

## Preliminary Report on the 2012 UP Anthropology Field School Excavation of Maraja Site, Ipilan, Brooke's Point, Palawan

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## **Preliminary Report on the 2012 UP Anthropology Field School Excavation of Maraja Site, Ipilan, Brooke's Point, Palawan**

### **A. Introduction**

Maraja Site is located in Proper 3 of Barangay Ipilan, Brooke's Point Municipality on the island of Palawan (Figure 1 – GeoCam report). Geographic coordinates for the site are  $8^{\circ}50'32\text{ N}$   $117^{\circ}54'14\text{ E}$  and the site code IV-2012-F1 was assigned by the National Museum of the Philippines. Ipilan was named as such because of the prevalence of ipil-ipil from the seaside to the mountains prior to the extensive replacement of coconut trees. Maraja Site is located in a mangrove environment with species of *Nipa*, *Cocos* and *Rhizophora*. The site is around 100 meters away from the coastline and adjacent to it is the modern Catholic cemetery.

Barangay Ipilan was chosen as the venue for the 2012 University of the Philippines Anthropology Field School (UPAFS) in coordination with the Ancestral Land Domain Watch (ALDAW). The UP Department of Anthropology annually conducts the Anthropology Field School, which aims to train graduating BA Anthropology students in field research methods in Archaeology and in Social Anthropology. The UPAFS was conducted from April 15 to May 18 2012 and the actual excavation period covered the dates from May 1 to 13, 2012. Prior to the Field School, the municipality of Brooke's Point was surveyed for possible archaeological sites. The survey (see below) yielded three candidate areas and Maraja was chosen as the excavation site. The Department coordinated with the landowner, Mr. Toto Usop, Barangay Captain Jonathan Lagrada, and Barangay Kagawad Artiso Mandawa in order to get local permission to excavate in the area (Appendix B & C: Memoranda of Agreement).

The island of Palawan is located between Borneo and the main Philippine archipelago of Luzon on the northeastern margins of the Sunda Shelf in Island Southeast Asia. Palawan is approximately 586 kilometers southwest of Manila with a total land area of 11,600 km<sup>2</sup>. The island measures 425 kilometers long, and about 40 kilometers wide and is also the largest province in Region IV-B (MIMAROPA)/ Region VI.

### **B. Objectives:**

As a Field School, one of the main objectives of the project is to train undergraduate students in archaeological field methods, particularly excavation techniques. From a research vantage point the UPAFS aimed to:

1. Determine the nature and age of the Maraja site.
2. Provide a deeper chronological perspective regarding the history of Brooke's Point.
3. Investigate preliminary ethnoarchaeological data related to the archaeology of the area.
4. Contribute archaeological knowledge to the local community in order to support indigenous heritage management efforts.

### **C. Archaeological Background**

Palawan Island has a very rich archaeological record that spans from the Late Pleistocene to the subrecent. The island has long been a focus of archaeological research, dating

from the early observations and collections by Carl Guthe in the 1920s. Robert Fox and the National Museum extensively surveyed the island and excavated the Tabon Caves Complex in

**Figure 1.** Geographic location of the site. Initial photo was taken during the first survey.

# GeoCam Report

Maraja Site

2012-02-21 15.37.56.jpg

21/02/2012 15:37

2012:02:21 07:35 UTC

		Latitude	Longitude	Altitude	Azimuth	Pitch	Roll
S	U				0°±0	0°±0	0°±0
N	E	N8.841110 °	E117.904167 °		126° ( $\Delta 0°$ )		



the 1960s. Part of the research was conducted under the Early Man Project, which aimed to investigate the earliest human presence in the Philippines (Fox 1963). For the past five decades, research has been conducted throughout the island, with efforts concentrated primarily in the Quezon and El Nido areas. The Palawan Island Palaeohistoric Project spearheaded by UP archaeologists has extensively studied the Dewil Valley of El Nido municipality. The archaeology of Ille Cave has provided a robust chronology and palaeoecological record for the past 14,000 years (Lewis et al 2008, Ochoa and Piper 2013). Underwater archaeology has also yielded a rich artefact record for the 14<sup>th</sup> to 15<sup>th</sup> centuries (Dizon 1996, Goddio et al. 2002).

Despite all these data, relatively little is known about the terrestrial archaeology of other southerly parts of Palawan, particularly of Brooke's Point and Bataraza. Fox (1970) briefly mentions the recovery of tradeware ceramics and a Garuda figurine in Brgy. Oring-Oring of Brooke's Point municipality. Archaeological impact assessments for mining companies have been conducted, and these yielded very little in terms of archaeological data (ACECI 2007). Nonetheless, important Late Pleistocene and Early Holocene palaeoenvironmental data were retrieved by Wurster et al. (2010) from Gangub Cave in Bataraza, indicating environmental and climatic changes on the island.

#### D. Methodology

##### Archaeological Survey

Upon receiving permission from the National Museum of the Philippines to conduct terrestrial archaeological investigation in the southern municipalities of Palawan, the principal investigator conducted a field survey with the help of Mr. Emil Robles of the UP Archaeological Studies Program. Dr. Eusebio Dizon provided initial recommendations, including a visit to a site reported by Palawan locals Mr. Remedio Villanueva and Engr. Elmer Narrazid. Plate 1 shows photos of artifacts taken by the author from the locality (Mr. Villanueva initially forwarded his own set of photographs of the same artifacts to Dr. Dizon).

The source of the artifacts lie in the property of the Narrazid family in Sitio Tandul, near Marangas Poblacion, Bataraza Municipality. The landowners were reluctant to divulge the actual location of the site because of the presence of certain valuable artifacts and precious metals. The owners showed an array of ceramic and metal artifacts (Plate 1). The provenance of the artifacts is said to be from a nearby island, likely from one of the Segyam Islands off the coast of Marangas. Nonetheless, they gave information regarding finds of tradeware and bones from possible human burials in their property along the coast ( $8^{\circ}39'33\text{ N } 117^{\circ}38'24\text{ E}$ ).

Because the ethnographic field site was set to be in Brgy. Ipilan in Brooke's Point, it was deemed that the survey should move to the actual municipality in the hope of finding sites in the same general vicinity. The main informants for the survey were the following:

1. ALDAW head and Brgy. Kagawad Artiso Mandawa
2. Ipilan Brgy. Captain Jonathan Lagrada
3. ALDAW representative Chuck Nelasa
4. Mr. Ernie and Mrs. Lily Gatchalian

5. Mr. Joel and Mrs. Jenny Paduga
6. Ms. Jenny Mae Laceste (Municipal tourism official)

Three sites were found and surveyed and all were located at or near the coast. The first site was in Karyangan, Proper 3, Barangay Ipilan ( $8^{\circ}50'4\text{ N } 117^{\circ}53'24\text{ E}$ ). This land is managed by Mr. Roger Sarong and he gave information about ceramics and bones that were found in the area (Plate 2). The site has been heavily looted based on the narrative of Mr. Sarong. Another site was located in the coastlines of Sitio Taking, Brgy. Oring-Oring ( $8^{\circ}45'34\text{ N } 117^{\circ}47'60\text{ E}$ ). A similar narrative was provided by one of the landowners that the site has been intensively dug in the past because of reports of ceramics and bones from what were presumably human burials. The third site is in Maraja in Proper 3, Barangay Ipilan. The property is owned by the family of Mr. Toto Usop. Upon visiting the site with Brgy Captain Lagrada and Mr. Nelasa, Mr. Usop toured the group around the site and showed a small plastic bag of stoneware and porcelain fragments (Plate 3). Mr. Usop communicated to us through his personal sign language that was interpreted by Kapitan Lagrada. Mr. Usop shared that bones were dug up in his property by himself and by other people. He mentioned that some of the bones were of 'large people,' presumably pertaining to the large long bones of the human body. Because of the surface finds, proximity of the site and the cordial welcome and cooperation of the landowner and barangay officials, it was decided that Maraja would be the site for the UPAFS excavation.

### **Excavation**

As a training venue for archaeological field methods, excavation was the major strategy for investigation. The UPAFS followed the context recording system and excavated by natural layers and 10-cm or 20-cm spits. A baseline and grid system was established. The students were instructed on basic trowelling and other excavation techniques, recording protocols and on-site curation of archaeological finds.

### **E. Ethnoarchaeological Data**

#### **Burial Practices**

(contribution by A. J. Tolibas and J. B. Leaño)

Key Informants/Consultants: Panlima Welinton, Panlima Pedro Sagad, Charlito Nelasa, Kgwd. Artiso Mandawa

Ethnographic data suggests that the Pala'wan perform "talang" or the practice of interning material possessions (grave goods) that they believe the departed can take and use in the afterlife. These burial goods are usually the things Pala'wans use in their daily living. It includes, but is not limited to, plates, jars, bowls, garments, weapons, combs, musical instruments, etc. The presence of a "badong," (a type of ceremonial weapon), "salapa" (bronze container), "agung" (gong), are markers of wealth. These burial goods are positioned near the corpse, both the body and the burial goods sandwiched by two pieces of wooden planks. An "Ugdang Bulawan" (golden stairs), is also placed inside the grave. The Ugdang Bulawan is a stem that is cut on both sides; one diagonally upwards and the other downwards. They believe that the soul of the dead uses one side of the "Ugdang Bulawan" to descend to the grave while the souls of the "taga-salo" (two people that steps inside the grave to guide the body as it lowered) uses the other side. Graves are marked with natural markers usually by planting a flower or a tree. Graves are dug to a depth of no higher than the neck and no lower than the chest of an average Pala'wan. When asked how deep a grave usually is, most informants would make an

action indicating this range. The body orientation is based on the sex of the departed and the relative positions of the mountain and the sea. Male Palao'ans are buried with the soles of their feet facing the mountains while those of the females face the sea. The logic behind this is that when the soul rises, he or she will go towards the first thing it sees. Males will go towards the mountains to hunt while the females go towards the sea to fish.

The Pala'wan do not practice embalming their dead. They believe that their bodies should not be separated even in death. They also do not use coffin or grave. According to Panglima Welinton, the practice of not using a coffin will enable the "karudwa" (soul) to rise from the burial place easier than those with coffins. Moreover, since they do not practice embalming their dead; it is necessary to place the dead into his/her final resting place. Given that, there is no long funeral or wake for the dead, the burial should not take more than (24) twenty-four hours from the time of death as the body starts to decompose. In the event that a family member will be coming from a far place (distant country, island, city, or municipality), leaves are burned and the smoke coming from it surrounds the body of the dead.

Upon death, the body of the deceased will be cleaned and clothed, usually with his/her favorite clothing. Any color can be worn except black, as it is believed that the "karudwa" will wail in the afterlife when s/he tries to wash and make the clothing free from the color black. Then, the body of the deceased will be covered with a blanket followed by a mat. The mat will be tied in the head and feet of the body of the deceased. Usually, four people are necessary to carry the dead to his/her final resting place. Before the body of the dead leaves the house, in the pantaran, the family members conduct the "nagnanangnang", or apology to the dead for all of the sins that they have done to the dead while s/he is still living. Panglima Welinton mentioned the exact words uttered in Pala'wan and translated in Filipino:

"Patawarin mo na ang asawa mo, ang mga anak mo sa mga kasalanang nagawa nila sayo..."

Hanggang sa katapusan... at huling pagkikita..." ("Forgive your spouse, your children with the sins they have done to you ... until the end ... and in the last meeting")

After the "magnangnang", the body of the deceased will be carried to the burial site, and the family members stay behind the body of the deceased during the procession. The burial site for the dead is usually located near the house of his/her family. It can also be observed that the presence of trees and plants have importance in palteg.

The pit size is the same as the length of the body of the deceased, while its depth is around the chest area; more or less (1) one meter. The Pala'wan believes that the deceased is good if the soil that will be dug is soft and vice versa.

Before placing the body of the deceased below the pit must first carry out palteg or pamumukrat. The body is lowered first beside the pit, and the knot at the head will be removed, releasing its head on the mat. Then the final message will be uttered, usually the Panglima or other elders, in these words:

"Pagmasdan mo na ang mundo dahil ito na ang huling pagtingin mo, ang mga kahoy na maliliit at malalaki, ang mga dahon at ang buong mundo dahil patay ka na at diyan ka na kay Ampo" (Look at the world for this will be your last time to see it, the woods, small and large, the leaves and the whole world, for you are dead and you are with Ampo.)

After "magpalteg" the body will be covered with a mat and be binded again. Wooden planks will be placed in the bottom of the pit and at least two people are inside the pit to catch the corpse.

After the body is lowered, the Ugdang Bulawan or Golden Stairs will be placed inside the pit. The Ugdang Bulawan is a symbolical stairs made from the stem of a plant. The stem will be cut slanted on the two sides, one up and one down. It will look like a staircase where one side is uphill and the other is down, while it is being placed inside the pit, these words are uttered, "Paakyatin ang kaluluwa ng mga buhay at pababain naman ang sa mga patay." ("Let the soul of the living go up and the soul of the dead go down.").

