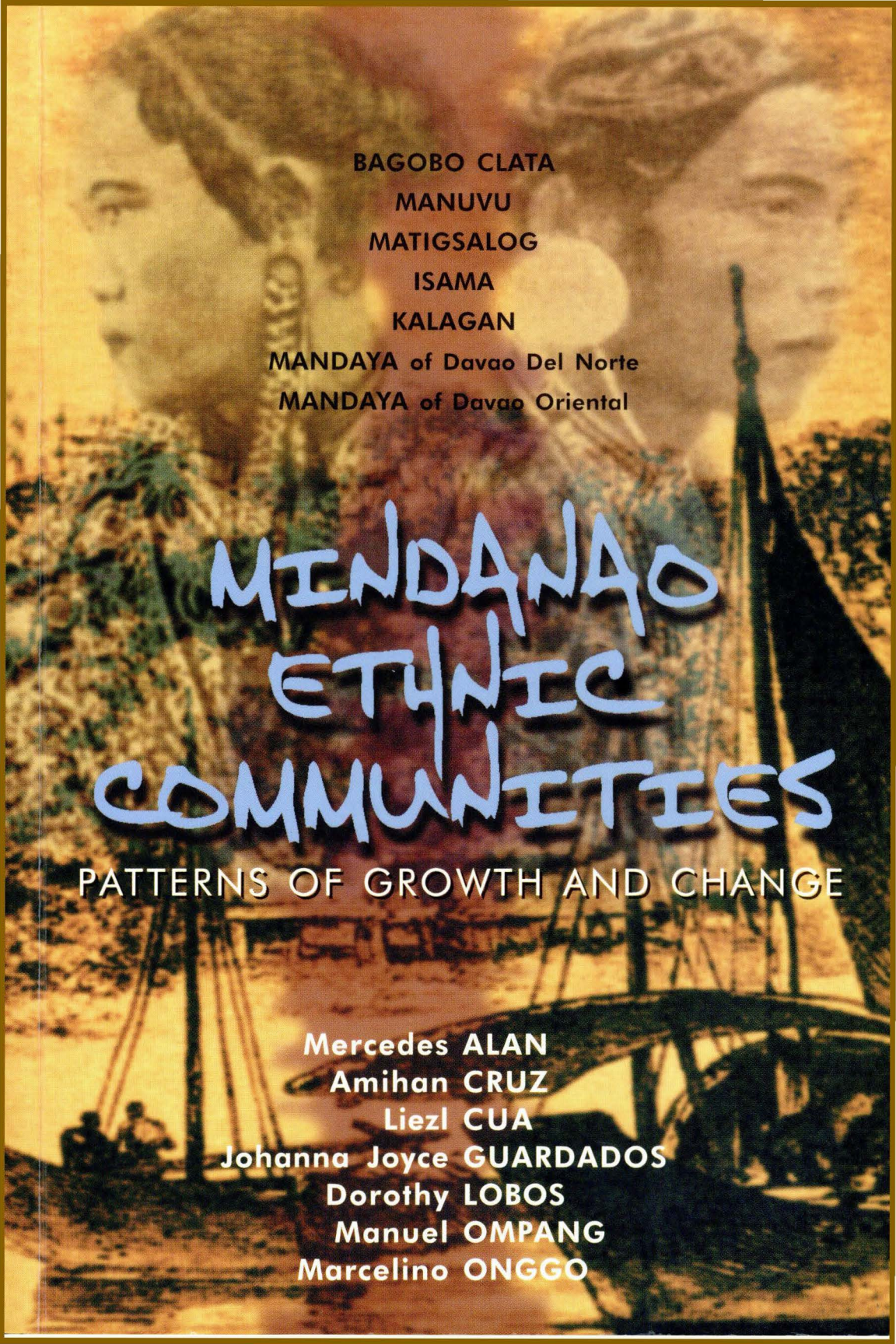

BAGOBO CLATA
MANUVU
MATIGSALOG
ISAMA
KALAGAN
MANDAYA of Davao Del Norte
MANDAYA of Davao Oriental
MINDANAO ETHNIC COMMUNITIES
PATTERNS OF GROWTH AND CHANGE
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PREFACE

The research and study on the various ethno-linguistic groups called by outsiders Lumad are not new. Since colonial times many institutions and scholars have collected data on them to somewhat justify perceptions of the lack or absence of civilization among whom they called 'savages'. While subsequently many anthropologists, historians and social scientists have probed into the origins and ways of life of the tribes, they understandably were obsessed with theoretical, academic, and strategic issues related to the requirements of colonial or neo-colonial policies or directly to the demands of conquest and pacification.

The post colonial studies conducted by Filipino scholars, while to a certain extent stirred by the need to get the Filipino perspective of ethnohistory and culture, had been somehow knowingly or unknowingly plagued by a continuing colonial bias against the non-Christian sector, especially the 'Moros.' In effect, the ethnic studies initiated by the University of the Philippines Center for Integrative and Development Studies - Mindanao Studies Program (UPCIDS-MSP) since 1996 was really part of the effort by the cultural communities (Lumads and Moros) and Christians who believe in their cause. Their view was to decolonize the view, historical or otherwise, that has isolated them from civilized society and deprived them of the benefits of progress as integral part of the Filipino national community.

One of the imperatives of this decolonizing effort is to entrust the research and study of ethnic groups to the natives themselves. At first, it was difficult to get available native talents until the Program succeeded in involving the Regional Office of the Southern Cultural Communities in Davao City.

Fortunately, UP Mindanao had just been established in Davao City and the UPCIDS-MSP ethnic studies were pursued with UP Mindanao as the base. Dr. Leonardo Chua effectively provided supervision of five native talents whose research and study of their own people were funded by the MSP budget. By 1998, the five ethnic studies on "Patterns of Growth and Change" had been completed. With Dr. Chua on sabbatical leave, Dr. Heidi K. Gloria continued UP Mindanao supervision of the project and added three more groups. By the end of 1999, at least eight short studies on the Lumads had been completed. Seven were submitted to UPCIDS for publications. They are known by native

designations as *Bagobo Clata, Manuvu, Matigsalog, Isama, Kalagan* and *Mandaya* (of Davao del Norte and Davao Oriental).

Obviously, two important aims of the project have been achieved with the publication of the seven brief studies. Although, ideally, a series of separate monographs would have been more desirable, practical considerations necessitated the publication of all the seven studies in one volume. Undoubtedly, the studies, have established that, if given the opportunity and support, native talents can do some meaningful research and study of their own people. It is this development of native potential that represents one of the enduring legacies of the Program to Mindanao and its people.

The second aim attained is the acceptance of the thrust on 'Patterns of Growth and Change" as a continuing valid and relevant concern of contemporary social science scholarship on ethnicity in Mindanao. It cannot be ignored that, except for various and limited interests of foreign scholars on the ethnic groups, no substantial interest can be expected from social scientists to pursue the study of the ethnic communities beyond the immediate requirements of academic programs or of pecuniary and commercial research. It is in view of the lack of sustained or sustainable interest in ethnic studies that this successful publication of seven studies in a volume entitled **Mindanao Ethnic Groups** becomes a timely reminder as well as a reason for continuing the rationale of the Mindanao Studies Program.

Given the foregoing premises, the publication of this volume could not be delayed for long by lack of university funds. The problem was resolved by the timely financial grant from the Southern Philippines Development Authority (SPDA) under then Administrator Almarim C. Tillah. The SPDA's immediate response to the Program's request was prompted by the importance and relevance of the ethnic studies to the Agency's socio-cultural thrust in its development plan for Year 2001 as envisioned by the SPDA management. Only the more technical part of publication remained to be done to see the volume off the press. The UPCIDS efficient staff under Executive Director Ma. Carmen Jimenez deserves gratitude for bringing the ethnic studies to full completion in this pioneering volume.

Samuel K. Tan
Convenor
Mindanao Studies Program

THE BAGOBO CLATA OF CALINAN, DAVAO CITY

JOHANNA JOYCE R. GUARDADOS

INTRODUCTION

The Clata tribe is the original inhabitant of what are now known as Calinan, Tugbok, and Talomo districts. Tugbok was then synonymous with the Guianga district, and it is here where the first seat of government was established prior to the coming of the Americans.

The Clata tribe is separated from the other ethnic groups (Tagabawa, Manuvu-Ubo, and Matigsalog) by a natural boundary in the north, the Davao River; in the south by the Lipadas River; in the west by Mt. Apo. Its territory extends down to Davao City in the east, as evidenced by the presence of land-holdings of the tribe to this day, a few kilometers away from the poblacion, particularly in Catalunan Grande. The word Talomo is a derivative from the dialect Clum-mo, while Lipadas explains the Clatas' early conversion, education, and assimilation into modern society.

The natives are of medium build. Their complexion is fair; their hair straight. Their profile is similar to that of the Tagabawa of Toril and Davao del Sur with whom they share commonalities in customs and traditions, practices and culture.

The Clata population is estimated at 47,000 (see Appendix A) based on data from the Office of Southern Cultural Communities, Region XI. Its gradual

decrease is principally attributed to intermarriages with Christian settlers from the Visayas and Luzon, and to the resettlement of a good number of Clatas to other places after the sale of their properties or their marriages to other ethnic women, which necessitated their relocation to the wife's domicile as a matter of practice.

Although at first hostile to Visayan and Luzon settlers who sought adventure in Mindanao, the land of promise in the mid-1930s, they eventually became friendly and hospitable to the extent of offering their newfound friends the use of their land. (This later became a problem with the implementation of the Agrarian Reform Law.) Their initial hostilities, after all, were not deep-rooted but were merely a normal reaction to complete strangers.

FIELD STUDY

LOCATION

Barangay Sirib is about 35 kilometers from the city *poblacion* and 9 to 11 kilometers from Calinan. Its name is derived from the Clata word *Heleb*, meaning a small creek and mini-gully. It stretches from the northern bank of Wangan River and ends in the river itself. In the past, its soil was very fertile so that almost all kinds of seeds sown on it grew well. However, due to continuous use, the soil's fertility gradually dwindled.

Barangay Sirib is synonymous with *durian* as it is where this exotic fruit is abundant. The barangay's *durian* is considered the tastiest and most sought-after in the region. Aside from *durian*, there was a time when the place was noted for its other major product, coffee. But because of the soil's diminishing fertility and pest infestations, the abundance of coffee in the area has become a thing of the past. Its production now is only sufficient for the domestic consumption of most families. Nevertheless, residents find solace in the income generated from seasonal crops, mostly a variety of fruits grown in the community in addition to other products such as copra, cacao, banana, corn, and vegetables.

During the dry season, any motor vehicle can be utilized to go to the area. But there is difficulty in reaching the place on rainy days as the road becomes

very slippery due to the absence of gravel which is washed away by heavy rainfall. The concrete portion now covers only a span of about 200 meters so that vehicles "trip-cut" in Crossing Cogon – a sitio of Barangay Subasta that shares a common boundary with Sirib.

Rides are scarce and time-consuming since public utility vehicles plying the route only depart when all the seats are filled. Taking the route via Calinan, one spends P20-P25, and waits until the interior, hood and rooftop of the *jeepney* are occupied.

As of 1995, the population of Sirib was 3,779, showing a decrease from the 4,041 figure in 1993, despite an annual population growth rate of 1.25 percent, as per information supplied by the Deputy Mayor's Office in Calinan. Although electric power is available, not all households avail of it. Those that do live mostly along the barangay road and can afford the installation cost. The same goes for water which only benefits those along its path.

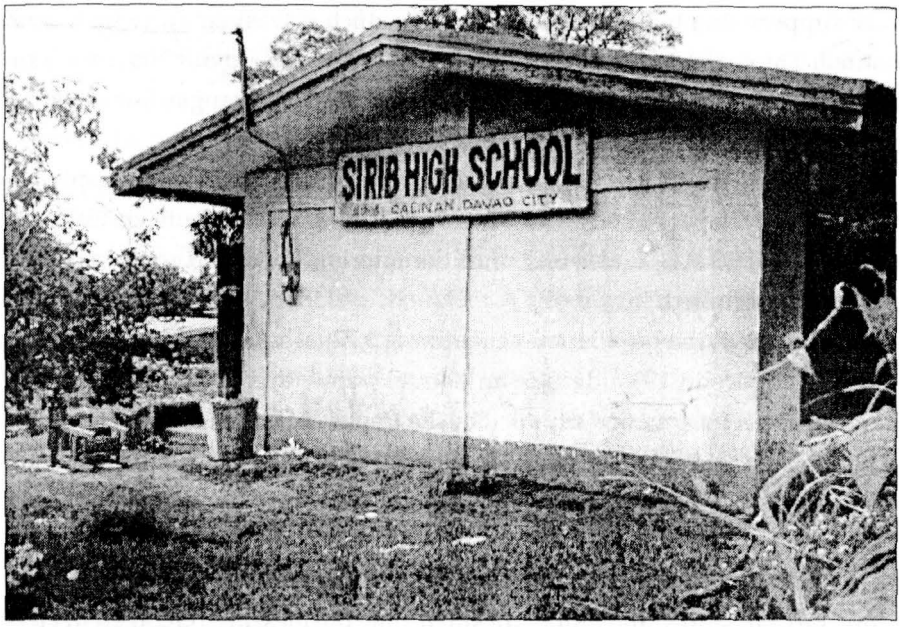
Business in the area is active as seen in the emergence of a cooperative store, *sari-sari* stores, and ambulant small-time businessmen engaged in buying fruits and other crops that they deliver and sell to regular customers in Davao City.

Below is the list of tribal cooperatives in Calinan District as of 1996 (data provided by the Office of Southern Cultural Communities):

1. The Bagobo Tribe Development Cooperative
2. The St. Francis Cotson Cooperative
3. The Sirib Tribal Cooperative
4. The Cawayan Tribal Cooperative
5. The Biao Escuela Tribal Cooperative
6. The Tamayong Tribal Cooperative
7. The Wangan Tribal Cooperative

Christian Alliance churches are present in the area. Most of its members, whether past or present, are native Clatas. There are four Catholic chapels and a structurally elegant Iglesia ni Kristo church in the heart of the barangay.

Barangay Subasta is five kilometers from Poblacion Calinan. The road leading to the community is partly asphalted and paved. Electricity has been available since the early 1970s because of the presence of a giant banana company, Davao Fruits Corporation, which initiated its installation. A water



Sirib National High School in Davao City.



A scene in Calinan Terminal.

system that has existed for a couple of years now provides the residents unlimited supply. A public school as old as the barangay itself caters to the educational needs of the populace.

Native professionals from this barangay have relocated to the city because of employment. The rest work either in the banana company (now cacao) or continue to farm like their ancestors.

Population

1995 POPULATION OF CALINAN DISTRICT

Barangay	Land Area (in hectares)	Total Population	No. of Households	Ave. Annual Growth
Sirib	11,443.60	3,779	765	-1.25
(lower & upper)		4,041*		
Subasta	2,771.90	2,528	545	.10
		3,534*		
Tamayong	1,507.80	3,092	577	5.43
		2,333*		

* *Total population as of 1993.*

KEY INFORMANTS

1. **Eduarda Odo Onggo** or Idang (the key informant's native name) is 85 years old. The second in a brood of five with only one male, she is a descendant of Datu Ingay and is among the few living elderly of the tribe. Her late husband, Pedro (Obog, a native name), is from the neighboring barangay of Tagakpan.

The couple had 11 children, two of whom are already dead. Of the nine living children, three are professionals. The eldest, now a retired policeman, is the Barangay Captain of the community. Another is a government employee, while the third, a former private sector employee, prefers to be a plain house-

wife. The rest of the children also attended school but dropped out for lack of interest.

Ina (meaning "mother"), as she is fondly called by many in the community, is not only a farmer and a loving mother but acts as a community nurse as well. Residents flock to her house for the treatment of bone fractures and dislocations, simple fevers, colds, and severe coughs.

She is a homebody who seldom leaves the house and her children. The only time she goes out is on very special occasions such as the wedding of her children or relatives. Ina also never fails to attend the funeral of her neighbors for as long as she is in good health.

Although unlettered, she is recognized as one of the more intelligent and respected women among her contemporaries. Thus, it is not surprising that many come to her for counsel.

2. **Miguelito Ayog Bangkas** or Lito, as he is popularly known, is also a descendant of Datu Ingay. Lito is one of the sons of Alberto "Awad" Bangkas, the son of one of the daughters of Datu Ingay. Like his two other brothers and two sisters, Lito supported himself through college.

Although a journalism graduate, Lito never practiced his trade. Instead, he worked as an export/import officer of a company engaged in banana production. He held office in Makati while serving as the company's liaison officer. He was also sent to Japan to study photography, as the company was then inclined to invest in the business. When the company closed in the early 1980s following internal conflicts, Lito became jobless until his employment by the Office on Muslim Affairs in 1985. Absorbed by the Office of Southern Cultural Communities (OSCC) in 1987, he remains connected with the office. He was stationed in the head office until his detail to Region XI a year or two ago.

His brother, Dionisio Bangkas, former Barangay Captain of Sirib, is now the City Agriculturist of Davao City. A sister, Elendria Bangkas Juezan, is connected with the City Engineer's Office of Davao City while another brother works with the OSCC.

Although most of the family members reside in the city, they regularly visit their farm and relatives in Sirib, thereby maintaining close ties with them.

PATTERNS OF SOCIAL CHANGE

FAMILY

The Clata family is closely knit. Parents refuse to allow their children to part from them. Even those already married stay with their parents or live a stone's throw away from them. The parents' over-possessiveness has prevented the youth from seeking adventure or pursuing studies, being ever-obedient. Their obedience in this case springs from the inculcated belief that whenever one crosses the sea or goes to distant places, he or she will never be able to go back home. Much later, these familial ties have loosened and the misconception corrected when native parents sensed the need for the educational advancement of their children. The realization also came when they saw how the non-natives who settled and lived with them as farm helpers or tenants returned from a vacation in their hometowns.

MARRIAGE

Like most other ethnic groups in Davao, Clata marriages are usually pre-arranged by their parents [*buya* in the dialect]. The dowry or *sablag* is always a part of the arrangement and usually consists of a work animal, a house, gongs, horses or other items of value at that time.

In addition to the dowry, the prospective groom is required to serve the bride and her family in practically all household chores including tending to the prospective in-laws' farm. The duration of the groom's service is determined by the bride's parents. Wedding reception expenses are shouldered by the bride's parents, payable by the groom's side at 200 percent interest.

The wedding ceremony is officiated by a tribal priest who is not necessarily a datu and has the ability to cure illnesses. The ceremony takes place in the bride's yard, where a structure with four posts adorned with shrubs [*labak*] believed to posses powers and to drive away evil spirits, is erected.

Clata men and women marry as early as age 13. Although there is no prohibition against polygamy, many in the tribe prefer to remain in monogamous unions.

Marriage between relatives is taboo regardless of the degree of consanguinity. Such is still strictly observed up to the present.

Although the natives' marriage rituals were abandoned upon their conversion to Christianity in the early 1900s, they are still practiced by some families today upon the insistence of the elders of the clan. A few go through the marriage ritual in addition to the christian ceremony. This matter is further elaborated on in a subsequent section.

POLITICS

The datu is the head and leader of the tribe. He is identified as such by an oversized circular earring, an elegantly made bolo and costume, a horse, and vast tracts of land where his supporters reside.

He is the legislator, prosecutor, and judge. His authority is beyond question as he has a council composed of the wisest elders in the community who command the respect of the people.

A datu's territory extends as far as his influence reaches and may even go beyond the territories of other datus so long as his wisdom and power are acknowledged by the latter as superior to his own. One instance is when a datu is invited by another to settle disputes within his territory, when the territory's datu himself is unable to resolve these disputes.

Although there were inter-tribal conflicts in the past, no ethnic group was subjugated by another as encounters were sporadic or had to do with *pangayaw* [head hunting], referred to in the dialect as *ngay-yow*.

The datu had slaves who were not from his own tribe. Rather, these slaves were acquired either through kidnapping, barter or sale by human traders from other ethnic groups. Most, if not all, of the Clata slaves were Matigsalogs. The slaves of the datu were used to complement dowries or as human sacrifices upon his death, since the Clatas believed that a dead datu needed a servant even in the life hereafter.

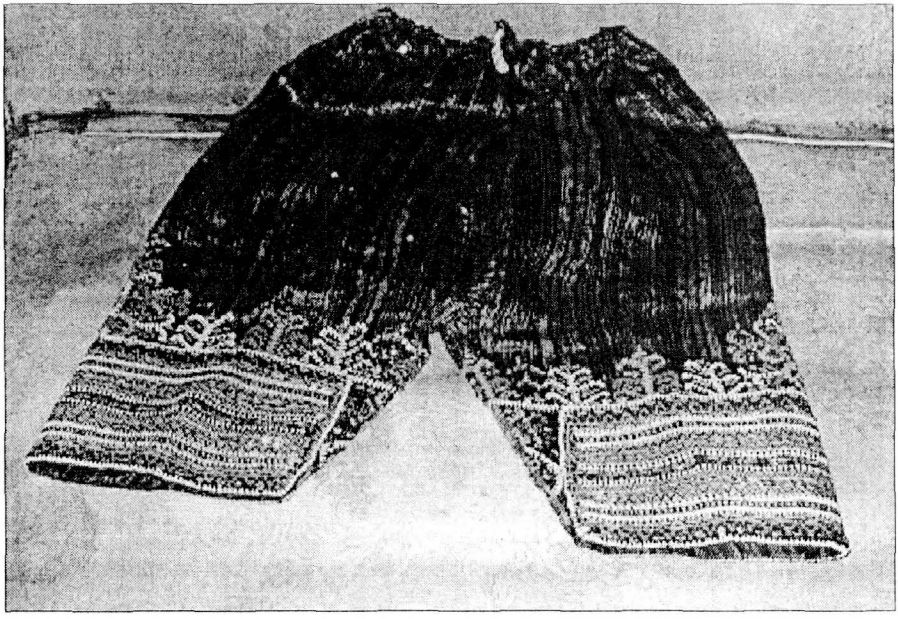
The choice of Matigsalogs as slaves was due in part to Clata's self-perception of social superiority over the latter, and because no other tribe tolerated such practice. Although the Matigsalogs objected, they had no way of tracing the victim's whereabouts after a kidnapping incident. Nor was it possible for the victim to escape and go home as he was blindfolded in transit.



A Bagobo Guiangan couple in their native dress



"Loku Lai" or men's shirt



"Saluwa" or men's trouser

This practice was completely abandoned with the conversion of the natives to Christianity in the early nineteenth century.

The women then had no political power. Their role was confined to housekeeping, tending the farm, and rearing the children. But it is not so today, as they, too, have become attuned to the realities of a fast-changing world.

When war broke out between the Spaniards and Datu Bago, a Muslim, the natives were forced to consolidate forces and fought side-by-side against a common enemy. However, they were defeated due to the arms superiority of their foe. The Clatas retreated to Guianga while the Tagabawas went off to Lobo or Sta. Cruz, as it is now called.

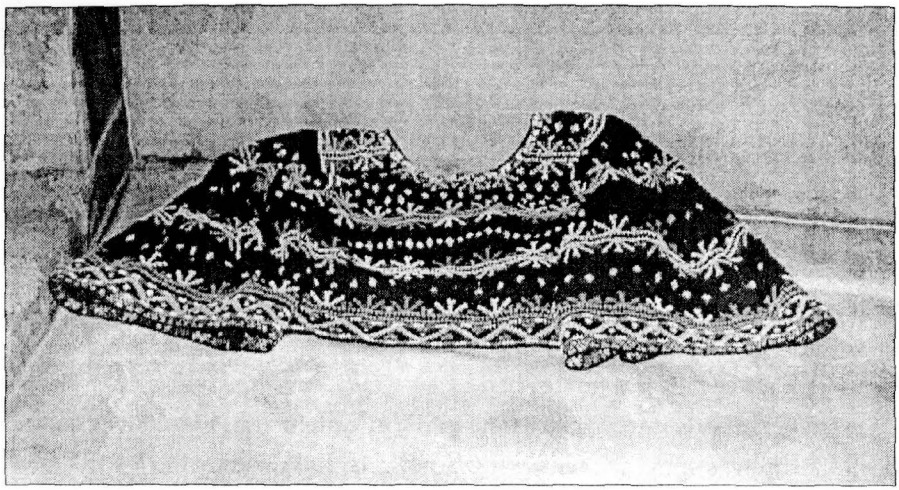
The Spaniards introduced a new political system. Massive conversion to Catholicism was spearheaded by the Recollects, followed by the Jesuits who succeeded in their conversion efforts by offering gifts.

The Americans came after the Spaniards and established abaca plantations. They in turn were followed by the Japanese. Along with the Japanese came the enterprising Visayans who worked in the plantations as farm help.

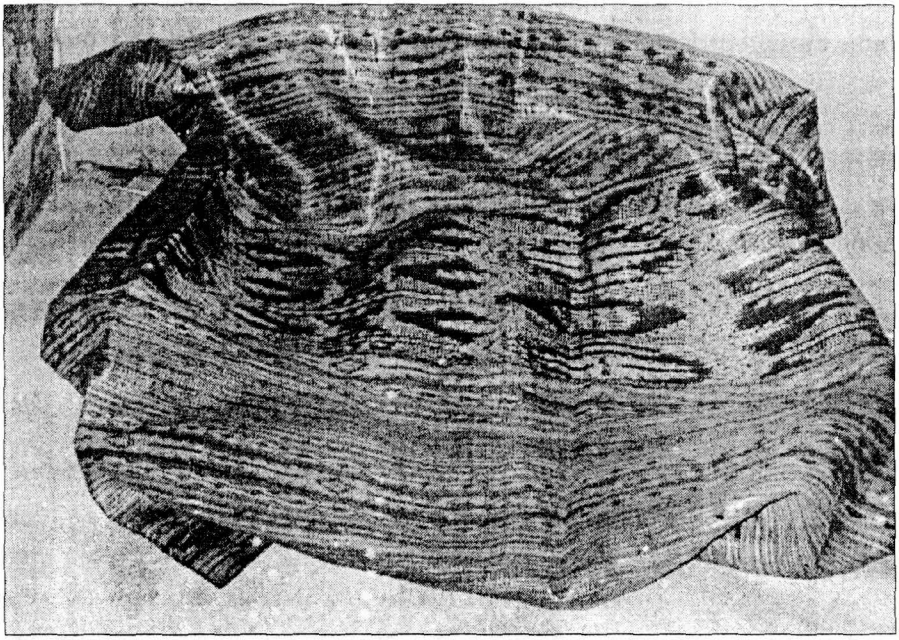
The imposition of a new political system plus persuasion by the Spaniards, the political innovations of the Americans and the Japanese, as well as the learning the natives imbibed from the migrants and newcomers coming from the Visayas and Luzon, influenced them to change. Moreover, the natives later realized that such a system was universally practiced, although they knew that some of the bearers of change were socially undesirable.

RELIGION

The Clatas, like the other ethnic groups, believed in the existence of God and those of minor gods and spirits. They called the supreme god *Nama Matulos*, while the other gods were *Mandalanga*, the gods that protected individuals just as the angels of the christian faith did; *Kalalayag*, the god of agriculture; *Kamanoga*, the goddess that provided skills to women; and *Maunganga*, the god called upon during weddings and baptismal ceremonies. They also believed in spirits they called *nit-tu*. Believing that these spirits dwelt in *balete* trees, they never attempted to cut down such trees for fear of reprisals. To please the spirits, they offered a variety of gifts like betel nuts and pure white chickens at an altar erected at the base of a *balete* tree.



"Loku Liboi" *or women's blouse hand-embroidered with sequins and beads*



"Hon-nod" or "Na-wow" or women's skirt made from tie-dyed and hand-woven abaca fabric

They also believed in bad omens as those signaled by the chirping of a bird they called *mukow* (*alimokon*), when this was simultaneous with the first step they made outdoor.

Except for the belief in *Nama Matulos*, practically all of these beliefs were replaced with new practices with the coming of the Spaniards and the natives' subsequent conversion to Christianity, and because of the influence of the Americans and newcomers from Luzon and the Visayas. This change in attitudes and beliefs was likewise attributed to the natives idolizing the strangers whom they viewed as superior to them in terms of knowledge or education. Thus, whatever these people believed in, the natives unquestioningly adopted. Christianity itself gained a foothold only when a prominent datu, Datu Ingay, was baptized in the early 1900s, with Tomas Claudio acting as sponsor.

ECONOMY

The Clatas did not consider the land they occupied theirs, but as God's, i.e., *Nama Matulos*. This was the reason why they never included land as part of their dowries. The datu, however, had control over those areas which he and his followers occupied, as communal possessor or overseer. As time passed, the lands were recognized as belonging to the datus or their clan. These were titled in their names with the setting up of a government by the Americans.

Prior to the entry of non-native settlers, the Clata tribespeople lived in abundance. They had no problem as far as food was concerned, because a hectare of rice land yielded crops that could last for two years. They did not eat corn considering it a vegetable they called *pinit*. Wild pigs, deer, birds and fish were abundant. Plant pests and diseases were then unheard of except for the swarm of locusts and drought that wrought havoc on the farms. There were no chemical compounds that indiscriminately killed fish nor were there blasting instruments or electrical gadgets similar to those used by fishermen today. The population, too, remained small.

The Clatas engaged in slash-and-burn farming, since the carabao and the plow were still unavailable. They used a wooden stick or bamboo to dig a hole in the field for the rice seedlings. The varieties of rice seedlings available



San Miguel Chapel in Lower Sirib, Calinan

then but now extinct were the *Magumbalay, Salog, Maguindanao, Hinumay,* and so on. A favorite variety was the *Magumbalay,* so named because its aroma reached as far as the neighbor's nose. *Magumbalay* was a Clata term for visiting.

In farming, the role of men was to prepare the field and plant the seeds. Thereafter, the women took over, helped by the slaves and the few men left behind while the rest went hunting.

In hunting for wildlife, the men used spears, blowguns, wicker traps, bows and arrows. They also used a *pulot,* a sticky extract from the bark of a particular tree, that when stepped on by a fowl, held on to it.

In fishing, the natives used a *buw-wo* [wicker trap] and *dugong,* a structure made of bamboo, laid in the river to trap freshwater fish. However, these only worked when there was a flood. Another technique was to divert the course of the water and drain a portion to effect an easy catch.

Before the Spaniards came in 1848, the natives already knew the art of weaving and dyeing, blacksmithing, production of sugar, wine-making from

sugar cane called *blab-ba;* jewelry-making using beads, bracelets [*pak-kis*], and hook bells [*kulong*], mini bells used to adorn the legs of male and female alike. These items were used in the barter trade by the natives.

There were no changes evident in the natives' economic activities during the Spanish period as they shied away from the Spaniards. Moreover, the focus of the mission was the conversion of the natives to Christianity.

With the arrival of the Americans and their introduction of abaca plantations, taxation (as a symbol of subjugation) and the hiring of natives as plantation workers resulted in an economic upheaval. The Japanese who took over the ownership and operation of the plantations followed. The natives learned to operate the stripping machine and to use carabaos in hauling abaca and in preparing the farmland from the Japanese. Farm tools and implements were also introduced by the outsiders. Backyard production of coffee began.

The Americans and the Japanese who introduced the use of money to the natives maintained cordial relationships with them. A number of Japanese in fact married native lasses. The Clatas were unaware that at this stage of their economic life, these outsiders were successfully reducing them to laborers.

Another influence came from the settlers from the Visayas and Luzon who were at first hired as laborers but were later on given farms to till. The natives learned to propagate seedlings of fruit trees, coconuts, and vegetables previously unknown to them from these people. The Visayans, in particular, initiated the planting of coconuts, fruit trees, and coffee which later became one of the major crops after open areas were no longer available among overutilized lands. Although familiar with modern farming technologies (such as the application of commercial fertilizers, pesticides, and insecticides), farm production by the natives suffered because of prolonged and continuous use of the same lands.

In the 1940s, some Clatas ventured into business as operators of rice mills. In the 1950s, they ventured into corn mills, but this business did not last. Today, except for those professionals who relocated to the city proper, the Clatas survive through marginal farming and the harvest of fruits in coconut farms. Some are employed in government and private firms.

HEALTH AND MEDICINE

The elderly Clatas were quite concerned with personal hygiene. They never neglected to bathe regularly. There were no toilets then, instead, waste matter was disposed of in individually dug holes in the ground and covered with earth or soil. Although the idea of constructing toilets was introduced by the Spaniards, this was not widely practiced until the Americans and the Japanese came.

The early generation of Clatas believed that practically all illnesses were caused either by evil spirits or enemies by poisoning or devilish powers.

They believed that harm could be inflicted by a person possessing magical powers simply through touch, which weakened a victim or kept him under the complete control of the person with magical powers. They also believed in potion such as a love potion (*taligubay*). Another was the *talaido*, that neutralized anger. There were, however, antidotes available to sufferers. The culprit, if identified, was obliged to administer the medicine. A village healer or *talabawe* was believed to be able to cure a variety of illnesses including that caused by poison.

Some illnesses were recognized as natural body defects like boils, fractures, intestinal worm infestations, body pains caused by hard labor, sore eyes, mumps, and skin diseases. Some of these illnesses could be cured with herbal medicine known only to the village healer and those whom everybody knew to possess curative powers.

Juice extracted from the bark of a tree (*tugop*) dried and transformed into ashes was applied around the base of boils to hasten their consequent rupture. Fractures were cast in the bark of live kapok trees to reduce swelling, followed by a *hilot's* ministrations. Skin diseases were usually treated with by coconut oil while a concoction of herbal roots was applied to ailments caused by intestinal worms.

The Clatas also knew of a contraceptive herbal medicine which remains a secret. They believe that once the source is divulged, a medicine loses its efficacy.

Clata healers usually demand a pure white chicken, a saucer and steel in any form as their payment.

The arrival of the Spaniards who imparted their knowledge on health to the natives gradually corrected misconceptions about health problems. This new knowledge was enhanced by the natives' observations on how the Americans and Japanese dealt with illnesses. The two latter groups introduced medicines for specific illnesses. What remains to this day is the natives' continued fear of people whom they suspect to possess evil powers and knowledge of poisons.

OCCUPATIONAL DIFFERENTIATION

Among the local tribes, the Bagobo Clata excel over the others in terms of educational attainment. It is this tribe that first produced a lawyer. Another pure-blooded Clata who became a lawyer retired as judge not too long ago. His son also became a lawyer. A half-blooded Clata-Ubo also became the first native mayor of Davao City. He is Mr. Elias B. Lopez, presently congressman of third district of Davao City.

Following is the distribution of the Clata population according to their occupation:

1. Lawyers	8
2. Law graduates	6
3. Doctors	4
4. Engineers	3
5. Engineering graduates	2
6. Accountants/CPAs	1
7. Nurses	7
8. Midwifes	12
9. Commerce graduates	26
10. Teachers	9
11. Employees	
(private sector)	105
(government sector)	33
12. Agriculturists	3
13. Self-employed	the rest of the population

Given the tribe's thirst for education, it is likely that this roster of professionals will increase significantly in the future. The number of employees in the private sector is expected to rise as most of the native families no longer have sizeable farms to till, what with a corresponding increase in the number of family members.

IV. WORLD VIEW

1. Beliefs
   - 1.1 To the Clatas, the appearance of a rainbow in the skies foretells an impending catastrophe which may take the form of a long drought, a flood, or an earthquake.
   - 1.2 Playing with objects, things or animals not normally classified as playthings exposes one to lightning strikes.
   - 1.3 Rain falling at a time when the sun is out signals the occurrence of a horrible accident.
   - 1.4 Mental disorders are due to possession by evil spirits.
2. Traditions
   - 2.1 The tribe considers the dead sacred; as such, stepping on the mound of the departed is sacrilegious.
   - 2.2 The day of planting is synchronized with astrological signs and appearances.
   - 2.3 A warrior or a would-be killer (on a *pangayao* rampage) ties a red cloth to his head.

