanations for archaeological assemblages. Ethnography and ethnoarchaeology can be used to make sense of excavated materials. By comparing archaeological correlates and actual materials, the archaeologist is granted probable cultural mechanisms that produce the aggregation of artifacts.

There are several points that need to be investigated further for a more comprehensive study on the subject matter:

1. There were several burial customs that lasted through two or more time periods such as the interment of personal possessions, and the manner of burial. What kind of modifications occurred in each time period? What influenced these changes?

2. Among the Tagalogs (see Table 1), the chief was said to be buried in a boat which served as the coffin. It is essential to study the boat-coffin complex to discern the role of boats in early pre-Spanish Philippine culture and its transformation as a funeral box.

3. The affiliations or similarities of Philippine burial practices with neighboring countries must be looked into. Areas that may be looked at

are the Batanes group of islands with Taiwan and Japan; Sulu Islands with Borneo, etc. In this way, the burial customs in the Philippines may be better analyzed in the regional context of Southeast Asia.

4. Lastly, taboos connected with funeral rites should be further examined. ♦

Notes

- 1 Beyer 1947; Fox 1959, 1970 and 1977; Tenazas 1970; Legasp 1974; Scott 1984; Dizon 1979, 1993, 1997a, 1997b and 1998; Dela Torre 1996; Barretto *et. al.* 1997; Salcedo 1998.
- 2 Binford, 1972.
- 3 Kamp, 1998.
- 4 Salmon, 1982:57.
- 5 Fagan, 1991.
- 6 Manuel 1953; Keesing 1962; Jocano 1975; Demetrio 1991; Scott 1994.
- 7 Pigafetta 1525; Plasencia 1589; Chirino 1602; Morga 1609; Bobadilla 1640; Jocano 1975; Scott 1994.
- 8 Worcester 1906; Cole 1922.
- 9 Anima, 1978.
- 10 Jocano, 1968.
- 11 Ramos, 1973.
- 12 Worcester 1906; Demetrio 1991.
- 13 Fox, 1959.
- 14 Jocano, 1968.
- 15 Scott, 1994.
- 16 Salcedo, 1998.
- 17 Keesing 1962; Scott 1974.
- 18 Demetrio, 1991.
- 19 Oracion, 1954.
- 20 Garvan, 1931.
- 21 Anima, 1978.
- 22 Dozier, 1967.
- 23 Worcester, 1899.
- 24 Worcester 1906; Cole 1922.
- 25 Chirino 1602; Morga 1609; Bobadilla 1640; Jocano 1975; Scott 1994.
- 26 Loarca, 1582.
- 27 Keesing 1962; Scott 1974.
- 28 Valencia, 1999.
- 29 Samson, 1967.
- 30 Jocano, 1968.
- 31 Oracion, 1954.
- 32 Demetrio, 1991.
- 33 Watson, 1916.
- 34 Anima, 1978.

- 35 Bottignolo, 1995.
- 36 Dozier, 1967.
- 37 Keesing, 1962.
- 38 Perez, 1680.
- 39 Plasencia 1589; Chirino 1602; Morga 1609; Bobadilla 1640; Jocano 1975; Scott 1994 (Cole 1956)
- 40 Demetrio, 1991
- 41 Cole, 1956
- 42 Demetrio, 1991
- 43 Plasencia 1589; Chirino 1602; Morga 1609; Bobadilla 1640; Jocano 1975.
- 44 Scott, 1994.
- 45 Scott, 1994.
- 46 Demetrio, 1991.
- 47 Demetrio, 1991.
- 49 Manuel, 1953.
- 50 Blumentritt, 1882.
- 51 Fox 1970; Hutterer 1973; Legaspi 1974; Tidalgo 1979; Dela Torre 1996.
- 52 Dizon, 1979.
- 53 Scott, 1994.
- 54 Demetrio, 1991.
- 55 Dulawan, 1967.
- 56 Barton, 1946.
- 57 Morga, 1609.
- 58 Jocano, 1968.
- 59 Manuel, 1973.
- 60 Nan, 1979.
- 61 Christie 1909; Anims 1978.
- 62 Scott, 1994.
- 63 Crazion, 1960.
- 64 Bottignolo, 1995.
- 65 Plasencia 1589; Chirino 1602; Morga 1609; Bobadilla 1640; Watson 1916; Jocano 1968 and 1975; Scott 1994.
- 66 Ramos, 1973.
- 67 Watson, 1916.
- 68 Eugenio, 1994.
- 69 Cole, 1956.
- 70 Cole, 1922.
- 71 Barton 1949; Dozier 1967.
- 72 Barton, 1946.
- 73 Plasencia 1589; Chirino 1602; Morga 1609; Bobadilla 1640; Jocano 1975; Scott 1994.
- 74 Jocano, 1968.
- 75 Fox 1959; Legaspi 1974; Fox and Legaspi 1977.
- 76 Fox 1970; Scott 1984; Junker 1999.
- 77 Manuel, 1973.
- 78 Anims, 1978.
- 79 Anims, 1978.

- 80 Anima, 1978.
- 81 A Tinguian legend describes the burial of a wife under the house (Eugenio 1996:361-362).
- 82 Cole, 1922.
- 83 Barton 1949; Dozier 1967.
- 84 Worcester 1906; Scott 1994.
- 85 Worcester, 1906.
- 86 Chirino 1602; Morga 1609.
- 87 Jocano, 1968.
- 88 Pigafetta, 1525.
- 89 Watson, 1916.
- 90 Garvan, 1931.
- 91 Wulff 1962; Scott 1974.
- 92 Worcester, 1906.
- 93 Neri, 1979.
- 94 Garvan, 1931.
- 95 Blumentritt, 1882.
- 96 Reed, 1904.
- 97 Garvan, 1931.
- 98 Samson, 1967.
- 99 Scott, 1974.
- 100 Anima, 1978.
- 101 Jocano, 1968.
- 102 Watson 1916; Garvan 1931; Maceda 1967; Manuel 1973; Anima 1978; Demetrio 1991; Scott 1994.
- 103 Maceda 1967; Ramos 1973.
- 104 Worcester 1899; Cabrera 1967; Anima 1978.
- 105 Worcester 1906; Barton 1948; Dulawan 1967; Scott 1974.
- 106 Worcester, 1906.
- 107 Scott, 1994.
- 108 Garvan, 1931.
- 109 Plasencia 1589; Perez 1680; Scott 1994.
- 110 Scott, 1974.
- 111 Cole 1922; Jocano 1968.
- 112 Chirino 1602; Neri 1979.
- 113 Blumentritt 1882; Reed 1904.
- 114 Worcester 1906.
- 115 Fox, 1959.
- 116 Hutterer, 1973.
- 117 Legaspi, 1974.
- 118 Beyer, 1947.
- 119 Tidalgo, 1979.
- 120 Fox, 1959.
- 121 Santiago, 1982.
- 122 Dela Torre, 1996;
- 123 Fox 1970; Dizon 1979.
- 124 Junker, 1999.

- 125 Hutterer, 1973.
 126 Fox, 1959.
 127 Fox, 1970.
 128 Beyer, 1947.
 129 Fox and Legaspi, 1977.
 130 Dizon, 1979.
 131 Dizon, 1997a.
 132 Dizon, 1993.

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