The talang or the burial goods will be placed before covering the pit with soil. On top of the covered pit, a plant, usually they use flowers or palm, will be placed that will serve as a burial marker. The talang will be laid again before making a shed for the deceased that will be used to store plates, pots, glasses, and other kitchen utensils. After doing everything mentioned, the dead will be woken up and food will be prepared for the dead. A gira or making different noise will be conducted by those who attended the burial of the deceased. The first person to arrive at the house will get a coconut shell containing ashes that will be applied on the body of the person. While the last person to arrive will also apply the ash on his/her body and s/he will destroy the coconut shell while saying:

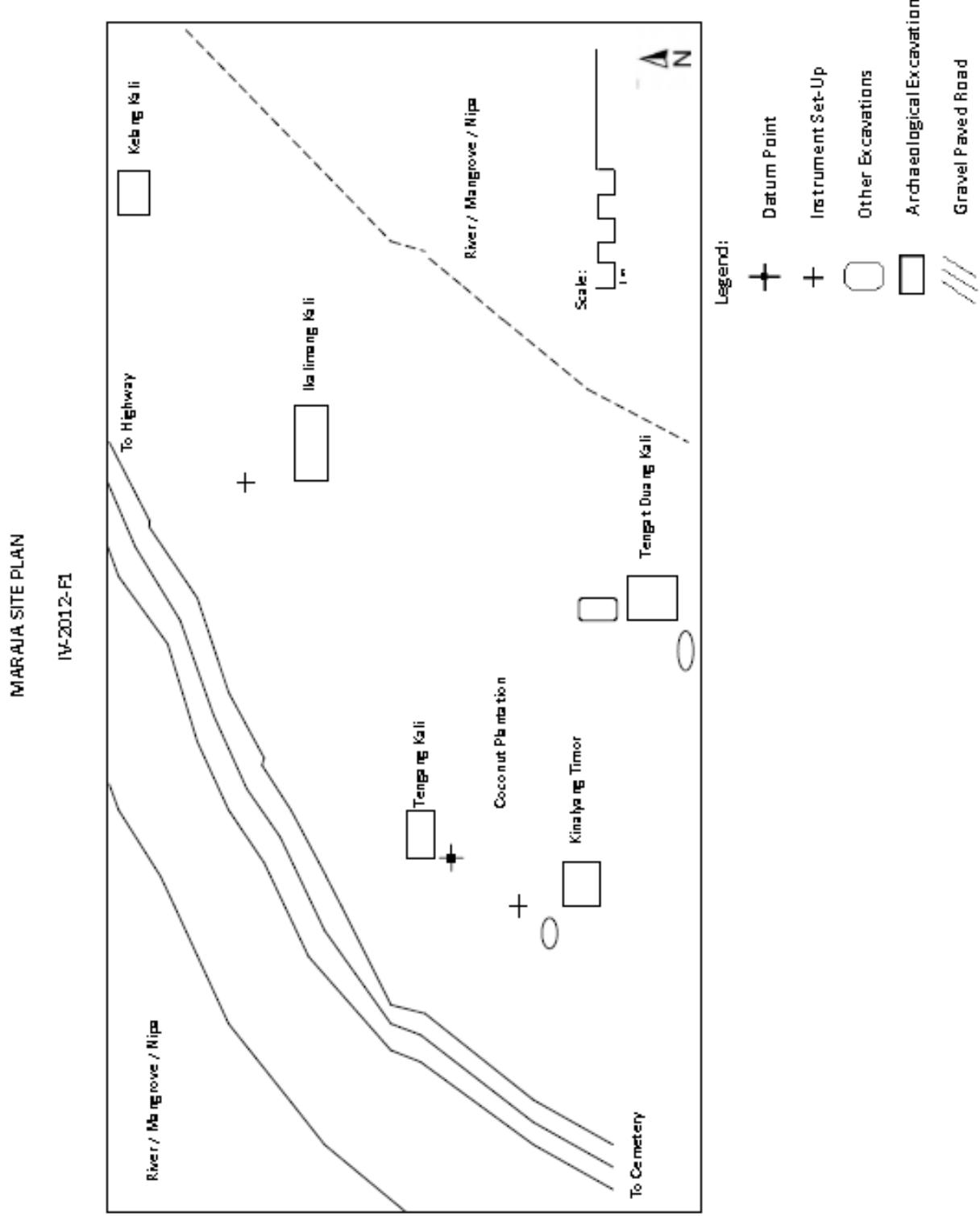
"Hindi sana makita ng mga espirito ang mga nakipaglibing." ("May the spirits not be able to see those who attended the burial.")

## F. Excavation Results

A total of five trenches were excavated by the UPAFS 2012 (Figure 2). The group was divided into three teams and each team produced the trench reports for the excavation units assigned to them. The composition of each team is as follows:

Team	Members	Trench/es
Putli	Jenifer Camilon Ma. Roxanne Feliciano Mark Lester Rivera Alexis Jerome Tolibas Jasmine Zapata	Kelang Kali
Bituon	Santiago Escoto Jerome Leaño Marilene Tadeo Karmin Cheryl Yangot Edmunds Yuzon, Jr.	Tengang Kali Tengat Duang Kali
Time Team	Joanne Chua Faith Emerald Delarmente Dhanice Anne Mengote Dona Quia Mengote Amanda Palileo	Kinalyang Timor Ikalimang Kali

**Figure 2.** Maraja Site Plan (IV-2012-F1)

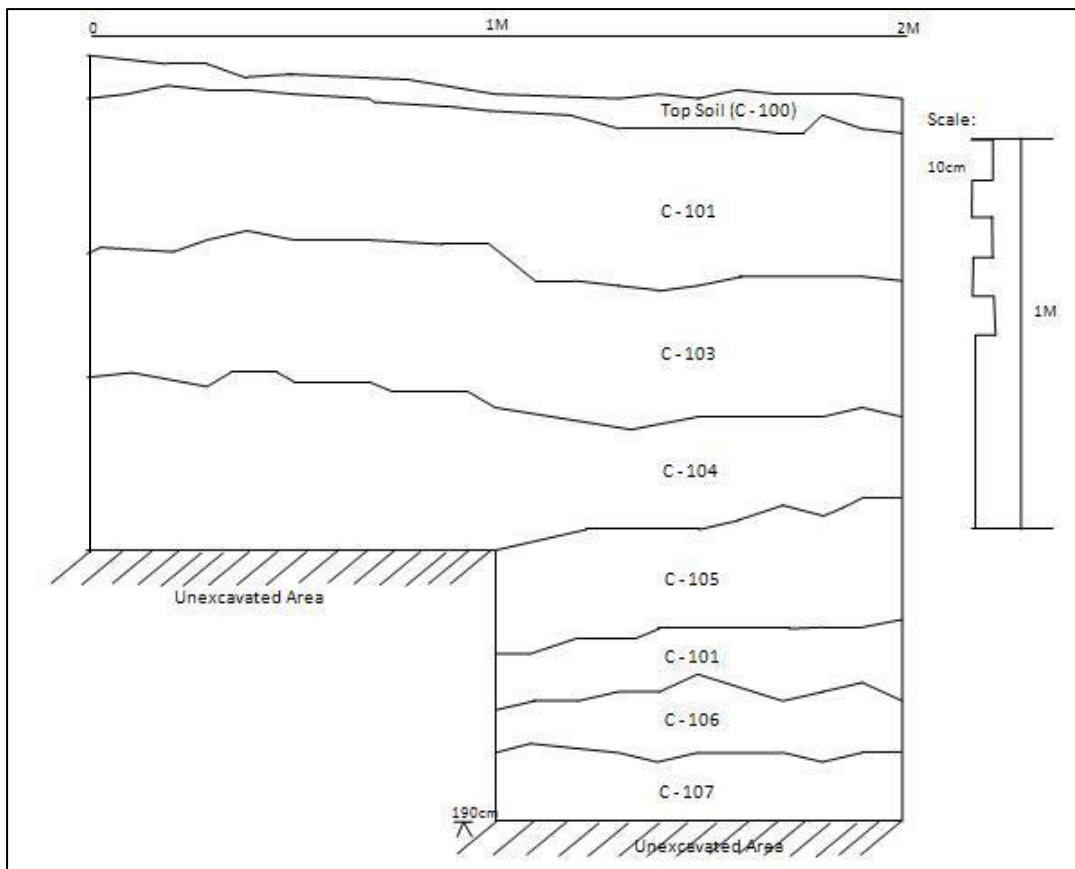


## **Kelang Kali**

Kelang Kali trench is a 2x2 m excavated by Team Putli (Plate 4) and named after a big pit previously excavated beside it by the landowner, Mr. Toto Usop. The Pala'wan phrase literally means 'malaking hukay' or 'big pit.' The owner reportedly found some blue and white porcelain fragments and bones in his digging. This trench is not covered by the site grid due to its positioning at the northern end of the site. The surface layer of Kelang kali is context 100 (c100), the topsoil, which is a dark brown loose silty sand layer. Its local datum point value (LDP) is -10 cm below the datum point (bLDP). Context 100 yielded 16 finds of mostly earthenware fragments and four fragmented bones. The next layer (c101) was reached with a sediment description of mid-yellowish brown silty sand. Twenty-eight artifacts were found in the whole context, 6 of which are bones, 1 copper alloy metal, 2 stoneware fragments, and the rest were earthenware sherds. Context 102 was excavated as a burning feature, containing charcoal and a potsherd, on the same soil layer of context 101. Context 103 (c103) with sediment description of dark reddish brown medium sand is where the concentration of finds were distributed, particularly on the western quadrant. Most of the finds unearthed were small earthenware sherds and several fragmented human bones such as cranial fragments, a femur shaft fragment, teeth (an incisor and a molar) and fragmented parts of vertebrae. Many of the finds were located in the western quadrants, and so these areas were trowelled carefully. On the other hand, upon reaching c103 of the eastern quadrant of the trench, the team members excavated through shovel scraping by spits of 20 -cm bLDP. It was done to deepen the trench faster given the time constraints. The shovelled soil was sieved using 2-mm screens to see whether there were finds that were left unnoticed while excavating. Through shovel scraping, context 104 (c104) was unearthed in the eastern quadrants, which is soil layer of dark grayish brown loose silty sand. Then, upon getting the elevation, the eastern section was divided into two quadrants, NE and SE part. The SE section was trowelled by 20-cm spits until reaching the next soil layer, context 105, which is a dark gray loose silty sand with gravel. At this depth, there were no more significant finds excavated and recorded. Subsequently, context 106 was reached with mid yellowish gray loose silty sand with a depth of 160-170cm bLDP. The final context of Kelang Kali, context 107, has a depth of 200 bLDP with a soil description of dark yellowish gray loose silty sand with sub rounded gravels. The last three layers were archaeologically sterile.

**Table 1.** Kelang Kali Context Inventory

<b>Context</b>	<b>Description</b>
<b>100</b>	Top soil with surface finds of pottery fragments
<b>101</b>	Mid yellowish brown silty sand with fragments of bone, stoneware and earthenware
<b>102</b>	Burning feature in Context 101
<b>103</b>	Dark reddish brown medium sand with pottery fragments
<b>104</b>	Dark greyish brown silty sand
<b>105</b>	Dark grey silty sand with gravel
<b>106</b>	Mid-yellowish brown silty sand
<b>107</b>	Dark yellowish brown silty sand with sub-rounded gravel



**Figure 3.** Kelang Kali East wall. Digitized by Jerome Leaño.

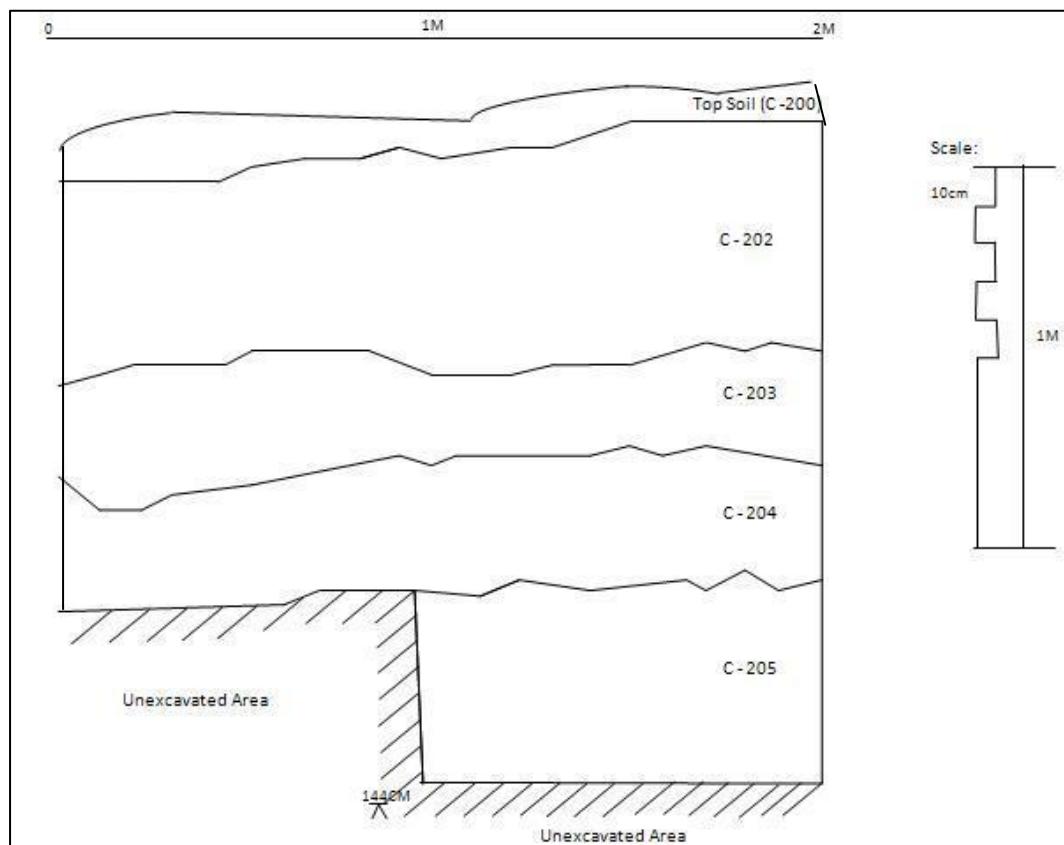
### **Tengang Kali**

The *Tengang Kali* trench name came from the Pala'wan phrase, meaning "Gitnang Hukay" or roughly translated as "dug in the middle". It is a 2 x 2 m trench, situated near the Datum Point occupying the grids N1-N3 and E0-E2. The surface of the trench was recorded as Context 200 or the topsoil. Context 200 is composed of silty sand of a dark gray color and loose in consistency. A Local Datum Point was created, situated at the northern quadrants with an elevation of -40cm below DP. Elevations of the different sides of the trench were taken, where the deepest part of the trench is -25 cm bLDP. The highest part was at the same elevation as the LDP. The group was initially tasked to level the sides by 10-cm spits until the next layer was exposed. A burning episode feature, recorded as Context 201, was found in the SW quadrant of the trench. The excavators continued to dig by spits, when a fragment of earthenware was found in the NE quadrant with a depth of -15cm bLDP. Bioturbation of termite colonies were found throughout the eastern quadrants. Context 202 was exposed by spit and has been described as mid-yellowish brown, loose, coarse sand. The depth is at -20cm bLDP. The excavators continued to dig by 10-cm spit, when they found Context 203 described as mid-reddish brown sand with gravel. No archaeology was found. The excavators then switched into shovel-scraping. Only the eastern quadrants were shovel-scraped. The depth of the trench reached -30cm bLDP, and thereafter the surface of a new soil layer named as Context 204 - described as dark, grayish brown, loose sand - was exposed. A quadrilateral chert fragment and two pottery fragments were found in the layer. The excavators then proceeded to reach the next layer, with a depth of