CONCLUSION

The patterns of change in most social institutions of the tribe are similar to those of all other Filipino ethnic groups.

Some changes evolved slowly because the people were somewhat reluctant to adopt them as in the case of politics. However, changes in religious, health and economic institutions were quite rapid.

These changes could not have occurred had it not been for the entry of "strangers" in the Clata communities. Changes in the social structure of the Bagobo tribe were because of the dominant, colonizing foreign powers and local migrants who used their superior structural position to impose changes on the Bagobo tribe, either through coercion or persuasion. This was facilitated by the perception of weakness and inferiority of the Bagobos vis-à-vis these groups.

APPENDIX

ESTIMATED POPULATION OF INDIGENOUS
CULTURAL COMMUNITIES
AS OF 1996

CITY/PROVINCE		OVER-ALL POPULATION
1. DAVAO CITY		
Bagobo-Clata	47,392	
Bagobo-Tagabawa	102,266	
Bagobo-Ubo	100,018	
Matigsalog	110,005	359,681
2. DAVAO DEL NORTE		
Talaingod/Langilan (Ata)	194,894	
Mandaya	90,166	
Mansaka	205,769	
Isamal (Non-Muslim)	41,863	532,692
3. DAVAO ORIENTAL		
Mandaya	302,573	
Mansaka	19,652	322,225
4. DAVAO DEL SUR		
Bagobo-Tagabawa	60,037	
Mandaya	305	
B'laan	126,973	
Tagacaolo	124,189	
Kalagan (Non-Muslim)	64,053	
Manobo	60,726	436,283
5. SOUTH COTABATO		
Bagobo-Ubo	53,511	
B'laan	297,783	
Kalagan	115,163	
Manobo	88,156	
T'boli	122,714	
Manobo/Blit	60,611	
Mangguangan	12,204	750,142
	TOTAL	**2,401,023**

Note: A, B, C, D - Poblacion District
Source: City Health Office, Davao City

THE MANUVU OF BAGUIO DISTRICT, DAVAO CITY

MERCEDES L. ALAN

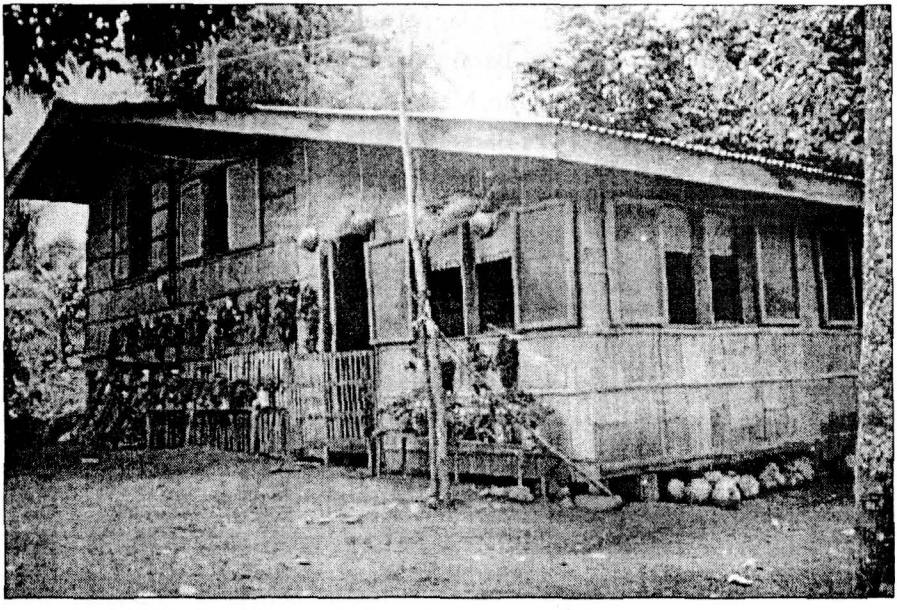
I. INTRODUCTION

The Manuvu tribe is the ethnic group found around the base of Mt. Apo, particularly in the municipalities of Magpet and Kidapawan, North Cotabato. Their territory which includes barangays and sitios such as Ilumabis in Kidapawan, Barangay Pangao-anin, Matas, Camada, Tagbak, Gubatan, Basak, Mahaungkog, Barrio Manobo or Barangay Tiko, Arakan, President Roxas, all in Magpet North Cotabato, now extends to Baguio District in Davao City. The traditional markers of their domain are the Kidapawan River in the south and Tamogan River in the north.

Baguio District was said to have been a Bagobo-Clata territory until the marriage of Datu Baguio, a Manuvu, to a Bagobo-Clata. The datu must have relocated to Baguio District along with his clan and a horde of his followers, thereby making the Manuvus the dominant tribe in the district. However, it is also possible that the Manuvus who shared communal hunting grounds with the Clatas (Manuvus of Tiko and Arakan with Guiangans or Clatas of Carmen, Tambobong and Dallag) and their contacts forged friendships that thereafter resulted in inter-tribal marriages. The latter hypothesis probably explains why residents of Baguio District are able to communicate either in the Manuvu or Guiangan/Clata dialect even if the two are completely distinct from each other.



A neighborhood in the remote area of Baguio District, Davao. The provision of a waiting shed has become popular among native communities.



A bungalow-style manuvu house made of local raw materials.

At the time of the study, the tribe is estimated to number 188,174. However, its population is gradually decreasing due to intermarriages between them and non-tribal women or men whom the tribe's present generation prefer over their co-tribesman / women.

As the tribe's community is situated far from the coastal areas, its social and economic development has lagged behind that of the other ethnic groups. The Manuvu's social institutions remained undisturbed and intact for quite sometime until they finally established contact with outsiders: first with other ethnic groups, then with migrants from Luzon and the Visayas. Not considered among these outsiders were those who relocated to Baguio District and who assimilated the culture of the Clata tribe in the early twentieth century.

II. FIELD STUDY

In the beginning, there was no Manuvu settlement in the Davao area. River boundaries served as markers for the ethnic groups' territorial area. The Tamogan River segregated the Guiangan and the Manuvus in Calinan, Davao City while the Kidapawan River in Kidapawan, North Cotabáto served as the boundary of the area occupied by the Bagobos of Davao and that occupied by the Manuvus of North Cotabato.

It was only upon the marriage of the brave Manuvu warrior [*bahani*], Baguio to a daughter of the Bagobo (Guiangan) chief that the Manuvus resided in the Davao City area presently known as Baguio District (named in memory of the Manuvu chieftain, Datu Baguio, who is the great-grandfather of the writer of this study and of the late Congressman Elias Baguio Lopez). In keeping with the Manuvu tradition of establishing a matrilocal residence upon marriage, Datu Baguio stayed with the Guiangans and brought with him his farm cultivators.

After World War II however, Baguio District was no longer as densely populated with Manuvus as it was in the past. Other ethnic groups like the Bagobo (Tagabawa), Matigsalog, Bagobo (Guiangan), a few Tagaka-ulos and some groups from the Visayas and Luzon were already occupying some areas of Baguio District as shown in Table 1. Nowadays, there are less than 20

primary and secondary schools in Baguio District whether private or public. Eight barangays, namely, Poblacion Baguio, Malagos, Gumalang, Wines, Cadalian, Carmen, Tawan-tawan, and Tambobong now comprise the district.

Bridges and concrete roads have paved the way for the marked outflow of goods from the different sitios to the city proper.

TABLE 1.
LIST OF EXISTING BARANGAYS AND TRIBES IN BAGUIO DISTRICT, DAVAO CITY

LOCATION		EXISTING TRIBE	ESTIMATED POPULATION
Barangay	Sitio		
1. Baguio	1.1 Tansing	a. Manuvu-Ubo	60
		b. Guiangan/Clata	40
	1.2 Embornal	a. Manuvu-Ubo	40
		b. Guiangan/Clata	57
		c. Tagabawa	45
	1.3 Baguio Proper	a. Manuvu-Ubo	80
		b. Guiangan/Clata	35
		c. Tagabawa	17
	1.4 Cugan	a. Manuvu-Ubo	65
		b. Guiangan/Clata	35
2. Malagos	2.1 New Cugan	a. Manuvu-Ubo	40
		b. Guiangan-Clata	45
		c. Tagabawa	12
	2.2 Center Malagos	a. Manuvu-Ubo	45
		b. Guiangan/Clata	35
		c. Tagabawa	

3. Gumalang	3.1 Lagdic	a. Manuvu-Ubo	30
		b. Guiangan/Clata	15
		c. Tagabawa	7
	3.2 Man-nay	a. Manuvu-Ubo	30
		b. Guiangan/Clata	15
		c. Tagabawa	8
	3.3 Center Gumalang	a. Manuvu-Ubo	25
		b. Guiangan/Clata	15
		c. Tagabawa	-
4. Wines	4.1 Ventura	a. Manuvu-Ubo	70
		b. Guiangan/Clata	45
		c. Tagabawa	20
	4.2 Colong	a. Manuvu-Ubo	45
		b. Guiangan/Clata	35
		c. Tagabawa	15
	4.3 Bagsag	a. Manuvu-Ubo	33
		b. Guiangan/Clata	30
	4.4 Tansing	a. Manuvu-Ubo	45
		b. Guiangan/Clata	30
		c. Tagabawa	20
	4.5 Maligatong	a. Manuvu-Ubo	50
		b. Guiangan/Clata	35
		c. Tagabawa	9
	4.6 Wines Proper	a. Manuvu-Ubo	208
		b. Guiangan/Clata	100
		c. Tagabawa	14
5. Cadalian	5.1 Pictan	a. Manuvu-Ubo	100
		b. Guiangan/Clata	65
		c. Tagabawa	60

	5.2 Balingoos	a. Manuvu-Ubo	20
		b. Guiangan/Clata	10
		c. Tagabawa	7
	5.3 Lower Cadalian	a. Manuvu-Ubo	90
		b. Guiangan/Clata	70
		c. Tagabawa	20
	5.4 Gaston	a. Manuvu-Ubo	35
		b. Guiangan/Clata	23
		c. Tagabawa	8
	5.5 Center Cadalian	a. Manuvu-Ubo	60
		b. Guiangan/Clata	25
		c. Tagabawa	3
6. Carmen	6.1 Makatabo	a. Manuvu-Ubo	25
		b. Guiangan/Clata	3
		c. Tagabawa	-
	6.2 Kipo-ot	a. Manuvu-Ubo	35
		b. Guiangan/Clata	7
		c. Tagabawa	100
7. Tawan-tawan	7.1 Gadeng	a. Manuvu-Ubo	3
		b. Guiangan/Clata	5
		c. Tagabawa	150
	7.2 Sumpitan	a. Manuvu-Ubo	150
		b. Guiangan/Clata	20
		c. Tagabawa	10
	7.3 Maligatong	a. Manuvu-Ubo	30
		b. Guiangan/Clata	20
		c. Tagabawa	50
		d. Tagaka-ulo	15

	7.4 Durian Village	a. Manuvu-Ubo	60
		b. Guiangan/Clata	40
		c. Tagabawa	60
8. Tambobong	8.1 Magas-as	a. Manuvu-Ubo	100
		b. Guiangan/Clata	25
		c. Tagabawa	20
	8.2 Kisagoy	a. Manuvu-Ubo	90
		b. Guiangan/Clata	30
		c. Tagabawa	25
	8.3 Luputan	a. Manuvu-Ubo	85
		b. Guiangan/Clata	8
		c. Tagabawa	10
	8.4 Quidali	a. Manuvu-Ubo	60
		b. Guiangan/Clata	12
		c. Tagabawa	8
	8.5 Luoyan	a. Manuvu-Ubo	85
		b. Guiangan/Clata	10
		c. Tagabawa	7
	8.6 Labou	a. Manuvu-Ubo	95
		b. Guiangan/Clata	15
		c. Tagabawa	27
	8.7 Tagabangan-won	a. Manuvu-Ubo	50
		b. Guiangan/Clata	30
		c. Tagabawa	9
	8.8 Danga-a	a. Manuvu-Ubo	76
		b. Guiangan/Clata	6
		c. Tagabawa	4
	8.9 Tagawasan	a. Manuvu-Ubo	60
		b. Guiangan/Clata	8
		c. Tagabawa	12

8.10 Mio	a. Manuvu-Ubo	40
	b. Guiangan/Clata	15
	c. Tagabawa	4
8.11 Camarag	a. Manuvu-Ubo	67
	b. Guiangan/Clata	24
	c. Tagabawa	7
8.12 Lubmanan	a. Manuvu-Ubo	45
	b. Guiangan/Clata	15
	c. Tagabawa	5
8.13 Center Tambobong	a. Manuvu-Ubo	100
	b. Guiangan/Clata	25
	c. Tagabawa	21

SUMMARY:

Tribes	**Total**
a. Manuvu-Ubo	2487
b. Guiangan/Clata	1123
c. Tagabawa	762
d. Matigsalog	25
e. Tagaca-ulo	15
f. Mandaya	8

It can be gleaned from Table 1 that the different tribes in Baguio District, Davao City include those from Luzon and the Visayas. The table shows that the Ubo tribe, which is how the Bagobos (both the Tagabawa and the Guiangan) identify the Manuvus of Calinan and Baguio District, Davao City, are the most numerous.

Rarely is a barangay without Ubo occupants. Moreover, the wider the expanse of the barangay, the larger is its Ubo population.

That the Guiangan/Clata is the second largest group lends support to the information given by the old Manuvus that the area of Baguio District was once occupied by the Guiangan/Clata.

KEY INFORMANTS

1. **Agustin Bugcal, Sr.** is a descendant of Datu Baguio and was District Tribal Chieftain of Baguio District. He speaks the Guiangan, Tagabawa, and even the Matigsalog dialects fluently. A farmer since his youth, he was able to support the education of his children, three of whom have earned their degrees and are now employed.
2. **Acquiao Aleon** is an 86-year-old farmer with four sons and three daughters. He is a pure Manuvu-Ubo and speaks the Guiangan and Tagabawa dialects. He is among the few engaged in buying and selling. His sons never finished college, not because he could not support their education but because they were not interested. A daughter who obtained a Bachelor's degree in Elementary Education is now employed.
3. **Ambit Agon** is another tribal leader of the Manuvu-Ubo, particularly of Carmen, Baguio District. He speaks the Guiangan and Matigsalog dialects. He has five children, none of whom studied beyond the elementary level. They are now into farming.
4. **Bae Adelina Landawe Dorado** is the daughter of Datu Landawe Bugcal Siawan who is of Manuvu royal blood and speaks the Manuvu, Guiangan, Tagabawa and Matigsalog dialects. She has a Bachelor of Science in Commerce and is married to Lebrado Dorado, a Tagalog from Luzon. She was born and raised in Baguio, Calinan, Davao City.

THE MANUVU FAMILY

The family starts as a single independent household [*sangava'ayan*] with a matrilocal residence, as a matter of custom and tradition. Although the husband is merely an adopted child of the village, he wields power and is accepted as the head of the family under whose authority the wife submits herself completely. The wife is expected to be a loyal and cooperative partner in running family affairs. Among the Manuvus and possibly other ethnic groups, the husband occupies the superior position in the family.

Like the other tribal groups, Manuvu families live close to one another. The only time a family member (usually a male) separates from the rest is



A Manuvu couple in their complete costume.

when he marries and needs to relocate to the bride's territory. The transfer is usually not too distant and contact with the man's parents remains frequent. Despite the closeness of the family, no two siblings live together in the same household though they may already be widows or widowers. Nor do two people of succeeding generations live together under one roof, e.g. father and son, or daughter and mother. No Manuvu lives in isolation, either, even if he or she is a widow or a widower or is separated, since his parents and relatives take it upon themselves to find him/her another partner.

Family heirlooms may include the following: (1) *abaca*-woven skirts, short pants, belts, and bags; (2) a headdress worn by men, dyed with the juice taken from the bark of the zicarig tree and from the juices of other trees that produce red and maroon colors; (3) belts for men and women; (4) blouses made of embroidered cloth, worn by men and women; and (5) bronze anklets.

Manuvu costumes are not washed as often as they are used. Instead, these are hung and then kept in a wooden box. The *abaca*-woven cloth is made shiny with beeswax, using a laborious process termed *ad-lihison*.

COURTSHIP AND MARRIAGE

While a male Manuvu shows interest in a particular woman, he is not disposed to express his feelings personally to her. Rather, his parents are tasked to court the woman or her parents, or a go-between [*mamelow*] is resorted to. It may also be possible that the man's parents want the woman to be their daughter-in-law so they initiate an arrangement with her parents. Thus, marriage among the Manuvus is a result of parental maneuverings and/or matchmaking [*buya*]. The prospective bride and groom may not interfere with their parent's wishes since custom and tradition dictate complete obedience to parents and elders.

There are, however, instances when a girl is committed to marry a man who saved her parents' life and demands that she be his reward. There is also the *idlayukan* whereby a man deliberately sleeps beside a woman (perhaps upon orders from his parents) to create a scenario wherein the girl's parents complain about the intrusion so that a settlement is arrived at that usually ends with a wedding. Marriage also results from a threat termed in the dialect as *id-allak*. This is done by a man when he perceives the girl's family to be weaklings who can be threatened into submission. There is also the *paahawoy* or wife-grabbing where a married man kidnaps another man's wife. Likewise, there is the *pamawo* or second marriage of a widow or widower where his or her relatives choose from among the bereaved brothers or sisters a partner for him/her the very night after the burial of the spouse.

The Manuvus practice polygamy [*daruway*]. A man may take as many wives as he wants so long as he can support them. However, a Manuvu needs the consent of his first wife; otherwise, his succeeding marriages are consid-



A family showing their prized possession, the **kulintang**. *The* kulintang *is almost indispensable in tribal festivals and rituals.*

ered illegal and punishable by death at the hands of the first wife's relatives. Although adultery and elopement are unacceptable among the Manuvus, this social problem is resolved by the chieftain with the help of the council of elders or *tad-Ukum*, which determines the penalties or fines for the offenders and restitution for the aggrieved. Failure to settle conflicts may result in retaliation [*suli*] or vengeful killings [*pangayaw*].

Polygamy as a social institution began to disintegrate in the 1930s with the coming of the Japanese, followed by settlers from the Visayas and Luzon, as well as religious missionaries. Its disintegration was also a result of the Manuvus' intermarriages with the Clatas and Tagabawas who were the first to be influenced by social transformations. Christianization was the most significant factor in the cessation of wife-grabbing, adultery, polygamy and revenge killings.

It is apparent that the changes were offshoots of the influence of a superior social structure coupled with the persuasive approaches to the Manuvus. Coercion was never employed. Otherwise, there might have been accounts of bloody confrontations. It may also be that the Manuvus were carried along by the change that swept across the tribal communities.

POLITICAL STRUCTURE

The datu or tribal chieftain is the head of the village who either inherits his position or is chosen because of his age (the first requisite), intelligence, courage, wealth, and the extent of his influence over his subjects. He serves as the legislator, the judge, and the commander-in-chief. Assisting him in the performance of his duties is the council of elders [*buy-ag*], a group also known for their intelligence, integrity, and prudence. Some may later become chieftains by consanguinity or affinity.

The choice of a chieftain's successor is his prerogative. His successor may be his younger brother, his eldest son or a cousin whom he trained. The village leadership hierarchy consists of the following: the *U*, meaning head or chieftain; the *buy-yag* or council of elders; the *panadsang* or aide/assistant; the *bahani* or warrior; the *ta-usay/mamelow* or go-between/fixer; the *anituwon* or priest/shaman; the *tahavawean* or *albolario*/quack doctor; and the *mavali-an* or midwife.

In the settlement of disputes, the chieftain, whose decision is always respected, has the final say. His subordinates are always loyal and never attempt to betray him or to undermine his authority.

Women do not participate nor interfere in political matters. Their role is strictly confined to performing household chores like child-rearing and tending to the farm after it has been planted with the desired crops by the men.

Except for the Manuvus in Baguio District whose political structure changed simultaneously with that of the Guiangans or Clatas, the Manuvus of North Cotabato experienced changes in 1940. Agents of this change were not the Moslems, the Spaniards, the Japanese nor the Americans, all of whom were solely concerned with their businesses. It took some time before the natives adopted the political practices introduced by the Philippine government since they did not understand the setup. They thus held on to their customary practices until a good number of them were educated and learned about the new structure's desirability, and after observing that it was widely adopted.

ECONOMIC STRUCTURE

The Manuvus, like other ethnic groups, practice the slash-and-burn method of agriculture. No farm is planted on for two consecutive seasons. Planting is instead transferred to another area after one planting season.

In the past, there was no need for large farms since small farms yielded sufficient harvest for all. The only time food was scarce was when farms were infested with locusts or when a long drought occurred. The carabao and plow were not used since the Manuvu farmers employed the old method of piercing the ground with a wooden pole, after which seeds were planted. Corn was grown and eaten as a vegetable. Women tended the farms after the men finished planting since the men needed to fish or hunt afterwards.

To fish, the men used the *buvo*, an enclosure made of bamboo or rattan placed in strategic places in the river, so that fish that entered the enclosed area could no longer swim against the current. The Manuvus also used the drying method wherein a portion of the river was dried up by diverting its flow into a spillway for the easy catching of crabs, eels, and shrimps [*adpanikop*], using their bare hands. For their hunting expeditions, the Manuvus shared the vastness of Mt. Apo National Park with the Clatas and Tagabawas

of Davao City. Their frequent meetings possibly paved the way to creating a friendly atmosphere so that intermarriages among the three ethnic groups resulted. Perhaps this explains the existence of a Clata group in North Cotabato.

In the past, the Manuvus also engaged in barter trade, which was introduced by the Moslems in the early twentieth century. Thereafter, they traded with the Clatas and Tagabawas and all other settlers who were then welcomed in the community. Barter trade ended when cash became the medium of transaction.

Changes in the Manuvus' economic activities began when the carabao and plow were introduced by Christian settlers. As the native population grew, the Manuvus became less of farm shifters. From a Christian neighbor, they learned to concentrate on and maintain only one farm in contrast to their previous practice of transferring from one farm lot to another every planting season. The Manuvus also learned seed propagation (fruit trees), fertilization, and pest control from the Visayan and Luzon settlers.

RELIGION

The early Manuvus believed in the existence of an invisible supreme god they called *Manama*. This belief was implanted in their minds by their famous forefather, *Tuwang-ang*, who is said to be endowed with magical or extraordinary powers and whom they consider their teacher, hero, provider, and protector.

Tuwang-ang, was believed to be the first brave Manuvu warrior [*bahani*] whose role was to defend the ethnic group from their enemies. He was said never to have been defeated in battle. As evidence of the Manuvu's high regard for Tuwang-ang's unequaled heroic acts and teachings, his story is told from generation to generation through oral tradition in the form of an epic [*uwahingon*]. Thus, the "Epic of Tuwang-ang" is familiar to the Manuvus as *Uwahingon ni Tuwang-ang* and is mentioned in their songs [*kanta*], folktales [*pangumanon*] or riddles [*paatukoy*]. These oral traditions bear the ideal concept of the teaching of Tuwang-ang which is, "to do good and avoid evil."

The younger generation learned of the ethical laws of behavior, the existence of a supreme god, deities, and goddesses as well as evil spirits, as de-

picted in the "Epic of Tuwang-ang" (narrated by Datu Ambit Agon, 65 years old, a Manuvu informant).

Tuwang-ang taught the Manuvus about the invisible existence of *Manama* [God], whose assistants were Anito and Diwata, who were once believed to possess man, termed in Manuvu as *id-lasuran, parariwata* or *pahahana.* They believed that Tuwang-ang was possessed by these spirits during his time, and this was why he had magical powers that gave him victory over his enemies during wars, crossing deep rivers, or traversing floods, producing food during the dry season, bringing dead persons to life, travelling as fast as lightning and wind, escaping death, and the like. The Manuvus believed that anybody who did good and avoided evil could be like Tuwang-ang. They believed that having magical powers was a gift from a spirit obtained through an amulet [*anting-anting*], and that anybody who had this gift was endowed with skills and courage to fight enemies. The Manuvus called the amulet *lambus, lumay, panlambong,* or *pandiyo* in their dialect.

They believed that Manama created man and the universe, and assigned the following watchers or overseers to take care of his creations: *Ka-ayag,* the goddess of agriculture; *Manonggod,* the goddess of wildlife and the forest; *Gamawhamaw,* the goddess of marine resources; *Tahavika,* the goddess called upon during wedding ceremonies and rituals to bless the couple with children; *Manda-angan,* the goddess of war who gave strength to the warrior for him to attain victory and finally, the spirit *Anit* who had the authority to punish violators of customary laws on adultery, incestuous sexual relationships, premarital sex, having fun looking at animals indulging in sex, and the like.

The Manuvus invoked the help of concerned gods and goddesses in prayer before an altar they called *tamba-a,* which is placed outdoors or in a corner of the house. It is made of a bamboo pole from which a plate is suspended. A cellophane package containing amulets is placed upon this plate during a ritual.

The Manuvus were so superstitious that they would associate an owl with evil spirits for the simple reason that an owl was awake at night. They also believed that evil spirits lived in *balete* trees, rivers, and caves.

Furthermore, the Manuvus believed in a universe called *ingod* which has two divisions: the good and the bad. They also believe that there are three

regions where the supreme creator [Manama], the created person [*manusiya*] and the souls [*gimukod*] of dead people are found. These are the skyworld [*kawanangan*], the dwelling place of *Manama*, the earth world [*lavuta*], the dwelling place of man; and the underworld [*dirawom ta lavuta*], the dwelling place of the souls of the dead ones.

The goddesses were believed to be present in the earth world to take care of Manama's creations. The souls of the dead were believed to continue their earthly activities in the underworld, which explained why the chief leader's slave had to be buried with him for the slave to continue his services to his master in his new dwelling place. The Manuvus also believed that the soul separated from the physical body when a person died and passed through a dark pathway. However, if one's body was filled with tattoos, his soul would shine and guide him through the dark pathway to enable him to reach the brighter place of the underworld, his final destination. This belief motivated the Manuvus especially the older ones to have tattoos on their bodies.

CHANGES IN BELIEFS

With the establishment of educational and religious institutions and the influx of modern knowledge, the Manuvus no longer practiced their traditional religious beliefs and rituals. Scientific explanations on environmental catastrophes and psychological explanations regarding man's characteristics and behavior led them to renew their concept of man and the universe.

While the Manuvus' religious beliefs helped considerably in the order and formation of their own social organization, they experienced confusion and demoralization when these were replaced with mainstream religious beliefs. Furthermore, political, economic and socio-cultural changes led to the loss of their authentic identity.

Generally, the ritual of worshipping gods and goddesses except Manama gradually disintegrated in the early 1940s when religious missionaries penetrated the Manuvu communities. Protestants and Catholics reinforced the belief in the existence of one God, the devil, and man's soul which was why most of the Manuvus' beliefs were retained while the ritual for worshipping God changed. Despite their conversion to Christianity, most especially to the

Christian Alliance Church, the Manuvus retained deep-rooted superstitious beliefs such as their belief in the *anit* and *manda-angan* as well as in the *balete* tree's being a dwelling place of evil spirits.

HEALTH AND MEDICINE

The Manuvus practiced the same health habits and beliefs with regard to illnesses as the Clatas or Guiangans with whom they first mingled. They also applied the same medicines to various ailments. They usually diagnosed the illnesses' causes to be the workings of evil spirits following the mischief of man. Evil spirits, they believed, were "poisoned" by jealousy, hatred or plain mischief. Practically all internal health disorders, on the other hand, were blamed on poisoning.

Below is a list of illnesses and their respective medications.

1. Fractures or bone dislocation - bark of the *kapok* tree or other trees known to the *albolaryo* (*tahavawian*). It resembled the plaster cast used today.
2. Muscular pain - leaves of *banaba* trees.
3. Boils - charred bark of *tugop* tree and buds of the gumamela flower.
4. Food poisoning - concoction of scraped coconut and sugar.
5. Poison - concoctions known only to the tribal quack doctor.
6. Skin diseases - coconut oil.
7. Asthma and cough - leaves of the vine called *manika* by the Manuvus. These were also the leaves used to wrap the betel nut for chewing.
8. Infection due to sharp objects - flower of *zakate* grass, leaves, fruit sap
9. Lack of iron – concoction from certain forest trees known only to the *albolaryo* and *mavali-an* [midwife].
10. Kidney trouble - suction of a tree known only to the *albolaryo*.
11. Bleeding of a wound - leaves of grass known to the Manuvu as *Dila-dila ta Toy-yang*.
12. Relapse after giving birth - concoction of three types of grass known to the *mavali-an* only.

Everything with respect to the care of pregnant women and the newborn was entrusted to the *mavali-an*. Prenatal care was done by massaging the womb. On the day of delivery, the *mavali-an* used a sharpened bamboo to cut the umbilical cord after which ashes from burned coconut shells were applied on the wound.

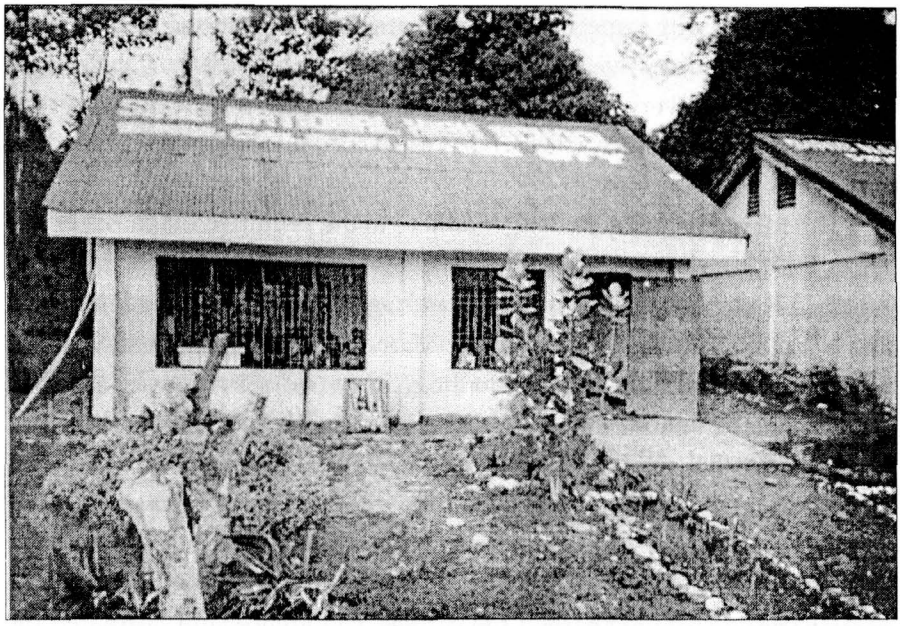
The Manuvus today no longer adhere to the primitive diagnosis of ailments but still fear the dangers of poison which some co-tribesman could inflict. The only time they apply traditional medication is when modern medicine is not available in the household. Manuvus now submit to the care of medical practitioners and believe in the efficacy of doctor-prescribed medicines.

Changes in their attitudes and beliefs pertaining to health came about in the 1940s when the religious missionaries who came brought medicines for their personal needs and administered these to sick natives they encountered in the course of their evangelization. The curative effect of the medicines the missionaries distributed earned the natives' confidence, and facilitated the conversion of the Manuvus to Christianity. The setting up of a medical center by the local government in native communities thereafter brought about a complete and permanent shift to modern health practices among the Manuvus.

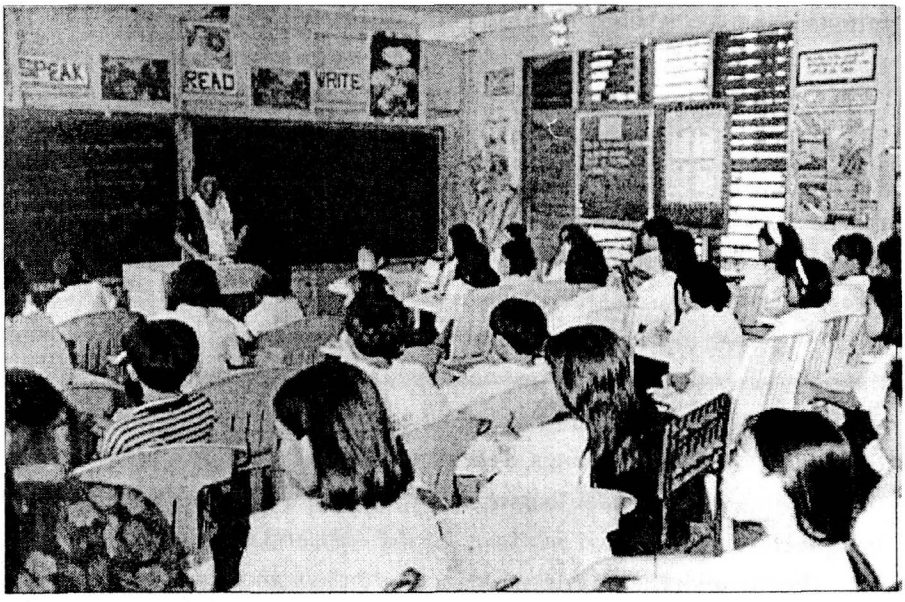
EDUCATION

The Manuvus took pride in the richness of their various art forms such as music, dance, epics, and folktales, which served to convey their traditions and beliefs from one generation to another. As their customs and beliefs were never recorded in writing since the Manuvus never enjoyed formal education, these were preserved through oral tradition. An example would be the life story of their hero Tuwa'ang, which was told as a 16-hour epic with the performer sitting on the floor the whole night and continuing through the night while the listeners applauded. Songs, dances, epics, riddles, and folktales were performed during festivals of thanksgiving for abundant harvests. Some of the banquet festivals were the *Sahakaan, Paka'at kallo,* and weddings.

The Manuvus never celebrated their birthdays since they had no numerical calendar. Instead, they employed a knot-tying technique to count the num-



The Sirib National High School in Calinan, Davao City, the nearest school in Baguio District where most of the Manuvu students are enrolled.



Manuvu pupils attend elementary education with the Clata, Tagabawa, and other ethnic groups' children.

ber of days before an agreed upon appointment for business transactions, weddings, or the day for negotiating or settling disputes.

Children's learning usually took place through actual observation and through teachings and training by the family and older community members.

The penetration of the area by the different religious denominations marked significant changes in the lifestyle of the Manuvus who not only accepted the new religious beliefs, but also sent their children to the schools of these religious groups. The Manuvus eventually saw the advantage of schooling after some educated Manuvus landed high-paying jobs. However, while many of them were interested in going to school, some did not have the opportunity to do so because of meager incomes.

The Manuvus have produced a number of professionals, some of whom have become very successful in their chosen careers such as the Lopezes of Baguio District, Davao City including the late Elias Lopez, Congressman of the third district of Davao City and his brother Jose, presently the Deputy Commissioner of the Commission on Immigration and Deportation. Among Elias' sons are a lawyer and a doctor. Jose's son is also a lawyer. Most Manuvu professionals are descendants of prominent Manuvu-Clata families or of Manuvus who have non-native spouses as in the case of the Sibugs of Kidapawan, North Cotabato.

Below is a list of Manuvu professionals:

1. Teachers- 16
2. Commerce graduates- 7
3. Agriculturists- 5
4. Engineers- 3
5. Criminologists- 4
6. Social Workers- 6
7. Lawyers- 8
8. Nurses- 7
9. Midwives- 7
10. Pastors- 10
11. Military personnel- 12
12. AB-LLB graduates- 2

IV. WORLD VIEWS

The Manuvus believe in life after death. Because of their belief that man continues his activities after he dies, the Manuvus observe the traditional ritual of killing their chief's slave upon the death of the chief or head of the village, believing that he would need the services of his slave in the next world. The permanent place of the soul [*gimokod*] is believed to be brighter [*ad-sia*], but can only be reached after a man's soul passes through a dark pathway. For this reason, old people put tattoos around their waists and arms, as these tattoos are expected to shine and guide them through the darkness.

