in every swidden field and performed by a manugbugkos, the techniques of which differ from individual to individual. When the rice is ripe, the rite is held usually in the evening of the day the tide is high.

There are several omens (patabian) associated and observed in this rite. For instance, it is prohibited for a manugbugkos to perform the rite when he hears a suksuk (house lizard), tiki (gecko) or kudkuro (a species of bird) crying when he is about to leave for the swidden field. The manugbugkos leaves the house at about five in the morning, when the dawn is neither dark nor bright. He must not bring anything related to fire, a hilao (winnowing tray), water, amak (mat) or a chicken. He must not shout nor whistle, which will enable him to catch the spirits. No one follows him except an offspring under training or the one who asked him to perform the rite. He then looks for bamboo or bagakay with which to make a cross (35-40 centimeters long). After he makes one, he goes to the field directly. He cautiously and gently enters the field. First, he lifts his right foot forward and places it down, heel first, beyond the toes of the left foot. Then, he takes the second step in the same manner. When the seventh step has been made with the right foot, the left foot is laid deep under the right foot, and he slowly kneels down in front of a small cut and burnt stump prepared beforehand. He sets up the cross on the ground beside the stump, holds a rice stalk nearest the trunk and the cross and uses it to bind them. Then, he does the same thing to six other stalks, one by one, in a clockwise fashion. There is a specific way of binding. He uses a single bow-knot as tying them in two knots without a loop prevents the owner from catching the rice spirits. He holds his breath and prays:

“Madakop ti kalag halaman.”
(I caught the spirit of the plants.)

“Pagyamo kita no malu-ol kanta halaman.”
(May our plants yield more when we harvest them.)

After the binding, the manugbugkos steps back (seven steps) starting with the right foot slowly to the corner of the field.

The following day, the owner harvests alone, cutting the rice with his hands in the ritual spot, clockwise. He does this for a short time and continues for five days (it can be cut down to one day). About a meter radius is harvested which can be done in one day, usually on the following morning of the ritual. Afterwards, others can join him.

After the harvest is completed, the owner goes to the ritual spot and unties the seven stalks and places them on top of a heap of rice in a basket then brought home. The seven stalks are kept high on the wall of the house. Some of the stalks are cooked with other rice during the pamag-uhan feast and the rest used for the next planting ritual as part of the ritual seeds.

Pamag-uhan (special after-harvest feast) – The people gather at a house in the settlement where the feast will be held, carrying part of the newly harvested rice. They pound the rice, usually late at night. Then, rice is cooked outside the house in a pot. A miniature bow and arrow is placed at the bottom of the pot which is covered with banana leaves. The newly harvested rice and water are then placed inside. After this, other rice is cooked. Before they eat, offerings are made to souls of the dead and the rice spirits. The rice is placed in basket trays and served to the people. One must not blow on the hot rice. People can now eat new rice in their own homes.
Social Practices, Rituals and Festive Events

Hanunoo Mangyan, Mindoro Island Province, Central Philippines. After a primary burial, the Hanunoo Mangyan may exhume the dead and give the body a secondary burial when so intimated by the deceased during the first burial rites. This is often held, more or less, one year after the death.

Secondary Burial Rites

Exhumation of human bones at a grave.

THE MILLENNIA-old custom of combining burnt shell lime with betel pepper leaves and other vegetable alkaloids as a chewing stimulant is common to many southwest Pacific and south Asian cultures. The production and distribution of these required substances are of vital daily concern to hundreds of millions of chewers, and are of considerable economic importance within the betel chewing area.

Not only is the betel combination the most widely used masticatory in the world today, but it is also one of the oldest. The custom was first described by Herodotus, the Greek historian, in 340 B.C. and was well-established in India before 200 B.C. Most evidence points to insular Southeast Asia as the probable home of this custom which appears to have involved, at first, the mixture of only three elements: lime, betel leaf and areca seed.

As such, the practice became established in the Philippines at a very early date. It spread rapidly from island to island. In various other parts of the Malaysian region, cloves, cinnamon, cardamom, nutmeg or other spices came to be mixed with the betel chew. In the Philippines, a fourth major element, tobacco, was introduced around 1500 A.D. and is at present, often chewed together with the three original ingredients throughout the archipelago.

In many areas, there has been a surprising proliferation of belief and custom law governing associated behavior patterns. In fact, among populations where betel usage has become all but universal, the significance of these associated patterns frequently tends to eclipse the physical importance of the chew as a drug.

The Hanunoo, who inhabit the southeastern mountain region of Mindoro island in the central part of the archipelago, group the betel quid ingredients into four categories, the components usually mentioned in the order that they are prepared for mastication: the bunga or areca seed, lilit or the betel pepper leaf, the oping or slaked lime and tabaku or tobacco.

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