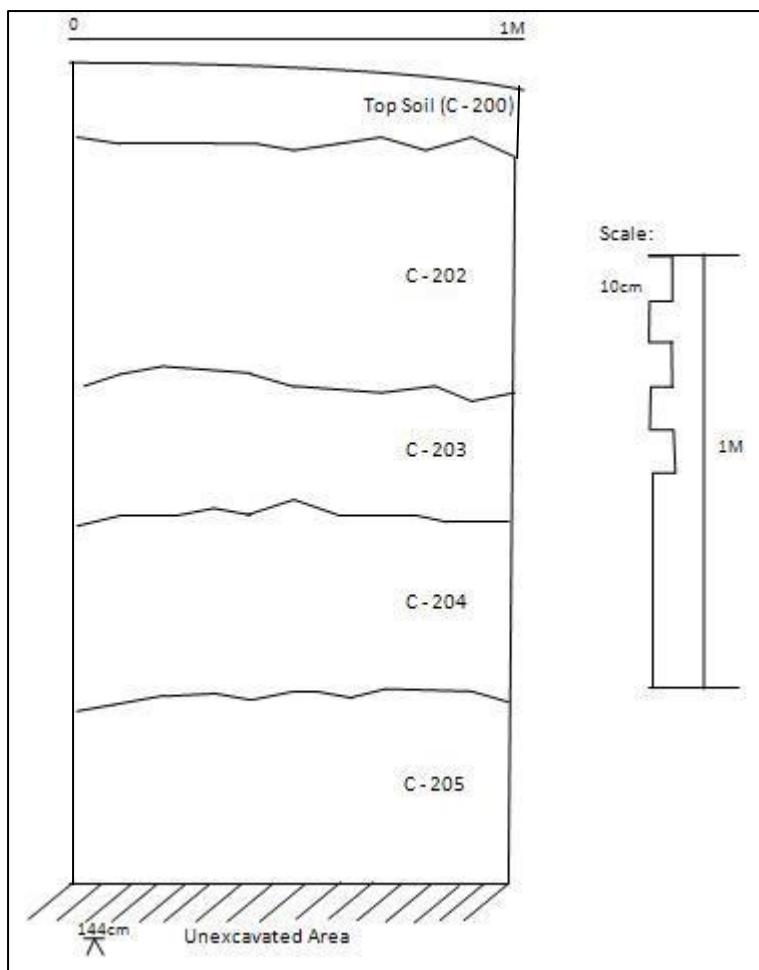
1m. Context 205 was exposed and described as a mid-grayish brown, loose, coarse sand with larger sized gravels. The deepest part of the trench was in the NW quadrant at -144cm bLDP. The excavators and the field director decided to stop the digging, as the trench depth was already approaching the water level with very little archaeological material found.

**Table 2.** Kelang Kali Context Inventory

Context	Description
200	Topsoil of dark grey silty sand with earthenware fragments
201	Burning feature in SW quadrant
202	Mid-yellowish brown coarse sand
203	Mid-reddish brown sand with gravel
204	Dark greyish brown sand
205	Mid-greyish brown coarse sand with large-sized gravels



**Figure 4.** Tengang Kali East Wall. Digitized by Jerome Leaño.



**Figure 5.** Tengat Kali South wall. Digitized by Jerome Leaño.

### **Tengat Duang Kali**

The *Tengat Duang Kali* trench, a Palawan phrase which means “hukay sa gitna ng dalawang butas” or “a hole between two holes”, was established as a 2 x 3m trench. The trench was named as such because it was established between two previously pot-hunted areas where numerous earthenware sherds and bone fragments were found by the landowner. The topsoil or surface of the trench was recorded as Context 300 which was grayish brown in color, silty sand in texture and loose in consistency. Several pot sherds were recovered on the surface. These were plotted, recorded, photographed and documented separately.

The Local Datum Point or LDP was established at -30 cm bDP. Afterwards, the trench grids were established and the elevation for each grid was taken. Since the lowest side of the trench was -32cm from the LDP, the excavators decided to remove 10 cm from each side to reach the -40 cm mark for all sides. The excavation method of digging by natural layers through 10 cm spits was employed, and the excavators trowelled the topsoil. The next soil layer was labelled as Context 302 wherein a cluster of earthenware sherds was found and recorded as a feature (Context 301). The finds were recorded, photographed, plotted and documented before collection. The first, third and fourth quadrants of the trench were rich in pottery finds. Termite holes were also present, mostly along the eastern wall of the trench. As the excavators

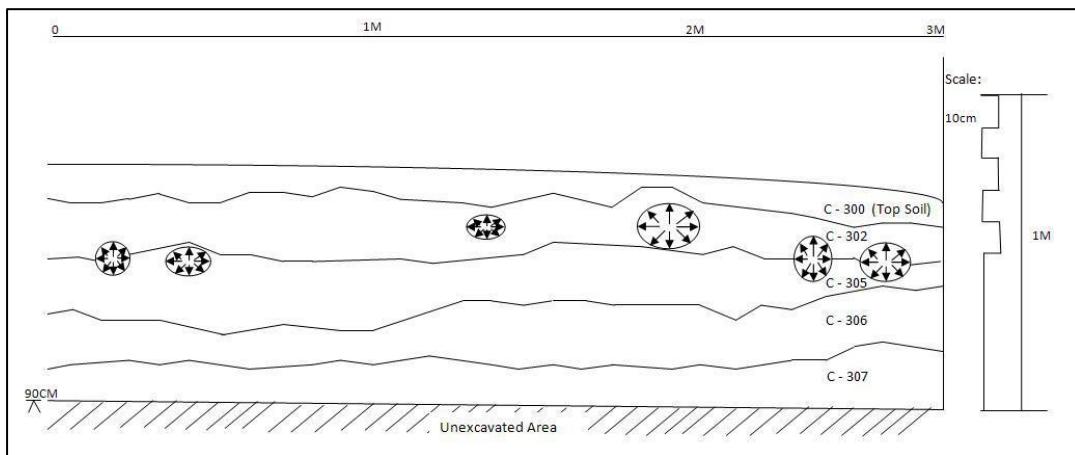
continued to trowel, two other clusters of artifacts were recovered and recorded as features, Context 303 and Context 304. Context 303 was recovered from the NE quadrant, while Context 304 was recovered from the SW quadrant. Context 303 and 304 were both clusters of earthenware sherds. Other stoneware fragments were also found in the NW quadrant, and a porcelain fragment was recovered from the SW quadrant.

Since archaeology was present in the previous soil layers, the excavators continued to trowel the trench, digging by natural layer and dry-sieving sediments by context. A small fragment of porcelain was recovered in the SW. The next layer was recorded as Context 305, which was yellowish brown in color and silty sand in texture. Context 305 yielded no more finds apart from a small blue and white porcelain fragment and so the excavators changed the technique from digging by natural layers by trowelling to digging by natural layers by shovel-scraping. The entirety of Context 305 was shovel-scraped and the sediments were sieved. The excavators continued shovel-scraping the entirety of Context 305 until a new layer was exposed which was recorded as Context 306. Since an earthenware sherd was found in Context 306, it was decided that there could be more archaeology in that layer so the excavators decided to trowel the entirety of Context 306. While trowelling Context 306, Context 307 was encountered, which was a loose grayish brown sand with gravel. While digging by natural layer on Context 307, the excavators found a possible cut along the northern end of the trench. This was recorded as Context 308, which was reddish brown in color, silty sand in texture and loose in consistency. When the entirety of the cut and fill was removed and the whole of Context 307 was finally exposed, the excavators began the recording of the final trench depth, or the horizontal plan of the trench as the excavation period was nearing its end.

After the horizontal plan, the vertical plan, or the stratigraphic layers of the North Wall and East Wall were recorded. A total of five soil layers were excavated during the entirety of the excavation period at *Tengat Duang Kali*. One significant find during the excavation was a large, white coral at the North Wall in context 306. Although an actual burial was not found, the coral was collected as it was the one of only two fragments of large coral found in the entirety of the site and it is hypothesized that it may have been used as a burial marker.

**Table 3.** Tengat Duang Kali Context Inventory

Context	Description
<b>300</b>	Topsoil, Mid greyish brown silty sand with numerous earthenware and stoneware fragments
<b>301</b>	Concentration of pottery fragments in 302
<b>302</b>	Mid reddish brown silty sand
<b>303</b>	Cluster of earthenware sherds in NE quadrant
<b>304</b>	Cluster of earthenware sherds in NW quadrant
<b>305</b>	Mid yellowish brown silty sand
<b>306</b>	Dark yellowish brown silty sand, more loose than 305, with a coral fragment and earthenware fragment
<b>307</b>	Mid greyish brown sand with gravel



**Figure 6.** Tengat Duang Kali East wall. Circles with arrows represent holes in the wall due to bioturbation. Digitized by Jerome Leaño.

### Kinalyang Timor

*Kinalyang Timor* is a Pala'wan phrase, which when translated into Filipino would mean "hinukay sa Timog" or "dug up in the South". It was established as a 2x2 m trench with grid coordinates S7-S9 and W0 to W2 from the Datum Point (Plate 5). The Local Datum Point (LDP) was set to 0cm bDP. The surface of the soil was recorded as Context 1, the topsoil, composed of loose dark greyish brown silty sand. Elevations of the different sides of the trench were taken, and afterwards, using the deepest part of the trench as reference (-16 cmbLDP), the excavators were tasked to level all sides of the trench. The team continued excavating by 20 cm spits, and exposed some charcoal mottling in the topsoil. In locating charcoal remains at the top soil means that the area was recently used by humans as a disposal area for burnt objects, since small patches were spread within Context 1. The excavators exposed Context 2, which is described as loose mid greyish brown silty sand. Quartzites were found within this context, but this finding does not suggest much about the history of the area. Before the bottom of the 10-cm spit mark was reached, the excavators encountered a new soil layer and recorded it as Context 3. The color and texture was relatively the same as Context 2, but was noted for the difference in soil consistency. Context 3 has looser sediment, and a slightly yellowish hue. Context 3 was recorded at -37 cm bLDP.

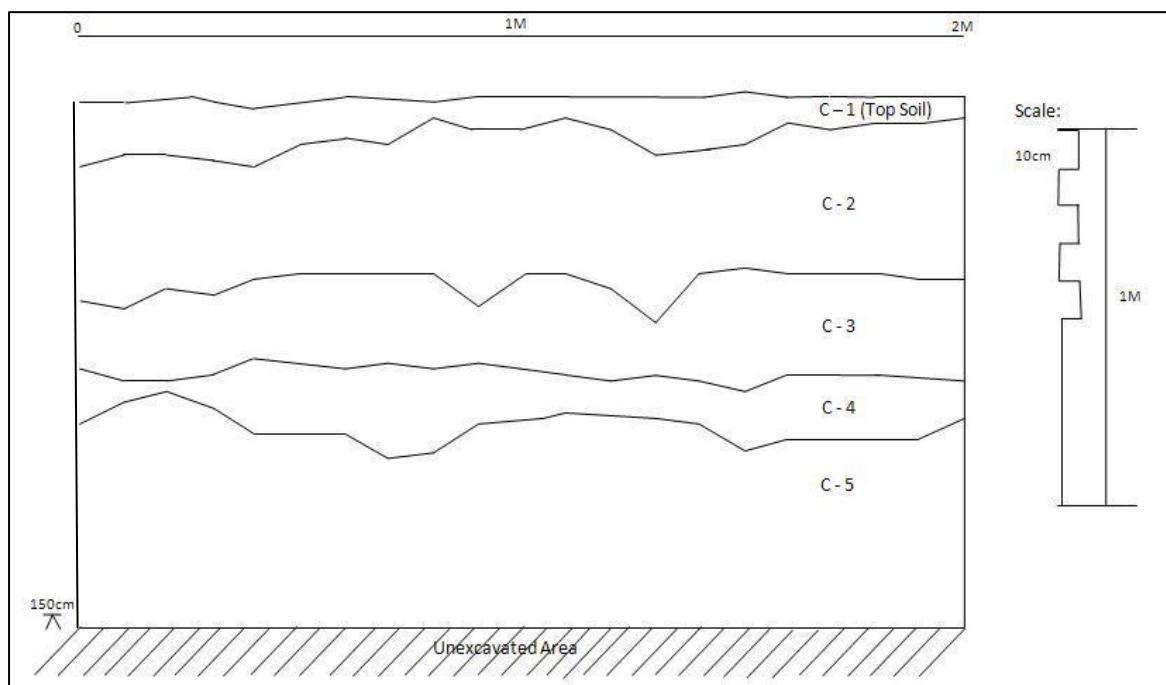
Spit 1 (37-47 cm bLDP) and spit 2 (47-67 cm bLDP) of Context 3 was excavated by means of shovel-scraping. No archaeological finds were observed still. While digging the fourth spit of Context 3, the excavators encountered a new soil layer. This layer had dark reddish brown coarse sand, but its consistency was still loose but more compact compared to the sediments of the previous layers. This was recorded as Context 4 at -70 cm below LDP.

Shovel-scraping by 10 cm spits was continued in Context 4 until the excavators reached a level of -150 cm bLDP. The soil was described as reddish brown coarse sand with small pebbles. Initial analysis of these findings suggest that the nearest water body reached the area long ago, and that the trench site was part of that body. At 150 cm depth, another soil layer was

reached and recorded as Context 5. This layer had greyish brown coarse sand, wherein bigger pebbles were located. Again, this signifies that the area was once part of a water body, further supporting the initial claim. The formation of these kinds of stones depends on the energy transmitted by the water. Upon reaching this depth, there was still no cultural layer found. The excavators began the recording of the stratigraphic profile of the different soil layers encountered in the dig as well as backfilling.

**Table 4.** Kinalyang Timor Context Inventory

Context	Description
1	Topsoil, Dark greyish brown silty sand
2	Mid greyish brown silty sand
3	Mid yellowish brown silty sand, more loose than Context 2
4	Mid reddish brown coarse sand with small pebbles
5	Mid greyish brown coars sand with bigger pebbles



**Figure 7.** Kinalyang Timor West Wall. Digitized by Jerome Leaño.

### Ikalmang Kali

*Ikalmang Kali* means “ikalmang hukay” or “fifth hole”. It was excavated by Time Team and it is the name of the trench the excavators were assigned to after *Kinalyang Timor* (Plate 6). A foot survey was done and the excavators decided to open a trench between the *Kelang Kali* trench and the *Tengat Duang Kali* trench. Also, according to the caretaker of the area, Mr. Toto Usop, the location was where he located surface finds of small bone fragments. This will be the fifth trench to be opened in the site, hence the name.