The Manuvus further believe that life before and after death belongs to Manama [Supreme Creator or God], as chanted by the ritual performer [*parariwata*] thus: "*Manama na kamunay ta umo to Minuvu...*" meaning "God, the owner of man's life..." He is believed to be the supreme creator of all living and non-living things. He is man's defender who showers his blessings on the virtuous. The Manuvus also believe that death belongs to the *Maivuyan* [devil] who causes accidents, illnesses, pain, and death itself.

The Manuvus believe that while Manama created the deities/goddesses to watch over nature and to take care of the trees, rivers, forests, mountains, stones, and sky, evil spirits regard nature as their home. Thus, they avoid activities that may enrage the devil since punishment could be worse than death. They take care of the forest and cut only a few trees to build their houses. Big trees are never cut down but are left until they die naturally as they are believed to be the haven of evil spirits. Gods and goddesses do not need homes for they are powerful spirits of the wind. The evil sprits, on the other hand, are unseen beings with figures.

For the Manuvus, the environment is full of both good and bad spirits. The good spirits belong to Manama while the bad ones belong to the Maivuyan. Thus, the Manuvus exercise prudence in utilizing nature so as to avoid punishment from the devil and the curse [*gabaan*] of Manama, the gods, and the goddesses.

Presently, changes in the Manuvus' concept of the environment and nature have been observed. That they have been influenced by the non-indigenous people who go up the mountains and carelessly cut down trees for

Manuvus saw that these people never experienced any illnesses and misfortunes and lived in abundance. As a result, the Manuvus gave up their beliefs and philosophies to join the outsiders in their wanton cutting of trees as a way of earning a living.

CONCLUSION

Changes in the social structure of the Manuvu tribe are no doubt a result of their interaction with people in the mainstream society. Had the Manuvus isolated themselves till now, they might have retained their traditional beliefs, customs, and rituals.

Their intermarriages with the Clatas who were subjected to external influences earlier effected the initial changes. From thereon, other changes in their social institutions were greatly influenced by the Clatas whom they looked up to as their model; whatever these people adopted, so did the Manuvus.

Although some Manuvus may have had reservations with regard to these changes, they ultimately followed the majority, seeing the benefits from these changes.

The Manuvus were never pressured into adopting these modern concepts. Rather, they were gradually persuaded into accepting them because of necessity and for their personal survival.

THE MATIGSALOG OF MARILOG DISTRICT, DAVAO CITY

MARCELINO O. ONGGO

INTRODUCTION

The Matigsalogs are believed to be the descendants of the third and last wave of Indonesians that settled in the Philippines in the fifteenth century. They themselves do not know their roots or origin, believing only that they are God's creation.

The Matigsalogs are the original occupants of a vast tract of land bounded by Davao River in the southwest and eastern part of Bukidnon, northwest of Davao Province, including the present municipality of Talaingod, southwestern Agusan, and Paquibato District. The population was estimated at 250,000 in the early 1990s. Birth and death rates are 1.2 percent with the death rate increasing slightly each year due to undernourishment and abject poverty.

The typical Matigsalogs are dark-skinned and have very black and predominantly kinky hair. In the past, they were easily identified by the presence of scabies on their skin. These identifying marks, however, have disappeared among the present generation, particularly in Marilog, Paquibato and Bukidnon.

In the past, about 90 percent of the area occupied by the tribe was virgin forest where the natives obtained their supply of meat from wildlife. The rest were patches of farm lots planted with *palay* and root crops. There was no need then of large farms, since families and the population were small and harvest was always bountiful.

By nature, the Matigsalogs want to live close to their normal habitat, the forest. They are nomadic but have since relocated to places within their ancestral domain and refrained from encroaching on other tribe's territories. This is in sharp contrast with an adjacent tribe who lived and stayed permanently in one specific location even to this day, except for a few who changed residences due to intermarriage.

A few in their ranks have risen to prominence because of their leadership qualities and wealth, among them the late Datu Lorenzo Gawilan of Bukidnon, Datu Salomay, Datu Duyan, the late Datu Ramon Ale, and Datu Jose Balimba Libayao, mayor of the Municipality of Talaingod. Each has a territory of his own apart that of the others. Each respects and recognizes the other's territorial boundaries such as rivers and mountains.

Of all the ethnic groups in Davao City, the Matigsalog tribe is the most rooted in the past in terms of growth and socioeconomic development. They lived in forested areas without contact with the outside world for quite some time.

Changes only began when outsiders belonging to the Ubo Manobo ethnic group from the neighboring district of Baguio earned their friendship, resulting in intermarriages. The Ubo Manobos, who were integrated much ahead of them became their adopted sons. They were also their first teachers and their link through whom subsequent change and growth were introduced by the Christian missionaries. They were followed by the non-natives employed by the logging concessionaires who introduced the Matigsalog to new economic activities. The modern concept of government was introduced. Migrants from Luzon and Visayas came and contributed to the transformation of the Matigsalog's fairly simple society into what it is now.

FIELD STUDY

The focus of the study is the Matigsalog tribe of Marilog District, particularly the residents of Sitio Patag, Barangay Salomay.

LOCATION

Sitio Patag is about eight kilometers away from Barangay Salomay, which is, in turn, 88 kilometers from Davao City. Transportation to and from the Sitio is by horse or motorcycle. The motorcycle fare going to the area is P25, but from there, an additional P10 is charged because of the uphill climb.

The road was once well-maintained and passable for four-wheel-drive vehicles but because of destructive rains, only motorcycles and horses can now traverse it. This road was constructed by the Southern Mindanao Agricultural Program (SMAP), a non-government organization (NGO). This NGO also provided a dryer, a water system, and an irrigation system intended for about 30 hectares of rice field. Business activity in the area consists of four mini *sari-sari* stores and motorcycles for hire. A primary school and a Baptist church stand in the heart of the village.

The lands stretching from Barangay Salomay down to Sitio Patag were once owned by Matigsalogs but have since been sold to non-natives, except for lots where houses of the natives were erected.

THE KEY INFORMANTS

Conrado Wayan is not a Matigsalog but is married to one, and has lived with the tribe since marrying his wife 32 years ago. At that time, the place was still thickly forested. Wayan is from the neighboring ethnic group, the Ubo Manobo of Baguio District. Now in his late 60s, he has had minimal education (elementary school graduate), is experienced in the affairs of government and commands the respect of people in the community which elected him as their tribal chieftain. He works as a farmer and is a member of the Baptist Church.

George Mandahay is a farmer and is married to Conrado Wayan's niece. Like Wayan, he is not a Matigsalog but an Ubo Manobo. He has lived in Marilog since his family relocated to the area during his childhood. He is



Datu Tulamac Salomay (left), the only living traditional leader of the Matigsalog tribe of Marilog District, Davao City. Barangay Salomay was named after him.

designated sub-captain of Sitio Patag and is a religious minister (pastor) of the Baptist Church. He and Wayan are the frontliners of development in the area, being representatives of the community to government agencies and NGOs.

DATA-GATHERING TECHNIQUES

In the study, the researcher employed informal interviews in the gathering of information to supplement personal observations. The informants were very cooperative and even volunteered information. Apparently, they felt honored by the special attention given to them.

PATTERNS OF CHANGE IN THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE

THE MATIGSALOG FAMILY

The Matigsalog family is closely-knit, and several family units live close to one another in a community for mutual protection. The father is the head of the family. The wife has no authority in family affairs other than rearing the children and attending to the farm after the males have planted the crops. Children are brought up to be obedient to their parents and respectful to all elders. They flock to whoever has more in life and consider it the latter's obligation to feed them – a culture that is perceived to be very undesirable from the outsider's point of view but is accepted by the tribe since the provider never complains. In the past, when a household member died, the house the family lived in was abandoned. This is no longer practiced today, perhaps due to the relocation expenses entailed and as a result of Christianization.

MARRIAGE

In the past and prior to the entry of Christian settlers, marriages were the result of parental arrangement. Matigsalog girls were usually given in marriage at the tender age of 10, boys at 12. In addition to the customary dowry consisting of horses, gongs, and other valuables available at the time, the prospective groom was required to serve the bride's family by doing all the

household chores such as gathering firewood, fetching water, and even farming for the bride's family. This is termed as *pangungugpa*.

The Langilans, a sub-Matigsalog group, embrace the belief and custom that whenever an unmarried man visits a family with a newborn baby and this visitor is lavish in praising anything that belongs to the host, it is understood that the visitor wanted the newborn in marriage. This visitor will no longer be allowed to go home and will be kept in servitude until the child reaches marital age. At present, this arrangement is practiced only by those living in far-flung villages wholly inhabited by these natives, and seldom by those who have been assimilated into the mainstream of Philippine society.

Kidnapping of wives or single women by men from other villages or clans has become a part of the culture and tradition of the tribe despite knowing that this act triggers "revenge-killing" or *pangayao* in their dialect. Wife-snatching and *pangayao* ceased in the 1940s at the peak of Christianization and because of recognition of government laws.

Marriage ceremonies in the past were officiated by a tribal priest who was also a healer, and not necessarily by a village datu or chieftain. The ceremony was commonly held in the bride's yard where an altar was erected from a palm tree or shrub which was believed to be sacred and could drive away evil spirits. It was also adorned with betel nuts, metal crafts, bolos, and a pure white chicken offered as a sacrifice. The ceremony was highlighted by the feeding of rice between the couple.

A man was allowed more than one wife especially if the first wife was barren, or if the man was a descendant of a datu. However, the consent of the first wife had to be obtained. Polygamy was practiced to a maximum of five wives. Most of those practicing polygamy were the chieftains and members of their clan.

When the husband died, his widow could not marry someone outside the family circle. It had to be either a brother or a cousin of the deceased husband. Likewise, it was taboo to marry someone whom one could trace a relationship to by consanguinity.

POLITICAL STRUCTURE

The Matigsalogs submit to the authority of a datu or village chieftain. The datu is the supreme leader, the legislator, and the judge. He is also the commander-in-chief and his authority extends as far as his influence covers. It may even transcend the bounds of his territory if, and when, the neighboring datu looks up to him as superior in terms of ability, wisdom, wealth, and power. A good example is the late Datu Lorenzo Gawilan of Sinuda, Bukidnon whose power covered all Matigsalog communities.

The datu is assisted by a council of elders, usually members of his clan, in the making of tribal laws and rules. When a datu dies, he is customarily buried together with a slave as a sacrifice, especially when the cause of death was believed to be poisoning. The natives believed that the datu needs a slave to assist and serve him even in the after-life. There is no selection process for the successor. The next leader surfaces spontaneously from among them and assumes the leadership without resistance from the other contenders.

The settling of disputes between subjects of two datus usually takes them to the bargaining table where a settlement is arrived. When there is contention between two datus, other datus will arrange a dialogue between the conflicting parties. The resolution of the conflict results in concessions to the aggrieved party. The mediator also receives compensation from the offending party.

The formulation of the Local Government Code and the granting of autonomy to local government may have been patterned after this political-social institution of the past. The community elected its first set of barangay officials in 1977, and a number of *punong barangays* in the Matigsalog community are from the tribe.

With the transformation of Barangay Marilog into a regular political unit and the subsequent election of the first set of barangay council officials in 1977, the Matigsalogs, although initially passive about it, began to embrace the prevailing system.

ECONOMIC STRUCTURE

The Matigsalogs practice "slash and burn" farming, believing that ashes from charred twigs and weeds make good fertilizers. However, they do not

maintain a farm after one cropping season as they transfer from one area to another. Preparation of the planting area until the actual planting are tasks performed by men, after which women take care of the weeding, cultivation, and harvesting with a few men assisting them. Dominant crops are rice, corn, tubers, and native bananas.

In farming, the Matigsalogs use astronomical data which they believe can determine the ideal time for planting . After planting, the men usually go out to hunt wild animals and fish, especially during the dry season when they temporarily relocate to riverbanks. They use bamboo traps [*bobo*] and the damming method to catch fish while they use dogs, spear, bow and arrow, blow gun, or dug pits covered with leaves when hunting for wild pigs, deer, fowls, and birds. Another method uses the crude technology called blatik as a weapon against intruders. This resembles an arrow which is installed on the ground, usually in strategic places where the prey passes and steps on the mechanism. They also employ wicker traps for catching wild chickens and low-flying birds.

The Matigsalogs used to engage in the barter of humans (for slavery) with metal crafts like gongs, horses, bolos, and farm implements with neighboring tribes. They also kidnapped members of other tribes and delivered them to other datus for a fee or upon orders from these datus. This is no longer practiced today as a result of Christianization and the implementation of government laws against offenders.

Matigsalogs once occupied arable areas for farming to sustain their day-to-day food requirements before deforestation drove them to the hinterlands. This made staple food production dwindle sharply, since their farms were on sloped areas inaccessible to main roads and human trails.

But there were fortunate Matigsalogs who were relocated to areas developed and funded by foreign institutions like Sitio Patag in Barangay Salomay and Marilog District. The natives here had the opportunity to learn rice culture through the irrigation system taught by the Southern Mindanao Agricultural Program (SMAP) sometime in 1995. They were very receptive to the new concept because their leaders had heard of its advantages for production as compared to plain upland cultivation. Some areas were turned into tree plantations where local laborers were hired and eventually acquired the technol-

ogy. The Department of Environment and Natural Resources (DENR) also conducted seminars regarding reforestation and the maintenance of nurseries.

But generally, these people are becoming more and more impoverished. They continue disposing of their properties for a "fast buck" and turn to mendicancy and dependency on others when the proceeds of sales are exhausted. Contributing to their failing economic state is the peace and order problem in some communities.

RELIGION

The Matigsalogs believe in spirits and different gods. For instance, they have a goddess of agriculture named *Karang* and a goddess of water, *Gamow-Gamow*. But above all, they believe in a supreme god they call *Magbabaya*. They also believe in the existence of evil spirits that dwell in *balite* trees, caves, rivers, and so on. They observe extra prudence around these places by being quiet and by apologizing to the spirit for their intrusion. It is usually in these places where they erect altars called *tumbala* and offer gifts to please the spirits. They offer these gifts for the healing and treatment of the sick, protection from bad spirits, and in pre-fiesta ceremonies. They believe in omens that signal good or bad luck. For instance, one will forego leaving the house or his present location when simultaneous with his first step, the dove or *alimukon* chirps. They consider the *balite* tree sacred, thus they never attempt to cut it except when it is still young.

The Christianization of the Matigsalogs was indirectly made possible through the Manobo and Clata tribes who were first Christianized by the Christian Alliance and Baptist church missionaries. The pastors from both tribes imparted their acquired Christian beliefs to the Matigsalogs. The non-native missionaries employed tact and offered medicines, food, and clothing to earn the people's confidence. They also sent the boys and girls to Bible schools. Today, these people are very religious and God-fearing. They go to church on Sundays and most of them can recite passages from the Bible.

HEALTH AND MEDICINE

Practically all illnesses are attributed either to the doings of evil spirits or to the treachery of their fellowmen. Simple muscle pains and spasms resulting from carrying heavy loads are taken as beatings of angry evil spirits or a result of exposure to undesirable air. Similarly, all internal disorders are believed to be the effect of poisoning. This belief or suspicion creates a gap between relatives.

Fever is usually treated with a scraped bark or the stem of a giant fern tree that abounds on riverbanks and forestlands. Its healing effect is due to the fact that the preparation is icy cold, thus reducing fever.

The Matigsalogs do not have proper health and sanitation practices or facilities. They do not have toilets and dispose of their human wastes anywhere, sometimes digging holes or sitting down on fallen trees. Due to some distance from rivers or other water sources, they seldom bathe, rendering them prone to scabies.

They have no decent shelter or proper clothing. Their everyday clothes consist only of a g-string with no upper covering even for females. This mode of clothing persists even to this day in some remote communities in Davao Province. Those who live along the highway and have access to health centers have already completely changed their health habits for the better. Herbal medicines are only used for first-aid treatments and when they do not have the money to buy medicine.

While they lived in abundance in the past, they are now ill-nourished and growing more impoverished. And it seems that solving their health problems is getting more difficult. One of their problems today is the unavailability of potable water, contributing to the occurrence of gastro-intestinal disorders that sometimes assume epidemic proportions. Even with the entry of Christian settlers in the community, there have been no changes in the lifestyle of the natives as far as health is concerned. Only a very few who were fairly well-educated and who belong to the middle-income group changed. There were efforts to emulate the Christians' way of life but extreme poverty impeded them. They have changed their misconceptions as to the causes of illnesses except for poisoning because of their persistent beliefs in the existence of spirits.

One source of change was from an adopted Manobo son who imparted vital medical information during his visits, coupled with the migrants' health

practices which were later substantiated by medical volunteers assigned to the Matigsalog community.

An increase in the income level of this remote tribe, education at least up to the secondary level, extensive training and information dissemination on health issues, and the provision of a water system are among the solutions to their social problems.

OCCUPATIONAL DIFFERENTIATION

It may be safe to assume that the Matigsalogs lag behind by as much as a quarter of a century in all aspects of development. Given the way things are going, their status will remain at a standstill unless government gives its attention to their plight and responds to the educational needs of these people. Government must also protect their rights to their ancestral lands so as to prevent them from becoming street mendicants in the future.

Focus must be on education since only a handful of Matigsalogs, most of them descendants of prominent tribal leaders like Datu Lorenzo Gawilan and Datu Duyan, are professionals as shown below.

Occupation/CareerNumber	
BS Commerce	7
Bachelor of Arts	1
BS Elementary Education	31 excluding 2 undergraduates
Computer Science	1
BS Marine Engineering	1
Agriculturist	1
Government Employee	10
Employee (private)	150
Self-employed (farmers)	The rest of the population

The emergence of more professionals is remote considering their present economic status. The Matigsalog youth of today content themselves with a high school diploma. Should the government embark on a scholarship program for the tribe, it must be a full scholarship program that includes board

and lodging and subsistence allowance. Otherwise, any effort aimed at improving their status may prove futile.

WORLD VIEWS

1. BELIEFS

a. Whenever rain fell on a sunny day, the tribe believed that God is celebrating a feast in heaven or that an untoward incident happened somewhere.
b. An eclipse is caused by the covering of the sun or moon with the huge wings of a giant bird called *bakunawa*.
c. The appearance of a rainbow signals the coming of a long drought.
d. Making fun of animals not normally played with or having an illicit relationship with a relative draws the ire of heaven which punishes the offender with a lightning bolt.
e. A mental disorder was not considered an illness; the general perception was that the victim was possessed by the devil.
f. They believed in the existence of supernatural beings like the *engkantos, agta,* and later, the dwarfs, *wakwak* [nocturnal bird], *ungo,* and *sigbin* which the Visayans introduced to their culture.

Except for the continued belief in the existence of supernatural beings and god's wrath regarding illicit relationships, the natives no longer adhere to the others after their conversion to Christianity and the acquisition of a basic education.

2. IDEAS

There was no concept of homosexuality among the natives, and if a member showed interest in the same sex, he or she was believed to be cursed for one reason or another.

3. ENVIRONMENT

The early Matigsalog tribesmen considered the forest their natural habitat since it is where they obtained their food in the form of meat from wild pigs and deer, fowls and meat of birds, vegetables from rattan and ferns, and the bark of trees for roofing materials. They never thought of lumber in commercial terms until the loggers denuded their settlements and drove them away.

At present, they are victims of floods, landslides, strong winds, and food shortages which they never experienced before. Aside from these, the rivers where freshwater fish abound are now things of the past. This destruction started when outsiders used poison and battery-operated electrical gadgets in catching fish which resulted in the indiscriminate killing of fingerlings.

CONCLUSION

The changes in the social institutions of the Matigsalog tribe, as gleaned from the preceding accounts, followed a single pattern. It is evident that such changes were brought about by an outside society stronger than their social structure.

The first agent of change was an outsider who migrated to the Matigsalog community, and married a member of the tribe. It must be noted that this adopted son came from an ethnic group that was earlier assimilated into the dominant society. Without his presence in the Matigsalog community, the succeeding agents might have found it difficult to convince the Matigsalogs to adopt the desired changes due to the language barrier and the Matigsalogs' lingering suspicion of the motives of the outsiders. Their sad experiences with the loggers who dispossessed them of their lands, as well as with the ranchers who forced their leader, Datu Lorenzo Gawilan, to go underground in 1975, instilled distrust in their minds. The patterns of change in their social institutions are all directed towards improvement and modernization. They are striving hard to catch up with and to keep pace with development although progress is slow.

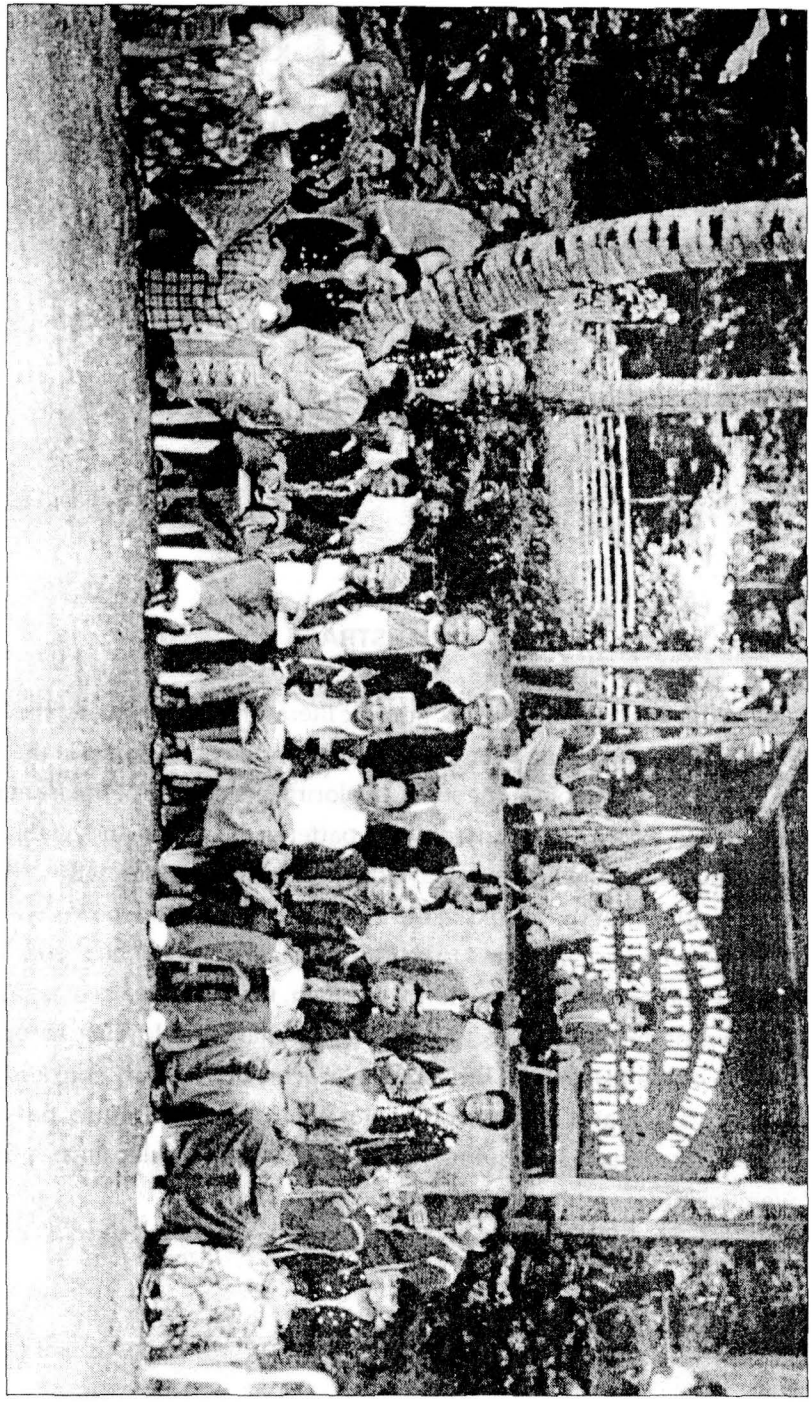
THE ISAMA OF SAMAL ISLAND, DAVAO

LIEZL LADESMA CUA

ABSTRACT

While ignored in the ethnographic literature on Mindanao, the Isama of Samal Island have long been existing as an indigenous group in the area.

This is an ethnographic study exploring the culture of the Isama. It provides an in-depth examination of the patterns of growth and changes in the group over time and how external influences caused such growth and changes. In particular, the study looks at the influences brought by the Visayan people (Bisaya), who are considered to be the dominant group in the island. Through contact and constant interaction with them, the Isama learned and adopted the ways of the Bisaya, affecting their traditional lifestyle. They embraced the culture of the Bisaya and through the process of acculturation, adopted the norms, values, and lifeways of the dominant Visayan culture, thus altering their indigenous way of living. With the advent of modern ways, the Isama were assimilated into mainstream society.



The Isama.

INTRODUCTION

Aside from the abundance of natural resources, the country is blessed with rich and unique cultures embodied in different ethnic groups. Spread out in various parts of the Philippine archipelago, these indigenous peoples are the pride of the nation as they contribute to the culture and identity of the whole Philippine society.

For the past years, many research studies were conducted to explore the culture of existing groups. This particular study explored one of the many indigenous groups in Mindanao, the Isama of Samal Island in Davao Gulf, a group which is not represented in the ethnographic literature of Mindanao. The researcher did an exploratory study of the culture of this particular subsystem of Philippine society to see the patterns of growth and change among these native inhabitants of Samal Island, specifically in Barangay Tagpopongan of Babak where there is a high concentration of these indigenous people.

The research brought to light how mainstream society caused changes in their traditional ways. The Visayan migrants, considered the dominant group in Samal, and seen as synonymous with "modernity" and mainstream Philippine culture, had a lot to do with these changes among the Isama as well as with the growth or developments in their community.

This is an exploratory research with the primary objective of discovering the culture of the Isama and understanding the patterns of growth and change among their group. The study covered the dynamic interplay of the community's social system and the changing times that have affected their economic activities, political and educational systems, beliefs and traditional practices, settlement patterns, arts, community life, and their norms and values. Also studied were the history of Isama, the external influences that found passage to their culture and geography of Barangay Tagpopongan of Babak which this study focused on because of the high concentration of Isama people living in the area.

In order to know the culture of the Isama and to see the patterns of growth and changes among the group, the following questions were posed:

- What is the history of the Isama group?
- What are the changes that happened to their culture from the past to the present?

- How did these changes affect their lifestyle and how were they able to cope with them?
- What significant developments, if any, happened to them?
- What is the identity of an Isama today?

Few studies have been made on the Isama group of Samal Island. Not much information about them can be found. This research study is significant because it provides a deeper understanding about the culture of the Isama; shows the patterns of growth and changes in this indigenous group which are attributed to external influences, especially the Bisaya, the dominant culture in the island of Samal where these native inhabitants live. Included in the study are the group's mythical origin, historical beginnings of early settlements and traditional culture (socio-political institution, economic system and arts and craft) their political, social, economic, religious beliefs, and cultural changes in the contemporary period as well as the geographical data of the place. All these have shaped Isama culture today.

However, data gathering was hampered by the fact that written records about the Isama group could not be found except for those provided by Datu Manuel Pog-on of SAICOTRIL (Samal Island Council of Tribal Leaders). Thus, this study mainly relied on information gathered from the interviews.

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

Culture is the particular way life of a specific society which can be thought of as the common, learned way of life shared by the members of a society, consisting of the totality of tools, techniques, social institutions, attitudes, beliefs, motivations and systems of value known to the group (Foster 1962). Some important concepts in relation to culture are:

(1) *Culture is learned.* Sometimes called man's social heritage, everyone learns the culture into which he is born. Through socialization or enculturation, the child learns the behavior patterns and values of the society into which he is born. He acquires the prevailing attitudes and beliefs, the forms of behavior appropriate to the social roles he

occupies. But despite this common culture, no two people are identical in terms of their human environment and life experiences.

(2) *A culture is a logically integrated, functional, sense-making whole.* Each part has a defined function that is fulfilled in relation to the other parts and is essential to the normal functioning of the culture as a whole.

(3) *All cultures are constantly changing; no culture is completely static.* The inventors and discoverers are the ultimate sources of change but no group would progress rapidly if change came about only through the ingenuity of its own members.

(4) *Every culture has a "value system."* A value system gives stability to a culture and through it, our actions or thoughts are justified and we are reassured that we are behaving as our society expects.

(5) *Culture makes possible the reasonably efficient, largely automatic interaction between individuals that is a prerequisite to social life.* Culture enables us to understand and anticipate the behavior of other people and know how to respond to it by supplying us with "tips" or "cues" (*ibid.*).

Like society, culture does not remain static, it is always changing. In the process of culture change, different aspects of culture undergo some changes. On the other hand, growth in a cultural group means an increase in size, number, value or strength or the development of a particular thing from a lower or simpler to a higher or more complex form (Grolier 1984).

Nowadays, many of the minority cultural communities are fighting for their cultural autonomy and survival *vis-à-vis* the dominant mainstream culture. What happened to the minorities can be analyzed using the phases of cultural struggle and domination where the indigenous psychology and culture have been subjugated. The phases of cultural domination that occurred during the Spanish colonization hundreds of years ago are comparable, although on a smaller scale, with the case of Filipino mainstream society as opposed to the minority groups today. These phases can be identified in the domination and homogenization of indigenous and minority cultures within the Philippines. Oftentimes, this domination stifles the minority's culture and eventually causes its disappearance (Enriquez 1994).

First Phase. *Outright denial of the existence and worth of the minority culture by the supposedly mainstream culture.* This happens when the relevance of the minority culture is suppressed by the "mainstream" culture.

Second Phase. *Attempts at desecration (or even outright destruction) of the elements of the indigenous culture are resorted to by the supposedly superior culture.* In this stage, the destruction of the material culture is justified by claiming that they are "works of evil" or are simply worthless. Indigenous sacred grounds are, meanwhile, disregarded in the name of progress or science.

Third Phase. *Designation and Marginalization.* In this phase, the elements of culture, which somehow survived every attempt at suppression, are systematically belittled and the people themselves marginalized.

Fourth Phase. *Redefinition and Token Utilization.* The elements that survived in the third phase are reluctantly accommodated by the superior society. Representative samples of the culture are accepted after being redefined and reconstructed by mainstream society.

Fifth Phase. *Transformation and Mainstreaming.* The dominant system selectively utilizes and takes advantage of the minority culture, especially those elements that are theoretically, methodologically and practically useful.

Sixth Phase. *Commercialization and Commodification.* This is when the dominating culture commercially exploits the profitable elements of the indigenous culture. Though commercialization is characterized, which means the minority is recognized, it does not mean respect (Enriquez 1994).

In the past, the traditions of different ethnic groups were very much intact. The people were governed by customary laws and their indigenous way of life made them unique themselves. As a subsystem in Philippine society, they prided themselves on a culture of their own that was different from others. However, as time passed, many cultural changes occurred. Because of the influences of external factors and the emergence of the dominant culture or the so-called mainstream society, present-day indigenous groups live a life that is no longer authentic, with several of their traditions already changed.

The patterns of growth and changes among the Isama could be compared to other ethnic groups where certain similarities can be observed. Like the Isama, the traditional way of life of the Manobo has changed over time. Because of contact and interaction with non-Manobos such as the Bisaya

people, their ancestral way of living has changed. Nowadays, they can be seen wearing Western clothes – women wear skirts, blouses and dresses while men wear trousers and sport shirts. Those worn in the past such as intricate traditional embroideries, patchwork, costumes, and beaded accessories are now used only for special occasions. Missionaries, Christian converts, and trade relations opened the eyes of the natives to the benefits of commercial settlement. These changes among the Manobo are similar to those of the Isama where the latter can be observed as "Bisayanized," in which their manner of clothing, language used in communicating, etc. are almost the same as the Bisaya. External factors influenced their way of life.

Another ethnic group in which similar of patterns of growth and changes can be observed is the Mansaka group. Though the Mansaka have maintained their traditional ways, changes still occurred because of their contact with the outside world. The acculturation process made some of them adapt to the ways of the dominant culture, particularly of the Bisaya people. Some of the Mansaka became Catholics or Protestants. The use of the Visayan language in communicating with others, especially among the young ones, the manner of dressing among others are just some examples of acculturation.

The following is an account of a study entitled "Modern Bongkog: 'Temporary Weddings' and Dual Samal and Bisaya Identities in Samal Island, Davao Gulf, Philippines" by Maria Mangahas in the island of Samal in 1996 to 1997 about the revival of the traditional wedding ceremony, the *bongkog*.

Maria Mangahas' study presented the revival of *bongkog* [literally meaning the knocking of two heads together], a rite that was part of the traditional wedding ceremony. As status events, weddings are also expressions of identity wherein notions and decisions about proper conduct and procedures are made. Modern *bongkog* reveals an evolving local culture that still identifies with and draws on memories of indigenous Samal traditions while simultaneously identifying with the nation.

For some time now, the "traditional" *bongkog* or the Samal wedding ceremony was considered extinct. It was already undergoing transformation, diluted by elements of the "white wedding" and eventually, replaced by it. But with recent external developments such as the setting of a requisite age for marriage by the Family Code, *bongkog* as a locally valid marriage was revived.

Under the Family Code that took effect in August 1988, the marriageable age for both males and females is 18, and parental consent is required for contracting parties whose ages are between 18 to 21 years old. This "modern *bongkog*" takes place because one or both partners is underage or "something had happened" between the young couple, *i.e.*, they are already living together or the girl is pregnant. As a marriage ceremony, it is "semi only." That means it is not necessary to replicate all the traditional rites. It is also "temporary" sufficing only until a legal marriage can be officiated by a priest in church or by a judge. Modern *bongkog* is done to solemnize the union of the couple at least within the community and among the families concerned. Outside the local group, it is not legal despite documentation and its witnessing by elected barangay officials. In these communities, *bongkog* is by no means the norm for marriage and the standard is still to marry in the "Bisaya" fashion, that is, in church.

As a "semi-*bongkog*," the wedding ceremony has simplified and trimmed away most significant elements of the traditional *bongkog* such as giving fines to gain access to the girl, wearing embroidered close-fitting Samal blouses with three quarter sleeves, sitting on a mat laid on a *kaban* [small chest], knocking the heads together to seal the arrangement and the interfeeding rite. It has been reduced to a formal agreement between the parents of each side with local community officials bearing witness. The teaching on married life is the only aspect of the traditional ceremony that remains.

Like other marriages, modern *bongkog* should be seen as a legal transaction between two parties. It is a short-term contract where parents of both sides make a pledge that the marriage of their children be truly solemnized when both have the legal capacity to marry. As a temporary marriage, *bongkog* does not question the legality and effectivity of the state to recognize marriage. In fact, it acknowledges and complements the present law. It aims at reintegrating external political reality with the local social and cultural order. For the locals of the community, this modern *bongkog* is addressed to those who share a sense of identity as natives of Samal Island though they might not consciously express it. At the same time, they have come to share an identification with the larger nation, and so they rely on legitimation by agents of the state.

Christianity and the state bureaucracy have set boundaries which hem in the formerly independent natives of Mindanao at every turn in life intersec-

tions – birth, marriage, and death. This modern *bongkog* is a satisfactory makeshift or temporary solution for young couples who marry at a very young age. In this way, the children and the union are given social recognition and legitimacy, at least locally. The modern *bongkog* is an expression of the Samal assertion of their sense of being both "natives" and citizens of the nation.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Cultures are indeed fascinating. They appear to be so radically unique (Jones, Gallagher III, and McFalls Jr. 1995) that they vary from one place to another. Culture is defined as a human invention that plays an essential role in a population's adaptation to its environment. The norms, values, languages, and other material objects included in the most fundamental features of collective life are present in the culture of a certain group of people or society (Weinstein 1997). It may also be thought of as the shorthand term for the rules that guide the way of life of the members of a social group or simply defined as the behavior of people (Foster 1962).