The new trench is bigger than the previous trench, with dimensions of 2x3 meters. The Local Datum Point (LDP), that would be the basis for the measurement of the elevations within the trench, was established at 0 with reference to the Datum Point. Upon the completion of the trench set-up, the excavators were trained on how to plot the contours of the area. This is used for the easy identification of sloping areas in the site. The trench was then sectioned into two, and two different excavation methods were used on each side. The eastern quadrant was shovel-scraped, while the western quadrant was trowelled. Both techniques still follow digging by natural layers and 10-cm spits. Sediments were also sieved by context using 2mm screens.

The surface layer or topsoil was labelled as Context 400, and was characterized by dark greyish brown loose silty sand. This layer has a highest point of -14 cm below LDP, and a lowest point of -34 cm bLDP. While trowelling in the western quadrants, charcoal mottling was found, similar to that of the previous trench. Bioturbation, in the form of termite houses, was also present within this area. The excavators also encountered a bone fragment identified as a human lower molar. This was plotted with the coordinates N 45cm E125cm, with a depth of -22 cm. Near the tooth and at the same depth was an earthenware sherd at N 41-44 cm E 129-132 cm.

While shovel-scraping in the eastern quadrant, a new soil layer was encountered and named as Context 401. The second soil layer is distinguished as mid yellowish brown loose silty sand. This was recorded due to the differences in color and texture compared to the previous soil layer. In spit 1 of this layer, several pottery sherds were found and some of them had intricate patterns. The earthenware pieces which were recorded had the ff. coordinates:

1. N 13-21 cm E 60-63 cm, depth 45 cm
2. N 139-142 cm E 45-53 cm, depth 48 cm

In continuing the excavation of spit 2 of Context 401, the excavators found a concentration numerous bone fragments. These were then recorded as a cultural feature labelled as Context 402. These bone fragments were recorded and photographed accordingly. In the western quadrants, digging by natural layers was continued and earthenware sherds were found. More bone fragments were encountered as the excavators dug deeper. The excavators dug by -10 cm spits from 62 cm below LDP. Before reaching the 10 cm mark at -72 cm below LDP, three bone concentrations wre found. Most of the fragments were identified as shaft fragments but there were also three human teeth fragments (a molar, premolar, and incisor). These were all recorded under Context 402.

While digging spit 2 of Context 402, the excavators chanced upon a large white coral at -77 cm bLDP. This coral fragment may have been used as grave marker, since it was a distinct object located near the area where the most bone fragments were excavated. As excavation by spit was continued, the excavators managed to expose Context 404, the third and last soil layer uncovered within the trench. This was first located in the NE part of the eastern side of trench where there is little presence of artifacts. The soil was described to be coarser than the previous layer. This soil layer has a sediment description of light reddish brown loose silty sand.

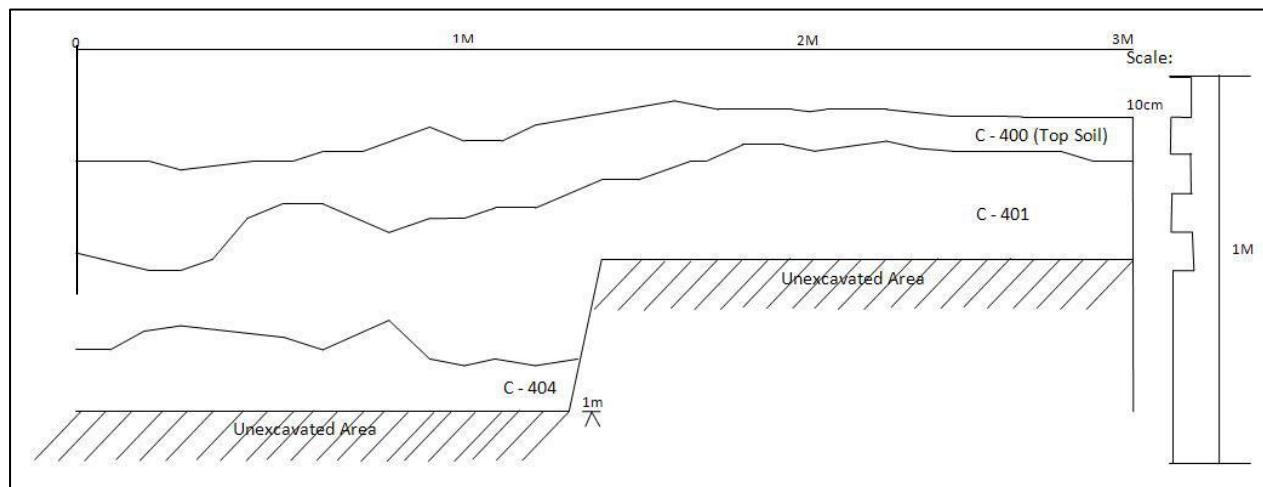
The excavators unearthed a new cultural featur labelled as Context 403. This is a cultural layer found within Context 401 in the western quadrant of the trench. Context 403 is also a concentration of teeth and bone fragments, some of which were identified as human cranial bone fragments at N 15-40 cm E 290-296 cm; depth 55-60 cm. Another concentration of

artifacts was found in the same location at -61 cm bLDP. Archaeological finds within the trench were numerous but were not found in their primary context. The human remains and artifacts found in the trench were scattered and highly fragmented.

Another proof that this site is a disturbed site is the observation made by the excavators of the inconsistency of the soil layers. On the lower half of Context 401 up to Context 404, it was noted that there were at least 4 different types of soil sediments deposited. One would notice several soil intrusions on the vertical profile. After recording the stratigraphic profile, the team moved on to backfilling as the end of the excavation period was reached.

**Table 5.** Ikalimang Kali Context Inventory

Context	Description
<b>400</b>	Topsoil, Dark brown silty sand
<b>401</b>	Mid yellowish brown silty sand with a few earthenware and humanbone fragments
<b>402</b>	Concentration of human bone and teeth fragments
<b>403</b>	Concentration of human bone and teeth fragments
<b>404</b>	Mid-reddish brown silty sand



**Figure 8.** Ikalimang Kali South wall. Digitized by Jerome Leaño.

## G. Summary of Finds and Interpretations

The site contains only one ancient cultural layer, which is a human burial layer, and its antiquity may be attributed to the relative date provided by the tradeware ceramics. A total of 250 pottery fragments were recovered from the site, including 93 porcelain and stoneware fragments recovered by the landowner in his own diggings and which he subsequently donated to the UPAFS. These ceramic fragments had many signs of fresh breakage and several were refitted during the inventory. Most of the excavated pottery consisted of small earthenware fragments. All the finds are currently stored in the National Museum Branch in Quezon,

Palawan. Initial identification of the blue-and-white porcelain by Rhayan Melendres and Eliza Romualdez-Valtos indicate that they are of the Middle Ming or Hongzhi Period (AD 1488-1505) (Figure 7). Many of the Maraja pottery are of Chinese origin and a few maybe of Vietnamese origin. Several of the vessels found in the Bataraza survey have been initially identified as stoneware dishes from Binh Dinh province in Vietnam (Plate 1: Row 1 and Row 3). The Binh Dinh dishes are said to be one of the main cargoes of the Pandanan ship dating to the 15<sup>th</sup> century. The blue-and-white ceramics from Maraja have also been found elsewhere in the archipelago such as in Zambales (Plate 7: Row 3, Right; Romualdez-Valtos pers. comm; see also Orillaneda 2008).

The information from Maraja Site and the other sites surveyed in this study provide further information on burial site distribution and tradeware ceramics from the 15<sup>th</sup> to the 16 century CE. Further significance of these sites can be connected to maritime trading networks and to the underwater archaeology of the archipelago for the time period covered. Shipwreck sites provide a wealth of artifactual data for trading networks in the region, and the recovery of some of these materials in terrestrial sites provide an indication of the context, function and social significance of these artefacts for the peoples that used them in the past.

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### Plate 1: Artifacts from Bataraza Survey

[Top to Bottom, L-R, scale in centimeters]

Row 1: Collection of artifacts of the Narazzid family; Row 2: Ceramic vessels

Row 3: Shell bangles and metal artifacts and a small ceramic container

Row 4: Location of a coastal site in the property where ceramics and bones were found in the past; Actual site from where these artifacts were found was not divulged. Photo of the Narrazid family including the informant Mr. Elmer Narrazid (bottom left).



## Plate 2: Survey of Karyangan Site, Brgy. Ipilan

[Top to Bottom, L-R]

Row 1: View of the site and photo of the caretaker Mr Roger Sarong (seated right) during pre-UPAFS survey

Row 2: Ceramic vessel fragments

Row 3: Foot survey by the UPAFS members and some of their finds



Foot Survey or Field Walking



**Plate 3: Survey of Maraja Site**

[Top to Bottom, L-R]

Row 1 Vicinity of the site and main informants: Brgy. Capt. Lagrada, Mr. Chuck Nelasa and landowner Mr. Toto Usop

Row 2: Artifacts collected by Mr. Usop in his previous diggings



### Plate 4: Kelang Kali

[Top to Bottom, L-R, small scale in centimeters, large scale in meters]

- Row 1: Surface of context 101 and final layers exposed in the trench
- Row 2: earthenware sherds and human bone fragments from the trench
- Row 3: Dry sieving and backfilling



### Plate 5: Kinalyang Timor

[Top to Bottom, L-R, small scale in centimeters, large scale in meters]

Row 1: Time Team excavators;

Row 2: Surface of Context 2, Spit 1 (30cm below LDP) & Surface of Context 3, Spit 1 (47cm below LDP)

Row 3: Bioturbation (termite house)



### Plate 6: Ika-limang Kali

[Top to Bottom, L-R, small scale in centimeters, large scale in meters]

Row 1: Photo and horizontal plan\* of the trench surface (elevations are in cm bLDP)

Row 2: Recording of Context 402, a concentration of bones in SE portion of trench

Row 3: Horizontal plans\* of Context 402 and of the different soil deposits in the eastern half of the trench (70-

80 cm bLDP) A B C D

\*Digitized by Dona Quia Mengote

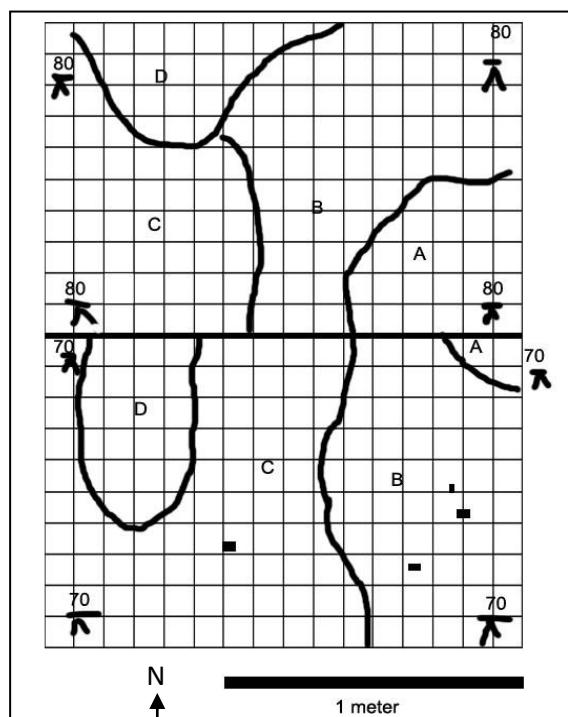
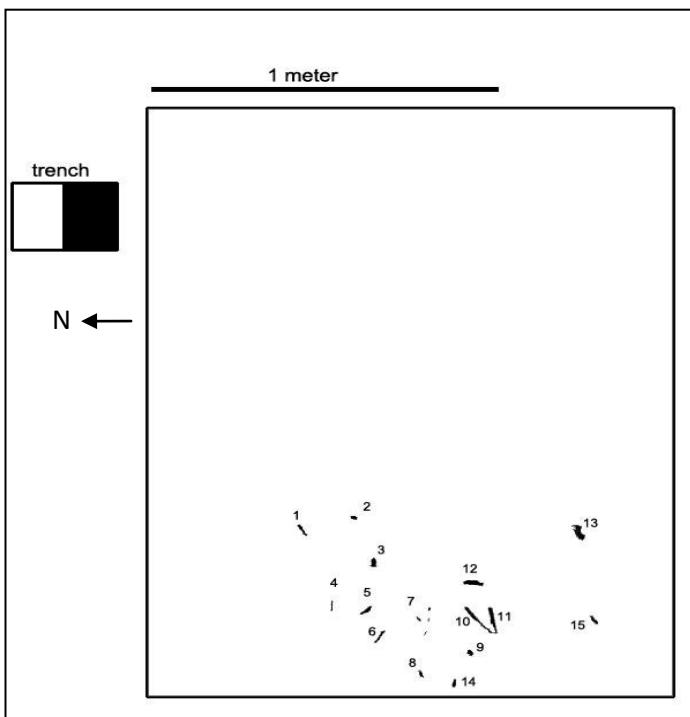
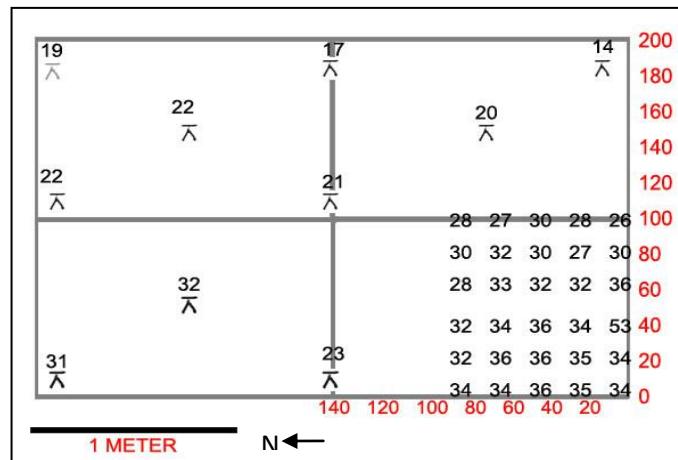
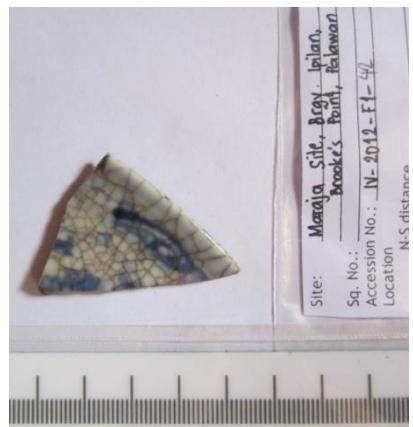


Plate 7: Pottery from Maraja Site



## **Appendices**

- National Museum Permit
- MOA with the Local Community
- MOA with the Landowner of Maraja Site
- Endorsement of the Office of the Barangay of Ipilan
- Ugdang Bulawan: Ethnographic research on Pala'wan burial practices by Alexis Jerome Tolibas and Jerome Leaño



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Office of the President

NATIONAL MUSEUM

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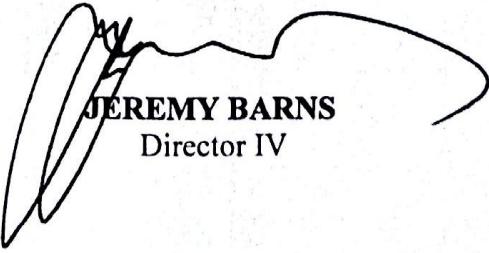
CPD-SA-2012-06  
March 12, 2012

SPECIAL AUTHORIZATION FOR LAND ARCHAEOLOGICAL  
EXPLORATION AND/OR EXCAVATION

This authorizes **JANINE P. OCHOA**, Assistant Professor, University of the Philippines / National Museum Research Associate to conduct archaeological surveys and excavation in the municipalities of Brooke's point, Palawan from March to May 2012. This undertaking is in accordance with **R.A. 4846**, as amended by **P.D. 374 "Cultural Properties Preservation and Protection Act"** and by **R.A. 8492 "An Act Establishing a National Museum, providing for its permanent home and for other purposes"**.

This authorization complies with the provisions of **Section 12, of Presidential Decree 374** wherein it clearly states "*It shall be unlawful to explore, excavate, or make diggings on archaeological or historical sites for the purpose of obtaining materials of cultural or historical value without the prior written authority from the Director of the National Museum. No excavation or diggings shall be permitted without the supervision of an archaeologist certified as such by the Director of the National Museum, or of such other person who in the opinion of the Director is competent to supervise the work, and who shall, upon completion of the project, deposit with the Museum a catalogue of all the materials found thereon, and a description of the archaeological context in accordance with accepted archaeological practices".*

Authority granted at the National Museum, Manila, Philippines, on March 12, 2012.

  
**JEREMY BARNES**

Director IV

HEAD OFFICE:

Tel. Nos. : 527-1215

527-1242

527-1209

Fax No. : 527-0306

e-mail : nmuseum@i-next.net

**MEMORANDUM OF UNDERSTANDING (MOA) ENTERED BETWEEN THE  
PALAWAN INDIGENOUS REPRESENTATIVES OF BROOKE'S POINT  
MUNICIPALITY, ALDAW AND THE UNIVERSITY OF THE PHILIPPINES  
(DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY AND ARCHAEOLOGY)**

**WHEREAS**, a group of anthropology students led by Dr. Nestor Castro and Prof. Janine Ochoa of the University of the Philippines have manifested their interest in carrying out field-based anthropological and archaeological investigation/appraisal in the ancestral domain of the Palawan Indigenous Peoples of Brooke's Point;

**WHEREAS**, the proposed appraisal/research will commence on 17<sup>th</sup> April and will last for about one month;

**WHEREAS**, during such period the students will be hosted in the 'Kelang Banua', the 'big tribal house' owned by ALDAW (Ancestral Land/Domain Watch), and they will be using the facilities provided by such infrastructure;

**WHEREAS**, since October 2011, the indigenous communities of Ipilan and other neighbouring Barangays of Brooke's Point Municipality have initiated an Ancestral Domain Sustainable Development Protection Plan (ADSDPP);

**WHEREAS**, the ADSDPP process aims at setting the legal bases for the local indigenous communities to apply for their ancestral land/domain claims;

**WHEREAS**, the application for ancestral land/domain claims requires, but it is not limited, to the submission of reports showing that the land in Brooke's Point has been occupied, possessed and utilized since time immemorial by individuals, families or clans who are members of Palawan communities making CADC/CALT claims. Whereas such reports should be based on the following data: **a)** testimony of elders; **b)** historical accounts; **c)** genealogical data and census of population; **d)** indicative maps and other secondary data (graveyards, hunting grounds, agricultural development (swiddens and coconuts plantations) found in the area, use of freshwater and marine resources, location of sacred areas (liyen or lilyen), description of the landscape area, etc.;

**WHEREAS**, the anthropological data described above is essential for our communities to officially validate their ancestral land/domain claims certificates to be issued by the National Commission on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (NCIP);

**WHEREAS**, the issuance of ancestral land/domain claims is pivotal for our communities to resist the pressure from mining companies, oil palm plantations and other large scale enterprises which are occupying significant portions of our ancestral land, leading to the loss of valuable natural resources and to the consequent impoverishment of our communities;

**WE, THEREFORE**, the elders and representatives of the indigenous communities of Brooke's Point and members of ALDAW (Ancestral Land/Domain Watch) have deliberated and consensually agreed as it follows:

- The Research group of anthro-students group led by **Dr. Nestor Castro and Prof. Janine Ochoa** should kindly contribute to ALDAW and Brooke's Point IPs advocacy by helping our communities in the collection of the above mentioned data in order to file ancestral land/domain claims to NCIP;
- The Research group, in the performance of its duty, should follow all indications provided by ALDAW staff and the local IP's representatives in order to avoid the breaking of customary laws (ADAT), thus ensuring that the carrying out of the research will be fully respectful of peoples' practices, perceptions and belief system;

digging of graveyards, or any excavation taking place in areas that are regarded 'sacred', may infringe cultural prohibitions. In any case, no cultural item/ artefact obtained through excavation should be taken out of Palawan without the consent of traditional community representatives and should be handed over to the traditional Palawan elders upon the creation of proper infrastructure to curate and care for the artefacts;

- With respect to the translation of the collected data from Palawan into Tagalog and English, as much as possible, most of the translation process should take place in the field, in order to ensure that the translation is properly done;
  - A copy of collected data and translated material should be given to ALDAW and to the traditional community representatives, who will store the documentation locally and use it for their own cultural and advocacy purposes;
  - A copy of all research documentation (including photographs and videos) that will be compiled, edited and translated out of Palawan, should be sent later to ALDAW, which will share it with the local communities and their traditional representatives;
  - A copy of all future publications and documents based on the anthropological/archaeological research carried out by the UP anthro-students in Ipilan and neighbouring barangay should also be sent to ALDAW in due time;

This MOA consisting of 2 (two) pages has been signed by the above-mentioned parties  
on **April 17, 2012**

## **SIGNATORIES OF THE PARTIES ENTERING THE AGREEMENT**

For ALDAW

## Gandelan Artiso Mandawa

## **For the IPs of Brooke's Point**

## Panglima Pedro Sagad

## **For the Anthro-Students and professors of the University of the Philippines**

Dr Nestor Castro

Dr Nestor Castro

Jerome Leaño

Prof. Janine Ochoa

Amanda Palileo

SUBSCRIBED AND SWEARN TO BEFORE ME BY THE ABOVE-NAMED PERSONS, THIS 18<sup>th</sup> DAY OF April 2012 AT BROOKE'S POINT, PALAWAN

**KASULATAN NG KASUNDUAN  
(MEMORANDUM OF AGREEMENT)**

**IPINAAALAM SA LAHAT**

Ang kasunduang ito ay ginawa at nilagdaan ngayong ika- 25 ng Abril sa pagitan ng:

**Departamento ng Antropolohiya ng Unibersidad ng Pilipinas** (mula dito ay "Departamento ng Antropolohiya" o "Departamento"), isang akademikong programa na naglalayong magsanay ng mga mag-aaral sa pananaliksik sa antropolohiya, at dito ay kinakatawan nina **Asst. Prop. Janine Ochoa**, direktor ng UP Anthropology Field School (UPAFS), at **Dr. Nestor Castro**, taga-pangulo ng Departamento.

At nina

6. Toto Usop na nakatira sa Barangay Ipihan, Brooke's Point, Palawan at tagapagmay-ari ng lupang sumasakop sa lugar o sayt na arkeolohikal na pag-aaralan ng UPAFS.

Para sa pangkalahatang interes ng pagsusulong ng pag-aaral ng kasaysayan at pangangalaga ng yamang kultural, ang calawang partido ay samasang-ayon sa mga sumusunod:

1. Ang Departamento ng Antropolohiya ay may kakayahang gumawa ng isang arkeolohikal na pananaliksik at piniyagang magsagawa ng pag-aaral sa Barangay Ipihan, Brooke's Point, Palawan.
2. Ang nabanggit na lupa na pag-aari ng mga 6. Toto Usop ay ang kapopookan ng arkeolohikal na pananaliksik ng Departamento.
3. Ang Departamento ay magsasagawa ng arkeolohikal na pananaliksik sa Barangay Ipihan, Brooke's Point, Palawan sa loob ng 30 na araw mula Abril 17 hanggang Mayo 16, 2012 at magsusumite ng report matapos ang pag-aaral.
4. Ang Departamento ay bibigyan ng pahintulot na magsagawa ng siyentipiko at arkeolohikal na pag-aaral sa lugar o sayt na nito na saklaw ng tagapagmay-ari.
5. Ang Departamento ay bibigyan ng pahintulot na mangolekta at magtala ng mga bagay o artifak na makukuha at matatagpuan sa sayt.
6. Ang lahat ng artifak ay ituturing na yamang kultural ng bansa at ilalagay sa pangangalaga ng Pambansang Museo ng Pilipinas. Ang Cultural Properties Division ng Pambansang Museo ang siyang magpupasya tungkol sa usapin ng pagpaparte kung sakaling naisin ng tagapagmay-ari na makibahagi sa pangangalaga ng mga natagpuang artifak.
7. Ang lahat ng artifak ay maaaring ilagay at sa lokal/katutubong komunidad, sa Munisipyo ng Brooke's Point o sa Barangay Ipihan kung ang mga ito ay may itatakdaang pasilidad, sistema, istraktura, at bantay upang siguraduhin na walang panganib sa mga artifak tulad ng amag, sunog, init, hamog, ulan, pagnanakaw at iba pa.
8. Kung ang katutubong komunidad, munisipyo o barangay ay wala pang kakahayang magbigay ng pasilidad, istraktura, at bantay para sa mga artifak, ang mga ito ay ilalagay muna sa pangangalaga ng Pambansang Museo ng Pilipinas sa Quezon, Palawan o di kaya ay sa Departamento ng Antropolohiya ng Unibersidad ng Pilipinas sa Diliman, Quezon City.
9. Ang tagapagmay-ari ng lupa at ang Departamento ay magtutulungan sa anumang paraan na makakabuti sa pag-aaral na Isasagawa.

10. Ang Cultural Properties Division ng Pambansang Museo, ang katutubong komunidad at ang mga tagapagmay-ari ay maaaring magbubuo ng panibagong kasunduan upang pagpasiyahan ang tungkol sa usapin ng pagpaparte kung sakaling naisin ng tagapagmay-ari na makibahagi sa pangangalaga ng mga natagpuang artifak.
11. Ang mga resulta ng pag-aaral na ito ay magiging buklurang pag-aari ng Departamento ng Antropolohiya ng Unibersidad ng Pilipinas, ng katutubong komunidad, ng Barangay Ipilan at ng Munisipyo ng Brooke's Point. Ang Departamento ay may kalayaang gamitin ang lahat ng datos at artifak para sa pag-aaral nang hindi na nangangailangan pa ng karagdagang pahintulot mula sa may-ari ng lupa.
12. Ang kasunduang ito ay magiging ganap pagkatapos lagdaan ng dalawang partido, at patuloy na magbubuklod sa dalawang panig sa loob ng isang (1) taon, maliban na lamang kung mapagkakasunduang wakasan ng daaiwang panig ng mas maaga sa itinakdang panahon.
13. Ang kasunduang ito, na naglalaman ng dalawang (2) pahina, ay maaaring baguhin ng dalawang partido.

LAGDA NG DALAWANG PARTIDO:

**Departamento ng Antropolohiya  
ng Unibersidad ng Pilipinas**

Dr. Nestor Castro  
Tagapangulo

Asst. Prop. Janine Ochoa  
Direktor ng UPAFS

**May-ari ng Lupa**

G. Jonathan Lagrada  
Punong Barangay ng Ipilan

G. Artiso Mandawa  
Kagawad ng Barangay Ipilan  
Taga-pangulo ng ALDAW

NILAGDAAN SA HARAP NINA:

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BOOK NO. 86  
SERIAL NO. 2017

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Republika ng Pilipinas  
Lalawigan ng Palawan  
Bayan ng Brooke's Point  
BARANGAY IPILAN

**TANGGAPAN NG PUNONG BARANGAY**

26 Marso 2012

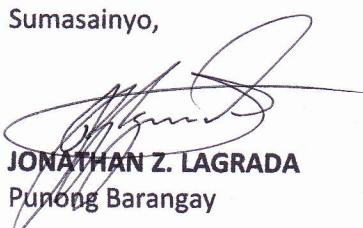
**NESTOR T. CASTRO, PhD**  
Department of Anthropology  
College of Social Sciences and Philosophy  
University of the Philippines  
Diliman, Quezon City 1101

G. Castro;

Ang Tanggapan ng Punong Barangay ng Ipiran ay nagpapahayag ng suporta sa gagawing 2012 UP Anthoropology Field School (UPAFS) dito sa aming barangay katulong ang Ancestral Lands and Domains Watch (ALDAW).

Nawa ang gawaing ito ay makatulong sa pag-unlad ng kaisipan at kakayaan ng mamamayan sa napiling komunidad patungkol sa mga gawaing may kinalaman sa kultura. Kasabay nito ang aming pasasalamat na ang aming komunidad ay inyong napili sa nasabing pag-aaral.

Sumasainyo,

  
**JONATHAN Z. LAGRADA**  
Punong Barangay

## **Ugdang Bulawan**

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### **Abstrak**

Ang papel na ito ay naglalathala at naglalarawan ng mga kaugalian, paniniwala't tradisyon, at materyal na kultura ng mga Pala'wan partikular sa munisipalidad ng Brooke's Point, sa kamatayan, pagluluksa, at paglilibing. Ginagabayán ito ng pagtingin na ang relihiyon ay hindi nahahati sa depinisyon ng sakra at profana (Ramos 1983:180). Masinsing nakahabi ang banal sa pangkaraniwan at pinatotohanan ito ng manapestasyon nang impluwensya ng mga yumao sa mga nabubuhay mula sa kapanganakan, pag-aani, kasal, hanggang sa kamatayan. Layunin ng papel na ito na palawakin at maunawaan ang konseptong "cult of the dead" (Fox 1982:189) sa konteksto ng mga Pala'wan; Himayin ang mga pagpapakahulugang nakalapat sa kamatayan at kung paano nakapaloob ang mga ito sa mas malawak na pagtingin.