Culture plays an important role in defining who a person is and where he belongs (the group or cultural heritage he has). However, the uniqueness of culture is rapidly disappearing nowadays as people move toward creating a truly worldwide social system. Today, the traditional boundaries that once separated people from interacting with others are almost gone. In our social relations, the trend is indeed evident. This is true from the micro level where we now interact more with others who are different from our own cultural and subcultural backgrounds, to the macro level where multinational organizations like corporations, agencies, and alliances are growing in number and are expanding and which have obviously standardized the way most of us consume, behave, believe and even dream of having or doing (Weinstein 1997)

In a strict sense, society and culture are always changing (Weinstein 1997). What are the underlying factors that cause culture to change and how does it happen?

Aside from local invention and discovery, one major force in culture change is "borrowing." In the first encounter of the members of the group with alien societies, they appropriate forms of behavior. The more one is exposed to an

outside force or with other societies, the more one gains from them and the more rapidly one changes as compared to those who have less contact. The single greatest determinant of culture change is contact (Foster 1962).

From contact comes the concept of acculturation. This learning concept (Weinstein 1997) is described as the processes that occur where significant changes happened in either or both of two or more previously separated cultures when they come in contact with each other (*ibid.*). Acculturation is a way of ensuring social acceptance and economic success of the minority group where they adopt the norms, values, and ways of the dominant culture (Appelbaum and Chambliss 1995). Remember that people can either accept or reject such changes. Cultural conditioning can affect whether people will accept or reject novelty across ethnic or scientific-nonscientific boundaries. It is how they perceive and interpret such phenomena in very different fashions depending on how they are culturally conditioned (Weinstein 1997). But as observed these days, people are more likely to accept changes in their culture because of the convenience it offers them.

Another major concept in culture change is assimilation. With the advent of modern ways, most of the minority groups are ultimately assimilated into the larger strong group. As defined, assimilation is the absorption into the dominant mainstream culture (Applebaum and Chambliss 1995).

On the other hand, one important element of culture that should be considered is the so-called worldview of a group of people, specifically the minorities. Worldview is defined as the way a culture perceives people and events (Allyn and Bacon 1995). It is essential in that it influences many aspects of culture such as beliefs, values, attitudes, and uses of time. Its effects can be seen in ways of dressing, the gestures, and even the vocabulary of the members of a certain group. Worldview plays a powerful role in intercultural communication and serves as a tool for locating our place and rank in the universe (Samoran and Porter 1997). It differs from one culture to another.

Growth in a cultural group can be seen in the developments in their community, such as educational institutions, health facilities, machinery used in food production, etc. This growth is manifested through an increase such as in size, number, value or strength (Grolier 1984).

In the Philippine setting at present, indigenous groups functioning as a subsystem play a very important part in the larger society. Several studies have been conducted to document the cultures of these groups and interestingly, the isolated places where these groups find their home have been penetrated by Philippine mainstream society (UPM-3 BASS 1998). Contact and interaction have been made, thus leading the way towards an appreciation of their unique culture and place in society.

The focus of this research study is the Isama indigenous group in Tagpopongan, Babak, Samal. All the concepts mentioned will be used in studying and analyzing the patterns of growth and change in their culture. Such concepts will help explain the underlying factors why such changes occurred and how this is connected with their everyday life and present situation. The objective is to have better understanding of the Isama group and their culture.

FIELD STUDY

GEOGRAPHY AND OVERVIEW

Tagpopongan derived its name from a native term that means assembly and consultation area. Elders and datus of different Dabaonon tribes such as Mansaka, Mandaya, Kalagan, Tagakaolo, and Tagamod would gather in this place after observing the "Padagat" festival in the Banakon area (somewhere along the shoreline of Madaum) after the harvest season. The Isama, as the settlers of Tagpopongan, served as host of the assembly. Issues usually discussed in the consultation were the tactical situation of the gulf area, *pangayaw* or tribal wars, problems of the tribal federation, tribal trading, marriage commitments, etc.

Tagpopongan is one barangay in Babak, Island Garden City of Samal. Estimated to be about 17 kilometers away from Babak, one can travel to it in about 30 minutes (by motorcycle) or 45 minutes by a jeepney. The road to Tagpopongan is rough, rocky and sloping, which makes traveling difficult. But one can also travel by sea using a motorized pump boat or *banca* using paddles. The fare ranges from 10 to 60 pesos per passenger.

Tagpopongan was declared a Barangay through RA 3590 (Barangay Profile 1992). It has a total land area of 545.1976 hectares, of which 320.1976 hectares are agricultural, 50 hectares are forest area and a residential area of a half-hectare. It is divided into seven puroks, namely Purok I – Sampaguita, Purok II – Gumamela, Purok III – Everlasting, Purok IV – Rose, Purok V – Rosal, Purok VI – Orchid, and Purok VII – Two Lovers. Based on the 1998 Barangay list, the households per purok number 45, 46, 41, 25, 23, 21, and 59 respectively. This results in a total of 256 households and a total population of 1321.

According to the key informant, Datu Dawang, a majority of the people in Tagpopongan classify themselves as Isama, the native inhabitants of Samal Island. There are other mixed groups because of intermarriage and migration, the largest of whom are the Bisayans. Included in the population are farmers who are estimated to be about 178 in number, 94 laborers, and about eight professionals.

Basically, Tagpopongan is divided into coastal and agricultural areas. Residents engage in two kinds of work as means of livelihood, farming and fishing. They grow crops such as rice (especially for the elder Isamas who never eat corn), corn, coconut, and fruits such as mango, (Bisaya, Kabayao, Cebu varieties), jackfruit, citrus, papaya, and others. Livestock population include cattle, carabao, swine, goat, chicken, duck, turkey, and horse.

There are about 81 fishermen who use motorized pump boats and bancas in fishing and usually nets (with a hole described as "eyesight" size) in catching fish or other marine animals. Crops harvested and fish caught are used for daily consumption or sold at the market.

The climate in Tagpopongan is fair. It experiences moderate rain showers with no storms or hurricanes. It was also affected by the El Niño and La Niña phenomena. The soil near the sea is grayish black in color. In agricultural areas, the soil is quite fertile and suitable for growing plants or crops. The water source is the *tubod* [spring] that supplies the community. The people developed a system of funneling the water through plastic pipes for greater convenience. There are also many rivers found in Tagpopongon, among them the Aumbabak, Kuia-ong Kima, and Daya rivers. Since electricity has not yet reached the barangay, those who can afford it use electrically charged batteries as a source of energy supply. Others who cannot afford it content themselves with the *lampara* [lamp] which is gas-powered.

The researcher observed that two types of houses are common in Tagpopongan. One is typically small and slightly elevated from the ground. Its walls and roofs are made of either bamboo or *nipa*. Inside the house, a divider made of same material separates the living and dining areas. There is only one bedroom for all the members of the family to sleep in. The more modern type of house is made of concrete and uses galvanized iron for the roof. There are more than two bedrooms in this type of house. Separated from the main house are the dirty kitchen and sometimes the comfort room which occupies a small space. Most houses in Tagpopongan are owned by the residents themselves. A distance (neither too far nor too near) separates one house from the other.

For recreation, children play with a bamboo stick with small wheels attached to it. The older ones play cards during their free hours. Younger men usually play basketball or billiards while girls play volleyball.

Those with radios or karaokes (run by electrically-charged battery) listen to music. The taste in music varies but the younger ones prefer modern upbeat songs. Those who have television sets enjoy watching shows especially at night when they are relaxing (there are only one to three channels that can be seen).

Tagpopongon celebrates its fiesta during the feast of San Vicente Ferrer every 23rd of April. Usually, food is served during this time and a lot of merriment is done.

As for developmental indicators, there are educational institutions built in Tagpopongan-proper namely, one daycare center and one public elementary school. Tagpopongan also has one barangay hall where most barangay affairs such as meetings and other gatherings concerning the welfare of the community are held. Important documents about the barangay and some records are kept here. The barangay hall also serves as the health center in Tagpopongan.

At present, there is no marketplace in the area. Residents usually go to Babak-proper to buy their daily needs. Crops harvested in their farmlands or marine animals that they catch like fish are also brought to Babak to be sold in the market there.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

A. ORIGIN

According to Rexall Caalim, one of the informants, Samal Island was originally called "*Pu*" by the natives and was said to be the melting pot of different indigenous groups of mainland Mindanao. The so-called giant people, as the *Dibaonon* group termed the Dinagats, first inhabited it. The Dinagats were said to be a superior people, having a large build and a towering height of about seven to nine feet. Because of their physical superiority, there were no other tribes who could thrive in the island except them and their captives known as *Al'lang* or slaves (mostly women) from the mainland. Reaching the mainland by boat, the Dinagats plundered other defenseless tribes. They abducted women called "*Al'lang*," who were raped and forced to be sex slaves. Because of the Dinagats' physical attributes, the *baganis* or tribal warriors were no match for them. However, the *baganis* were experts in *bubutang*, making use of poisonous indigenous plants. And so, with the help of the Al'lang, they were able to poison the Dinagats, thus successfully defeating them. Soon, the Dinagats became extinct. The offspring resulting from intermarriages of the A'lang and the Dinagats became the *Isama* or *Sama*. In the Dibaonon language, the root word Isama or Sama means "*salin*" [remnants]. These children were remnants of the Dinagat group. The first offspring were much taller and larger than any member of the other tribes.

For fear of reprisals, the poisoning done by the *baganis* and Al'lang were done covertly for it was believed that the Dinagats may still be hiding in some caves of the island and in the mainland. As time passed, many people migrated to Samal Island and joined the Isama tribe. It was said that prior to Islamization, the people in the island, aside from the Isama, were Tagakaolo, Mandaya, Kalagan-Moslem, and Mansaka. In spite of their diverse tribal origins, they were united as one group of people called Isama or Sama.

B. CULTURAL PAST

Early Settlements

The Dinagats, who were said to be the first inhabitants of the island of Samal, lived in caves (there were no accounts of their house making). Basi-

cally, they are sea-dwellers and the caves they made their homes in were located near the sea.

According to the documents gathered by Datu Manuel Pog-on, later when the Dinagats were gone and the Isama eventually occupied the island, they started building houses. It was said that the widths of their houses were not so neatly or precisely fitted as those of the Bagobos. The sidewalls were not closed off with bamboo but covered with *bejuco* leaves which were laid out like tiles one upon the other. Other houses were made of cogon, anahaw and bamboo. The huts were partly hidden and were not built so far from the ground. Also, the houses were located far from each other.

Socio-Political Institutions

The political structure of the Isama tribe was Malayan in nature. The *Datu* was identified as their leader whose position was hereditary, permanent or for only a fixed period of time. The people chose their chieftain [datu] on the basis of personal qualities such as being responsible, respectable, open-minded, and brave, which distinguished him from the others.

The following was the original political structure of Maharlika which is Malayan in origin:

1. Chieftain - *Datu* or *Panglima* in Tausog
2. Vice Chieftain - *Rajamoda* or *Maharadja* in Tausog
3. Secretary - *Masiratau*
4. Treasurer - *Tabonggos*
5. Auditor - *Tagabilang*
6. Fiscal/Prosecutor - *Nakuda*
7. Sgt. at Arms - *Arid sa Pinto*
8. Parole and Defense Counsel - *Medtod Saingod*
9. Public Information Officer - *Bongcomoi*
10. *Kali or Sultan* - Judge or Viceroy of Datus heading the Federation of Tribal Councils
11. *Ruma Bitiara* - the council composed of all the officers with the elders who serve as jurors and policy makers

As mentioned earlier, the *datu* was head of the Isama tribe. While doing his official function as leader of the group, he was accompanied by his secu-

rity officer called the *Arid sa Pinto.* The *Ruma Bitiara* which was a council composed of all the officers together with the elders that served as jurors and policymakers would then help the datu in conducting his duties, monitoring the whole community, making decisions and all other affairs of the tribe whether internal or external in nature. The *Masirataw* was an expert in indigenous signs and letters inscribed in the *Tarsila.* The *Tabonggos* was an officer assigned to collect tributes and taxes, fines, penalties, donations, and all tribal assets that were used in sustaining affairs conducted by the Datu. These included feeding his family, widows, and orphans among his tribe and the contribution of their tribe to the Federation of Tribal Councils. The *Tagabilang* would audit what the *Tabonggos* had gathered or collected.

The Datu was responsible for dispute settlement among tribal members in the community. But the *Nakuda* who served as fiscal or prosecutor facilitated the hearing of the case while the *Medtod Saingod* acted as the defense and parole officer. There were cases in which the Datu violated the law himself. In this situation, the elders would decide on the punishment that would be given the Datu. Usually a *pyansa* [fine] was asked in the form of *agong* [a musical instrument], *patakya, kudlong* or a horse.

The *Ruma Bitiara,* a council that served as policymakers and jury, was responsible for discussing all affairs in the tribe. All decided that the Datu or the *Kali* would declare war, final judgment, and others. The *Kali* means a judge, who in the federated tribes, was the head. The role of the *Kali* therefore, was that of viceroy of the federation to run its affairs. Whatever pronouncement or decision the Datu or *Kali* made, the *Boncomoni* disseminated to all concerned.

From the documents gathered by Datu Manuel Pog-on for SAICOTRIL (Samal Island Council of Tribal Leaders), the following are some customary laws for criminal, civil, administrative and moral offenses among the Isama.

1. Laws governing criminal offenses and their penalties

Death was the punishment for those who committed grave acts like murder and homicide. Except in the case of retaliation or *pangayaw,* the convicted person was punished through strangulation or beheading at the top of the mountain. Another big offense was adultery. In this case, the guilty would be drowned in the sea while trapped inside a *bubo* [fish trap] tied with some rocks

for weights so that it would sink. But the datu could use his power to avoid the punishment in this matter. He could convince the complainant to allow the accused person to pay him a large financial sum (personal properties) in exchange for the freedom of the person who committed adultery. Cases like this happened when the complainant abandoned the accused or when the accused has a close relationship with the datu or is an ally. However, if the case is rape, the one found guilty should marry the girl he raped and then pay her a heavy fine. If he would not do it, then he would be given the death penalty If the woman raped was already married, the rapist was then sentenced to death through strangulation, beheading or drowning using the *bubo*.

Theft and robbery were punishable by cutting off the fingers or hands of the culprit. The number of fingers to be cut depended on the gravity of the offense as judged by *Ruma Bitiara*. If done intentionally, cases like arson and destruction of property were punishable by death. The *lumads* [indigenous people] valued their personal property so much so that they equated it with life which should be given proper respect. However, when it was unintentionally done as in case of negligence or accident, the penalty was lighter. Either a heavy fine is imposed on the guilty party or he becomes a slave of the property owner.

2. Laws covering civil aspects.

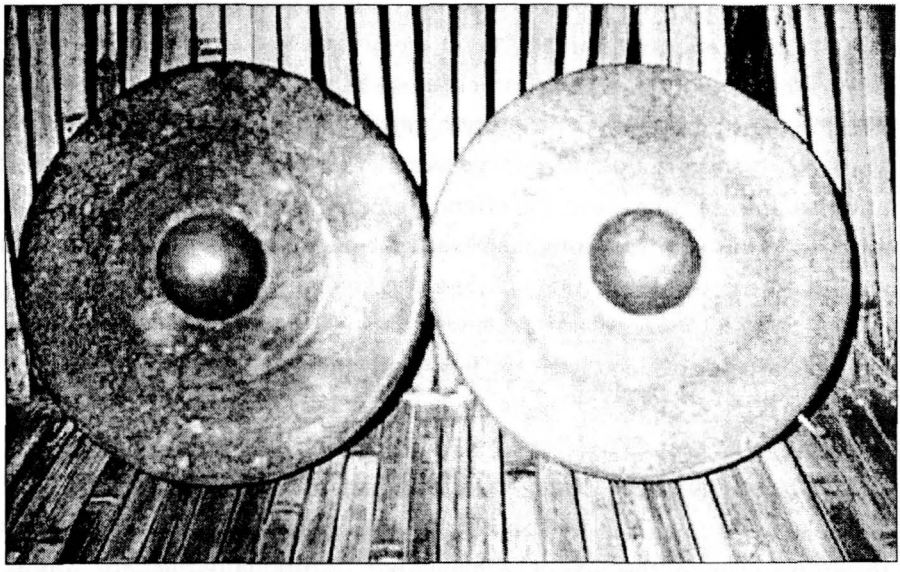
There were times when conflicts arose between members of the tribes. These involved disputes on property rights, contracts and *Sandug*, partitions, territorial boundaries, damages, recoveries, and others that fall under civil offenses. In cases like these, the offending party would be fined or made to render servitude, in addition to the execution of the final judgment. The datu would also ask for things like *agong, patakya kulintang* [musical instruments], horses, and other working animals which would serve as fines from the offending party. He decided what and how many things were to be given through the *Ruma Bitiara*.

3. Laws governing administrative offenses.

The datu, being the head of the tribe, had the biggest responsibility over the group, even for the lives of each member. Traditionally, the datu, was expected to serve and to defend his constituents even to the last drop of his



An Isama dance.



Agong, *a musical instrument.*

blood. Once he became a datu, he could never resign from his position. Temporarily, he could leave it to his *rajahmoda* [his assistant] during his absence. If the datu failed to defend his people, automatically, he would declare a *pangayaw* [a tribal war] or pledge to *juramentado* [a fight].

In cases where his officers did not do their duty as officials, they were dealt with accordingly. Negligence or breaking the law like conniving with the enemy was treated as a criminal offense, punishable by death or slavery. The *Ruma Bitiara* was the one who carefully made the decision.

4. Laws governing moral values.

The family, being the basic unit in society, played a very important role in molding the moral values of every member of the tribe. An Isama was expected to respect his parents, the datus and elders of the tribe as well as property, and everything in nature. When cutting trees, an Isama went through a ritual asking for permission from the *maganito* [supernatural beings] believed to be residing in the tree. Invoking the name of the *Magbabaya* [god] was also observed. During the Commonwealth Government of the Americans, a datu was given the authority to hold someone in contempt of court when he failed to respect the customary laws of the tribe which were set by the datu or by the elders of the tribe.

Women were much respected in Isama tribe. Abuses that offended their honor were considered criminal offenses and therefore punishable by the law. Even the presence of a man in the house of a woman without the presence of her husband was considered an offense.

Colonization greatly affected the political structure of the Isamas, becoming Anglo or Hispanic in form from Malayan in structure. The Spanish colonizers changed the indigenous terms for the officials as well as their positions in the community. There were the *alcalde mayor, kabesa de barangay,* district leaders, etc. Datu Taganiyog was said to be the last overall chieftain of the Council of Datus and was declared by the colonizers as the first *alcalde mayor* of the Island of Samal. Unfortunately, there were no written documents to prove that he was really the first mayor of the place. This was part of the colonizers' strategy so that the Isamas could not claim any birthright domain to Samal Island.

TRADITIONAL PRACTICES

ECONOMIC

An Isama could not own any natural resource found in the island such as lands, bodies of water (lakes, oceans, seas), air spaces, and even natural plants and trees. This was because they wanted to preserve the natural resources for each and every member of the community. These tribal domains (better known today as ancestral domain) were part of their *pag-uya* [for maintenance or preservation]. In this way, farmlands, hunting, and fishing grounds were secured, thus resulting in the preservation of wildlife and their sanctuaries. These were the sources of meat, vegetables, and medicines as well as fishing, hunting, housing, and cultural materials.

In cases where the crops were intentionally planted, the one who planted it had the right to own the plants but never the land where these crops were found. To increase the production yield, every member of the tribal group cooperated and helped one another. This was termed *aruyon* or *lusong* [a form of cooperation during planting or harvest time].

1. Farming

A basic source of livelihood among the Isama was farming. The datu assigned farmlands to the members of his group. Establishing a common boundary was usually done, using natural landmarks such as big trees, creeks, rivers, and others. To maintain the richness of the soil, farmers used to transfer from one place to another. During land preparation, planting, and harvesting, Isama helped one another to make farm work faster and easier. This indigenous system of cooperativism was called *aruyon* or *palusong* and may be likened to the *bayanihan* or community cooperation among the Tagalogs. A portion of the harvest would then be given the datu for him to sustain his family or support the widows and orphans of the tribe as well as the disabled persons and epidemic-stricken families in the community. The Isama then were known to be a rice-eating people since they had an abundant supply of *palay* or upland rice.

2. Hunting

Another common form of livelihood for the Isama was hunting. Not only was it used for getting food — it also served as a game sport. During hunting, the hunter used dogs to chase prey such as deer, wild pigs, big lizards, and wild fowls. He used a *butong* [net] together with *suyak* [a pointed material] in a *gahong* [a sinking tunnel covered by *badjang* and banana leaves]. Other methods used were *balatik* [an indigenous weapon with a string that serves as trigger], a bamboo string, and a pointed bamboo pole. The hunter could also just kill the wild animals directly with a *budyak* [spear] and/or with a *busog aw pana* [bow and arrow].

When the hunter caught any animal, it was considered a record that would proclaim his skills in hunting. He would then share this catch with the rest of the members of the tribe in a big feast.

3. Fishing

Fishing was one of the major sources of livelihood in Samal. Isama used indigenous ways of catching fish or other aquatic marine resources. They used *bunsod* [fish pen], *bubo* [fish trap] or the *su* [a light material made of *bolitik* or *salong* from the petrified extract of *lawa'an* and other big trees in the forest]. A *pana* [arrow] and *sapang* [spear] were also used by divers in catching fishes and in gathering shellfish in coral reefs. *Pangabasan* was another way of gathering shellfish during low tide by wives and children. To make fishing easier, Isama used the crushed fruit of *lagtang* [*tubli* vines] just like other tribes in the mainland. Here, fish became intoxicated, making them easy to catch.

4. Barter Trading

Banlo or barter trading among the indigenous people was common even before colonization. The absence of a medium of exchange resulted in barter unlike today where money is used to buy goods, products, and services.

There were three types of barter trading. The first one was barter through peddling. This happened when certain goods were lacking in the household. An Isama would go to the village located near the shore and exchange his root crops or other farm products or even the meat of wild animals for goods that he wanted like fish, shellfish or salt. He would then return to his house that same

day. The second type was barter during market day. Market day for the natives was called *tabu* and was set by the datu. During this day, farmers from far-flung areas would meet with the fishermen near the village to exchange goods or products. Also involved in this activity were the peddlers who brought imported or special items like *agong* [a musical instrument), *patakya, malong* [a kind of cloth] or *dagmay*, perfumes, textiles, weapons such as *kris, kampilan* and others. The fishermen would display their pearls, fishes, and valuable shells while the farmers would bring common fowls, horses, cattle, and other farm products. The datu set the price or value of the goods in accordance with current supply and demand. Value was usually set through the use of gold or golden/brass products like *agong* or *patakya*. The third type was trading though special arrangement. Traders who came from far places like China, Saudi Arabia, and Europe usually made an arrangement with the datu regarding trading and exchange matters. They would bring with them perfumes and cosmetics for women, textiles, porcelain wares and other products that would be exchanged with the products of the natives such as gold, pearls and other valuable materials.

5. Traditions on Taxation

Collecting tax among those who were involved in farming, fishing, hunting, and trading was practiced among the Isama. Taxation was set by the datu and its purpose was to provide for the datu and the needs of his family, the orphans and widows of the tribe, the disabled, and epidemic-stricken families. Also included were those directly involved in the administrative affairs of the datu. Merchants from other lands who went to the tribal community to peddle their special products were also subject to taxation. They had to pay tribute to the datu before they could barter their goods. The amount of tax collected was usually in tenths of the net income.

PARTITION OF PROPERTIES

In the division and giving of properties among their children, the parents exercised all their rights. It was the prerogative of the parents to choose what belongings were to be given to their children like the *agong, patakya,* and *kulintang* [musical instruments], perennial crops, personal properties, and oth-

ers. If the parents were still alive, the children who were given the crops were to give 10 percent of the earnings to their parents. In case both parents were already dead, the elder brother usually had the right to divide the properties left among his siblings and/or other family members.

TRADITIONS AND CUSTOMARY LAWS ABOUT SLAVERY

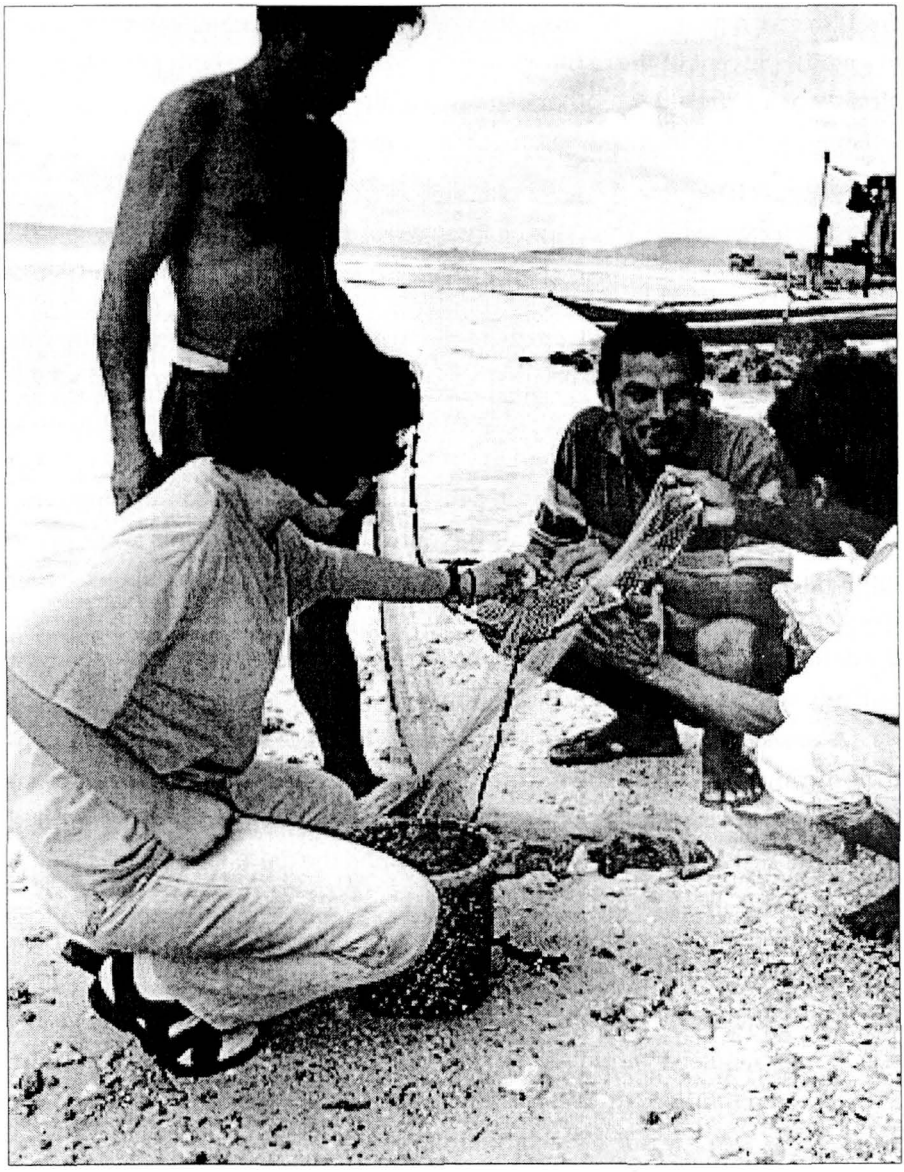
Slavery existed in the Isama group. Slaves were called *"Al'lang"* and were of two types. The first were those members of the tribe whose loyalty was beyond question. This was because of their genealogical background which was traced by the datu with great consideration and found to be familiar to him. These were slaves who had volunteered to serve the datu since childhood or those who were close to the datu but found guilty of committing some crime or offense. With the help of the datu, their punishments were made lighter; instead of death, they were sentenced to slavery. These slaves either lived as part of the household of the datu or built their own household where the datu decided. They were also given the chance to marry and raise a family, but only with the permission of the datu.

The second type of slaves were those who were caught or held as captives during tribal wars. There were also some who just wandered and had no identity. Others were those who violated rules in the community or committed some abuses that caused damage to the tribe and the datu. These slaves would then be sold or be bartered as decided by the datu.

There were also what were called slaves in the sight of the *Magbabaya,* the supreme being; they were seen as being no different from a family member of the Datu. It was said that when a person was inspired by the *Magbabaya,* the wisdom he acquired would change his status. Because of their sincere desire in the sight of the all-loving *Magbabaya,* some slaves rose to positions of power where they virtually ruled the community or tribal group.

FINAL JUDGMENT AND EXECUTION OF PENALTIES

The time of execution of a convicted person among the Isama was marked by the shadow cast by a pole erected in an open space. When the shadow was no longer visible, usually at noon time, the execution would then take place.



Fishing as a source of livelihood

Punishment for heavy crimes in which the convicted person was not able to pay the fine set by the datu (the amount asked by the victim or complainant) included strangulation, beheading or drowning.

PANGAYAW OR TRIBAL WAR

Justice was highly regarded among the Isamas; when no justice was given to the victim or complainant, a tribal war was usually declared. The accused person would then be killed through a *pangayaw*. The *baganis* or tribal warriors together with the complainant would conduct a reprisal and they did the *pangayaw* through directly assaulting the guilty person, via an ambush or through a massacre which may include the entire family of the person, depending on how heavy or grave the offense was. But the community where the accused lived would not be included in the *baganis'* anger or rampage. People were warned beforehand to stay in their houses by the declaration of a *mangambusaw* or the spirit of destruction that would be pronounced by a *bagani*. The datu through the *Bongcomoni* would broadcast it by striking an *agong* or *kuratong* or any other musical instrument such as *soring* [flute]. When the datu wore his *kubaw* or head cap, this was interpreted as a warning to the tribal group (a codified means of communication).

CUSTOMS AND TRADITIONS RELATED TO SPIRITUAL ASPECTS

As descendants of the Dinagats who had intermarried with the different tribes of mainland Mindanao, the Isama group had evolved a unique culture. They believed in only one God, the will-bearer called "*Magbabaya*" whose other name was "*Taga-Al'lang*" which referred to someone who made slaves or servants. The will of the *Magbabaya*, regarded as the highest of all, was always followed by the Isama and his name invoked in asking permission or was uttered with respect for protection and luck. An Isama believed that man was created to serve as a viceroy of the things *Magbabaya* had created and entrusted to him. He was created in order to worship *Magbabaya* and to utilize and preserve nature so as to sustain his self and his group in accordance with the will of the *Magbabaya*.

In any individual or group undertaking, the *balyan* or the priest of the tribe, together with the rest of the members, invoked the name of *Magbabaya*. It was said that Isamas were very grateful even to the unseen *maganito* or spirits believed to reside in trees. One had to invoke the name of *Magbabaya* when hunting, to ask for signs if he would be successful in hunting. In cutting trees, one had to ask permission, or to invoke the name of *Magbabaya* when fishing, for protection and luck. Isamas also gave importance to and interpreted the appearances, sounds, and flight direction of *limokon* [wild pigeons].

For the Isama, offering prayers had no definite date and time. They did not have any church and just prayed anywhere [*mangapog*]. It was said that Isama, aside from worshipping *Magbabaya*, also practiced animism. The *balyan* or priest conducted rituals [*panawagan*] through *taganowon* [a song] or in action called *sayawan* [dance]. The Isamas believed that to stop an epidemic, an offering of rice in a white cloth and a *panawagtawag* [calling of spirits] were effective.

When someone was sick, *sayawan* [a dance] was performed to heal the person. This would be done at around eight in the evening for three consecutive nights. In this *sayawan*, a piece of bamboo with seven nodes and a piece of rattan with seven nodes would then be covered with seven blooms of *mamaon* or *bunga* or the *bagaybay*. This was placed vertically in the bare part of the house where *sayawan* would be performed. This was called *palina* [smoke produced by the frankincense], serving to diagnose and to drive away the evil spirit or *maganito* that caused the disease. Another practice was breaking a new and clean egg of a chicken to find out what caused the illness. The *balyan* did this by carefully examining the albumen and egg yolk. Through a dream, a *balyan* would be guided to choose the roots, sap of a tree, stones, and other materials for treating certain diseases.

There were some situations in which the sick person would be cured using the blood of an animal killed in a table made of bamboo. This blood would be poured over his body while he was covered with *badyang* leaves [an itch-producing tuber found in marshy areas].

This faith of the Isama tribe was nearest to the rule of nature. They believed that the time would come when *Magbabaya* would manage the affairs of this world directly for good and defeat the evil one. This would then be the time when the light of guidance would be held by man.

The Isama also believed in immortality. They regarded *Diwata* as the highest being. They acknowledged a god of the good whom they called *Manao*, and the god of evil as *Basao*. It was said that because of their fear of *Basao*, they built their houses very high from the ground so that he could not get into them and as the night advanced, the leaders of the group moved up to high places.

FESTIVALS AND CELEBRATIONS

According to the files gathered by Datu Manuel Pog-on, the Isama group had no definite festivals that they observed. However, they joined the other tribes in the mainland in the celebration of *Panggani* or a thanksgiving during the harvest. In some accounts, the Isama celebrated *Padagat* with the Kalagan group who lived in the villages of Hijo, Madaum, Buwatan, and Panabo along Davao Gulf.

Padagat was a festival where different indigenous groups gathered after the harvest season. It was a one-week celebration highlighted by many activities such as horsefighting, fishing, hunting, wrestling, indigenous *sipa*, singing, and dancing. After the festival, the elders of different ethnic groups would then go to Tagpopongan (in Babak, Samal) using their sailboats. An assembly was then conducted in this place, which was attended by all Dabaonon tribes such as Mansaka, Kalagan, Tagakaolo and Tagawod. The Isama would serve as the hosts and another big festival of thanksgiving would then be celebrated which was called *Pasamposamat*. The highlights of the events were singing a *bayok* (an Isama song) to the accompaniment of a *dawot* (musical instrument) and dancing called *sayawan* with the playing of *tagonggo, kulintang, kuglong, kutyapi, soring, barabad* or *gimbla*, and other musical instruments.

Added to the celebration was the serving of food such as *amik, panyalam* and other delicacies of the Isama.

In the assembly, consultations were made and certain issues were discussed such as the tactical situation of the gulf area, *pangayaws* (tribal wars) that happened, marriage commitments, tribal federation problems, and trading. The name Tagpopongan means "*tagbuanan og mga datu*" (rendezvous of tribal leaders) for assemblies and consultations.



Barangay Hall (also the Health Center) in Tagpopongan

1. Marriage

Wedding ceremonies in the Isama group were carefully observed. It was locally called *kawin* and usually celebrated in a seven-day feasting after the bridegroom farmed for a season and harvested his crops. During the ceremony, a big *kulambo* or mosquito net [*pabilyon* or *limbonan*] would be set in a matrimonial place. It was in this place where the bride and her bridesmaids would wait for the arrival of the bridegroom. Together with his relatives, the bridegroom would pass through the lines of the relatives of the bride whom they would give *sunggodan* [tokens]. These were things like *onseta* [coins], *patakya, kapo* and other valuable things. Upon reaching the *pabilyon*, he would open it and give more *sunggodan* to the bridesmaids who would then take their leave. Together, the couple would then wait for the *tuwada* [advice] of the datu and the elders of the tribal group. Their heads would then be joined as a sign that they were already husband and wife and would live as a married couple.

Since the Isama group was closely related to the Kalagans, they also practiced the placing of the right thumb of the bridegroom on the forehead of the bride while invoking the name of *Magbabaya* to signify possession and as

a spiritual seal. Then, they were made to eat two handfuls of rice mixed with some viand where the husband would extend the food first to his wife and after that, the wife would do the same to her husband.

After the wedding ceremony, there would be a big celebration where food was served, there would be *sayawan* [dancing] and *taganuwan* [singing] and the natives would play on indigenous musical instruments. The newlywed couple would stay in the *pabilyon* for three consecutive days and nights. After that, another banquet would signify the end of the marriage rituals.

In cases where the husband dies leaving his wife a widow, both of the couple's parents would then arrange a marriage between her and a brother of her late husband. It was the same case if the husband became a widower, where he would be wed to his wife's sister. This served the purpose of protecting the children of either the dead husband or wife. A male Isama could marry as many women as he wanted as long as he could support his families.