## Panimula

### *Kamatayan sa ating Kamalayan*

Madalas nating naririning sa mga *eulogy* at kwentuhan sa mga burol, at maaring tanda ito na pasok na sa ating mga kamalayan, na ang kamatayan ay hindi ang katapusang buhay; bagkus ito ang simula ng walang hanggang pamumuhay sa kabilang buhay. Iba't-ibang paniniwala, paliwanag at metapora ang ating ginagamit upang maunawaan at bigyang kahulugan ang kamatayan, at ang relihiyon ang pangunahing pinagmumulan ng mga kaalamang ito. Ayon kay Jung, ang mga pangunahing relihiyong pandaigdig ay representasyon ng mga komplikadong sistema ng paniniwala para paghandaan ang kamatayan (Jung in Dezutter et. al, n.d.).

Tanda ng kaisipang ito ay ang mga pag-aaral na nagbibigkis sa relihiyon at kamatayan sa iba't-ibang sangay ng Agham Panlipunan (*religiosity, death attitudes [death anxiety and death acceptance]*).

\*(Chenard, 1972) at (Feifel, 1959) – positive relationship between religion and death anxiety

\*(Berman & Hays, 1973), (Feifel & Branscomb, 1972), (Martin and Wrightsman, 1965) at (Templer, 1972) – negative relationship between religion and death anxiety

\*(Leming, 1980) – no relationship between religion and death anxiety

\* galing kay(Falkenhein and Handal, 2003)

May mga pag-aaral ding tinutukan ang paniniwala sa kabilang buhay (*afterlife*) at ang epekto nito sa iba't-ibang aspeto ng pamumuhay.

\*\*(Barro & McCleary, 2006) – belief in afterlife positively correlated with economic growth

\*\*(Azzi and Ehrenberg, 1975) at (Iannconne, 1998) – afterlife expectations account for bizarre religious rituals once thought to be the result of psychological disorders

\*\* galing kay (Srivastava, 2010)

### *Konsepto ng Kulto*

Ang paghahati sa *church-sect* bilang dalawang konseptong nasa magkabilang dulo ng iisang espekto ay nanggaling kay Erns Troeltsch. Ang tipolohiyang church-sect ay inilapat ni Troeltsch sa mga paunang pag-aaral, pagsusuri at teorya ni Max Weber gamit ang Sosyolohiyang perspektibo. (Tinaz, 2005)

Sa kanyang pag-te-teorya sa *church-sect* ay ginamit ni Weber ang kanyang naunang pormulasyon tungkol sa mga *political institutions*. Ayon kay Weber, ang *church* ay nagpapatupad ng kaayusan sa pamamagitan ng *psychic coercion* sa pagbabahagi o pagkakait ng *religious benefits (hierocratic coercion)*. Samantala, ang pagiging miyembro sa isang *cult* ay boluntaryo at hindi gumagamit ng puwersa para kontrolin ang mga miyembro nito. Sa pagsusuri ni Weber ng *charisma*; idinagdag niya na ang *charisma* ay nakakabit sa opisina habang sa *sect* naman ay nakakabit sa *religious leader*. (Weber in Tinaz, 2005)

Nagdagdag ng ikatlong uri si Troeltsch sa tipolohiyang church-sect at tinawag niya ito na *mysticism*. Ayon kay Troeltsch, ang *mysticism* ay ang ikatlong uri na naghahati tunggalian ng *church-sect*. Katangian ng ikatlong uri ang paglaganap ng indibiduwalismo at kalayaang makapagpalitan ng mga ideya. (Troeltsch in Tinaz, 2005)

Ang konsepto ng ‘kulto’ naman ay naghahati kay H. Becker sa kanyang pagpapalawak sa ikatlong uri (*mysticism*) ni Troeltsch. Ayon kay Becker, ang mga umaanib sa isang kulto ay hindi nag-aabala sa pagpapanatili ng structura nito ‘di tulad nang sa *church* at *sect*, kung saan pinoprotektahan nila ang kaayusan ng kanilang organisasyon, ngunit pawang personal na kaluguran, kaligtasan, at kaginhawaan. (Becker in Tinaz, 2005)

### *Municipalidad ng Brooke's Point*

Ang Brooke's Point ay nagawa sa bisa ng EO 232 noong June 28, 1949. Ito ay matatagpuan sa timog-silangang bahagi ng mainland Palawan sa latitude 8°47' at longitude 117°49'. Sinasaklaw ng munisipyo ang kabuuang ng 85, 064.90 hectares o 5.71 bahagdan ng kabuuang kalupaan ng Palawan. Nahahati ang Brooke's Point sa 18 baranggay na kung saan 2 ay urban (Poblacion I at Poblacion II) at 16 na rural (Amas, Aribungos, Barong-barong, Calasaguen, Imulnod, Ipilan, Maasin, Mainit, Mambalot, Malis, Oring-oring, Pangobilian, Salogon, Samariñana, Saraza at Tubtub).

Sa Baranggay Aribungos matatagpuan ang Sabsaban falls. Ang lugar na ito ay itinuring na sagrado ng mga katutubo. Kilala naman ang Baranggay Imulnod sa pagdidiwang ng Lutlot festival. Ang Lutlot ay gawa sa kaning malagkit na hinaluan ng gata at niluto sa loob ng buho. Dating parte ng Baranggay Mambalot at Barong-barong, ang Baranggay Ipilan ay nabuo sa bisa ng Congressional Act noong 1961. Mga Palao'an, Muslim at Cuyunon ang mga unang nanirahan sa lugar na ito. Ang Baranggay Mainit naman ay matatagpuan sa Hilaga ng Baranggay Imulnod at kilala ito dahil sa Mainit Falls and Hot Spring.

Ang malakaing bahagi ng populasyon ng Brooke's Point ay matatagpuan sa rural. Base sa 2007 Census, 85.61 % ang naninirahan sa rural.

Ang malaking porsyento ng populasyon ng Brooke's Point ay bata kung saan 63% ay edad 0 hanggang 24.

Matatagpuan sa Brooke's Point ang iba't-ibang ethnolinguistic group: Tagalog (35.63%), Palawano (35.08%), Cuyuno (9.30%), Visaya (7.86%), Muslim (5.20%), Ilocano (4.20% at iba pa (2.73).

Sa taong 2007 hanggang 2010, karamihan sa mga pangunahing dahilan ng karamdaman ay mula sa impeksyon tulad ng mga sumusunod: URTI, malaria, bronchitis, diarrhea, pneumonia, at influenza.

Sinasabing ang mga *lifestyle* na karamdaman ang namamayagpag bilang sanhi ng kamatayan sa Brooke's Point, partikular dito ang CVA, diabetes mellitus, heart diseases, at cancer.

Ang mga sanhi ng kamatayan sa taong 2010 ay ang mga sumusunod: pneumonia (62, 10.39), myocardial infarction (17, 2.85), lahat ng uri ng cancer (14, 2.35), vehicular accident (10, 1.68), hypertensive CVD (10, 1.68), cerebro-vascular disease (9, 1.51), congestive heart failure (8, 1.34), chronic renal disease (8, 1.34), renal hypertension (8, 1.34).

Ang mga datos na ito ay halaw sa isang powerpoint presentation “A profile of the MUNICIPALITY of Brooke's Point (2010)”

### *Panglima*

Ang Panglima ang titulong iginagawad sa mga natibong Palao'an na mayroong katungkulang ginagampanan sa komunidad na kanilang kinabibilangan. Sila ay mga *elders* o nakatatanda sa komunidad, kung saan lalaki lamang ang pwedeng magkaroon ng titulong Panglima. Maaaring makuha ang titulong ito kung sa kaganapan na ang isang Panglima ay namatay, ang iba pang mga *elders* sa komunidad ang siyang magpapasya kung sino sa mga naulila ang magmamana ng titulo, kadalasan ang panganay na anak ang binibigyan ng titulo. Sa mga Panglima dumudulog ang mga tao kapag mayroong nais ayusing problema o may mga hidwaan sa komunidad. Dagdag pa rito, sila rin ang may katungkulang magpreserba at magpanatili ng kultura, tanda nito, ang kanilang madilat na kaalaman sa kultura ng mga Palao'an, magpasimula ng mga ritwal, katulad ng kasal, panggagamot, paglilibing, at iba pa.

## Metodolohiya

Ang bulto ng mga datos ay nakalap sa pamamagitan ng pakikipanayam (structured at semi-structured). Ang mga inisyal na tanong ay ginabayhan ng mga naunang librong naisulat tungkol sa mga iba pang tribung Palawano; ito ay ang Tagbanuwa (Tagbanuwa Religion and Society ni Fox) at Tau't Batu ( Tau't Batu Studies ni Ramos et. al). Nakatulong din na paghambingin at pag-ibahin ang mga kaugalian at paniniwala ng mga Palao'an at ng mga Kristiyano. Nakuha namin ang pamamaraang ito sa mga sagot ng isa sa aming informant, ipinakita niya sa amin ang pararelismo ng mga kaugalian at paniniwala para mas maunawaan naming ito. Kinakitaan namin ang ganitong pagtatanong ng kaunting problema dahil baka maapektuhan nito ang mga sagot kaya't nang mas magamay namin ang mga konseptong Palao'an ay binabalikan namin ang aming interpretasyon at itinatanong sa mga informants kung tama ang aming pagkakaintindi.

Dahil sa lawak ng saklaw ng aming paksa ay naisipan naming hatiin ang paksa sa mga mas maliliit na tema. Ang mga nabuo naming tema ay ang mga sumusunod:

Pagtatalang: Sinasaklaw ng temang ito ang lahat ng mga bagay na ipinapabaon sa patay, ang mga uri ng bagay na isinasama nila sa loob ng hukay o sa paligid nito, ang paniniwala nila tungkol sa pagtatalang. Ang pokus ng temang ito ay ang materyal na kulturang nakatali sa paglilibing

Paglilibing: Sa temang ito ay nakapaloob ang preparasyon sa labi ng yumao bago ilagak sa kanyang pahingahan, ang buong proseso ng paglilibing, ang pagpili ng paglilibingan, pagkakaayos at orientasyon ng bangkay, lalim at laki ng hukay at iba pa. Ang pokus ng temang ito ay ang mga nangyayari sa labi ng yumao

Pagluluksa: Ang pokus naman ng temang ito ay ang mga naiwan ng yumao. Dito nakapabilang ang mga kaugalian at paniniwala ng mga kaanak ng patay pagdating sa pagluluksa, ang mga maari at bawal gawin, mga ritual na nagpapakita ng pagluluksa at iba pa.

Kabilang Buhay: Sa temang ito ay kasama ang mga paniniwala ng Palao'an sa kabilang buhay, kung saan nagpupunta ang kaluluwa ng mga yumao, ano ang nangyayari sa kabilang buhay at iba pa.

Sa apat na temang ito uminog ang aming pagtatanong.

Sa umpisa ng fieldwork ay hindi kami namimili ng kakapanayamin dahil bumubuo pa lang kami ng imahe ng mga konsepto sa aming isipan. Ngunit habang tumatagal ay napapansin naming mas maalam ang mga nakakatandang lalaki pagdating sa layunin ng aming grupo. Ang tradisyunal na paglilibing ng mga Palao'an ay malimit nang nasasakihan ng mga kabataan. Nahahaluan na ng ibang gawi tulad ng sa Kristiyano ang mga kaugaliang Palao'an. Ang mga kababaihan naman ay tinuturo kami papunta sa mga kalalakihan.

Dala na rin ng kagipitan sa oras ay minabuti naming mag pokus sa mga matatandang lalaking Palao'an. Nakapanayam kami ng higit sa sampung Palao'an. Ang karamihan dito ay taga Baranggay Ipiran at Baranggay Aribungos, may iilan ding galing sa Baranggay Imulnod at Baranggay Mainit.

Karaniwang umaabot sa tatlumpung minuto hanggang isang oras ang bawat panayam. Sa aming pag-iikot para mag-informant work ay napansin naming mainam ang ganitong haba ng oras. Kung lumampas sa isang oras ay bumaba na ang interes ng informant at naapektuhan na ang kalidad ng kanyang mga sagot at kung bumaba naman sa takdang oras ay hindi makabuluhan at mababaw ang nakakalap na datos.

Sinikap naming beripikahin ang aming nakuhang datos sa pamamagitan ng triangulation sa dalawang lebel: Triangulation ng mga informant at Triangulation ng mga Metodolohiya.

Ang mga datos na nakalap sa isang araw ay pinoproseso at ginugrupo gamit ang apat na temang nabanggit sa itaas. Matapos naming pag-aralan at pag-usapan ang mga datos ay nagiging parte ito ng mga panayam sa susunod na araw. Dadagdag sa layunin ng panayam sa susunod na araw na subukin, patunayan, at dagdagan ang mga datos na nakalap. Nabanggit ng aming guro na sa pag-triangulate ng datos ay dapat maging maingat sa pagtatanong. Umiwas sa pagtataanong ng mga leading questions dahil maaring mawalan ng saysay ang pag-t-triangulate at walang bagong datos ang makakalap.

Tungo sa dulo ng aming pagsasaliksik kung saan unti-unti na naming nabubuo at naiintindihan ang mga konseptong mahalaga sa aming pag-aaral ay naisipan naming gawing mas masinsin ang mga panayam. Sa puntong ito ay tinukoy na namin ang aming mga magiging key informant. Napili naming ihuli ang pagtatalaga at pakikipanayam sa mga key informant sa dalawang kadahilanhan. Una, nais naming munang magamay ang kabuuhan ng kanilang mga paniniwala pagdating sa kamatayan, paglilibing at pagluluksa gamit ang mga datos na nakalap sa mga insiyal na panayam bago naming subukang himayin ang mga pagkakahulugan nila tungkol dito. Ikalawa, ginamit namin ang inisyal na mga panayam para makapalagayang loob ang mga informants.

Sa pagpili ng key informants ay isinaalang-alang namin ang kanilang pagkadalubhasa sa mga temang tatalakayin, oras na maaring magamit sa informant work, at ang aming nakapalagayang loob. Mahalaga ang mga salik na ito dahil masalimuot at mahaba ang huling yugto ng mga panayam dahil dadaanan lahat ng mga datos na nakalap tungkol sa mga napiling tema. Mahalaga rin ang nakapalagayang loob para sa pagkaintindihan at magandang daloy ng talakayan.