An interview with the researcher's key informant, Rexall Kaalim, revealed that an Isama wedding ceremony was a long process and an elaborate one, especially for those of royal blood. The joining of the heads of the couple was termed *bongkog* or *pakong* and the exchange of food between the husband and wife called *subo*. The *balyan* [priest] would wade into the sea (or ocean) and bring thread with him to connect it to the sea while saying his prayers. This would be done in two or three days.

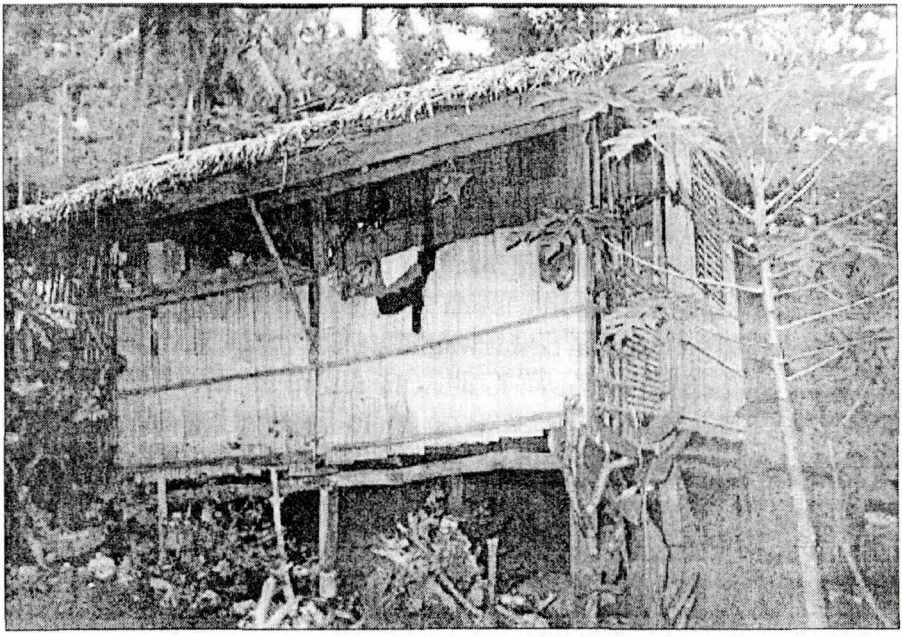
2. Burial Customs

From the written records filed by Datu Manuel Pog-on, very little was known about the death and burial practices of the Isama group. It was said that burying their dead differed from one place to another depending on the beliefs of the relatives. But the Isama were the only natives known to have practiced cave burials. Maybe this was influenced by the Dinagats who were their ancestors, and who used to bury their dead in caves or ravines. But unlike the Dinagats who placed their dead in a *kabaong* [casket], Isama cadavers were sometimes put in a basket made of bamboo or rattan; well-to-do families placed their dead wrapped in a *kamon* [mat] or in a casket.

Alex Schandenberg in Glogau (The Inhabitants of Southern Mindanao and Samal Island) describes the burial practices of the Isama group. According to him, Isamas placed their dead in hollowed-out, row-boat-like canoes



Two types of houses in Tagpopongan (a nipa hut below and a modern, concrete house above)



that were cut apart in the middle with their pointed parts placed one on of top the other. The coffins for the earlier generations were rectangular in shape. The kinds of woods used were *ipil, baquis* [a white wood], *bantaund* [a yellow wood], *lanipda* [a wood with red color], *daaha* [a wood with whitish color], and *tacun* which are used exclusively for the burial of children. As for the manner of burial, eight small cross pieces of wood were laid on the bottom at similar intervals in the half part of the canoe. These served as scaffolding so that the corpses would not sink completely to the bottom of the hollow. The coffins were richly furnished, the cross pieces of wood replaced human arm or leg bones to which thin decorative metal rings were attached and which might well be taken from dead slaves. A pillow made of aromatic herbs was placed at the broad end of the coffin while a double matting, *pandamus*, was placed on top. Also placed in the coffin were trousers, jacket, and articles of jewelry wrapped in two fabrics of *musa* textile which were provided for the dead. The feet and hands of the body were crossed and a brass box with betel nuts, a smaller one with lime, and a piece of bamboo about 20 centimeters in length with tobacco leaves provided with a stopper and ornamentation were arranged beside the knees. Two handkerchiefs were used in wrapping the head of the corpse. It was believed that the dead must bring with him three new things — trousers, a jacket, and a headcloth — to attract fresh things in his resurrection. A resin-torch was placed near his left hand. If everything was already in order, then the *pandamus* matting was put on the other half of the canoe and the top closed with a board. After that, the coffin is set in two or three strong cross-pieces of wood, two-thirds of a meter long tied with *bejuco*, fastened and brought to its destination. According to Schadenberg (again from the file of Datu Manuel Pug-on), the burial took place quietly, without any further ceremony. There were offerings such as Chinese plates, *pandamus* baskets, water ladles, etc. placed on and beside the coffin. The Isama chose common burial places for their dead.

The Isama observed no long rituals in burying their dead. After uttering parting words invoking the name of *Magbabaya* that a dead person would return to the original abode believed to be the earth and of the same composition as his physical body, the dead was immediately buried.

3. Death Anniversaries

A big celebration called *tawo* [lamentation of the dead] was observed by the Isama group when commemorating the death anniversary. Relatives who attended the *tawo* feasting were expected to bring something as their contribution to the occasion. There were also *taganuwan* [singing], *sayawan* [dancing] and serving of Isama delicacies like *amik, panyalam,* and other food. Added to this was the distribution of preserved food wrapped in young *anahaw* leaves that served as an offering. These were called *tinabyong;* it was a belief that distributing such foods after the *tawo* celebration would soothe the soul of the dead person knowing he is remembered. On the part of the living, the offering signified his contribution. The host would tell him *"ayaw da kamo paglibak, tiawo de kamo,"* telling him not to worry since he was being acknowledged through his contribution.

CONTEMPORARY PERIOD

Through time, many changes have occurred in Isama culture. These can be seen in many aspects that make up their social system, from their political, sociocultural economic systems, and in their religion and beliefs.

POLITICAL SYSTEM

Tagpopongan was declared a barangay through RA 3590. It is divided into seven *puroks* (instead of *sitios*). According to Dodong Tabudin, the Isama still practice the *datuship* system where the datu serves as the tribal leader of the group. However, unlike the past when the datu possessed great power in controlling the community and making decisions for the members of the tribe, his role is now like an adviser or consultant to the group. He also serves as the representative of the group whenever there are any tribal gatherings or meetings.

The coming of the Spanish colonizers to the island of Samal had changed the terms for the officials as well as their positions in the community. For example, datu was changed to *alcalde mayor* and some other terms like *cabeza de barangay,* district leader, etc. Nowadays, the political system in Barangay

Tagpopongan is in accordance with the political structure of the national government. During election time, residents choose their barangay officials by casting their votes. After being proclaimed as winners, the barangay officials take their seats in the barangay office (barangay hall). The barangay captain who is the head and overall coordinator and his fellow officials (*barangay kagawads*/ councilors) perform their functions as elected officers and serve their constituents. There are also the barangay secretary and treasurer who keep records and take care of finances, respectively. They report activities in the barangay and accounts of expenses during meetings or sessions held every first and third Fridays of the month. There are different committees where the heads gather to discuss issues and projects during barangay sessions. From the list given to the researcher by Datu Camilo Barcelona (barangay secretary), the present barangay officials of Tagpopongan are:

• Barangay Captain:	Virgilio Ang
• Elected Councilors:	Cezar Avila
	Maricel Saug
	Elisa Hilamon
	Clarita Bantog
	Luis Bantog
	Ceferino Lastimado
• Appointed Councilors:	Rufino Banggat
	Camilo Barcelona (Brgy. Secretary)
	Gemerosa Guc-ong (Brgy. Treasurer)

Aside from barangay officials, there is also an election for Sangguniang Kabataan (youth council) (SK) officers. Sangguniang Kabataan is the youth counterpart of the officers in the barangay whose main concern is the welfare of the youth. At present, Melissa Pakyaw serves as the chairperson of the SK.

Aside from these elected officers of Tagpopongan, the native inhabitants of Samal Island or the Isama have a council which attends to tribal affairs. The recently formed (as of 1997) Samal Island Council of Tribal Leaders (SAICOTRIL) is duly "accredited" with the government Office of the Southern Cultural Communities (OSCC). This tribal council is composed of tribal leaders/ *datus* and elders of different *barangays* in Samal Island.

Datu Manuel Pog-on, the chairman (over-all chieftain) of their council gave the researcher the list of officers of the council. These are:

OFFICER'S NAME	POSITION
1. *Datu* Manuel Pog-on	Chairman (over-all chieftain)
2. *Datu* Samuel Rosario	Vice-Chairman (*Rajahmaḍa*)
3. *Datu* Suelio Moriones	Secretary (*Masirataw*)
4. *Datu* Diomedes Apale	Secretary (*Masirataw*)
5. *Datu* Camilo Barcelona	Treasurer (*Taboggos*)
6. *Datu* Rexall Kaalim	Treasurer (*Taboggos*)
7. *Datu* Jovencio	Auditor (*Tagobilang*)
8. *Datu* Nicasio Catubog	Auditor (*Tagobilang*)

SAMAL ISLAND COUNCIL OF TRIBAL LEADERS
(SAICOTRIL)

TRIBAL COUNCIL
Ruma Bitiara

1. Aniceto Dionisio
2. Jovencio Villabrille
3. Camilo Barcelona
4. Nicasio Catubog
5. Manuel Pog-on
6. Rexall Kaalim
7. Suello Moriones
8. Diomedes Apale
9. Samule Rosario
10. Mahang Acalal
11. Jesus Tion

OTHER COMMITTEES

- Chairman, Committee on Political Affairs: Rexall Kaalim
- Chairman, Internal And External Security: Manuel Pog-on
- Chairman, Committee of Finance and Budget: Samuel Rosario, Camilo Barcelona

• Chairman, Committee on Education Culture and Sports:	Suello Moriones
• Board of Advisers:	Leonardo Papacoy
	Nestor Masinaring
	Romero A. Maing
	Dacudao Gadiaware
	Datu Romeo Dawang

The Isama in Tagpopongan are under the rule of the Philippine government. What is stated in Philippine law as written in the constitution is followed. Customary laws are no longer followed nowadays. Punishment for persons guilty of commiting crimes like drowning a person in the sea while inside the *bubo* [fish trap] or subjecting him to slavery are considered part of the past practices and are no longer practiced in the Isama community. Before, a datu along with the *baganis* [tribal warriors] would do *pangayaw* [tribal war] where they conquered other lands. According to Datu Alberto Manguna, this practice still exists today, particularly in a place called Talingod. Whenever it happened, many would die and the community suffered. The government is presently working to stop this practice.

Tagpopongan is a peaceful place. Few people can be seen roaming around the place except during barangay activities such as fiestas. People busy themselves with fishing or farming. However, being peaceful does not mean the total absence of crimes, such as fights. Among the most serious crimes that happen in the area are stabbing, beheading, and rape. Fines imposed today are in monetary terms.

Conflicts sometimes arise between the Isama and other groups. The arrival of capitalists and landlords/owners drove the native inhabitants of Samal to move to far-flung areas of Samal Island. They lost their ancestral lands because of this. Now, they want these capitalists and big landowners out from the place according to *Datu* Alberto Mangunga.

SOCIAL CHANGES

As the basic unit of society, the family influences and affects every individual aspect of life. It also has a structure of family organization. Because of

time and many external influences, changes in the family often occur. However, in the Isama community, its family structure or organization has remained almost unchanged. The family is basically nuclear in terms of the internal organization of their household. There is the father, as the head of the family, the mother and the children. There are also families who are extended in form where relatives live together with the family in one house. The nuclear family that is functionally extended acknowledges the need to communicate with other relatives. They consider blood ties an important aspect in family relationships as to increase bonding. As observed in Tagpopongan, the Isama family follow the husband-father surname. This usually happens when the couple is married whether in traditional, civil, or church rites. This type of naming is termed patronymic.

The Isama family follows the patriarchal system when it comes to authority. The father as the head of the family holds great responsibility and control over the rest of the members of the family. He is the chief economic provider. He is responsible for supporting the family and is expected to provide their basic needs such as food, clothing and shelter. The wife, on the other hand, is in charge of the household chores. She disciplines the children since the father is always away because of his work. The children's role in the household is usually to help their parents; the girls help their mother in household chores like washing the clothes or cleaning the house. Boys assist their father in fishing or farming or on some errand like fetching water or gathering wood for cooking. Basically, work is shared by the members of the family.

Today, childbirth and child rearing are like those in any other patriarchal set-up. The mother has the full responsibility for taking care of the baby from birth up to the time when he is weaned (between the ages of one and two). Both parents guide the child as he grows up and teach him good values in life. Disciplinary action is given to the child at an early age especially when he shows disobedience. According to the researcher's key informant, Datu Camilo Barcelona, parents are very strict when it comes to time. If the child does not wake up when he has been called many times, the child will receive a spanking or a whipping. Also, he should be home before nighttime.

Parents made decisions regarding marriage for their children. Traditionally, wedding rites were in the form of *pakong* [literally bumping the heads of

the couple] called *bongkog* done by the officiating datu and some elders. After the bumping of heads, the couple would then be regarded as husband and wife. However, when Christianity was introduced in the area and people began embracing its doctrines, *bongkog* slowly vanished; it was replaced by weddings. They now follow and observe Christian or other ceremonies that are legally recognized by the government (there are also civil weddings or those couples wed by the judge). This resulted in the decline of the "traditional *bongkog*" of the Isama culture.

Marriage among the Isama is done "Bisaya" style. The process involved in contracting marriage in Tagpopongan today more or less follows the Cebuano procedure and style. During the marriage proposal, the man, through his family and their representative (their *dakong* tao, literally "big man" in Bisaya who handles the negotiations), would visit the girl's parents. This is called *panuhod* or *pamutya* in Isama. The proposal of the man would then be accepted by the girl and her family who ask for *pangayo* [what is asked for], in order to give their consent. *Pangayo* is negotiable and the *bugay* [what is given] from the bridegroom's family is done before the wedding can take place. In Tagpopongan, instead of directly requesting the parents of the girl, the other members of the family who might be affected by the wedding taking place are asked. Examples are the older sisters who are not yet married and thus would be bypassed or *lakaran* [walked over] or the girl's grandparents. After the proposal comes *pamalayi* [a special visit by the bridegroom's side to the girl's parents]. Usually, the bridegroom's family is expected to shoulder all wedding expenses, but in many cases nowadays, both sides agree to help each other since the expenses can be quite large. The *pamalayi* is also a celebration or an engagement party which is sponsored by the family of the bridegroom to be.

Recent developments like setting the requisite age for marriage by the Family Code which took effect on August 4, 1988, has led to a revival of *bongkog* as a locally valid marriage. Maria Mangahas revealed that this "modern *bongkog*" as a marriage ceremony is "semi-only," meaning that it is not necessary to replicate all the traditional rites of the past. It is also considered "temporary" or good only until a legal marriage can be officiated by a priest in church or by a judge. The *bongkog* revival is a satisfactory temporary solution

to the dilemma of young people starting families together without being married, which is not accepted by the local community or Isama people. In this way, the children and the union are given the proper social recognition and legitimacy, at least locally.

Under Christian doctrine, polygamy is not allowed. This has also influenced the Isama people since they used to practice polygamy, where the man could have many wives as long as he could afford to support the needs of his families. Datu Rexall Kaalim, one of the key informants, said that the Isama was somewhat influenced by Islamic culture in that a woman could not receive a visitor if her husband was not around. These days, this is no longer practiced.

As much as possible, separation is not allowed.

Burial practices have also been influenced by the Bisaya ways. Cave burial was practiced in the past and the dead person was buried immediately after prayers were offered. Today, a wake is usually observed for about three days to one week. In one case in Tagpopongan, the wake lasted a month.

The body is placed in a wooden coffin and during the burial, the coffin is placed inside a tomb. A cemetery in Tagpopongan is like any other cemetery today. A problem exists today because the land where this cemetery is located is now privately owned and the owners have stopped the use as a cemetery.

As part of the norms and value system of the Isama, parents teach their children the value of time. Sleeping over in another's house is not allowed and a young person must be home before six in the evening. Children are disciplined at a young age. A boy is not allowed to get near a girl, especially when she is alone.

The Isama are conservative. In the old days, women by convention were supposed to sit on the floor with legs together to the side, while men sat with legs crossed in front of them. Long skirts that hid their legs were worn by women and they were restricted from socially interacting with males. "Indecent behavior" occasioned censure from the old folk and a payment of fine as penalty was set.

Community life for the Isama in the past was characterized by a close-knit relationship. It was cooperative, where they could help one another in doing work such as *araro* [plowing] in the field or house-building. These were

done for free and *lusong* and *bayanihan* existed in the community. Today, though there is still the concept of helping and cooperating with one another, community life for the Isama has largely disappeared. This is because of competition and commercialism. The social interaction among neighboring places is civil and friendly. Actually, an Isama community can hardly be differentiated from the Bisaya community. The two communities have also mixed because of intermarriages. However, the study of Mangahas stated that the general attitude of the Visayans towards the indigenous people has been derogatory which is why some Isama are ashamed to be heard talking in Isamal by outsiders for fear of others learning their ethnic origin.

ECONOMIC SYSTEM

Fishing and farming are still the major means of livelihood today of the Isama in Tagpopongan (though there are some who engage in professional jobs and some have gone abroad to work). The area is abundant in marine and forest products since it is divided into coastal and forest areas. Upland rice was planted since the early inhabitants did not eat corn. They practiced *tugaw* [changing cultivation] where they moved from one place to another to plant. Today, the crops produced are coconut, corn, banana, root crops (e.g. *camote*), and fruits like mango. Usually, crops are harvested twice or thrice a year. These are for consumption or sold at the market. New methods and techniques are used in farming or fishing. Trading exists between the Isama and other people. In the past, products were bartered or exchanged with utensils or with *kinason*. There was no selling because money was still not used. Crops were delivered to the mainland through *layag* (sailing) usually starting at night. The Chinese and the Bisaya came for trade. Today, the increase in the value of money and wage labor have pushed Isama to engage in the market economy. The price of land has increased. Middlemen and Chinese bought lands from the natives (titles were sold) who did not set a good price for the land because they had no concept of the commercial value.

Isama face economic problems in the community. Their fishing grounds are limited since there are areas that are privately owned. Hence, they can no longer enter such areas. There are also sanctuaries for marine resources where

fishing is prohibited. Their lack of financial resources prevents them from buying sophisticated tools for greater production. Then too, the soil today is said to be infertile, and thus produces less crops. This leads to low production, and consequently, low income.

CULTURAL ASPECTS

The native dialect called Isamal or Sinamal is a variant of *Kalagan*, *'Kaolo*, *Mansaka*, and *Mandaya*, as well as *Dabawenyo* or *Dinabaw*. NSO (National Statistics Office) statistics estimate that less than 10 percent of the population of the entire island of Samal use Sinamal as their mother tongue. Cebuano speakers, consisting of 80 percent, make up the largest number of people in Samal. The rest of the population speak languages from other parts of Mindanao. From these statistics, one can see how greatly the Bisaya (as Cebuano speakers) influenced the Isama people that even the use of their native tongue has changed. Bisaya (Cebuano) is spoken by all, with greater fluency among the younger adults. Children who attend school where Bisaya is the mode of communication are also greatly influenced as they remain in contact with the Bisayan people. There are some older people who consider their Sinamal vocabulary to be quite inferior. Others are ashamed to be heard conversing in Sinamal by outsiders. The elders and concerned Isama are doing their best to preserve their native tongue. As much as possible, when they talk to each other, they use the Sinamal language. When there are tribal gatherings, they promote its use.

Education among the Isama nowadays is given importance; in the past, it was rare for them to finish school. They gathered around, especially at night, while cooking while the elders gave advice and talked about values. Because of minimal to no education, the lands which they occupied were taken from them. Datu Manuel Pog-on said that the first school in Samal was established during the American time (1920s). This began the importance given to education. But because of their economic situation, many natives could not avail of this education and so they were displaced. Education has had a great effect on the culture. Parents work hard to send their children to school. Both boys and girls are given the opportunity to study.

According to the researcher's key informant, Datu Romeo Dawang, native dress was woven and called *dagmay* which are *malong* and *patadyong* [kinds of clothes]. The terms used in parts of the dress are *dagom* for *pantaas* or upper part and *sawa* for pants. However, such native dress is hardly seen nowadays. It is used only on special occasions like tribal gatherings where there are dances and other merriment. Isama clothing for everyday use and that of the Bisaya are almost the same so it is quite hard to distinguish between the two.

RELIGION AND BELIEFS

The Isama were known to be animistic. They believed in spirits living in trees or in stones. However, the introduction of Christianity changed these beliefs. There is no longer any asking of permission from the spirits of the forest today. At present, the majority of people in Tagpopongan are Catholic. There are four churches in the area. *Birhen Sa Fatima* Catholic Church, Independent Baptist Church, Seventh Day Adventist Church and Four Square Church. As part of Tagpopongan's religious festivals, residents celebrate the barangay fiesta every 23rd of April, the feast of San Vicente Ferrer. Imam Inya Kasim, one of the key informants, said that the coming of Islam also influenced the people, with some Isama converting to Islam. Proof for this is the growing number of people embracing Islam on the island. They have a place of worship, the Islam Mosque in Kinawitnon, Babak.

Celebrating the death anniversary or *tawo* [a form of remembering and honoring a dead person] is still very much observed to this day. During the celebration, there are dances and songs and special delicacies such as *amik* and *panyalam* are served. Also distributed is food wrapped in young *anahaw* leaves which serves as an offering.

ANALYSIS

Though the Isama have their own culture, that culture is still part of the larger Philippine society. And so the dynamics that play in the bigger society and the aspects that make up the Isama culture's social components are inter-

related with and affect one another. Many external factors have influenced Isama culture and have led to a change in their traditional ways. The processes of acculturation and assimilation were major factors that made such changes possible. The phases of cultural domination also help explain how such domination stifles the minority's culture and eventually causes its disappearance.

The patterns of growth and change among the Isama of Samal Island can best be explained by relating them to questions presented earlier in the introduction. These questions were: What is the history of the Isama group? What are the changes that happened to their culture from the past to the present? How do these changes affect their lifestyle and how are they able to cope with them? What significant developments, if any, happened to them? What is the identity of an Isama today as compared to the past?

Historically, their origin can be traced to the Dinagats, the first inhabitants of the island who were sea-dwelling people who made their homes in the caves. The offspring of the Dinagats (with the *Al'lang* or female slaves) were basically also sea dwellers.

From caves, the settlement patterns of the Isama had changed. After the Dinagats were gone, they started building houses near the sea. Later, because of an increase in number (in terms of population) and when non-Isama begun migrating to the island, communities were formed, which eventually led to the creation of *barangays*.

The geographical location of the place determined the kind of livelihood the Isama engaged in. Since the island was divided into coastal and agricultural areas, the people were either fishermen or farmers. And since they traded a portion of their catch or harvest, it was inevitable that they have contact and interaction with non-Isama. In the process, their language was influenced such that they acquired words and terminologies from other dialects and languages. Mostly, they learned more about the Visayan language because the Bisaya people formed the majority of non-Isama in the island. Aside from the influences in their native tongue, the Isama also acquired modern ways or techniques in fishing or farming which they eventually applied, thus changing their traditional ways such as a shifting cultivation in farming. They learned to use fertilizers for their crops to increase their harvest or to use chemical pesticides to kill pests or weeds that destroyed their plants. They

learned to use motorized boats in fishing so that they can reach the far areas of the sea where an abundance of fish or other marine animals were found. At present, fishing and farming are still the major sources of livelihood of the Isama. However, some of them now engage in professional work (those who have attained a high level of education) and some have gone abroad to work as domestics.

The first Isama were animistic. They believed in spirits residing in trees or stones. However, when non-Isama migrated to the island (particularly the Bisaya) and Christianity was introduced, this animistic belief changed. They embraced and followed the Christian doctrine. The coming of the Islam faith to the island also influenced the Isama with some becoming Moslems. In this situation, we can see how the acculturation process works, changing the religious system of the Isama. They were able to adopt the norms and eventually accepted the values and beliefs of others. The disappearance of their animistic beliefs could be explained by the second phase of cultural domination. With the introduction of Christianity and the development of science, animism was perceived to be rather primitive. Eventually, it disappeared and is no longer practiced by the Isama.

There were many changes that happened to different aspects that make up the Isama culture. Though the datuship still exists, its political power is not like before. Today, the *datu* as the tribal head serves as the consultant or adviser and representative of the group. At present, the political system as well as the laws followed by the Isama are in accordance with the Philippine constitution. Clearly, the Isama have been assimilated into the dominant mainstream culture.

In the family system or social structure, the family is still nuclear in form though there are other families who are functionally extended where relatives live in the same house. The father remains the head of the family while the mother is in charge of household matters. However, many husbands and wives now both work to finance the needs of the family especially that the children usually go to school. The high prices of commodities also compel them to work. There are also children who help their parents with the needs of the family. Since polygamy is not allowed in Christianity, the Isama do not practice this anymore (except for those Isama who became Moslems).

Education is now given high importance and parents work hard to send their children to school. This shows the change in the perspective of the Isama regarding formal education which was not an important part of their lives, as they were content with the teachings by the elders. Giving importance to education can be attributed to the influence of mainstream society.

The manner of dressing of the Isama has also obviously changed. One can hardly see the difference between them and the Bisaya. This change in outfit can be explained in the redefinition and token utilization phase of the cultural domination phase. Changing the manner of clothing of the Isama means being accepted into mainstream society. Today, native clothing is considered a costume and can only be seen worn by the Isama during tribal gatherings or celebrations.

For the Isama, change is inevitable. They see change as both advantageous and disadvantageous to them. As an advantage, many developments in their community add to their convenience. On the other hand, change has diminished the value system in their culture. Many of the Isama nowadays find it embarrassing to admit to others (the non-Isama) that they belong to an ethnic group. Instead of preserving their traditional ways to promote their culture, they seem ashamed of it. It is important to identify with one's tribal group to bring back the traditional culture but there is no longer any way of preserving the "*kinaiyahan*" for they have become "Bisayanized."

The identity of the Isama today is difficult to differentiate from others in mainstream society from their manner of dressing to the language they use in communicating. For their worldview, they see themselves as like the Bisaya.

These changes and developments in the Isama community can be attributed to the coming of Visayan migrants in the area. Considered the dominant culture in Samal and synonymous with "modernity" and mainstream Philippine culture, they have indeed influenced the Isama. Through contact and constant interaction, the Isama learned and adopted the ways of the Visayan people. The more they were exposed to them, the more they forgot their ancestral way of living and embraced the culture of the strong group. Other influences that contributed to change among the Isama was the introduction of Christianity which led to the rejection of their animistic beliefs and practices, and modernization, particularly technology.

The growth among the Isama can be observed in the developments in their community. In Tagpopongan, there are now educational institutions – one daycare center and one elementary school. Students no longer have to go to neighboring barangays or to the town proper just to study. They also have a barangay hall where discussions on important matters are usually held. Records about the barangay are also kept here. The barangay hall also serves as the community's health center. In front of the building is a basketball court where activities are usually held or where residents gather for recreation.

CONCLUSION

This research study among the Isama of Samal Island has brought to light changes in their culture. As a subsystem in Philippine society, the group has its own set of social components that are interwoven and which affect and influence each other. However, as the researcher explored Isama political and economic systems, language, religion and beliefs, arts and craft, value system, social structure, and education, it was found that there were many changes in the group's traditional ways.

Though a *datu* is still recognized as head of the tribe, his power today is limited, unlike in the past. The *tawo* [lamentation of the dead] or death anniversary celebration is a tradition that continues to be practiced. The revival of the traditional marriage called "*bongkog*" [*pakong*, literally knocking of the heads of the couple] continues to be done because of the need to temporarily solemnize the union of young Isama couples where one or both are underage. However, the modern *bongkog* no longer follows the traditional wedding ceremonies or rituals. There is no knocking of the heads together; instead the couples are made to shake their hands and, there is no mutual feeding between the couple [*subo*]. The only traditional part left in the ceremony is the advice given the couple. These are the only three traditions among many others that have been retained from their past.

The changes in Isama culture are reflected in the modern clothing they wear everyday, the Visayan language they use in communication, the Christian churches, Christian and civil marriages, non-traditional ways in farming

practices, and the kinds of music they listen to. These are but manifestations of the impact of the "*Bisayanization*" of the Isama people.

External influences, particularly the influence of the Bisaya on the native inhabitants of Samal Island are the main factors for the changed cultural traditions of the Isama. When the Bisaya migrated to the island, they brought with them innovations and tools for modernization such as those used at present in farming. Considered the dominant culture and seen as mainstream Philippine culture, the Bisaya greatly affected the Isama traditional ways to the extent that it is hard to distinguish a Bisaya from an Isama. The process of acculturation has indeed altered the Isama's indigenous way of living, as they remain in contact with the Bisaya. Everyday interaction with them continues to strengthen this acculturation process.

KEY INFORMANTS

- Datu Romeo Dawang, 61
  Tribal Leader of Barangay Tagpopongan, Babak & Adviser SAICOTRIL (Samal Island Council of Tribal Leaders)
  Date and place of interview: November 5, 1999 in Barangay Tagpopongan, Babak, Samal

- Datu Camilo Barcelona, 55
  Barangay Secretary and Treasurer and Chairman Committee of Finance and Budget
  of SAICOTRIL
  Dates and place of interview: November 5 and 26 and December 21, 1999 in Barangay Tagpopongan, Babak, Samal

- Datu Manuel Pog-on, 44
  Chairman (overall chieftain) and Chairman on Internal and External Security of SAICOTRIL
  Dates and place of interview: November 26 and 30, 1999 in Barangay Kaliklik and Kinawitnon, Babak, Samal

- Datu Alberto Mangunya, 41
  Tribal Leader in Barangay Cogon, Babak
  Date and place of interview: November 30, 1999 in Barangay Kaliklik, Babal, Samal

- Datu Rexall Kaalim, 33
  Instructor, Samal Institute in Babak, Treasurer and Chaiman, Committee on Political Affairs of SAICOTRIL
  Date and place of interview: November 26, 1999 in Barangay Tambo, Babak, Samal

- Inya Kasim Tuya, 60
  Imam (Islam Mosque in Barangay Kinawitnon, Babak)
  Dates and place of interview: November 30, 1999 in Barangay Kinawitnon, Babak

- Dadong Tabudin, 64
  Dates and place of interview: November 30, 1999 in Barangay Kinawitnon, Babak, Samal

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THE KALAGAN OF MADAUM, TAGUM CITY

DOROTHY LOBOS

INTRODUCTION

Muslims in Mindanao number five million and are divided into 13 distinct cultural and language groups. Among these 13 are the Maguindanao, Tausug, Badjao, and the Kalagan, to name a few.

The bottom portion of Mindanao, which is the Gulf coast, was originally home to the Kalagan who number 40,763. Over time, these Kalagans dispersed to different parts of Mindanao. Some are found in Cotabato, Zamboanga, Toril (*i.e.*, areas in Davao Oriental, Davao del Norte, and Davao del Sur regions), and Tagum. Due to the vastness of the area, the researcher chose Madaum in Tagum City as the site for this study. There are roughly six thousand Kalagans in Madaum who are found in four different sitios: Tugan, Nabintad Riverside, Gapas, and Bakuring.

OBJECTIVES AND SCOPE OF THE STUDY

This is an exploratory study of the Kalagan culture. The following are the objectives of this research :

1. To give a comprehensive description of the lifestyle of the Kalagan community in Madaum, both then and now;

2. To objectively and systematically present the Kalagans' mode of living which includes the important components of their community: political system, economic activities, history, arts and culture, geography, religion, belief and value system, family-social structure, food, language, education, and external influences. Having studied these elements, the researcher would show their interrelationship and the patterns of change and growth the culture had gone through over time;
3. And finally, to arrive at possible descriptions and conclusions about the patterns of growth and change in the Kalagan community. Consequently, one will see differences between the past and the present in Kalagan culture. We will also take a look at how such changes occurred and who or what brought them about, both directly and indirectly.

LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The key informants in Madaum were not cooperative or open enough to talk about their culture and its particulars. This was mainly due to the fact that the researcher is female and it was customary for them that the Kalagan male face the visitors. It is rare for a woman to talk with a male Kalagan over a long period of time. Moreover, it was difficult to look for a female informant. There were only two key informants from Madaum, however, secondary informants confirmed the information provided by the key informants. The other four key informants were in Samal Island. Taking of pictures was also restricted unless approved by the datu or the resident of a certain area.

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The following questions define the problem of this study. These questions served as guide for the researcher in gathering data in the field. The answers to these presented the growth and changes that occurred in their culture.

1. What is their history?
2. Given that the Kalagan are a group scattered across different regions in Mindanao, what are their common traditions and local diversities that make them different from other groups?

3. How are the Kalagan traditions and culture handed down to their children and the generations to come?
4. To what extent does geographical location influence their lifestyle?
5. What kind of relationship prevailed (and prevails) between the Kalagan group in Madaum and that of the "outside" or mainstream society?
6. What is the "worldview" of the Kalagan and how does it influence their culture?
7. What has changed in their culture? What is their impact on Kalagan social components namely: (a) religion, (b) political system, (c) social system, (d) medicine, (e) education, (f) economic system, (g) language, (h) arts and culture, (i) land tenure, and (j) demography (settlement patterns)?
8. What are the possible causes of these changes?
9. How does the national agenda influence their culture?
10. What are their reactions towards the changes? What is their understanding of such changes?
11. How did they embrace, or did they embrace, these changes at all?
12. Are the Kalagans in Madaum able to adapt to the changes they have faced and continue to face?

Change normally occurs in any society. However, many factors can influence such changes. In this particular case of the Kalagan, it is believed that continuous interaction with the outsiders or mainstream culture (the dominant Bisayan culture) has exerted and still exerts a vigor influence on Kalagan culture, thus stimulating changes in the local culture.

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

In a study conducted on the Matigsalog group in Sinuda, changes and growth in their culture were presented. By examining the patterns of change in their culture, it is observed that the primary agent of such changes is the influence brought by the Bisaya culture. At the advent of those changes, growth followed such that infrastructure, bridges, and other public service establish-

ments are now found in the community. Changes in their religion, recreation (as social function), and political system are observed in their community. Growth is also evident in their economic activity since they now engage in agriculture. As for language and education, they have an institution for literacy in the barangay; they also have elementary and high schools. There are also barangay health clinics that serve both the Matigsalog and the Bisaya (UPM-3BASSa 1998).

Furthermore, a study on the Obo-Manobo of Barangay Tambobong, Calinan showed the growth and changes in their culture. Along with Christianization, Bisaya culture has become easily accessible to them, hence, the beginning of change. Many Protestant churches are found in the area, their teachings have influenced the lifestyle of the Obo-Manobo (UPM-3BASSa 1998).

In addition, another research study in 1998 at Barangay Sibulan, Toril, Davao City successfully presented the changes that occurred in the native culture of the Bagobos (UPM-3BASSc 1998).

Moreover, a Kalagan community in Sirawan, Toril District, Davao City was studied in 1999. The study presented the impact of the establishment of commercial industries in the surrounding area on the mode of living of the Kalagan community in that barangay. The cultural, political, social, economic, and physical development and progress of those Kalagans at the advent of urbanization were assessed. The study also showed the issues and problems experienced by the Kalagan as a result of the establishment of factories and industries in that barangay (UPM-3BASS 1999).

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Humans shape their culture as much as culture molds humans. Most notably, culture enables them to utilize a wide diversity of environments. People have discovered and understood their environment, made new discoveries, inventions, and innovations by manipulating environments through cultural means. The human species has secured its expansion, not just its survival, through culture (Haviland 1996). Over time, cultural boundaries were breached because of this expansion. Constant interaction between peoples from different groups and places has encouraged the exchange and transmission of char-

acteristics between communities, hence, introducing a totally new way of life to each of these cultures.