Napili naming maging key informants sina Panglima Welinton at Panglima Pedring. Ang pokus ng talakayan kay Panglima Welinton ay ang unang dalawang tema (Paglilibing at Pagtatalang) habang ang kay Panglima Pedring naman ay ang Pagluluksa at Kabilang Buhay.

Nagkaroon kami ng aktwal na obserbasyon at partisipasyon sa libing ng dalawang Palao'an, kung saan ang isa sa mga namatay ay isang *half*-Palao'an. Nauna naming naobserbahan ang burol ng *half*-Palao'an sa baranggay Ipiran sa Ika-28 nang Abril. Napagalaman namin ang burol sa tulong ng mga *informants* ng aming mga kasamahan. Sumama kami, kasama ng iba pa naming kasamahan, upang makipaglamay sa yumao. Dito, nagkaroon kami ng pagkakataong maobserbahan at makumpirma ang mga datos na aming nakalap. Tanging obserbasyon lamang ang aming ginawa, bilang sa pagrespeto na rin sa asawa, at pamilya ng namatayan. Ang pakikipanayam ay naganap sa pagitan ng mga informants ng aming mga kasama habang tinatahak namin ang daan patungong Kelang Banua.

Ang ikalawang obserbasyon ay naganap sa Ika-29 at 30 nang Abril, kung saan ang namatay ay pamangkin ni Panglima Pedring. Ang unang gabi ay nilaan para sa pakikiramay, obserbasyon at partisipasyon sa paghahanda sa yumao. Kinabukasan, ang araw na nakatakda para sa libing, bumalik ulit kami, para madokyumento, sa pamamagitan ng pag-video ang magaganap na libing sa kahilingan at pahintulot na rin ng pamilya ng yumao. Sa puntong ito, nakita namin kung papaano nagkaroon ng pagbabago sa tradisyunal na paglilibing ng mga Palao'an.

Nagkaroon ng *Focused Group Discussion* o Ginabayang Talakayan upang lubos naming maintindihan ang konsepto ng kamatayan, paglilibing, at pagluluksa. Kasama ng aming mga kasamahang nakapokus sa relihiyon, ang Ginabayang Talakayan noong Ika-5 ng Mayo at dinaos ito sa Our Lady of Lourdes Parish ng Baranggay Ipiran, Brooke's Point. Nagkaroon kami ng limang *informants*, apat ay sakristan at isa ay seminarista. Nagkaroon ng maikling introduksyon

at ilang paglilinaw sa pagitan namin at ng aming mga *informants* tungkol sa mangyayaring talakayan. Pumayag sila na i-rekord ang nasabing talakayan kasama ang kanilang tunay na pangalan.

Umikot ang halos apatnapung minutong talakayan sa sinkretismo ng relihiyong Palao'an at Kristyanismo, ang pagiging “*civilized*”, doktrina at dogma, kamatayan, paglilibing, konsepto ng langit at kalobagang. Dito nagtapos ang aming Ginabayang Talakayan.

## Sakop at Limitasyon

Sa aming ginawang pag-aaral tungkol konsepto ng kamatayan, pagluluksa, at paglilibing ng mga Palao'an, hindi maikakaila na nagkaroon ng mga pagkakataon at kalagayang humadlang sa pagkalap namin ng mga kinakailangang datos upang mas malawak at malalim na pagpapakahulugan ng nasabing paksu.

Sa heyograpikal na aspeto nang aming riserts, apat sa labingwalong baranggay na bumubuo sa Brooke's Point ang aming napuntahan. Kung saan ang karamihan sa aming mga nakapanayam at napaggugulan ng maraming oras ay mula sa Baranggay Aribungos at Baranggay Ipiran. Bukod sa nabanggit, nagkaroon ng panayam sa ilang Palao'an sa Baranggay Imulnod at Baranggay Mainit.

Ang kakulangan sa oras, sa proseso ng pagkalap ng kinakailangang datos sa loob lamang ng labing-dalawang araw. Kung saan may mga pagkakataong hindi tugma ang iskediyul o kinailangang palitan ang nakatakdang araw ng panayam nang aming mga impormant dahil sa kanilang tungkulin sa araw-araw tulad ng kabuhayan, kalusugan, at ilan pang personal na rason.

Nagkaroon ng dalawang obserbasyon, partisipasyon, at dokumentasyon ng aktwal na burol at proseso ng paglilibing sa dalawang Palao'an sa Baranggay Ipiran. Kung saan aming naobserbahan ang paghahalo ng tradisyunal na paniniwala at ng relihiyong Kristyanismo. Ngunit, wala kaming naobserbahan na aktwal na tradisyunal napaglilibing.

### Pagtatalang

Nakaugalian na ng mga Palao'an ang "pagtatalang" o ang pagsasama ng mga bagay sa labi ng kanilang mga patay. Naniniwala sila na ang mga gamit na kanilang ipinabaon ay magagamit ng "kurudwa" o kaluluwa ng yumao sa kabilang buhay. Pinapapatotohanan ang ganitong kaisipan ng mga uri ng bagay na itinatalang. Mapapansin na karamihan sa mga bagay na "itinatalang" ay ang mga kagamitang ginagamit sa pang-araw-araw tulad ng plato, baso, "salapa" (sisidlang kuwadrado na yari sa tanso na karaniwang pinaglalagyan ng nganga at apog), "alep" (sisidlan ng tabako, papel at santikan yari sa buho), "baling at santikan" o pangsindi at iba pa.

Ang kasarian ay namamarakan din sa "pagtatalang". Karaniwang "itinatalang" sa mga kalalakihan ang "tukaw" o itak pati ang "taguban" o ang lalagyanan nito. Ang mga Palao'an ay naniniwala na ang mga lalaking nasa wastong gulang ay dapat magdala ng itak dahil tamad ang tingin nila sa mga lalaking walang dalang itak. Kapag nagtatalang ng itak ay binabalian ang dulo nito para kung "makasablaw" o makabati (palalawigin ang konsepto ng "sablaw" sa Paglilibing) ang kaluluwa ng patay ay hindi lubhang masakit. Hindi naman mawawala sa mga kababaihan ang malong at suklay.

Makikita rin sa mga bagay na "itinalang" ang estado sa buhay ng yumao. Ang mga nakakaangat sa buhay lang ang may kakayanang "magtalang" ng mga mamahaling bagay tulad ng "agong" o gong, "salapa", "tapuyan" o banga.

Ang pagbabago ng panahon ay naapektuhan din ang mga bagay na "itinatalang". Ngayon ay maaari ka nang makakita ng mga "itinatalang" na mga kaldero, tsinelas, tabo at iba pa.

Bukod sa mga bagay na karaniwang na "ininatalang" ang mga Palao'an din ay nagpapabaon ng pagkain. Ito ay kadalasang isinasama sa loob ng kaldero na naglalaman ng kanin at ulam.

Pinaniniwalaan ng mga Palao'an na kailangang kumain ng yumao para sa kanyang paglalakbay sa kabilang buhay.

Bukod sa paniniwalang magagamit ng mga patay ang mga bagay na “itinatalang”. Nabanggit sa amin ni Panglima Pedring na “itinatalang” din ang mga paboritong gamit ng yumao para hindi ito balik-balikan ng mga patay. Iniiwasan ng mga Palao'an na magkahalubilo ang mga kaluluwa ng mga namatay dahil naniniwala silang maaari silang magkasakit.

Naikuwento rin sa amin ni Ka Tisoy na “itinatalang” mo sa patay ang mga bagay na nakakapagpaalala sa iyo tungkol sa kanya.

Hindi lahat ng mga “tinatalang” ay isinasama sa hukay. Sa libingan malapit sa tirahan ni Panglima Pedring ay nakita namin ang ibang “talang” sa taas ng hukay. Nakakita kami ng plato, gomang tsinelas, at baso.

### Paglilibing

Hindi nag-eembalsamo ng kanilang patay ang mga Palao'an. Naniniwala sila na hindi dapat paghiwalayin ang kanilang katawan kahit na sa kamatayan. Hindi rin sila gumagamit ng kabaong at ng puntod. Ayon kay Panglima Welinton, ang hindi paggamit ng kabaong at puntod ay nakakapagpadali sa pag-angat ng kaluluwa mula sa hukay.

At dahil hindi sila nag-eembalsamo at kailangang mailagak na agad ang labi sa huling hantungan ay walang burol o lamay para sa patay. Hindi dapat abutin ng 24 oras ang bangkay dahil mag-uumpisa na itong mabulok. Sa ilang okasyon na may kailangang hintaying kaanak mula sa malayong lugar ay pinauusukan nila ang bangkay gamit ang sinunog na dahon ngunit hindi ito madalas na ginagawa.

Pagpanaw ay nililinisan ang katawan ng namatay dinadamatian at inaayusan. Kailangan ay hindi itim ang kulay ng damit na isusuot sa patay dahil maghihinagpis daw ang yumao kung maglalaba ito ng damit at subukan niya itong paputiin sa kabilang buhay. Pagkatapos ay babalutan ang bangkay ng banig at tatalian sa may bandang ulo at paa. Apat na tao ang magbubuhat sa patay palabas ng bahay at patungo sa paglilibingan nito. Gumagamit sila ng dalawang tali na nakaangkla ang isa sa bandang ulo at ang isa naman ay sa paa.

Bago tuluyang ilabas ng bahay ang bangkay at kadalasang ginagawa sa pantaran, ay “nagnanangnang” o humihingi ng paumanhin ang naiwang pamilya sa mga kasalanang nagawa nila dun sa yumao habang ito ay nabubuhay pa. Nabanggit sa akin ni Panglima Welinton ang eksaktong katagang sinasabi sa salitang Palao’an ngunit nagkaproblema ako sa pagsasalin sa Filipino.

“patawarin mo na ang asawa mo, ang mga anak mo sa mga kasalanang nagawa nila sa iyo... hanggang sa katapusan ... at huling pagkikita”

Hindi “nangnanangnang” ang mga nakakatanda sa mga mas bata.

Matapos “magnangnang” ay tutuloy na ang bangkay papunta sa kung saan ito ililibing. Nauuna ang bangkay at sa likod nito ay nakasunod ang mga kaanak.

Ang lugar na pinaglilibingan ng mga patay ay karaniwang malapit lang sa mga bahay ng mga naiwan nito. Marami sa aming mga nakapanayam ay nakatira malapit sa libingan ng kanilang mga kamag-anak. Napansin namin na pagkakapare-pareho ng mga lugar na ito ay ang presenya ng mga puno at ng maraming halaman na may kahalagahan sa “palteg”.

Kapag may nauna nang ilibing ay hindi na kailangan pang pumili kung saan ilalagak ang iba pang mamamatay. Kadalasang pinagtatabi ang mga mag-asawa at ang kanilang mga anak.

Ang hukay ay sukat sa haba ng labi at ang lalim ay hanggang dibdib. Ang ilan ay naniniwala na mabuti ang tao kung malambot ang lupa habang hinuhukay at masama naman kung matigas ang lupa.

Bago tuluyang ibaba ang patay sa hukay ang kailangan munang isagawa ang “palteg” o “pamumukrat”. Ibaba muna ang bangkay sa tabi ng butas at tatanggalin ang tali sa bandang ulunan at ilalabas ang ulo nito sa banig.

Matapos gawin ang mga ito ay mayroong magbabanggit, kadalasan ang Panglima o iba pang nakakatanda, ng mga sumusunod na salita:

“pagmasdan mo na ang mundo dahil ito na ang huling pagtingin mo, ang mga kahoy na maliliit at malalaki, ang mga dahon at ang buong mundo dahil patay ka na at diyan ka na kay Ampo”

Matapos “magpalteg” ay ibabalik ang pagkakabalot ng banig at muling tatalian. Lalagyan ng tabla ang ilalim ng hukay bago may dalawang tao ang bababa dito para saluhin ang ibababang bangkay. Magkaiba ang orientasyon ng babae sa lalaki. Ang talampakan ng mga lalaki ay nakaharap sa bundok habang ang sa mga babae naman ay nakatutok sa dagat. Ang paniniwala nila ay kapag bumangon ang kaluluwa ay bundok o dagat ang una nitong makikita at doon tutungo ang kaluluwa para “manupok” o manguso ang lalaki at “mangawil” o mangisda ang babae.

Matapos maibaba ang bangkay ay maghuhulog ng “Ugdang Bulawan” o Hagdanang Ginto.

Ang “ugdang bulawan” ay isang simbolikal na hagdanang gawa sa tangkay ng isang halaman. Hihawaan ang tangkay na ito ng pahilig sa dalawang gilid, isang pataas at isang pababa. Ang magiging hitsura nito ay isang hagdanan kung saan ang isang gilid ay paakyat at ang isa naman ay pababa, Habang inilalagay ito ay sa hukay ay sasabihing “paakyatin ang kaluluwa ng mga buhay at pababain naman ang sa mga patay”, pagkatapos ay saka aakyat ang mga sumalo sa

bangkay. Ilalagay na ang mga “talang” bago takpan uli ng tabla ang bangkay at tuluyang tabunan na ng lupa. Sa taas nito ay magtatanim sila ng mga panandang halaman, karaniwang gumagamit sila ng mga bulaklak o ng nipa. Ilalatag muli ang mga “talang” at saka gagawan ng silong ang patay gamit ang maliliit na kahoy at mga dahon. Sa silong o bahay-bahayan na ito isinasabit ang mga plato, kaldero, baso at iba pang mga kagamitan ginagamit sa pagkain. Matapos gawin lahat ito ay gigisingin ang patay at paghahandaan ito ng kanin na kung minsan ay may kasamang ulam. Magsasagawa ng “gira” o paggawa ng iba’t-ibang ingay ang mga nakipaglibing saka maglalakad pabalik sa bahay ng mga namatayan

Ang unang makakarating sa bahay ay kukuha ng bao na may lamang abo at ipapahid ito sa katawan. Ganoon din ang gagawin ng mga sumunod sa kanya at ang huling darating ay ikakalat ang abo at babasagin ang bao sabay sasambitin “hindi sana makita ng mga espirito ang mga nakipaglibing”.

### Pagluluksa

Ang mga ritwal patungkol sa kamatayan ay nag-uumpisa bago pa ‘man may matay. Sa mga pagkakataong malubha na ang sakit ng isang Palao’an ay nagsasagawa sila ng “Paglilingaw”. Ginagawa rin ang “Paglilingaw” kung madalas na napapanaginipan ng mga Palao’an ang kanilang mga yumaong kamag-anak. Sa “Paglilingaw” ay tinatawagan ang kaluluwa ng mga patay. Ayon kay Panglima Pedring, hindi direktang tinatawagan ang kaluluwa ng mga patay. Ang unang dadasalan at tatawagin ay si “Ampo” at si “Ampo” naman ang tatawag sa kaluluwa ng namatay. Kapag “naglilingaw” ay naghahanda rin para sa patay. Nang minsang “maglingaw” si Panglima Pedring ay naghanda sila ng kanin at manok na niluto sa gata. Bawal gamitan ng asin ang mga pagkaing handa para sa patay. Malalaman nila kung tinanggap ang mga alay sa

iba't-ibang mga paraan: ang biglang paglamig ng kanin, mga langaw at iba pang insektong dumapo sa pagkain, ihip ng malamig na hangin at iba pa.