The expansion and breakdown caused a chain reaction of change across cultures. There is no longer a "pure" culture because of cross-cultural interaction or assimilation. A culture evolves as it is learned and transmitted across generations. It involves integration in which all its aspects function as a whole social system with parts that work in a complex interplay. This is evident when an anthropologist who examines one aspect finds it necessary to examine other aspects as well because they are interrelated (Haviland 1996; Kottak 1997).

A culture comes to a collective action or choice to resist or accept a change because of this integration. A culture has several essential functions: it must provide for the production and distribution of goods and services necessary for life, provide for biological continuity through the reproduction of its members, enculturate new members so that they can become functioning adults, motivate its members to survive and engage in activities necessary for survival, and maintain order among its members as well as between them and the outsiders (Haviland 1996).

Every society reacts to change in the environment. These reactions can either be acceptance or resistance. Most of these changes are drastic such that their "normal" ways of life are disrupted. Hence, these societies tend to reach a compromise where they inevitably give up some of their cultural ways to be able to cope. Nevertheless, there is no guarantee that such changes will bring good results. They are driven to adapt in the attempt to increase their quality of life and to ensure security and survival. However, these changes often cause growth in that culture. As a positive change, growth is technically defined as movement from a simpler to a more complex stage (Compact Unabridged Dictionary 1996).

Change and adaptation are necessary attributes a culture must have to survive. During the time when humankind first inhabited the earth, they survived on hunting and gathering. The earth was lush with resources from which they foraged for food. As time wore on, those bands of hunter-gatherers grew in number. As the population grew, the resources were not enough to feed all of them. There was then a need for change. Some of the hunting-



Barangay road



Madaum River

gathering groups gradually shifted to farming. They learned to domesticate plants and animals, and to erect houses to shelter themselves from the vagaries of weather. Eventually, they lived in relatively permanent communities or villages. Ultimately, basic components that comprised the culture of those hunting-gathering bands had to undergo change as they shifted to agriculture (STS Readings 1999). For one, the characteristic of their social organization or interaction was informal and it was basically egalitarian. All of them enjoyed a share of anyone's hunted game or gathered food (Plattner 1989).

Adaptation is a coping mechanism of a people with environmental stresses. The result of the adaptation is the possession of characteristics that permit these people to secure needed resources in their particular environments. (Haviland 1996; Kottak 1997).

However, people do not just react to a particular environment as given. They react to their environment as they perceive it; hence, the term "worldview" pertaining to a culture's characteristic way of perceiving, interpreting, and explaining the limits and workings of its world. Every group has its own worldview. (Haviland 1996; Kottak 1997). Based on this worldview, a group develops adaptive or even maladaptive behavior.

Essentially, culture is a system that ensures the continued well-being of a group of people. Hence, it may be termed "successful" as long as it ensures the survival of a society in a way that is reasonably fulfilling to its members. However, a culture may or may not be fulfilling (Haviland 1996; Kottak 1997).

In some cases, those whose cultures do not fulfill their well-being and those who cannot cope with the changes in their society, ultimately leave that society. These people may migrate to other places and assimilate their original culture to that of the new group.

In the Philippine context, there is an existing dichotomy: modernized mainstream society and the small, marginalized ethnic societies, with the mainstream more affluent than the other. Mainstream society is a melting pot of cultures where members of different groups from different regions in the archipelago live together in one clustered urbanized area. Some parts of each group (i.e., Ilonggo, Ilocano, Bicolano, etc.) are assimilated into others such that they form a mixture of practices, hence giving birth to a whole new, distinct mainstream culture. Changes in the mainstream are relatively fast and

rather drastic that members of such a society must be quick to adapt. However, the marginalized communities remain in domains long-occupied by their ancestors and they continue to keep their culture as pristine as possible. But a few compromises (or adaptation) have to be made as they find themselves caught in the middle of a rushing river where the mainstream catches up with the flow towards modernization. These marginalized groups cannot sustain themselves for long if they remain isolated and independent. It is then inevitable that they assimilate to the mainstream culture, compromise parts of their traditional culture.

In this compromise, these ethnic groups somehow survive as a group. In the process, changes and growth naturally occur in their culture. Such cultural growth and change are to be examined in this particular study of the Kalagan in Madaum.

METHODOLOGY

Ethnography, as the art and science of describing a group or culture, is deemed effective and useful as a methodological process in studying the Kalagan culture. This task requires the ethnographer to study the routine, daily lives of people. The focus of inquiry is the predictable patterns of human thought and behavior. In line with this, ethnographers or researchers are noted for their ability to keep an open mind about the group or culture they are studying. This does not mean, however, that an ethnographer enters the field with an empty head but rather with an open mind (Fetterman 1989).

In the preliminary stages, the researcher undertook a survey of their political structure, census information, and the map location of the Kalagan community (historical data was not available). The Office of Muslim Affairs (OMA) maps of Madaum and of the Kalagan in Madaum were posted on the office wall.

As a non-Muslim, the researcher found it necessary to disregard the many misconceptions regarding Muslims. An open mind allowed the researcher to explore rich, untapped sources of data from the field not mapped out in the research design. Such, flexibility was helpful in getting data.

During fieldwork, entrance to the community was made easier because of the support and endorsement of Mr. Dacodao Gadiaware, the OMA Director.

Furthermore, the researcher made her initial contacts with Madaum's barangay captain, Adjoumar Quitaban, who was also a Kalagan and who then drew up an authorization letter to formalize her presence in the community. The researcher also asked the barangay captain to include the names of her friends who accompanied her in her research.

Kaka Eddie (a barangay *tanod*) was requested as an intermediary for the researcher for the secluded areas in the village. In the initial stages of being acquainted with the community, a Kalagan family (the cousin of Kaka Eddie) welcomed the researcher and a friend to their home to spend the night. With those smooth beginnings, the gathering of data in the village became less difficult.

Capt. Quitaban also referred the researcher to Taytayan Foundation Incorporated (TFI), a nongovernment organization (NGO) that studies the Kalagan culture in Mindanao.

The researcher also started some casual conversations with a few of the Bisaya living near the Kalagan village. This was deemed necessary for they provided information about matters that the Kalagan informants did not feel free to talk about (Fetterman 1989). Other practical measures considered in selecting key informants were: convenience (*i.e.*, they were cooperative and accessible), length of time of residence in the Kalagan community, one's prestige in the community (or how well the people regarded them), knowledge from direct experience, and their participation in and observance of traditions. In addition, the researcher interviewed key informants not only from Madaum but also Kalagan who migrated to Samal Island. The key informants in Barangay Madaum were Bapa Emeri Pongo (a tribal adviser) and Datu Manila (the incumbent traditional/tribal leader of the Kalagan in Madaum).

Those in Samal Island were Bapa Dadond Tabudin, Iman Tuya Kasim, Datu Manuel Pug-on, and Rexal Caalim.

PRESENTATION OF DATA

CULTURAL BEGINNINGS OF THE KALAGAN

According to Datu Pug-on, "*Kalagan*" is the name for the native Filipino Muslim group. Kalagan came form the word "*kaag*" meaning alerted or forewarned. On the other hand, the word "*kaag*" is taken from the word "*kayag,*" the original term for whisper. It is important to consider that these people were originally of Minangcabao stock.

Some of them went to Indonesia. When they came back to their village, they had already converted to Islam. When their relatives who remained and the other villagers were informed through whispering that their new religion was Islam, they fled to the inland places in fear of this change. Those people who whispered among themselves were called the Kalagan. The Kalagan occupied most of the riverbanks and the seashores that allowed them access to easier transportation and rich food resources.

When the Muslim missionaries came to the coasts of Mindanao, they tried to convert the Kalagans to Islam. The first to be converted were the leaders of the tribe, who easily appreciated the teachings. The missionaries also married into the royal family which made it easier for the Kalagans to adopt the new religion. Not all of the Kalagans wanted to embrace Islam so they fled to the hinterlands. They were henceforth known as the Kaulo, Mansaka (those who went farther up the mountains; the root of their name "*saka*" means climb), and the Mandaya (those who preferred staying in the river valleys).

Datu Pug-on further said that the Kalagans were known for doing things stealthily and quietly, action that closely resembles *kayag* [whisper]. For the other native groups, the Kalagans were considered clever. They engaged in marauding, where they either killed or held captive the groups they encountered. Hence, their practice of slavery. The slaves were called "*allang.*"

As other groups spread across the island, the Kalagan had become more concentrated in the gulf of Mindanao which became Kalagan territory. When the Spaniards came, they could not penetrate the place since the Kalagans fortified their forces and intensified in their Islamic beliefs, as Spain threatened the Kalagan community. This Islam militancy enabled them to resist the Spaniards.

ORIGIN OF THE NAME MADAUM

During the American occupation in the Philippines, this particular Kalagan area was not included in the master list of all barangays in the files of the American government. It is said that at one time a team of Americans conducted a survey in this part of the municipality. An American saw a native fishing at the other side of the river. He asked the native for the name of the place. Having misunderstood the question as inquiring whether the river was deep or shallow, the native answered, "*madalum*" [deep]. The name of the barangay was then recorded as "Madaum" (Barangay Profile 1998).

At this point, it is important to note how the Bisaya came to Madaum. According to Bapa Emeri, the Madaum area was originally inhabited by Kalagans. But a wave of migrations brought non-Kalagan ethnic groups to the place. Even before World War II broke out, Christians or Bisaya entered Madaum. The migrants came from Bohol, Cebu, and Leyte, and they built friendships with the native Kalagans who, in turn, gave portions of their land to the Bisaya. These pieces of land had no exact measure and only marks indicated the boundaries of the land the Bisaya wanted. The transfer of ownership of land was done with no legal papers. Eventually, the better-educated Bisayas came to *Madaum* and surveyed the area. They found that the whole area was not legally owned by anyone. The Kalagans' Bisaya kumpare [friends] claimed the land given to them and titled it in their name. However, the land which the Kalagans owned were untitled and hence not legally theirs. This whole new concept was not acceptable to the natives because their view on land ownership was based on the Qur'an [Muslim holy book]. They believed that lands were common to all and therefore to be shared. It is Allah who owns the lands and the people merely stewards.

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION

The Kalagan have no significant features that distinguish them from other groups. According to Bapa Emeri, they are native people with mixed lineage because of their Malay ancestors' intermarriages. There are Kalagans who are tall, short, light, dark, with straight hair or wavy hair, some have

heavy while others have a light build. An adult male Kalagan can be differentiated from others only because he grows his beard long.

LANGUAGE

According to the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) as quoted in the PMA & UPMTC, 1998 Document, Kalagan is the name of both the people and the language. Other names include Davawenyo, Dinabaw, Minuslim, and Kinalagan (Kinaagan), although the last three refer strictly to the languages. The Kalagan language is the same as that of the Isamal, Mansaka, Mandaya, Dibabaon, Tagakaolo, and Manggua-ngan. The only difference is that in the Kalagan language, several terms taken from Islam have been added. The name Davawenyo Kalagan was coined to distinguish this particular group from other Kalagan groups. Kalagan, like other Philippine languages, belongs to the Malayo-Polynesian group of languages. On the local level, it is a member of the Davawenyo family of languages which consists of Mansaka, Mandaya, Bagangenyo, Carragenyo, and Matinyo (TFI 1999). One distinction is the obvious presence of Arabic terminology like *Imam* [prayer leader or priest], *barakat* [power, especially supernatural power], *sabar* [endurance, patience] and many others in the language. The presence of Hindu-Sanskrit terminology such as *surga* [heaven], *narka* [hell], *agama* [religion], and *puwasa* [fasting] is proof of the Indian origin of the Malayo-Indonesian form of Islam that filtered through the islands (TFI 1999).

Kalagan is a written language. A highly respected *imam* wrote the first pamphlet in 1964 entitled "Pillars of the Islamic Faith." This pamphlet presented the five pillars of Islam. In 1978, a second writing came out entitled "Way of Truth." This book contained English and Cebuano (lingua franca in southern Philippines) sections in addition to transliterated Arabic and Kalagan. It is important to note that the writer, whose pen name was Imam Ali Khanapia, insightfully recognized the great importance of writing books in the Kalagan language. He wrote:

> Isa na sabap ng kakoorang ng pag-odyag ng aagama Islam
> ani sa Dabaw yang way kitab na Kinaagan *(Ibid).*

"One of the reasons for the lack of progress of the religion/ community of Islam here in Dabaw is the non-existence of the books in Kinaagan (TFI 1999)."

ARTS AND CULTURE

Kalagan musical instruments include:

- *Gimbal* - This is a percussion, drum-like instrument made of goat skin and the thick bark of a tree.
- *Kulintang* and *Agong* - These two are always used alongside the other in every ceremony.

Among the dances in weddings are *binarig, andiwan, sungko,* and *tuntombing* using the *kulintang* as accompaniment. Meanwhile, *agong* is often used in calling for prayers, assembly, rituals, thanksgiving, and other ceremonies.

- *Kuglong/Kutyapi* [*kalabaw* or water buffalo] - an instrument made of wood.
- *Kubing* - an instrument made of bamboo
- *Suling* - flute
- *Gabang* - a xylophone-like instrument which is made of wood and bamboo. This instrument, however, is no longer used.

Their women love to wear jewelry and colorful, decorative attire during special events and occasions. Local *malongs* or *dagmays* are made of simple material and are ordinarily used by both men and women.

Their dances are of mixed origin from other cultural groups. These are performed exclusively by men or by women except when the performers are blood relatives. Their tribal dance called *bunuk-bunuk* is still performed at present.

TRADITION

Only some of the Kalagan traditions have been preserved over time. The records of lineage are well-preserved through the *tarsila* [genealogy]. Recorded

here are the names of the first and oldest Kalagan who started the community. Unlike their Mansaka counterparts who have no such record for fear of invoking their dead ancestors' names, the Kalagan can trace their origin through it. However, their other beliefs, customs, folklore, old stories, practices, and traditions were only preserved by way of oral tradition, from generation to generation. Much to the dismay of the elders, their children show no interest in their tradition.

The key informants can remember only a few traditional practices.

- When they want to drive out *maganilo* [spirits], they summon the *balyan* [faith healer] to do the shunning. This ritual is called *panulak bala*. At times when they want to call out to certain spirits, the *balyan* places food in the yard and surrounds the offering with a display of colorful banners.
- When they set out to a journey, they closely observe *tanawan* [symbols or omens]. These signs indicate whether it is safe or dangerous to travel. They are most especially sensitive to *tanawan* during wartime for indications of victory or defeat.
- Children born to a couple should be introduced to the ancestor spirits believed to reside in the river or the streams. The children are taken to these bodies of water and through the mediation of the *balyan*, are introduced by being bathed in the water. Afterwards, the family is assured that the child will grow up normal (i.e., the baby will not get sick). In line with their reverence for the spirits, before a section of the land is cleared for planting, the permission of the spirits living in those trees must be asked (TFI 1999).

FOLKLORE

The First Allang [Slave]

Datu Pug-on gave a very interesting account from the folklore that they have. Raja T'rang Bandrang of Malaysia went out to unknown seas in search of a wife. He brought gold, clothes, food, and plenty of treasures with him as *mahr* [dowry or brideprice]. One day, he was hit by a storm, so he had to unload his ship. He had to throw into the ocean all that he had brought with him. Then he saw a big island from afar and decided to dock there. That island

was Mindanao. As he came closer, he was captured by Captain Lacit Baisan. Lacit was a pirate and was known as the captain of the sea who had a wife in every port. Since the raja could give nothing, the captain made him a slave. Every time the captain's wife bore a child, T'rang looked after and washed the dirty clothes of the baby. When he was washing one day, he was complaining aloud to himself that he was supposed to be a raja and should be served. Instead, he was turned to a slave. The captain's maiden sister happened to pass by and overheard this. She went to her brother and recounted all she heard. She requested that he be made a *kampilan* [weapon maker]. This was granted. Eventually, love flourished between them and the captain gave his sister to T'rang in marriage. Since then, the community respected and esteemed T'rang.

There were two kinds of *allang* [slave]: those whose slavery can be broken and those who serve a lifetime. The latter applies to those who committed crimes that could never be pardoned. Such crimes include taking another man's wife, especially a member of the royalty's wife.

A FAMOUS RELIGIOUS FIGURE

Datu Pug-on went on to tell that Sharif Kabungsuwan was a direct descendant of the prophet and had Arab blood. He was from Indonesia and came to settle in Mindanao.

When Sharif Kabungsuwan came, the inhabitants of the island were the Manobo and the Bagobo, both names meaning original. There were two brothers who lived in Cotabato, the place where he landed. They were Tabunaway and Mamalo. One of them was out *hunting* [nangayam] and when he came back, he found out that his brother had already converted to Islam. The other refused to be converted. So they decided to part ways, with the unconverted going up to the mountains. Before he left, they had their last supper together. As years passed, these two brothers each had their children. Some of the descendants of the Islamized brother went to live in the mountains and some of the unconverted's children went to live with their uncle at the shore. Henceforth, no one could be certain whether it was Tabunaway or Mamalo who was Islamized. The Maguindanaos claim that it was Mamalo while the Manobo say it was Tabunaway. The *sharif*, on the other hand, was known for his brav-

ery. All the other ethnic groups were believed to have been subject to him, including the Kalagans.

FARMING: TRADITIONAL PRACTICES

Bapa Emeri said that the Kalagans are so rich in beliefs concerning farming practices. For instance, in coconut planting, a single seedling is planted on one hectare of land. After it is planted, Kalagans mount each other forming a crude human pyramid, believing that doing so will cause the coconut fruits to overlap each other in abundance. They also purse their lips so that the coconut meat will be full and healthy. When they plant watermelon, they do so during low tide. They believe that for as many rocks that can be seen on the shore, as many fruits will be harvested. Before they plant their seeds and crops, they offer a pre-planting prayer called *"tagbinayan"* to Allah to bless their soil. The prayer they offer during the first harvest is called *"tagunsad"*. They do not eat of the first harvest, believing that the yield will lead to more harvests.

Before they gather up rice stalks for the first harvest, they bless the ricefield by using smoke from burned incense or burned and dried *lanzones* peelings. This is called *paaso* (the root word *'aso'* means smoke). Pest-infested crops are an omen indicating the presence of an evil spirit. They would find out what kind of spirits they are, then they plead with the spirits to cause no further harm to their plants in a ceremony called *pasumo*. This is also performed in killing field rats. They scatter food in the field with a formula in it that when eaten, kills the rats. However, this does not always work especially when the formula is not correctly prepared. Whenever earthquakes, epidemics, storms or conflicts strike the community before harvest time, the people gather together every Wednesday, bringing food and having fellowship to restore unity, to shun evil, and to ask Allah not to allow these bad spirits to stay long. This activity is called *"panulak bala"*. *Bala* means omen and can also mean war and rebellion while *panulak* means to drive out.

Their common crops were rice, cassava, and *camoteng bagon* [sweet potato]. There were no coconut trees yet in Madaum. Palm seedlings came from the Samal Islands. They did not put much value in coconut farming in aug-

menting their livelihood. The only products they got from coconut was *tuno* [coconut milk] and *lana* [oil]. But it was the Kalagan who first planted coconuts in Madaum.

Rice grains were not sold but exchanged for salt and fish. Whenever they hired someone to help in the field, to build a house, or any task for that matter, rice was given as payment.

SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

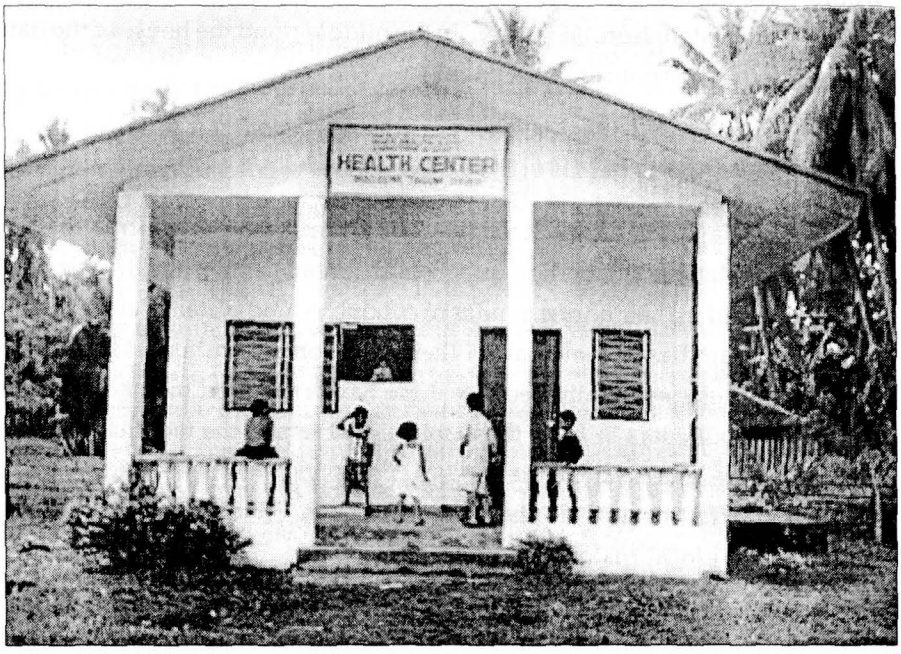
According to Bapa Emeri and Datu Pug-on, Kalagan villages were typically situated on the coasts. A Kalagan house was distinguishable from others in that they had no nails to bind the timber together. Instead, they used *uway* [bamboo]. Roofs were made of *nipa* [thatched coconut palm]. Their houses, made of wooden planks or sliced bamboo, were built on tall foundations, hence the use of tall ladders. This was done to prevent flooding so that evil spirits could not come in easily, and so that during *pangayaw* their enemies would have difficulty getting in. They lived in clumps or groups though their houses were distant from each other. In the middle stood the house of the datu surrounded by the houses of his people.

RELIGION AND SPIRITUAL BELIEFS

The Kalagan religion is Islam though animism is central to their worldview. Many of their religious beliefs are greatly enmeshed in their social life as reflected in their norms, modes of conduct, value systems, and religious practices. Islam has become part of their tradition and culture. Muslims are known for these, especially because these have remained intact despite the attempts of outsiders to have these set aside. Despite the fact that Muslims have the same belief system, the ways of expressing their beliefs vary with the customs and traditions of the place they came from. Thus, every Muslim group differs in their local customs and traditions.



Mosque, their place of worship



Barangay Health Center

STORIES OF MAN'S CREATION

The following are stories of man's creation as told by Datu Pug-on, Imam Tuya Kasim, and Bapa Dadong Tabudin.

- When the first man and first woman still lived in paradise, they enjoyed the bounty of the Garden of Eden. But Satan's temptation caused their fall. It was Eve who first ate the forbidden fruit but it reached her chest before she realized that she disobeyed Allah. This was why the fruit of temptation grew inside her chest—the reason why women have breasts. However, when Adam swallowed the fruit, he realized it was temptation. This time, the fruit just got stuck in his throat. This is why men have their Adam's apple.
- Before anything else existed, God decided to create man but Satan disputed this. Allah made a man and put him in a place called Paradise. Before He finished His creation Satan carried out his long-conceived plan of destroying it. At this time, Allah was out walking in the other side of the garden. Now, there are two stories told about Satan's evil plot. According to one, Satan entered Paradise in the guise of a snake and tempted Adam and Eve. And the event that followed explains why women have breasts and men have an Adam's apple. The other story says that Satan sent a horse to trample on Allah's creation while He was away. But Allah came in time to save His creation. Unfortunately, Satan spat on the man's stomach, thus cursing man and separating him from Allah. The spot is now called the navel.
- Adam cried out in despair upon his separation from Allah. As an answer to his cry, Allah promised to send a prophet who would make him understand the separation. Allah sealed this promise of hope by touching Adam's forefingers, turning his fingernails white. This act of Allah gave man hope that he would be spared from the curse, his sins would be forgiven, and everything would be made new. Since that day, Adam looked forward to the coming of this messenger and while waiting for Allah, he would worship no other God but Allah. This is why infants suck their thumbs and, also why, during weddings, the *imam* and the groom press their thumbs together in the final part of the ceremony.

PLACE OF WORSHIP: MOSQUE

Their place of worship is called a mosque. This is the holiest place in their community. Bapa Emeri stressed that it is so sacred that not even weddings, baptisms, or wakes are permitted inside. To violate this is *haram* [taboo or forbidden]. They, however, have another place built for such activities. It is called *tugan*. In mosques and during ritual prayer, men and women are kept separate. The women generally pray behind the men – often on an upper balcony, in a separate room or behind a partition. This is explained as enabling both sexes to avoid the distraction of potential attraction to one another during times of worship. However, during the annual pilgrimage to Mecca, men and women may pray beside each other due to crowded conditions.

These mosques can be made of timber or concrete cement, depending on the building funds of the sitio.

Datu Pug-on said that even though parity of both sexes is emphasized in the Qur'an, women cannot assume religious leadership. Imamship is exclusively for the men to assume.

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS

The Kalagan term for God is *Magbabaya* with an Arabic translation, Allah, meaning creator of the universe and the giver of life to mankind.

Islam is all encompassing. One of the qualities of Islam is its emphasis on purification which can be achieved by using pure water (referring to water that retains its inherent purity like rainwater, seawater, etc.) in a prescribed ritual manner to remove impurity. Among the impurities that a Kalagan must avoid are dead animals (except for fish and locust) poured out blood, swine flesh, human urine and vomit, *Al-waddi* [the white prosthetic fluid], *Almadthi* [a fluid emitted from sexual excitement], and the urine and feces of animals that they consider unlawful to eat such as swine, donkeys, mules, dogs, etc. It is necessary to wash the utensils from which a dog ate or drank seven times. In addition to this, they do not eat *dinugoan* [dish made from animal blood] and strangled animals. They can eat fish because it dwells in salt water and is

therefore clean. They do not eat pork for it is believed that when a swine is slaughtered and cooked, it has germs that do not die even when subjected to heat. This germ generates itself inside the person who eats it and may cause diseases (UPM-3BASS 1999). Another reason (Datu Pug-on added) is that the evil spirits may transfer to them especially when exorcised from a possessed person.

The cleansing of human waste like urine and feces is called *istinja*. It is praiseworthy to enter the washroom with the left foot saying, "I seek refuge with Allah against the filth and the filthy," then stepping out with the right foot and saying, "O, Allah, I seek your forgiveness. Praise be to Allah who relieved me from harm and rendered me healthy." They also use natural *sunan* [norms] found in nature like the *siwak*. It is a root used for brushing teeth and it is commendable to weed it regularly to please Allah. They also practice circumcision as a religious rite, being a symbol of purification. They shave off the hair that grows in the private areas of the body, grow their beards, shave the moustache, and prohibit women from wearing perfume when they are in public or when strangers (*i.e.*, men) are around (UPM-3BASS 1999).

Spirits. Bapa Dadong Tabudin, Imam Kasim, and Datu Pug-on said that even though Kalagans believe in one God, they still believe that there are spirits and angels who rule the rain, the sun, the bodies of water, and the soil or land. And they hold the belief that one is never really alone because there are spirits about. A mortal Kalagan can marry these spirits.

Baylan. The *Baylan* are the faith healers or the community doctors. They perform rituals to either summon or drive away the spirits in their community. However, there are currently no more *Baylan*.

Morality. In the higher, unseen realms, there are two angels: *Kiraman*, who records man's good deeds, and *Katiun*, who writes down bad deeds. But they do not write anything down unless the person completes the act. Hence, they always bet whether this person will choose the bad or the good act. Both of them will be witnesses on the day of judgement.

SOCIAL SYSTEM

THE FAMILY

Kalagan families in Barangay Madaum are structurally nuclear, *i.e.*, consist of the husband, the wife, and their children. According to TFI documents, they are functionally extended such that close relatives like cousins, aunts, uncles, or grandparents are accommodated in the home. Moreover, one household is composed, on average, of nine members, depending on the number of wives and their children.

The Muslim family is headed by the father and is patriarchal in orientation. The wife is expected to submit to her husband and the children are to respect and obey him. When the father goes out to hunt [*pangayam*], the children are expected go and help him. No child is to disobey his parents, especially his father. Nowadays though, the children do not even care to help since they prefer to watch television.

As the husband works and supports his family, the wife is left at home to run the house and to discipline the children. The eldest helps the mother look after the younger siblings. The girls work as well, especially if they are a poor family. The mother budgets the money or any earnings the family has. The husband, in turn, gives over his income to her.

They practice separation and divorce. To have an affair with another woman or man is not acceptable. It is more acceptable to be married to many women than to keep a concubine. However, when a man keeps a concubine and decides against marrying her, he is whipped and punished in other ways. In the past, men were beheaded. Polygamy is practiced and the lawful number of wives is four. This number can only be exceeded if the man can support his families. Polygamy is encouraged to promote clan solidarity that can strengthen their society.

Bapa Emeri said that for the Kalagans, it is important that a man has a wife for the woman is believed to complement the man.

MODESTY AND VALUE SYSTEM

- When they have visitors, they do not need to be thanked because they believe that it is their responsibility to accommodate them in their

homes. If the visitor stays longer than expected, they borrow money from friends or relatives just to provide comfort to the visitor.

- If the husband is not home, it is *haram* [taboo] for a woman to receive male visitors. If the wife admits them, she is whipped and locked up in a room though this is no longer done today.
- When they have social gatherings, women are seated in separate tables from the men. The host must see to it that the arrangement is so, even though they eat in one house.
- A young boy, or even a man, is not allowed to put his arm on a girl's shoulders. This is seen as sexual assault and the man must then pay for the insult.
- When a girl or a boy does not favor the partner given to him or her in marriage, *pasumo* [a ritual for shunning] is resorted to. When this works, the boy will stop wooing the girl or the girl will lose her feelings for the boy.
- According to Datu Malila, a young lady is not allowed to have intercourse with someone (*i.e.*, premarital sex) if not allowed by her parents. If a girl violates this, she receives 100 lashes to purify her. When a married woman runs away with another man, she is punished by death unless her husband forgives her. However, these practices are no longer observed nowadays.
- It is not acceptable for a woman to have many husbands. If a woman has more than one, she is going to be afflicted with ailments.
- Respect for elders is strictly observed. The old are reckoned with when opinions are needed. They are seen as authentic sources of wisdom and are often picked by the datu to be his counselors.

LIFE IN THE COMMUNITY

For recreation, the children play *sipa* [*sepak takraw*] using a ball made of *uway*. Another game that involves much running is *datu-datu*. In this game, one child stands in the middle of two groups of children and both groups try to steal that child in the middle. If a member of one group is tagged by a member of the other group while trying to steal the target, he or she will be held captive by the other group. This game involves much running.

During *siesta* time or late afternoon, the elders and adults chew betel nut until they feel sleepy. At other times, they all gather around and share stories, myths, and even old jokes while the children come together to listen.

When the people need help in their fields or their houses, the community agrees to help [*bayanihan*] and the datu sounds the *agong* to organize the people.

LIFE CYCLE

The blending of animistic and Islamic beliefs and practices is best demonstrated by going through the life cycle of a typical Kalagan. This life cycle pertains to the different stages that an individual undergoes as a member of society. According to Van Gennep, the ceremonies accompanying these life cycle celebrations are called "rites of passage" (TFI 1999).

CHILDBEARING

The Kalagans, like any other Filipino group, are very child-oriented. The conception of a child [*lakad*] brings much happiness to the expecting couple and they believe that it is a gift from Allah. (This explains why they do not practice family planning).

Around the fourth and fifth month of pregnancy, a *panday* [an expert in religious ceremonies] prays over the woman's stomach. On the seventh month of pregnancy, prayer feast ceremony known as *kandori* is held to ensure the easy and safe delivery of the child. Extended family members are invited to join in the celebration. During the ceremony, the imam or *pandita* applies oil on the woman's belly and offers a *pagdua salamat* [thanksgiving prayer], invoking Allah's blessing on the child. The expectant mother is given deferential treatment to calm her and to prevent a miscarriage.

The Kalagans believe that expectant mothers must avoid eating odd-shaped foods. Eating a crab, for example, may result in the birth of a disjointed baby. An octopus or squid may cause the baby to be born soft and jelly-like. She should also avoid looking at ugly pictures and things so as not to give birth to an ugly child. She is not allowed to go out alone especially at night for fear of evil spirits. To ward off evil spirits, the expectant mother wears a tiny sack-like amulet containing verses from the Qur'an, herbs, and roots. Like all Muslims,

she is required to memorize verses from the Qur'an and recite them to drive away evil spirits. She must do this when she leaves the house (TFI 1999).

The local midwife (who is the *balyan* or shaman) helps the mother deliver the baby. During the birth, all doors, windows, pots, pans, bottles, and baskets are opened to help facilitate delivery. If the baby is delayed in coming, the couple's relatives are called and each one takes turns in talking to the unborn, coaxing it to come out. Those who have grudges against the mother or the father are also called and a reconciliation is made since it is believed that held back hurt feelings may be the cause of the delayed delivery. Sometimes, family members hold a piece of ginger root, mumble a prayer, and blows air towards the expectant mother (UPM-3BASS 1999).

When the baby is finally born, the midwife whispers in the baby's ears the Muslim *shahada* [confession or oath]: "*La illaha illulah Muhammadur Rasullulah,*" [There is no God but Allah and Muhammad is the messenger of Allah]. This is a fundamental Islamic doctrine performed to instill in the mind of the child (and all those present) that he or she has been born a Muslim (TFI and UPM-3BASS 1999).

BAPTISM AND PRESENTATION OF THE CHILD TO THE COMMUNITY

When the child is about three months old, or when the family is financially able to hold another *kandori*, a ceremony called *paggunting* [literally – to cut with scissors] is held. It is a hair-cutting ceremony and a similar ritual is found among other Muslim groups. It begins with a reading from the Qur'an by the Imam or the *uztadj*. Then he cuts a tuft of hair from the baby's forelock. A relative hides the hair to ensure that no harm will befall the owner. The hair is placed in a glass of water. If it floats, it is a good sign; if it settles to the bottom, it is a bad omen for the child (*ibid.*).

During the ceremony, the child is also christened with a name taken from the Qur'an. Close friends are invited to be co-parents, a practice called *compadrazgo*. This intensifies the relationship as close friends become co-parents, in effect, creating solidarity. During the feast, a *sadaka* [a small package as free will offering] is placed beside each plate. This is done in obedience to the

command to give alms which is believed to be meritorious for the child and is considered preparation for the *Allaw na Maori* [the Last Day] (*ibid.*).

PAG-ISLAM

Pag-Islam [*sunnat* or desirable] is a physical initiation undergone by all growing Kalagans. Females normally have it on their seventh year, while males have it in their tenth year. The ritual focuses on the genitals (TFI Document and UPM-3BASS 1999).

For a female child, an elderly woman does the ritual of scratching a small portion of the clitoris using a thin piece of bamboo. Prayers are said before, during and after the ritual. Muslim girls who do not undergo the ritual are believed to stray morally as manifested, for instance, by flirting with boys (*ibid.*).

For the male, *pag-Islam* is circumcision performed by a male specialist. Prayers are also said in this ritual. The initiation is usually undertaken with a group of boys, hence it has a strong communal appeal.

The practices mentioned are regarded the children's introduction to the Islamic community and lifestyle. The term *pag-Islam* literally means becoming a Muslim. Adults who are converted to Islam also undergo the same ceremonies.

TAMMAT

Kalagans must learn the basics of Islam as conceived by the community. *Tammat* means completion of a course in basic Islam. This includes the Five Pillars, the Creed, the five *Hokom Shar-iy*, *Shari'ah* law based on the Qur'an, and the *Hadith* which classifies all acts, among many others. The *Hadith* are as follows (TFI and UPM-3BASS 1999).

- *Pardo* or *wajib* [obligatory], is obligatory and includes all five pillars and other acts that when done, will bring merit and will bring punishment if left undone.
- *Son'nah* [desirable]. This includes those acts that when fulfilled will bring merit but will bring no punishment when undone.