Ang “sablaw” ay ang sakit sa tiyan, pagduduwal, at sakit na huling naramdamang yumao, na nakukuha kapag ang isang miyembro ng pamilya ay dinalaw o nilapitan ng kaluluwa ng yumao. Nakabase ito sa paniniwala na dumadalaw ang kaluluwa ng mga yumao kapag may kinakailangan sila o may nais ipabatid sa dinadalaw nila. Sa pagdalaw na ito, nagkakaroon ng negatibong epekto o “sablaw” sa miyembro ng pamilyang dinadalaw.

Ang pamilya ng yumao ay hindi pinahihintulutan ng mga *elders* na magtrabaho, lumabas ng bahay, mag-ingay, magsaya, maglinis ng bahay, at mag ayos ng kanilang sarili hanggang mailibing ang yumao. Ito ay tanda ng pagrespeto nila sa yumao at sa buhay na naputol. Kung ito ay malalabag ng isa sa mga miyembro ng pamilya, siya ay kinakailangang magbayad ng “batang”/“ungsod” o multa depende sa patakaran ng *elders* ng partikular na angkan. Ayon kay Ka Tisoy, ang “batang” o “ungsod” ay kadalasang binabayaran sa anyo ng pera, gamit, ani o *harvest*, metal, at iba pa.

Habang wala pang libing, hindi pinapahintulutan ang pamilya na umiyak at mapatakan ng luha ang katawan ng yumao. Naniniwala ang mga Palao’an na sa bawat luhang papatak sa katawan ng yumao, mahihirapan o bibigat ang loob nito sa kanyang pagtawid sa kabilang buhay. Kaugnay nito, pinagbabawal din ang mga alaga, partikular na ang pusa na humakbang sa katawan ng yumao. Mayroong paniniwala na maipapasa ang isang “buhay” ng pusa sa yumao at magigising ito. Kailangang bago pa man sumapit ang dilim ay nasa loob na ng bahay ang mga kamag-anak ng namatay dahil naniniwala silang bumabalik sa bahay ang kaluluwa ng patay. Hindi rin sila

maaaring magtatapon ng tubig dahil baka tamaan ang kaluluwa ng patay, dapat ay ibinubuhos ito ng dahani-dahan.

Sa pagsapit ng gabi, “nagtutultul” o nag-*storytelling* ang isang miyembro ng pamilya o kamag-anak ng yumao. Ginagawa ito para mabawasan ang lungkot at makatulog ng mabuti ang mga batang miyembro ng pamilya.

Kapag ang yumao naman ay mayroong asawa, ang “bituwanon” o ang balo ay hindi pinahihintulutang makapag-asawa ulit sa loob ng isang taon. Pinaniniwalaan ng mga Palao’an na ang pag-aasawa muli ng isang “bituwanon” ng wala pa sa isang taon ay nangangahulugang hiniling mo kay “Ampo” ang kamatayan ng iyong asawa. Kinakailangan din ng pagpapaalam sa komunidad at makuha ang kanilang pagsang-ayon sa pagpapakasal muli. Ang paglabag sa nasabing kaugalian ay pagbabayad rin ng “batang” sa mga anak, kung mayroon, o sa pamilya ng yumao. Nakadepende parin sa *elders* kung ano o magkano ang ibabayad nito. Nabanggit ni kuya Lalot na noong unang panahon ay nagmumulta ng isang “salapa” ang mga babae at isang “badong” naman sa mga lalake.

Ang “kasarungan” o “katapusan” ay ginaganap isang linggo o pitong araw matapos ang libing ng yumao. Pinaniniwalaan ng mga Palao’an na sa “katapusan” ay tuluyan nang umaalis ang kaluluwa ng patay para makapiling na si Ampo. Naghahanda ang pamilya ng yumao na nagsisilbing huling salu-salo kasama ang kaluluwa ng patay bago ito tuluyang umalis. Katulad ng sa “Paglilingaw” ay hindi ginagamitan ng asin ang mga pagkaing hinahanda. Nakadalo kami sa “katapusan” na ginanap para sa yumaong pamangkin ni Panglima Pedring. Ang mga hinanda ay apat na baso ng tubig, apat na platong may kanin, apat na platong may dinuguan, apat na platong may “mulmol” o *fermented rice* na nakabalot sa dahon at ang lahat ng ito ay nakapatong

sa isang banig at may partikukar na pagkaka-ayos. Nabanggit din ni Panglima Pedring na hindi dapat bababa sa apat ang mga plato o kung sosobra man ay dapat laging magkakapares. May mga katagang binanggit din si Panglima Pedring sa Palao'an. Tinawag niya ang kaluluwa ng yumao at itinuro ang mga hinanda. Sinabi niya sa amin na binilinan niya ang kaluluwa ng kanyang pamangkin na dun na siya sa kasiyahan niya sa kabilang buhay, kung ano man ang kasiyahan ng mga nabubuhay ay huwag na siyang makialam.

## Pagsusuri

Sa aming pag-silip sa Kulturang Pala'oan mula sa anggulo ng kanilang paniniwala patungkol sa paglilibing, pagluluksa at kamatayan ay nakatukoy kami ng iilang salik na mahalaga sa patuloy na pag-gana ng kanilang sistema ng paniniwala.

Ang Panglima ang nagbibigkis sa isang komunidad. Bukod sa *functional* na kahalagahan nila sa kanilang mga nasasakupan ay nagsisilbi silang kanlungan ng kulturang Palao'an. Sila ang may kakayanan at karapatang mangasiwa at magsagawa ng iba't-ibang mga ritwal ng Palao'an.

Ang mga ritwal na ito ay hindi lang limitado sa paglilibing, pagluluksa at kamatayan bagkus ay laganap ito sa iba pang mga aspeto ng buhay Palao'an. Susi ang mga ritwal na ito para lubos na maunawaan ang kosmolohiyang iniinugan ng kamalayang Palao'an.

Katulad ng sinabi ni Ramos, hindi kakikitaan ng paghahati ng banal at ordinary ang iba't-ibang aspeto ng buhay ng Palao'an. Ang pagsilang sa isang sanggol ay ipinagbubunyi at pinasasalamatan katulad ng pasasalamat sa masaganang ani, sa pag-galing mula sa karamdaman at sa pag-iisang dibdib ng dalawang taong nagmamahalan sa kasal. Napuna namin na sa kaibuturan ng mga ritwal na ito ay hindi mawawala ang pagpapasalamat, pagpapasalamat para sa kaginhawaan.

Kaginhawaan din ang nakita naming pangunahing konseptong nagpapatakbo sa kanilang pagtrato sa mga namatay. Sa isang banda ay naniniwala sila sa "sablaw" o sa sakit na maaaring makuha kapag nakikihalubilo ang mga patay sa mga buhay. Palasak sa mga ritwal sa patay ang hiling ng mga nabubuhay na huwag nang makialam sa kanila ang mga patay. Sa kabilang dako naman ay naniniwala rin sila sa "busong" o sakit na maaaring makuha sa hindi pag-respeto o pagkalimot sa mga nakakatanda. Ginagamit naman ng mga patay ang panuginip bilang *medium*

para ipaabot sa mga nabubuhay na huwag silang kalimutan. Makikita ang tunggalian kung saan naiipit ang mga nabubuhay na Palao'an at ang mga ritwal na ginagawa nila para mabalanse ito. Sa pag-aasam ng mga Palao'an ng kaginhawaan ay napapabilang sila sa *cult of the dead* na binanggit ni Fox, sa pormulasyon ni Becker.

Ang lahat ng mga paniniwalang ito ay hindi umiiral sa isang bakyum. Hindi maihihiwalay ang Kulturang Palao'an sa kapalagirang pinaglalagakan nito. Ano pa ang sisilipin ng yumao sa "palteg" kung wala nang punong kahoy at ang mga dahon nito? Saan na mapupunta ang "kurudwa" kung wala nang Kalabogang? Magkakaroon pa rin ba ng "tinapuy", "mulmol" at "lutlot" kung wala nang aanihing bigas?

#### Paglalagom

Nag-aasam ng kaginhawaan ang mga Palao'an katulad ng lahat ng tao. Kalikasan ang nakikita nilang pangunahing pinagmumulan ng kaginhawaan. Ginagamit nila ang kanilang mga ritwal upang makuha, pasalamatang at panatilihin ang kaginhawaang ito.

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## Apendiks

### **Ginabayang Talakayan**

Petsa: May 5, 2012

Durasyon: 35:25 minuto

Pasilitaytor: Alexis Jerome Tolibas

Lugar: Our Lady of Lourdes Parish

Rekorder: Jerome Leano

Pangalan ng mga Informants: Joseph Verdin John Vincent Verdin Jayvee Lagrada

Harold Jay Miraflores                   Noel Ivondozo

Nagumpisa ang ginabayang talakayan sa pamamagitan ng pagpapakilala ng mga *informants* at ng mga mananaliksik, dito ibinigay ang edad pati na rin ang lugar ng kapanganakan. Matapos nito, tinanong ang mga *informants* kung ano ang masasabi nila sa paghahalo ng mga kaugalian ng mga natibong Palao'an sa kaugaliang Kristyano. Sinabi ni Harold na hindi naman ito pinagbabawal at marami sa kanyang mga pinsan ay nakapagkasawa ng natibo. Nagkaroon ng kasalan sa parehong katutubo at katolikong kaugalian. Sinabi naman ni Vincent na naimpluwensyahan na rin ng katolismo ang mga katutubo dahil naoobserbahan din nila ito. Ayon naman kay Jason, ayos lang ang paghahalo kung walang kontradiksyon sa paniniwala, katuloy ng nabanggit, nagkaroon ng katanungan ang impormant patungkol sa kaugalian sa paglilibing at kamatayan. Nagkaroon ng praymer ang pasilitaytor kaugnay ng nasabing paks. Binigyan ng pasilitaytor ang mga *informants* nang isang senaryong may kinalaman sa etnisidad at paniniwala sa relihiyon ng mga natibo at Kristyano. Ayon kay Harold, iba't iba man ang tawag, iisa parin ang patutunguhan ng kaluluwa sa kabilang buhay. Upang linawin ang mga kasagutan ng mga impormant, inulit ng pasilitaytor ang sinabi ng mga ito at nagkaroon naman ng pagsangayon ang mga impormant. Kasunod nito, nagtanong ang pasilitaytor kung ang paggawa

ba ng mabuti dito sa lupa, kahit hindi Kristyano ang isang tao, ay makakapunta sa langit. Sumagot ang lahat ng pwede, dagdag pa rito, marami daw kaso na ganun dahil hindi naman lahat na-*eевangelize* o namamatay ng hindi nabinyagan. Kaugnay nito, nagkaroon ng tanong ang pasilitaytor kung nagkaroon ba ang mga impormant ng kasanayan sa pag-*evangelize* sa mga katutubo. Ayon kay Harold, nagkakaroon daw ng pagtitipon ang mga *Youth Ministry* sa Sabsaban, kung saan mayroong bahay ampunan ng mga katutubo ang mga madre doon. Sa nasabing bahay ampunan, tinuturuan ng kristyano at katolikong paniniwala ang mga katutubo. Sumagot naman si Vincent tungkol sa libing ng asawa ng kanyang pinsan, na hindi natibo, na dinala sa kanilang simbahan. Sinundan naman ito ng katanungan ng pasilitaytor kung may mga kaso na hindi pinapayagan ang mga patay na gawan ng seremonyang katoliko. Nasabi ni Noel na nagkaroon ng kaso kung saan tinangihan ng pari ng simbahan ang isang hindi binyagan. Kaugnay dito, naglabas ng sentimyento si Vincent patungkol sa mga Katolikong lumilipat ng relihiyon, at kung mayroong namamatay, dinadala sila sa simbahang katoliko. Sa pagpapatuloy ng talakayan, nagtanong naman si Noel kung pareho lang ba ang kaugalian ng mga Muslim at Palao'an sa paglilibing at kasal. Nabanggit ng pasilitaytor na hindi siya pamilyar sa mga kaugalian ng mga Muslim. Nabanggit ni Mark Jason ang isang kaso na may kinasal na Muslim at Kristyano, kung saan nagpakasal muna sila sa kaugaliang Muslim matapos dito, bininyagan ang Muslim sa Katoliko. Nabanggit din ng mga impormant na ang binyag, komunyon, at kumpil ay ginanap ng magkakasunod para magawa ang sakramento ng kasal. Nagtanong naman ang pasilitaytor sa paniniwalang Palao'an kaugnay sa doktrinang Katoliko. Nabanggit ni Mark Jason na depende sa timbang ng paniniwala ng tao. Ayon naman kay Noel, kung sa pagiging strikto sa *dogma* ng simbahan, hindi daw paniniwalaan ang mga pamahiin nila. Umayon naman si Harold sa sagot ni Mark Jason kung saan nakadepende din ang paniniwala sa tao. Ayon naman kay

Vincent, bilang isang katoliko, kailangang irespeto ang paniniwala ng ibang relihiyon sa parehong paraan ng pagrespeto nila sa relihiyong katoliko. Nagtungo naman ang talakayan sa usapin ng kabilang buhay kung saan sinaad ni Noel ang kanyang kaaalaman sa doktrinang Katoliko. Nagtanong naman ang pasilitaytor tungkol sa lugar na tinatawag na Kelabogang. Nabanggit ni Vincent na may isang bundok na may lawa sa gitna ng gubat kung saan matatagpuan ang iba't ibang isda. Sa puntong ito, nagtapos na ang ginabayang talakayan.



**Agong**



**Agong**



**Talam: plato ng taong pitong**

dangkal ang lapad ng dibdib



**Bungkarang at Salapa**



Iba't ibang laki at uri ng Salapa



**Mula itaas pababa: Ligid (sibat), Sasukudan, Badong, Taguban**



**Bungkarang**



**Alep**



**Isang natibong Palao'an**

**hawak ang Supok at Karaban**



**Baslay (bala)**



**Karaban**



**Handa sa Kasarungan**