- *Makroh* [undesirable]. This includes those which should be avoided, and that if avoided will bring merit, but if not avoided will bring no punishment.
- *Moobah* [permissible]. This includes those acts which cannot be avoided by humankind, that to do it or not brings neither merit nor punishment.
- *Haram* [forbidden]. This includes those expressly forbidden acts such as drinking wine and eating pork. If one eats or drinks *haram*, it will bring punishment. If it is avoided, it will bring merit.

Learning to read the Qur'an is a major part of *tammat* and it centers on the *madrasah* [Quranic school]. However, there is a growing concern by the elders that the younger generation are less motivated to pursue higher Arabic education.

ENGAGEMENT AND WEDDING

Betrothal and marriage are the most festive community activities in the Kalagan life cycle. In the past, they practiced prearranged marriages but now, more and more of the choice of mate falls on the individual. Even so, consent of the family members is sought. The ancestors are also informed of the wedding. The couple goes to the burial place with the *balyan* who talks to the dead ancestors.

When a boy finally decides to marry, he informs his family and negotiations are begun. A third party is usually summoned to negotiate the amount of the *mahr* [bride price] or *pangayo* [dowry]. This obligation to pay a sum of money to the girl's family gives the Kalagan marriage an outward appearance of purchase similar to the practice of other indigenous groups and the ancient Hebrews. By paying the girl's family, the husband acquires the right over his wife but the woman is not sold nor bought. This merely serves as compensation for the loss of a girl in the home (TFI 1999).

Among the Kalagans, the agreed upon amount is given to the couple as a beginning investment in their life together. (See Appendix 2 for the details of the negotiation).

In addition to the agreed upon *pangayo*, the bridegroom and his family are expected to provide the bride's wedding dress, one or two cows, three to four goats, dozens and dozens of chickens, many bundles of fish and three to four sacks of rice for the two-day wedding feast.

The date of the wedding is chosen by way of the *potikaan* which is largely influenced by the phases of the moon. A date after the New Moon is considered a good day for as the size of the moon increases, so will the family. A date after the waning of the moon is never chosen (TFI 1999). A wedding may be set a few months after the *kagon* to allow ample time for the boy's kin to generate all the finances needed for the celebration. Weddings are usually held at dawn as it symbolizes blessing. As the rays of the sun touch the sky, grace is thrown on the couple (TFI 1999).

The eve of the wedding is called *katipunan*. During this time, there is a certain festive atmosphere and there is much merrymaking in the bride's house. Community members dance to the music of *kulintang* [brass gongs] and *gimbal* [native drum]. No liquor is served during these festivities (TFI 1999).

The day of the wedding is called *kawin*. This is when the whole village is astir and expectant with joy. The bridegroom's kin and his friends are up at dawn preparing the banquet.

A few hours before the wedding ceremony, the bride and the bridegroom take their separate ritual baths. They use the *tiawalan* which is believed to rid them, especially the bride, of impurities and gives them protection from evil. The young couple then starts to dress up in separate houses. The bride is readied in a room where no one else is allowed in except her assistants. Meanwhile, some of her relatives are busy outside blocking the door with string and some paper money attached to it. This is called *lupon* [to block, cover, and hinder]. The bridegroom's kin who will come to summon the bride are expected to match this amount. When this is not matched, the bride will not come out of the room. If the bride's house is far from the wedding site, a number of *lupon* can be arranged by her kin on her path. This even extends to the bride's face which is covered with a fan pasted up with money. The fan is removed before the ceremony begins (TFI 1999):

The Kalagan wedding rites very well fit Van Gennep's (1960) discussion (TFI 1999):

If the family, village or clan is to lose its productive members, whether girl or boy, there should at least be compensation. This explains above all numerous rites involving the "ransom" of something.

THE CEREMONY

The sound of the gong indicates the beginning of the ceremony. The *kawin* is performed on a raised platform lavishly decorated with gold and maroon hangings. Maroon symbolizes luck or prosperity, an old cultural influence from the Chinese traders. Significantly, an embroidered rug of the *Ka'aba* (a black stone believed to have dropped from heaven which is the object of pilgrimage in Mecca) is hung as a background. The elders of the village, government officials whose rank adds to the prestige of the contracting families, the *imams,* and the *uztadj* are present at the ceremony. Three sponsors for the bride and three for the bridegroom are required to join the group on the platform (UPM-3BASS 1999).

The bride occupies her place first, followed by the bridegroom. The officiating Imam then starts the ceremony by reciting the *Fatiha* (opening chapter in the Qur'an). Then the groom stands up and is asked questions about his Muslim duties like prayers, fasting, and others. The imam then grasps the right hand of the bridegroom and presses their thumbs together. Simultaneously, he steps on the right foot of the bridegroom and presses together their big toes. The clasped hands are then covered with a scarf, then the imam asks the bridegroom if he is ready and willing to marry and to take care of the bride. The bridegroom would then answer, "*Inshaallah*" (God willing). The bridegroom walks over to the bride, presses his right thumb on her lips then on her forehead. The pressing of the thumb on the forehead is in effect saying, "You will bear children" and that she is to submit herself to her husband (TFI 1999).

The *imam* recites a final prayer and the ceremony is over. The old men and the government officials then take turns giving wishes and messages (UPM-3BASS 1999).

The newlyweds are asked to dance on the platform, either at separate times or together, but not as partners. The people put their gifts of money on

plates designated for that purpose. The couple then goes around to the group and thanks them for coming to the celebration. An earthquake or rain during the wedding is not a good omen and can only be averted by a *kandori* [thanksgiving] (Ibid.).

Virginity is highly valued among the Kalagan as symbolized by a white handkerchief. The virginity of a girl is very important as it is the measure of her family's reputation (UPM-3BASS 1999).

According to Bapa Emeri, the newlyweds can only sleep together on the third night after the wedding.

LIFE CRISIS

The Kalagans believe that there are many causes of diseases. However, there are distinctions between illnesses due to natural causes and those caused by malignant spirit-activity or sorcery. Depending on the cause, different kinds of healers, including modern doctors, are consulted. (TFI 1999).

The *balyan* [shaman-curer] plays a major role in curing diseases caused by the supernatural. In one case, a farmer came home after clearing his field and felt a very strong itch on his arm. He consulted a *balyan* who recognized it as caused by a *saytan*. She massaged the farmer's arm and chased the evil spirit out and the itching stopped. In another case, a girl was brought to a midwife because her feet were rough and itchy. Her mother believed that their ancestors, who dwelt in the waters, caused it. They went to back to the river with a *balyan* who washed the girl's feet and talked to their ancestors. It was then reported that she was healed (TFI 1999).

Demonization is common among the Kalagans and is also dealt with by the *balyan*. In fact, this is one of the things a *balyan* must encounter before becoming a qualified shaman.. *Balyan* see themselves as helpers when it comes to problems with the spirits. They attribute whatever power they have to Allah and this gives them more reason to have faith in Allah. In many ways, they serve as mediators between the Kalagans and the spirits as they deal with the spirits on behalf of the sick or of the community (Ibid.). (See Appendix 3 for the details of how a *balyan* cures his or her patient).

It is evident that the *balyan* have a major role in the community, and that the Kalagans fear evil spirits but recognize Allah's power over them (TFI and UPM-3BASS 1999).

DEATH AND BURIAL

The Kalagan beliefs regarding death are well-founded in Islam. Death for them is significant because it is the time when a person gets to face his God, Allah (UPM-3BASS 1999).

Kalagans recite the *shahada* to a dying person. The family informs neighbors, friends, and relatives that someone passed away. Then they solicit help or *nagpapalimos* (the root word *limos* means to beg) in any form (UPM-3BASS 1999).

The practice of cleaning the dead is meticulous, not even the private parts are spared. If the dead is a female, an elderly women with an *uztadja* [a female teacher of Arabic] does the ritual washing. *Tiawalan* water is used and is believed to help purify the dead before facing Allah. The dead is laid down on his right side, keeping his face in the direction of the holy *ka'bah*. A dead man's beard is tied to his head using a piece of cloth and his eyes are closed gently. The hands and feet are laid straight and the body is then wrapped in white, unsewn cloth. The bench to be used in washing the body must be thoroughly cleansed and perfumed three to five times before the body is laid down. While being washed, the waist down to the ankle is covered with cloth. Only a man can wash a man, and only a woman can wash a woman. There are no restrictions placed on washing a dead baby. In rare instances, a wife may be allowed to wash her husband's corpse, but a husband is never allowed to wash his dead wife's body. The shrouding of the corpse is termed *"fard-I-Kifayah."* Embalming is not necessary (UPM-3BASS 1999).

When all is ready, the body is passed, head first, through a window. This is their way of saying that the dead "is no longer one of us" because the body now belongs to the other world. It is also a way of reminding the dead that they are really dead and that they are not dreaming. The Tausug have a similar way of reminding the dead of their condition (Ibid.).

At the burial site, the imam reads from the Qur'an; then the body is slowly lowered into the dug-up grave called the *kobor*. They bury their dead within 24 hours so as not to keep the interrogating angels, Nakir and Munkar, waiting

(TFI 1999). A sacrificial animal called *aqiqa* is slaughtered as it is believed to serve as the dead's transportation to the next world (UPM-3BASS 1999).

A three-night wake follows where the entire Qur'an is read by several people. This is believed to be highly meritorious for the departed's soul. On the third day, a *kandori* is held. The imam prays for the soul of the departed and asks Allah not to punish him/her but instead to accept him/her in paradise. White, not black, is the color for mourning. The family of the bereaved again gives *sadaka*, believing that the offering will protect the deceased from punishment. Offerings are given to the very poor in the community. A cow is slaughtered and everyone in the community partakes of it. Food is taken to the grave and the imam pours water over the marker to quench the dead's thirst (TFI 1999).

Aside from those already mentioned, the Kalagans have several beliefs regarding death and burial. They are not allowed to wash or even bury a non-Muslim's corpse. This includes those who deserted Islam. But if they find an anonymous corpse, they should wash it and give it proper burial. However, they do not erect a tombstone over the grave or write inscriptions in memory of the dead.

They believe that one must be properly cleaned before meeting Allah. No dirt is allowed to remain, not even waste in the stomach. The dead must bring nothing with him on the journey. Before burial, a dead body is never left alone. A mirror is placed near it to ward off evil spirits. This practice is also observed among the Tausug in the belief that when the evil spirit sees its reflection in the mirror, it will be frightened away (UPM-3BASS 1999).

They hold a belief that no one is to shed a tear over the dead body. Otherwise, the tears that fall will make journey in the afterlife difficult. The soul of man either goes to *narka* [hell] or *surga* [heaven] (TFI 1999).

Those who witness the burial are forbidden to look back at the grave while leaving the site. Those who joined the funeral procession should take a bath afterwards. Rice is thrown at those who go back to the bereaved family's house (3BASS 1999).

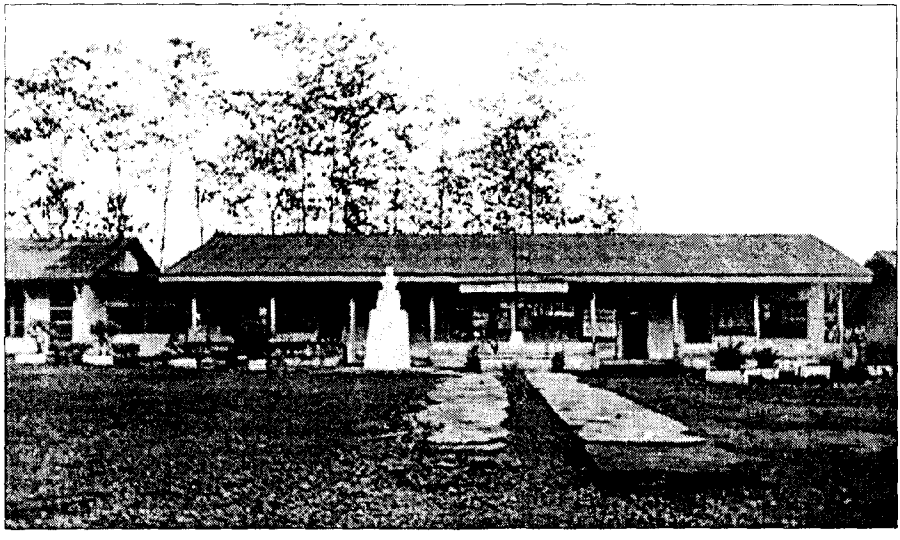
Visiting the grave every week is commendable. Good visiting days are Friday, Saturday, Monday, and Thursday. However, it is not pleasant to weed or to cut fresh branches around the grave (UPM-3BASS 1999).

According to Rexal Caalim, Datu Pug-on, and Bapa Emeri, the Kalagan celebrate the *panditas* [first death anniversary] with much festivity. They prepare a banquet where they serve their special delicacies: *amik* and *panyalan* as dessert. (These are made of rice flour and sugar. The *amik* is cooked by shredding the rice dough but not for the *panyalam*. When fried in coconut oil, its color becomes brown and it is very crispy.)

EDUCATION

According to Eugene Nida (1954), education, equated with the classroom, is probably the most artificial technique for conveying instruction (TFI 1999). For Margaret Mead (1964), education in its broadest sense, is a cultural process, the way in which each newborn infant who is born with a potential for learning is transformed into a full member of a specific human society, sharing with the other members a specific human culture (TFI 1999).

Datu Pug-on said that for the Kalagan, education means seeking knowledge. The teaching [*pangguro*] of Islamic knowledge in the olden days was literally hidden. They had their sessions inside the *kuwambo* [mosquito net] as they believed that such learnings were holy and should not be done just anywhere.



Madaum Elementary School

In the past, those who were knowledgeable on the Qur'an were not just asked to teach. In exchange for the knowledge they imparted, their students rendered services to them or gave them gifts. Learning the Qur'an is mandatory. The *uztadj* [teacher of Arabic] have no fixed formal salary. Parents of students pay as they wish or according to how much they can afford.

Formal schooling is not a very attractive prospect to the Kalagans. In the past, Kalagan children were afraid to attend regular school and they often cut class. The language barrier is one reason. The centuries-old animosity between Muslims and Christians is the bigger reason. Because the school system was introduced by the Spanish and presently maintained by the "Christian" majority, Muslims view formal education as one of the many efforts to convert them to Christianity. This is why most parents refused to send their children to the "English" school as it is popularly called.

Today, the Kalagans believe that non-Muslim schoolteachers and textbooks – prepared by non-Muslims – do not respect the Muslim lifestyle. As one Muslim educator said, "The educational system plunges the Muslim into a strange world of bewilderment. He is made to learn and memorize poems like "Five Little Pigs" and "The Lord's Prayer," sing Christian hymns, and receive lessons on "How To Raise Swine." It is no wonder then the Muslims stayed away from the regular schools. This situation has eventually given rise to the debate on illiteracy. Many Muslims, or Kalagans for that matter, are illiterate in English and the national language, but they are able to read, write, and speak Arabic (TFI 1999).

Now, more and more Kalagans are recognizing the value and benefits of Western education as the government attempts to "bridge the gap" between Muslims and their Christian brothers by offering scholarships to deserving students. The government aims to integrate all ethnic groups like the Igorot of the North and the Manobo of the South into the mainstream of the country's ongoing progress. (TFI 1999).

Just like their Christian counterparts, Kalagan school graduates have problems finding jobs. Despite limited opportunities, they still value education because of its prestige, and the prospect of a white-collar job or even employment abroad (*ibid.*).

ARABIC EDUCATION

The presence of Quranic schools called *madrasahs* is a response to the need for education. Arabic is taught to be enable them to read the Qur'an [Muslim holy book]. These *madrasahs* are found in Barangay Madaum but the buildings vary according to the funds of the community.

According to Datu Pug-on, Kalagans learn the fundamentals of Islam in the *madrasahs*. It takes a year of lessons to learn reading the Qur'an. To comprehend them, lessons are intensified and extended from four to six years, although the level of understanding is still not very deep. Those who want to preach pursue a course in Quranic study for 15 years. These Muslim scholars are called *alim* [teacher or rabbi] and often go to Arabia to study. These *alims* teach in *madrasahs* as well and serve as missionaries. *Alims* are more learned than the *imams* on the *Qur'an*.

POLITICAL SYSTEM

Datuship is the system of leadership in Kalagan communities. According to Datu Malila, it is a hereditary position where age, capacity to lead, and royalty of blood are strictly considered. A datu's responsibilities include being an arbiter of conflicts among families and clans, being a helper, and basically being the one who solves the problems that arise in the community.

His prestige depends on his valor in war, benevolence, and justice towards his subjects as well as the number of slaves and wives he can sustain (TFI 1999).

There is considerable evidence that the datu system of government predated the coming of Islam (TFI 1999). The datu is often the head of the largest clan in the village. A group of datus is ruled by a *sultan*. The present political structure reflects the general relationship prevailing between the Kalagan and the national government. They elect a barangay captain who serves as the village representative to the government. In addition to the captain, there is a datu in Madaum's Kalagan community who is in turn responsible to the datu of the town, who is responsible to the sultan of Davao Del Norte. The sultan is chosen by the Kalagan from the *barabangsa* social grouping. The barangay

captain on the other hand, is responsible to the mayor, who is responsible to the provincial governor (TFI 1999).

According to Datu Pug-on, there is still an existing sultan who no longer has any political function. Over time, the sultanate became corrupt and abusive of their power so the lineage was stripped of authority. It is believed that Allah put an end to it. It is written in the Qur'an that, "They can be easily replaced" which is what happened now.

At the advent of Islam, the *Imam* [priest] as well as the datu held authority in the community. However, their boundaries were clearly defined. The datu's affairs were purely political, while the imam's were purely religious. The decisions and authority of both influenced their immediate community.

POLITICAL STRUCTURE

According to Datu Pug-on, Datu Malila, and Bapa Emeri, the traditional political structure of the Kalagan has a distinct function. The datu or the raja is the political head whose political power went as far as the boundary of the community that he led and lived in. However, he does not rule the community alone. He chooses his ministers from among the trusted elders. Second in political authority were the *rajamuda* or opinion council that served as his ears. Next was the *nakuda* [prosecutor] who handled conflicts and problems in the community. In cases where the *nakuda* could not find solutions to conflicts and problems, the datu takes over. Next was the *masiratav* [executive secretary] who is also a scribe. They also had *arid sa pinto* [sergeant at arms: *arid* means to block and *pinto* means passageway] who took charge of the security, peace, and order of the community by standing as guard at the entrance of the community. The master or overseer of the sea was called *kapitan laut*. The warriors were called *bagani*. Other members of the raja's council were the *saturi* [treasurer] and *bungkomoni* [forerunner or messenger]. Although they did not have money at that time, the *saturi* kept watch over the communities' harvest, collection of instruments and ornaments that were stashed away in storehouses.

In addition to this, Bapa Emeri and Datu Malila stressed, some women also held political power in the community. This is true even up to the present.

Biya was the woman who held the highest position in the community. Although her power did not equal that of the datu's, her authority covers women's concerns in the community. A woman can be *biya* only if she has royal blood or she is the first wife of the datu. An old *biya* is more rightfully considered the women's leader than the incumbent datu's wife. The *biya* also has assistants or a council whose members she personally chooses.

When there are social events, the *biya* organizes the women to give whatever help they can. For instance, they provide kitchenware and dishes whenever there is a feast. Moreover, she is responsible for making decisions on behalf of the women. Otherwise, she can only go as far as giving suggestions, especially during meetings with the datu and his council.

JUSTICE SYSTEM

The pre-Islamic government had *addat* [customary laws] as its source of authority. With the coming of Islam, the political structure and justice system remained intact, except that some of the punishments meted out were patterned after the commands in the *Qur'an*. For the Kalagans, the religious laws should be the political and social laws that govern the people (TFI 1999). But according to Datu Pug-on, this is not practicable at present because the Philippines has its national laws based on the constitution. The Kalagan customary laws are compromised in this situation. They cannot implement them without thought of the existing national laws. It is imperative for them to respect and to obey the laws of the land.

With the increase in the number of Arabic educated Kalagans in the village, more and more of the disputes are settled in the *hukuman* [court] where the Shari'ah Law is gradually enforced alongside the *addat* law. Judgment is usually done by the village *imam, datu, uztdj,* the *mokari* [elders] and even the barangay captain (TFI 1999).

According to Datu Malila, an offending party may receive different forms of punishment depending on the pattern followed. If someone commits robbery, the *Qur'an* says that the culprit's fingers should be cut off but our law opts for due process. Hence, the case has to pass through the *purok* chairman, then the datu and finally the barangay captain. If the robbery is done by a Bisaya inside the Kalagan community, the datu cannot impose punishment.

He has to endorse the thief to the barangay captain. In cases of murder, the *Qur'an* says that the murderer should be punished by death. However, at present, this is subjected to due process.

In the past, when a couple who eloped was caught or found, they were expected to marry. However, as punishment, they were whipped one hundred times. But in whipping, the elbow is not lifted in a full swing so that any pain inflicted will be minimal. Another form of punishment done to couples who eloped during ancient times involved tying up the couple, putting them in a basket and throwing them into the sea. This form of punishment was also given to those who committed incest.

According to Bapa Emeri and Datu Pug-on, an offending party may receive different forms of punishment depending on the pattern followed. If the datu's decision counts more, the punishments were not as severe. The datu can show mercy according to the reasons for committing a crime or offense. However, the Quranic law had an eye-for-an-eye-a-tooth-for-a-tooth principle. Nowadays, if a Kalagan is pardoned, he is asked to pay bail and the amount reaches from P20,000 up to P50,000.

In addition to these, one strong force that seeks to preserve Islam from within is the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF), a secessionist movement started in May 1968 (TFI 1999). Created for the "independence" of Mindanao from the Christian-dominated government, the movement aims for self-rule. Since the idea of secession is not acceptable even among other prominent Muslim politicians, the government grants greater autonomy to provinces where there is a large Muslim population. MNLF leaders take upon themselves the responsibility to preserve Islam among their people. The movement awakened among the Muslims, including the Kalagans, the intense desire to be purely and proudly Muslim. Conservative factions went to the extent of prohibiting Kalagan women from wearing tight-fitting clothes and cutting their hair (*ibid.*).

ECONOMIC SYSTEM

Since they live mostly on the coasts, the Kalagans are generally sea-oriented. Fishing is a major livelihood although most fishermen only catch enough

for their family's consumption. Middle-class families who own bigger boats hire other fishermen.

Another major source of income is coconut farming. Coconut is harvested quarterly and can support an average nuclear family of six. However, many families own tracts of coconut land that are too small to sustain a family. As a consequence, male members of the family are forced to leave home to look for sources of livelihood elsewhere. Some of them work at the HIJO plantation that is run by the Ayalas. They are often assigned to work in the field. Although HIJO serves as an option for employment, its functioning and operations are not agreeable to the Kalagan because the company had bought their ancestral domain from the government. It also poses health risks to the community. Every time HIJO sprays their insecticides from an airplane, the insecticides shower the community as well. This causes illness like tuberculosis and diarrhea as the air and their water system became contaminated (TFI 1999).

According to Datu Pug-on and Datu Malila, in the past, they grew upland rice. They had no tap water to use for irrigation which is why they had no paddies. When they attempted to dig deep wells, they got salt water. So, unlike other lowland Filipinos who cultivate wet and upland rice, most Kalagans buy rice. Based on the 3BASS 1999 Research Study, corn, bananas, local vegetables and fruits supplement their daily diet. Chicken, goat meat, beef, fish, and other seafood like shellfish and squid are the main sources of protein. Some of the women maintain small variety stores in their own homes.

A few enterprising Kalagans engage in the business of buy-and-sell, e.g., buying *batik* [a hand painted fabric] from other Muslim business centers like Zamboanga City, Cotabato City or Marawi City, selling these to other Kalagans and even the Bisaya. *Dagmay* [a long tubular skirt] is made from this material. Worn both by men and women, this particular clothing distinguishes the Muslims from the other Filipinos. The Kalagans used to weave their own clothing. But due to the proliferation of factory-produced textiles, there are fewer *batik* and *dagmay* available or used. If they are at all available, prices are often prohibitive (TFI 1999).

Job opportunities in the Middle East are a major attraction to Muslims, including the Kalagans. For them, the main reason is the proximity of Mecca, the Muslim holy city where all Muslims go on a pilgrimage at least once in their lifetime (*ibid.*).

FISHING

In fishing, Kalagans follow a calendar of activities. This includes the different seasons throughout the year. This fishing activity is greatly influenced by the two major climates in the Philippines: dry and rainy season (UPM-3BASS 1999). (For the detailed account of the Kalagan fishing activity, refer to Appendix 3).

Fishing for the Kalagan is very important for it has become a part of their culture. This livelihood is their inheritance from their ancestors. Their young boys are encouraged to learn and to join their fathers in fishing. This is their way as well, of helping their parents earn a living, responding to the community's expectations. The right age for the boys to fish is 8 to 10. They need to learn how to dive, swim, and paddle with precision and presence of mind (*ibid.*).

These fisherfolk either set out alone or in groups. Their wives sell the fish they catch at the markets. When it is a group, they divide their tasks. There is a look-out to spot the fish, the puller of the nets and rope, the net-thrower, one who paddles, and one who holds the lamp. After fishing, they divide their catch.

However, the pressing problem that faces the Kalagan is the limited fishing boundary. Parts of the sea are now privately owned (*ibid.*).

FARMING

Some residents of this Muslim community maintain small plots of vegetables in their backyards. To augment the family income, they grow products for family consumption using the traditional way of farming. They get a lot of commercial value from their major crop, coconut. They process *copra*, the extracted and dried meat from a mature coconut. Harvest of coconuts is scheduled every two to three months with both young and old helping (*ibid.*).

A typical Kalagan farmer spends an average of seven hours in the field. During the planting season of major crops, he usually hires someone to help him. Growing vegetables is not a priority because the fertilizers alone cost a lot (*ibid.*).

Bapa Emeri went on to say that they set aside a portion of their harvest for the Imam or any devout Muslim who is in great need. With religion encom-

passing their daily lives, they perform a number of rituals in farming. The advent of industrialization has, however, offered a newer perspective for these people. This has caused some of them to abandon their traditional ways of farming and fishing.

TRANSPORTATION

Bapa Emeri also said that they use the *bangka* or *bangay* [dugout canoe] and *bugsay* [paddle] to travel to nearby places and to fish in the sea. But when they go to far places (i.e., visit relatives or for trading) they use the *layag* [sail]. When traveling on land, they use horses or just go on foot.

DEMOGRAPHY

There are estimated to be close to five million Muslims in the Philippines. This number is divided into 13 distinct cultural and language groups with the Kalagan among them. The Maranao, (numbering up to 866,259) by far are the largest group that live around the Lake Lanao region. Next are the Maguindanao (850,389) who are found in the Cotabato region. The Tausug (784,066) come third and are found in the Sulu Archipelago, mainly Jolo Island. The Ilanun (145,049) live in Maguindanao province and Lanao del Sur. The other groups include the Badjao (170,512), found in South Sulu; the Kalibugan (25,101) in Zamboanga del Sur; the Molbog (7,940) in Balabac Island, Southern Palawan; the Sama groups (est. 168,000); the Bangingi Sama (60,000 est); the Yakan (130,183) in Basilan Island; the Sangil (10,155) in the Sarangani Island Group; the Jama Mapuh (25,4410); and finally the Kalagan (TFI 1999 from 1995 Census of National Statistics Office).

The island of Mindanao has been picturesquely described as "a vast, green crab, in tropic waters, stretching an irritated claw after a school of minnows skipping off in the direction of Borneo" (TFI 1999). At the bottom part of this imaginary crab is the Davao Gulf whose coast is home for the Kalagans who total 40,763 (TFI Document on Summer Institute of Linguistics-Philippines 1984:2; 1995 Census of National Statistics Office).

The Kalagan are scattered along the coasts of the three Davao provinces, namely: Davao del Sur, Davao del Norte, and Davao Oriental. The total popula-

tion of the Kalagans in Davao del Norte is 9,065 and Tagum City has by far the most number. The Kalagans in Tagum add up to 3,249 and the majority of them are found in Barangay Madaum – a coastal barangay and the biggest barangay in Tagum City. In Madaum alone, there are roughly 6,000 Kalagans and 1,000 Kalagan households. The total population in Madaum is 10,682 with 2,014 households and 2,050 families, including the Bisaya. Upon the implementation of a Municipal Ordinance in 1989, the barangay was further segregated into 45 *puroks* – one of which is purely a Kalagan community. This is a congested area located in the interior where no Bisaya (non-Kalagan) live among them. Moreover, Purok 3 is subdivided into four sitios: Tugan, Nabintad Riverside, Gapas, and Bakuring with Sitio Nabintad in the center. This is where Datu Magan Malila, the incumbent tribal leader, resides (Barangay Profile 1998).

Barangay Madaum is located at the southeast portion of Tagum City. It has a total land area of 2,668 hectares. It has a flat terrain with agricultural and industrial areas. Of the people living in the barangay, 70 percent are Roman Catholic, 25 percent are Muslims, and the remaining five percent are Protestants (Barangay Profile 1998).

GROWTH AND CHANGE IN *MADAUM*

Road Network. The majority of Madaum's primary roads are already paved and concreted with the aid of the provincial government. The municipal and barangay government fund the maintenance of the barangay roads (Barangay Profile 1998).

Education Facilities. The barangay has three elementary schools: Garinan Elementary school, Madaum Elementary school, and Odell Elementary school, all of which cater to the majority of pupils coming from the barangay. They have one secondary school, Jose Tuason Jr. Memorial National High School, with 12 buildings and 41 teachers. They also have two *Munting Paaralan,* regulated by DECS (Department of Education, Culture, and Sports) and three day-care centers funded by the barangay with three day-care teachers. Finally, Barangay Madaum has two Arabic Schools or *Madrasahs* for Muslims (Barangay Profile 1998).

Health. The barangay has two existing and functional barangay health centers located in strategic areas to facilitate and render health and nutrition

services to the residents. Twenty-three barangay health workers and four barangay nutrition scholars run these health centers on a voluntary basis. They are trained to implement the health and nutrition programs and projects of the national and municipal government. In addition to this, the barangay has one private maternity clinic (Barangay Profile 1998).

Water Supply. The barangay has an established water system run by a cooperative which only serves some of its residents. Although the HPI Company has a water system, it supplies water only to the residents inside the company premises. The *puroks* that do not have access to the supply tried to dig deep wells but they did not succeed; all they got was salt water (Ibid.).

Power Supply. Electricity in the barangay is supplied by the Davao del Norte Electric Cooperative (DANECO) which is the main power supplier of Tagum City (Ibid.).

Housing. The barangay has no housing or subdivision at present. Most of the houses are bungalows and some have sari-sari stores (Ibid.).

Barangay Facilities. Barangay Madaum maintains a Barangay Terminal, Multipurpose Building, Barangay Stage Cone in Katipunan, and in the barrio proper. The public market is still being constructed (Ibid.).

The barangay hall is complete with necessary facilities. They have a drumset, computer, sound system, radio communication system, air conditioning unit, and two functioning typewriters. At the back of the building is the recreation center where a basketball and a tennis court are found. Improvements are still ongoing.

With their incumbent barangay captain, Joemar Quitaban, the barangay committee had drawn up its vision and mission with the thrust being on development. They strive to be "a healthy, peaceful, learned, and economically well-off community" in line with the objectives of the government. To attain this, they try to be cognizant, committed, and cohesive as a community with activities that boost their economic, political, social, cultural, and spiritual aspects (Barangay Profile 1998).

DEVELOPMENTS IN TRANSPORTATION

At present, the roads at Madaum have been improved. The barangay itself has become a melting pot of different groups. The advent of develop-

ment was coupled with improved transportation. By jeepney, one pays seven pesos for a 45-minute ride from Tagum City to Madaum. There are motorized tricycles around the barangay that travel from one sitio to another. Most of the residents own a bicycle or a motorcycle. The 1980 records of the municipal engineer show 33 streets cemented. The total measure of roads, bridges, ditches, and culverts built was 15,545 meters (Barangay Profile 1980).

CHANGE IN SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

The settlement pattern and practices as previously described have changed. In one sitio, for example, houses are clumped together while coconuts, durian, and other fruit trees and various plants surround them.

The middle-class Kalagan have separate houses. Mostly, they build their houses in the middle of their coconut farm. The structures of their houses vary as well. Those who can afford to have them made of concrete cement and galvanized iron roofs. Meanwhile, others have houses constructed of bamboo, wooden planks, and thatched roofs. Each house has a garden where flowers and vegetables are grown. Some houses are fenced. Roughly every 100 meters, there is an electric post along the paved road. Moreover, there is one mosque in every sitio built far from the residential areas.

CHANGE IN MODESTY AND MANNER OF DRESSING

Over time, the manner of dressing of the Kalagan has been hugely influenced by the Bisaya. From wearing *malongs* and other long clothes, they now wear jeans, caps, t-shirts, and short pants. Compared to the men, the women have more tenaciously retained the practice of wearing traditional clothing. More and more men wear pants and shirts (TFI and UPM-3BASS 1999).

CURRENT POLITICAL ISSUES

Land tenure is a major problem faced by the Kalagan in Madaum. All the key informants share the same story and sentiments on the issue of land own-

ership. At present, they own and live on untitled lands even though they were the first ones to settle in Madaum. The place where they are now is an ancestral domain. Since they do not legally own their land, the land became government property. With such a set-up, they cannot plant their crops because they have no legal right to those lands. They want to assert their rights but also want to avoid trouble and conflict.

Furthermore, they also face employment problems: when they apply for a job in a company, they are not accepted when the organization learns that they are Muslim-Indigenous People. In Barangay Madaum itself, Kalagans who finish college are not employed even in the health center. It was only this year that the barangay health center hired a Kalagan, Rosanie Padoran, (a midwife) as a barangay health worker.

ANALYSIS

The data gathered in this research has been presented in a way that would answer the problem. Here then, are the answers to the series of questions raised at the outset of the study.

1.What is their history?

The pre-Islamic and pre-Hispanic ancestors of the Kalagan occupied the seacoasts of Mindanao. This group was originally animistic. They worshipped pagan gods. When the Muslim missionaries, merchants, and migrants came, a new religion was introduced to the Kalagan group. Eventually, Islamic beliefs were assimilated and deeply embedded into Kalagan native culture. The introduction of that new religion is an example of the so-called phenomenon: "foreigners of yesterday, natives of today." At present, the Kalagan group in Madaum are considered native Muslims.

However, those Kalagan who did not embrace the new religion fled to the mountains and hinterlands and continued to practice their animistic beliefs.

The Kalagan in Madaum have a rich treasury of myths and folklore that the elders can still remember very well. Such a heritage of tradition stands as a stark reminder of who and what they are.

2. *Given that the Kalagan are a group scattered across different regions in Mindanao, what are their common traditions and local diversities that make them unique from other groups?*

The Kalagan is the group that embraced Islam more easily into their culture. Though they are now scattered across Mindanao Island, what unifies them and permeates their culture is Islam. They have such a strong sense of religion that other present-day religious beliefs (e.g. Baptist, Methodist, Catholicism, etc.) cannot easily penetrate their culture.

As an additional insight, it is interesting to note that Islam, when taken in the context of the Kalagan culture, is not pure Islam at all. Many people and groups around the world and even within the Philippines, are Muslim. That includes the non-Kalagan Muslims. In that sense, Islam is a universal religion. However, every Muslim group has its certain differences or alterations in their practice of Islam through and because of their local customs and traditions. Before one understands this recurring difference of Islamic practice among the Kalagan, he must understand as well that when something becomes enmeshed in a culture, it becomes a part of and is mixed into their traditional culture. Moreover, such things may not necessarily overshadow the original culture. Note though that these Muslim-Kalagan were converted rather than originally born to it.

By the same token, based on the TFI documents, one can observe that their religion permeated all phases of life It is safe to say that this holistic penetration of their religion in all areas of life provided an easy transfer to Islam as a total way of life.

3. *How are the Kalagan traditions and culture handed down to their children and the generations to come?*

The Kalagan ways of life were easily adopted by their children because of enculturation. Enculturation, as an anthropological concept, is when the Kalagan child is introduced to his community as early as birth. Eventually, a Kalagan learns the ways of his culture throughout his life cycle. Their life cycle is greatly permeated with their traditional practices which are continually observed according to when they should be celebrated (though not all are as carefully and meticulously observed as before). The elders tell their children about those traditions; the Kalagan lineage in Madaum is recorded in a

tarsila and the children are required to study the *Qu'ran* by attending a *madrasah* (Arabic school). Such a requirement has greatly helped in preserving and bequeathing the Kalagan culture to the younger generations. In the *madrasah,* the children are reminded of their religious heritage and are educated into their Islamic religion. This explains why a *madrasah* is seen in every Kalagan sitio in Madaum.

Moreover, on a larger scale, another strong force that seeks to preserve Islam from within, and consequently preserve most of the Kalagan culture, is the establishment of MNLF (Moro National Liberation Front) and MILF (Moro International Liberation Front). Both were created with the basic intent of gaining the relative independence of the Muslim community in the Philippines. This is especially so for the Mindanao Muslims because this island has continued to be the center of the Muslim population in the country.

4. *What does geographical location have to do with their lifestyle?*

The Kalagan's economic life is obvious evidence of their geographical location's influence. Provided that they live by the sea, their economic activities were and are focused on fishing and coconut crop farming. The produce they get from these activities is for their subsistence. Those who are more affluent engage in large-scale agriculture for additional income. There is a need for them to engage in large-scale agriculture because small-scale activities generate very little income. If they generate enough money, they can send their children to a regular school to earn a degree. And when they do, they expect their children to eventually help them cope with their economic problems.

In addition, the Kalagan community was easily accessible to the navigating foreigners in the olden days. Since they lived on the coasts, they had easy access to and contact with merchants, missionaries, and migrants from other places. They were thus more relatively exposed to outside influences. This was how Islam, along with many other changes, was introduced to the Kalagan culture.

In relation to the inland regions or areas, the Kalagan location is not too accessible, situated as it is in a rather isolated corner. The people in flourishing communities "inside" the island might have found it inconvenient to go to the Kalagan area. However, this inaccessibility has now been

breached because of the improved transportation and improved technology. Moreover, this barrier did not stop the migrants from moving into Kalagan soil. The neighboring communities of the Kalagan in Madaum are all Bisaya (or non-Kalagan). Naturally, subtle integration (in the sense that both groups are continually exposed to each other), is greatly feared by these Kalagan because behind this lies possible assimilation and the possible loss of their religious, cultural, and historical heritage on which they anchor their identity.

Their geographical location also has a profound influence on their settlement patterns. Over time, much has changed in these patterns. In the past, their dwellings were made of materials easily found in their surroundings: timber, nipa (dry coconut leaves), and bamboo. Their houses were designed to be tall to prevent flooding and ambushes of enemy groups. At present, their houses vary in construction. Some are made of timber and others of concrete and galvanized tin roofs. The constructions of their house most often reflect their economic status. Affluent families own concrete houses, while the less affluent live in houses made of timber. In the past, they built their houses anywhere within the Madaum area. At present, the Kalagan community is limited to Purok III; this village is further subdivided into four sitios. Living around this village are the Bisaya which made the outsiders' culture readily accessible to the native Kalagan. Accessibility to the Kalagan area was also made easier because of paved and cemented roads. In the olden days, they relied only on their bare feet and dugout canoes for traveling. But now, the Kalagan as well as their Bisaya neighbors have access to all sorts of transportation. There are the motorcycles, the jeepney, and *trisikad* [motorized bikes] that travel within Barangay Madaum and to Tagum City until nine in the evening. With this accessibility to fast transportation, Barangay Madaum can be reached in 45 minutes from the city proper.

5. *What is the kind of relationship that predominated and still predominates between the Kalagan group in Madaum and that of the "outside" or mainstream society?*

The Kalagan in Madaum maintain a certain degree of hostility towards the Bisaya (or the non-Kalagan, also a term used to refer to Christians). They strive

to preserve their culture by resisting the changes introduced by mainstream society. They resist as much as they possibly can. This apprehension regarding influence by the Bisaya has developed basically because of their worldview.

6. *What is the worldview of the Kalagan and has this worldview influenced their culture?*

Worldview is the way the Kalagan view themselves in relation to all else. This worldview is greatly influenced and molded by their culture. They believe very strongly that Islam is the absolute way of life. Typical of a minority group, their community consists of several components which are influenced and affected by their cognitive process (or mental operation that includes evaluation). This cognitive process is, in turn, influenced by their lifestyle. The worldview that the Kalagan have is expressed through and in these social components, the most common of which are their language and their interaction with one another and the neighboring Bisaya community. One aspect of this worldview is ideology (or principles a people strongly adhere to). In the case of the Kalagan, this ideology has its strong foundations in their religion, Islam. The Kalagan in Madaum have a very strong sense of religion and are proud to claim that they are Muslims. Moreover, there is no distinction between worldview, religion or ideology in Islam. Islam is a total way of life and this is true among the Kalagan.

7. *What has changed in their culture and what is their impact on Kalagan social components, namely: (a) religion, (b) political system, (c) social system, (d) education, (e) economic system, (f) language, (g) arts and culture, (h) land tenure, and (I) demography?*

CHANGE IN RELIGION

The Kalagan have strong animistic roots which continuous to run through their veins today. Animism and Islam are central to the Kalagan view of the world. Though they believe in one absolute Creator or Giver of Life, Allah, they still believe in the existence and powers of the spirits and are keen on the meanings of omens and signs.

Since their worldview is partly influenced by the spirit-world and its operations, they hold the *balyan* [tribal medicine man] in high respect. This explains why the *balyan* play a vital role in the daily life of the Kalagan. Their opinions, ability to heal and to exorcise malevolent spirits (or to summon benevolent ones) are highly regarded.

CHANGE IN POLITICAL SYSTEM

The datu system as a political system has long been practiced among the Kalagan in Madaum. Such a practice antedates the coming of the Muslim missionaries.

Their current political structure reflects the relationship prevailing between the Kalagan group and the national government. This relationship also speaks of the general picture wherein the national agenda affects the Kalagan community in Madaum. The Kalagan, along with their Bisaya counterparts, elect a barangay captain to govern them and who then serves as the mouthpiece of the Kalagan.

The datu is not the only one who has authority in the community. Their religious leaders, the *imam* [priests], also have a high position in their community. Until now, the Kalagan people heed their advice and recognize their leadership. But their authority was and is confined only to the areas that concern religion. Even if some areas of their authority have changed over time, the prestige and respect that come with their position have continued in the Kalagan community up to the present. At present, the datu cannot absolutely practice his authority, though he is still in a respected position in the community. Their customary laws are now under the jurisdiction of, and therefore subordinate to, the national government. They have to follow government laws. In this respect, much has changed in that it is now the barangay captain whom they have to follow and even the datu is not exempt from this.

CHANGE IN SOCIAL SYSTEM

Not much has changed in the family structure, design, and function of the Kalagan. The family, extended family, the lineage, and the clan are the most prominent social groupings among them. Though their families are

nuclear, there are very few families that are strictly nuclear, *i.e.*, with only the husband, wife, and unmarried children. Extended families are typical in the Kalagan community since a relative is almost always a part of the immediate family.

Morevoer, polygamy is practiced up to the present as it is allowed in their religion. To have many children and wives — and still be able to provide for them — is a boost to a Kalagan's prestige in the community.

As for family functions, the husband is the breadwinner, but not the sole earner. The mother is a full-time homemaker while the children help in their family's economic activity. In the context of Kalagan culture, the mother's work has no economic value. Kalagan families are patriarchal; the husband is the legal head of the family. This male dominance is also reflected in the pattern of leadership in their political system. Throughout history, a male has always assumed datuship. The children are always to obey their parents.

In terms of the social system, it is important that the life cycle of a Kalagan be considered so one will better understand how a Kalagan views his world. By looking at this aspect as well, one will better understand the Kalagan culture. When one examines their life cycle, one cannot help saying that significant changes have occurred. Despite this, the Kalagan still observe many traditional practices, for tradition underlines their culture. Though change threatens their traditional culture, their life cycle still best reflects what that traditional culture is. Many of their animistic and Islamic traditions permeate their life cycle from birth, the presentation of the child and its christening, adolescence, courtship and especially the wedding ceremony with its many symbolic undertones. Their life cycle is the closest and direct application of their worldview. Since it is the cycle of their life, religion as intertwined with the Kalagan social system, was the least influenced by external factors.

CHANGE AND GROWTH IN EDUCATION

The Kalagan are normally understood to be well-versed in the Qur'an. The norm for having one intensely initiated into the knowledge of the religion impels a Kalagan to study Arabic. This must be the reason why every sitio has

a *madrasah*. With the high value placed on Quranic education, the *uztadjs* have acquired a specific place in their community, valued as teachers and respected as such. In the olden days, education in the Qu'ran was highly valued; alarmingly, the present generation shows no keen interest in learning Arabic. In the meantime, the Kalagan have two kinds of education: Quranic (or religious) and regular (or academic). The Quranic one is essential for their life while academic education is considered important so that they can be literate by the standards of mainstream society. Earning a degree or simply finishing high school in regular schools hold good promise for this younger generation. They hope to find jobs in companies and organizations to alleviate their families' economic hardships. Seen in that light, regular education has become important for the Kalagan and has an economic value. However, the Kalagan face the problem of discrimination when they apply for jobs. They are often discriminated against when it is discovered that they are Muslim and when they are found to belong to an indigenous minority group. With that general attitude towards them, even the college graduates find difficulty being employed.

As an added observation, the introduction of the Kalagan to regular education (often referred to as education by the Bisaya) has far-reaching effects on them. Those who attend regular school have regular and permanent contact with their Bisaya friends and classmates. Eventually, they are influenced by characteristics, behaviors, and attitudes new and unfamiliar to their native culture. Gradually, as they are educated in school, they encounter new ideologies, principles, and worldviews different from Islam. They are also introduced to technologies so different from those at home (which are mostly fishing and farming tools). Regular education has opened a totally new vista for these Kalagan in Madaum. In essence, introduction to regular education and the educational process are by themselves change and as such, have become the way for external influences to pass through to and to penetrate Kalagan culture.

CHANGE IN GROWTH IN THE ECONOMIC SYSTEM

The traditional and basic economic activities of the Kalagan in Madaum are fishing and coconut crop farming which are done merely for subsistence purposes. But these days, they have to work harder and have more harvests

beyond subsistence level, because of poverty, scarcity, and competition for survival with the "outsiders."

To be able to cope economically, an academic education is seen by the Kalagan as having more economic value. Otherwise, Arabic education would be enough for them. Since, however, their economic activity is largely affected by the economic developments around their area, they have difficulty sustaining their basic needs by relying only on fishing and copra farming. Madaum, their ancestral domain, came to be inhabited by migrants from different regions in the Philippines. Eventually, it became a barangay where not only the Kalagan live. Their Bisaya neighbors share their croplands, fishing waters, and other industries established around the area. Schools, houses, and roads were built in parts of their ancestral domain which were once croplands of the Kalagan farmer. And so parents now send their children to school.

With the changes in their environment, the Kalagan were challenged to engage in other economic activities besides their traditional ones. Again, this shows that changes in the environment can greatly affect the economic life of a group.

CHANGE AND GROWTH IN LANGUAGE

The Kalagan language is also called Kalagan. They still use their native tongue especially among themselves. The elderly who do not interact with the Bisaya on a daily basis use their language almost all the time. In contrast, the younger generation always has contact with the outsiders so they can easily switch to Bisaya when they talk to them. Through regular education, interaction with others, and exposure to television, the Kalagan community are readily exposed to the English and Filipino languages. Compared with the past, the present-day Kalagan may have more "foreign" words added to their native vocabulary. Consequently, elements of the outsiders' culture expressed through those languages are transmitted to the Kalagan language. This subtle transmission can cause the penetration of parts of the outsiders' culture into Kalagan culture.

Despite these language transmissions, the Kalagan have managed to retain their knowledge of the Arabic language since it is taught in their *madrasahs*. To be able to learn the Qur'an, they need to learn Arabic.

Language mirrors a group's culture. Hence, the Kalagan language reflects the state of Kalagan culture. The words found in their language express their worldview. The coverage of their language determines how they understand themselves in relation to the world around them.

As the younger generation continues to have contact with the Bisaya, they use a mixed language that reflects the mixed culture and environment they live in.

ISSUES FACED IN LAND TENURE

Land ownership has always been a sensitive issue among the ethnic groups of Mindanao. Part of the reason for their hostility towards the Bisaya is their claim to the land that they consider their ancestral domain and (which the Bisaya now share). The Kalagan did not have a concept of land ownership in the sense that we understand it today, land as private property. For them, no man owns the land. It is Allah's and man is only a steward. At the time of their early ancestors, land titling was not done. But when the migrants claimed parts of Madaum land to be theirs, this was not acceptable to them.

And this hostility extends up to the present, as the Kalagan believe that Madaum is their ancestral domain.

CHANGES IN SETTLEMENT PATTERNS

In the past, Kalagan settlement patterns were determined by the situation in their environment. When the Kalagan first inhabited the Madaum area, they built their houses anywhere they found convenient. If they lived by fishing, they built their houses near the coasts. For those whose subsistence was crop farming, they built their homes in the more interior area. The materials they used were gathered from their surroundings. There was then no distinction between a "poor" man's house or a more "affluent's" house, except for the royal families' house. Basically their houses were of timber, thatched roof, and bamboo.

At present, many Bisaya live in the Madaum area (now called Barangay Madaum). The Kalagan community is compressed in Purok III. This rather large village (for the Kalagan) is subdivided into four sitios where the datu is

tribal leader. This gathering of the Kalagan people in one *purok* shows their resistance to the changes and external forces that threaten their Islamic and traditional cultures. This is also a way of shielding the younger generation from being totally taken over by the outsiders' culture. Inside that *purok*, they preserve their culture by teaching their children Islamic ways.

Moreover, because of improved transportation, the distance between the city and the Kalagan community has been bridged. The sitios once inaccessible can now be reached conveniently. Their roads are widened and paved. With this ready access to the Kalagan community, change is more likely to come.

8.*What are the possible causes of these changes?*

The entry of external influences into Kalagan culture is the basic reason for such changes. In the past, change was introduced with the coming of the Muslim missionaries as they sought to convert the Kalagan to Islam. Added to this was the coming of migrants from different parts of the Philippines who decided to settle among them.

During the Spanish colonization, the Muslim-Kalagan were threatened by attempts to subjugate them. Realizing that Spain wanted to extend their King's territory and introduce Christianity as well, (a religion so different from Islam), they intensified their religious consciousness. It was a strong show of resistance to an external influence.

Though the Kalagan in Madaum may not have openly accepted the cultural influence of the mainstream then, there was still a change. With the power that Spain had over the rest, the resisting Kalagan group was marginalized. Land tenure is but one area in which change took place.

In the recent past, through continual exposure to the Bisaya, Bisayan ways and culture were gradually transmitted to Kalagan culture. A certain assimilation to the outsiders' culture occurred. Though the force applied to influence the Kalagan was not as strong as that of the Spanish occupation, this assimilation still had its own profound effect on Kalagan culture. One such effect is the Kalagan's participation in regular education. With the younger generation's exposure to the lifestyle of their Bisaya classmates and friends, they began to see that they can actually adopt some aspects of that lifestyle.

This is the reason why the youth have no drive to totally embrace their traditional culture. The older generation blame the Bisaya for causing such disinterest in their children. They are alarmed that there is no longer any distinction between the Kalagan and Bisaya. The means through which change also enters their culture are television and modern music.

It is implied that Islam as their way of life is part of their heritage that they can deliberately and consciously "handle." Islam is something they can protect against external influences. But such cannot be applied in their political and economic systems. While they can isolate their worldview and religion, their political and economic systems, on the other hand, are inevitably affected and influenced by government operations and the larger society. In that sense, they are forced to compromise.

9. *How does the national agenda influence their culture?*

The influence of the national agenda is clearly seen in the change in political authority among the Kalagan in Madaum, now that it has become a barangay. These days, the local government extends its projects to Madaum, which benefits are shared by both the Kalagan and the Bisaya. Such projects are the health centers, elementary and secondary schools, water system, source of electricity, and the facilities at the barangay hall.

10.*What are their reactions towards the changes? What is their understanding of such changes?*

Even though the Kalagan feel animosity towards the Bisaya for the changes they brought, it is safe to deduce that change is not altogether bad for their culture. Just to cite some of its negative impact: their young people have lost respect for their elders and they imitate attitudes they learn from television that are not familiar to their culture. Such attitudes often violate some of their norms, especially the manner of dressing. The younger generation tends to be liberal in contrast to their elders' norms of modesty. Given this picture, it is understandable that the Kalagan feel that change has both positive and negative impacts. It is positive in that they can gain knowledge and negative in that the influences affect their value system.

11.*How did they embrace, or did they embrace, these changes at all?*

What the key informants said above reflects their attitude towards change. They recognize its inevitability. Such an attitude underlies adaptation. They have to move on from their culture's original pristine form to survive. But interestingly, their religion has remained strong. This militancy and their loyalty to their religion contribute to the Kalagan's identity as Muslim natives and set apart the Kalagan in Madaum as a distinct ethnic group.

12.*Are the Kalagan in Madaum able to adapt to the changes they have faced and are facing?*

Change for them is not always pleasant and has not always conformed to their needs as Muslims but they are able to adapt. They have remained cohesive and it has been their religion that has unified them all throughout. They are undergoing the changes and the pressures that they encounter as one group. And they have kept intact their identity of being Kalagan in Madaum.

To trace the pattern of change in Kalagan community, it is interesting to note that despite their militancy in their religion, there are actually three types of Kalagan who react to and see change in different ways. There are Kalagan who can easily adapt to change and there are those who totally reject it. The third type are those who accept change readily without any qualms that such change may have the potential to influence their worldview and therefore their interaction with other Kalagan. It is this third type that has become the venue of change in the Kalagan community. Because they are more accepting and open to change, they introduce a new sort of seeing, thinking, and behaving in the supposed "isolated" and distinct Kalagan culture.

In more recent times, *change* has changed its form but it is still change brought and imposed by Bisayan or mainstream society. This change has taken the form of modernization and it is the younger population that are more readily accepting of this change. The traditional elders tend to insist more rigidly on the value of their traditional culture. But, just as their ancestors embraced Islam, this younger generation has a mind of its own. In this era, it is the elders who are resistant to change while the younger ones are more "vulnerable" to it. If this older-generation resistance continues, a division of

some sort will occur in the Kalagan community in Madaum. One group will be the conservative or traditional and the other will be the liberal. Given that our society is so caught up in its thrust for development, it is the liberals who are more likely to survive and get on well.

So far, only the two contrasting types have been given consideration. Those who can easily adapt are in the middle and can be called neutral. They may be those who keep part of their tradition and yet embrace the influences of the outsiders' culture in part. As far as the Kalagan community in Madaum is concerned, they are generally considered neutral. Though the old ones would choose not to be influenced, change is still inevitable. They see it in their children, in their own homes. The change is so real that they have no other choice but to be tolerant of it to some degree. In that sense, they have to adapt. Hence, the Kalagan are currently in the compromise stage. One factor that contributes to this compromise is the need for economic survival. If they make do only with subsistence farming, they can hardly enjoy a good life. Seeing that their Bisaya counterparts are enjoying a better quality of life, they see the need to cope. There is one available resource that can aid them in that endeavor: regular education. With their participation in regular schools, the Kalagan have become more exposed to and therefore assimilated into a new culture. It is the children who are sent to regular school and who have brought this change to the present Kalagan community. As much as they want their traditions to thrive, they also need to survive.

In the past, religion was the avenue to change, but at present, it is economic survival. If it was religion that has permeated their life cycle as a social system, the trend is that in the future, it may be economic considerations that will determine their worldview and hence, their life style. Either way, the social system as mirrored in the life cycle is greatly affected by the changes that occur, be they religious or economic in nature.

Growth comes along with the change in their culture. Change opens new avenues and choices to the Kalagan people. Improvements in health services, education, and new knowledge of other languages were made available to them thorugh change.

Finally, this study has shown the culture of and the changes that occurred among the Kalagan in Madaum. Eventually, they had to make compro-

mises so that they could adapt to the changes that entered their community. Often, such changes have had a profound influence on the younger generation while the older generation found it difficult to adjust, much less to accept the changes easily.

Also shown was the interrelatedness of the components of their culture. The Kalagan have several closely related worldviews and self-concepts that give direction to their culture and unify those components as an integrated whole. Adaptation is an important factor for the existence of the present Kalagan community. It is also important to stress that their culture has functioned well enough to fulfill the individual and social needs of its constituents, especially in terms of their religious life. It is essentially for this reason that the Kalagan have remained a cohesive Filipino Muslim cultural group.

KEY INFORMANTS

- Bapa Pongo, Emeri. Interview: December 1999. 57 years old.
  Sitio Gapas, Purok III, Madaum, Tagum City
  (A Tribal Adviser among the Kalagan in Barangay Madaum)

- Bapa Tabudin, Dadong. Interview: November1999.
  64 years old. Sitio Kinawitnon, Samal Island.
  (An elder Kalagan in Kinawitnon, Samal Island)

- Caalim, Rexall. Interview: November 1999. 35 years old.
  Sitio Tambo, Samal Island.
  (A Kalagan teacher in a School Poblacion, Samal Island)

- Datu Malila, Magon. Interview: October and November 1999. Madaum, Tagum City.
  (The incumbent Tribal Leader/Datu in the Kalagan community in Barangay Madaum)

- Datu Pug-on, Manuel. Interview: November 1999. 46 years old.
  Sitio Kinawitnon, Samal Island.
  (A Kalagan in Kinawitnon, Samal Island holding his political title, datu. He has done a documentation of the Isama Group – being half-Isama himself..)

- Imam Kasim, Tuya. Interview: November 1999. 60 years old.
  Sitio Kinawitnon, Samal Island.
  (A religious leader in Kalagan mosque in Kinawitnon, Samal Island).

APPENDIX 1.
THE NEGOTIATION OF THE TWO FAMILIES BEFORE THE WEDDING CEREMONY.

The negotiations begin with the boy's kin going to the girl's house bringing with them the *pamuka* (a small sum of money wrapped in a beautiful scarf). This indicates the purpose of the visit. Led by the appointed go-between (*yakada Ng baw*), the negotiation usually starts out in flowery, euphemistic language. The boy's party breaks up into their assigned tasks or roles upon reaching the girl's house. Those who are assigned to cook start their task either in the kitchen or in the backyard. They have to prepare a sumptuous meal for everyone, especially the girl's kin. Those who are in the negotiation role sit down with their counterparts among the girl's kin, usually her grandparents, aunts, uncles, and parents. The *pamuka* is ceremoniously placed in the middle portion of the sitting mat where everyone gathers around. Betel nut and cigarettes provided by the boy's kin are passed around and the boy's party begins by saying (TFI Document: quote):

- *Yakani kami kay aon kono duga adi kamayo.* (We came because it is said that there is honey here).
- *Magapowag gao kami aw mapakay kamayo.* (We would like to get honey if you would allow it).
- To which the girl's spokesman would reply,
- *Maonono yang pagkatigam mayo na aon duga adi?* (How did you know that there is honey here?)
- The go-between would then reply
- *Na! Kay aon karibangbang adto kanami na yoman da maglayog-layog adi kamayo.* (Well, because there is a butterfly from our place that always flies here).
- The girl's father would then ask
- *Yamatigaba kamo na yaan na duga mataas yang bili?* (Do you know that the honey here is expensive?)
- *Oo, katigaman nami, sagaw yakani kami sang pagbalaw kamayo.* (Yes, we know. That is why we came here to talk to you).

With that, the negotiations are begun. This whole process is called *yagon*. The amount of the bride-gift depends largely on the beauty and desirability of the bride and the economic status of both families. Part of the *pangayo* is the small amount of money called *salod sang gatas* (container for the milk), given to the mother in appreciation of her nursing the bride as a baby. The groom is also expected to present his bride with three or four expensive *dagmay* (tubular skirts). Most often, the bride price comes in the form of *taliba, antik, patalaya, agong, kulintang,* and other material things or a combination of these (TFI Document).

APPENDIX 2.

HOW A BALYAN TREATS A PATIENT.

Here are some of the ways that a balyan treats his patients.

- Massaging - By touching the body of the patient, the shaman looks for the spirit that hides inside the body. He spots it because of the intense +pain. However, it may move to the other parts to evade the shaman. The chase continues until the spirit leaves the body. According to one shaman, a spirit feels like a grain of sand.
- Acupuncture - Similar to the massaging method, the shaman looks for the spirit causing the illness by injecting the tip of a needle into the body of a patient so it touches the exact spot where the spirit is until it leaves. The needle first pierces through a ginger root since it is believed that ginger burns the spirit.
- *Tiawalan* (Use of holy water) - The shaman prepares three pieces of ginger and sticks unused needles in them. These are placed in three cups and water is poured over them while the shaman offers a prayer. The patient drinks only the water from those cups. Though he can add water to it, the original formula must remain. The water can also be sprinkled on the demonized person.
- Magic Arabic Words - These words are written on a piece of paper and are swallowed by the sick person.
- Transferring a Human Spirit from a Human Being to a Substitute Animal. The shaman places a live chicken on top of the patient's

painful spot and prays that the spirit transfer to the animal. At the end of the sacrifice ceremony, two chickens are let loose and the shaman prays that the sickness transfer to those two chickens. The chicken is called *boloy* [literally to let go or let loose] (UPM-3BASS 1999).

APPENDIX 3.
THE FISHING ACTIVITY OF A KALAGAN.

Habagat winds or the southwest monsoon cause rain. This usually starts to blow as a trade wind south of the Equator and blows warm and dry toward Indonesia, then moves to the Northeast towards the Philippines. It occurs between April to September. Unpredictable winds, big waves, and gradual heavy rains characterize this. These conditions prevent the fisherman from going to the *lawod* (deep part of the sea). However, the remaining months are favorable to them. The other monsoon is *amihan*, a northwest wind. It often occurs during March. This brings rain to the eastern part of the Philippines, particularly Northern Mindanao. This time, it is warm and the winds are steady, the sea is calm so they set out in their *bangka* to fish. They call this good weather *tempo* (right timing). They fish almost everyday from 4 to 7 a.m. and again at 7 p.m. up to 5. a.m.

Methods. There are two types of fishing. One is fishing in shallow waters and one is fishing in the deep. When they fish in the shoreline, they do any of these:

- *Baling*—They use nets with small knots, measuring about 2 inches. They drag this along the shore to catch small fish. However, there is now a law that prohibits this kind of fishing to protect marine life.
- *Sensuro*—This is very similar to *baling* but they use nets with larger knots. Hence this is not prohibited by law.
- *Pamasol* —This is a method using an *uwang* (bait). This may take time and is used for consumption only.

When they fish in deep waters, they use the following:

- *Pokut* – they use large nets with knots as big as 10-13 inches. It is used to catch big fish.
- *Subid* – This is quite similar to *pamasol*, only the fisherman rides on a boat and uses nets embedded with *uwang* (bait).
- *Palangri* – This method uses a long line where nets embedded with baited hooks are attached.

When fishing, they use a variety of tools and equipment. They have *bangka*, *bugsay* [paddle], *pasol* [net with two-inch knots], goggles, *pokut* (net that is 100-meter long), *pamo* [net used when riding a pumpboat/motorized boat], *bangkaw* [lance with sharp knife at the bottom used to stab big fish], and kerosene for their lamps (UPM-3BASS 1999).

Before they start out fishing, they first consider the supply of food they are to bring. This depends on how long they plan to stay out at sea. They need to check the condition of their tools and equipment to avoid delays when fishing. Finally, they have to be sure that their health is good. They also need to consider the weather. Signs that it is a good time to fish are a clear sky and plenty of stars. However, they do not set out when the sea exudes a strong smell and when the waters are dark. They also believe that during a full moon, they are less likely to get a good catch (UPM-3BASS 1999).

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THE MANDAYA OF MONTEVISTA, DAVAO DEL NORTE

AMIHAN D. CRUZ

INTRODUCTION

Davao del Norte is one of the largest and richest provinces in the Philippines. It lies in the Southeastern part of Mindanao, bounded by the Agusan Valley in the north, in the west by Bukidnon, in the south by Davao del Sur and in the east by Davao Oriental. Some of the indigenous groups in the province are the Calaganes, Tagakaolos, Aetas, Samals, Bagobos, and Mandayas (Tagum Library, 1999).

The Mandaya indigenous community is one of the many cultural groups found in the uplands of Mindanao. This group does not possess particularly strong bonds, thus, they are scattered across different geographical areas all over Mindanao. A band of this indigenous people are found at Montevista, Davao del Norte, specifically at Barangay Lebanon. This Mandaya community has been chosen for study because one has not been undertaken.

It is a group which over time has acquired some of the values and traditions of non-natives through the process of interaction. Like most indigenous groups, the Mandaya are striving to adjust and cope with the changes brought about by modern technology and the influence of outsiders.

THE MANDAYA OF MONTEVISTA

The members of the Mandaya indigenous group owned the vast acreage of land in the outskirts of Montevista. However, the non-natives settled in, established residences and claimed ownership of a vast portion of these lands. However, the Mandayas are trying to regain the lands once owned by their ancestors and which the non-natives had acquired. The inevitable interaction between the natives and the non-natives — who brought along with them a different set of traditions, beliefs, values, and culture — led to acculturation and eventually, assimilation. Hence, Mandaya culture underwent drastic changes.

FINDINGS

In an unpublished manuscript, "History of Cateel," writer Juan S. Dacuycuy Sr., wrote: "The Mandaya are the offspring of the Malay-Manobo union. The admixture of Chinese blood further evolved their physical features. They are taller and lighter in complexion than their Manobo ancestors. They have a high-bridged nose, deep-set eyes, wiry hair, and comely faces." But historically, there has been conflict as to the Mandayas' identity. There have been varying descriptions of them, such as that of Father Miguel Soderra-Maso, SJ, who stated that as of 1873, the Mandayas resided from north of the Gulf of Davao, which is the Salug River, to the Pacific Coast. There were about 15,000 of them at that time and Fr. Soderra described them as respectful, patient, good-looking, honorable, amiable and peaceful. In contrast to Fr. Soderra's positive description of the Mandaya, William A. Savage-Landor who has been with the Tagakaolo, a branch of the Mandaya tribe, described them as notorious savages who practiced cannibalism and who lived between Caraga and Katil (Cateel at present). According to him, this barrio and the surrounding settlements had been drenched with blood in the past due to vicious raids. Currently, it is peopled by peace-loving and gentle Christianized Mandayas of the second and third generation. In 1966, a study by Yengoyan also labeled the Mandaya negatively. He described them as pagans and backward in contrast to the Bisayans whom he described as Christians and progressive. This

opinion was based on data that of 25,000 to 35,000 Mandayas, an estimated 3,000 to 5,000 remained oriented toward the traditional way of life, with another 15,000 to 20,000 presently inhabiting coastal settlements and fully involved in a lowland Bisayan cultural pattern.

Efren Angon's (of the National Commission for Indigenous People) lectured that the province of Davao del Norte on the southeastern part of Mindanao Philippines, was originally inhabited by six cultural community tribes namely, (1) the Ata-Manobos from Panabo to Kapalong; (2) the Dibabaons of Kapalong, Asuncion, New Corella, and Monkayo; (3) the Manguangan in New Corella, Montevista, and Compostela; (4) the Mandaya of New Bataan, Compostela, Carmen, Tagum, Asuncion, and Kapalong; (5) the Mansaka of New Bataan,Nabunturan, Mawab, Tagum, Maco, Mabini, and Pantukan; and (6) the Sama in Samal Island as well as the Kalagan Muslim at the Davao Gulf from Panabo to Pantukan. He also mentioned that the cultural community and Muslim groups have cultural, political, and economic systems distinct from that of the settlers as well as with each other. The tribe shared their common bonds of language, customs, and other distinctive cultural traits. Such laws, like their customs, were not enacted at any particular date but evolved over a long period of time.

There had also been disagreements as to how many branches the Mandaya have. The researcher has gathered two versions, one of which states that the Mandaya are divided into four branches:

(1) The Tagum branch, who occupy the country from the mouth of Tagum to the confluence of the Salug and Libuganon River, or perhaps a little further up both these rivers. Garvan states that the Dibabaon further up are probably the issue of the Manobo and Tagum Mandaya.

(2) The Agusan Valley branch whom he believes to be from Gerona to Compostela. Gerona is presently part of the civil province of Agusan del Sur, Compostela, the second farthest upriver town of the Agusan River in the province of Davao del Norte. The town nearest the headwaters of the Agusan is Maragusa, now the town of Mariano. Garvan believes that these people call themselves Mandaya, but to him, this appears to be due to the desire to be taken as Mandaya for various reasons.

(3) The Pacific Coast branch occupy the following big rivers with their tributaries: the Katiil, the Banganga, the Manorigao, the Manai, the Kasauman and the upper reaches of the Mati. The Katiil as already pointed out is Cateel today; Manai is Manay; Karagai is Caraga; etc. The tributaries and headwaters of these rivers are in Davao del Norte or near the boundary. The Mandaya in this region who had been Christianized by the Spaniards in the 1870's now call themselves "Davaweños" or "Davawenyos," residents of Davao.

(4) The Gulf of Davao branch, who occupy the reaches of all the rivers on the east side of the Gulf of Davao, from Sumulug to the mouth of the Hijo River, whose source is near that of Agusan. These Mandaya are famous in Mandaya Land. They presently call themselves Mansaka.

Another account says there are five tribes of the Mandaya.

(a) Mansaka. "Inhabitants of the mountain clearings." Presently, this includes those Mandaya who formerly inhabited the interior and have recently moved into the coastal areas of Kingking, Mabini and Lupon on the north and east side of Davao Gulf.

(b) Pagsupan. Mandaya living near the Tagum or Hijo Rivers.

(c) Mangwanga or Mangrangan. "Dwellers of the Forest." Mandaya populations living in the heavily forested interiors. Sometimes, this group is designated as Mangguangan and may be a distinctive group from the Mandaya.

(d) Managosan or Magosan. Mandaya who live on the headwaters of the Agusan River. This area is now called the Maragosan Valley. Presently, most of the inhabitants are Mansaka speakers, while Mandaya are found in the more mountainous regions to the east.

(e) Divavaoan (Dibabaon). A division which inhabited a small district to the south and west of Compostela.

An account by Mr. Efren Angon states that when the Islam faith was adopted by some of the natives of Mindanao, some *Mamanwas* who stayed along the seashore or rivers subscribed to the Islam faith and are called *Islam* or *Kalagan;* the people who were headed by a *Maniklad* and lived at the top of mountains are now called *Aeta;* people who were headed by a Maniklad who

stayed at the foot of the mountain are now called *Dibabaon;* people who stayed in the forest are called *Mangguwangan;* people who stayed in the place surrounded by sea and water are called Isamal; people who lived in the upstream of rivers are called *Mandaya;* and people who lived in the upper bank of the river are called *Mansaka.*

HISTORY

ORIGIN

Various accounts have been written, recounted, and narrated about the Mandayas' origin. Datu Pug-on claimed their connection with the Burgis, Sumatran, and Minangcabao. It was also said that Mandayas originated from a group of explorers from Malaysia who, during the Madjapahit empire, decided to seek greener pastures that led them to the Philippines. They settled and developed an area in their own fashion. This, however, did not last long because when Islam was brought in, the Mandayas were pushed to the hinterlands from the frontiers. The site vacated by the Mandayas eventually became the center of trade, in which the Muslims excelled.

Villarin A-uy, on the other hand, gave a different version. Citing a Mandaya myth of creation which describes how the *limokon,* once a bird that could talk like a man, laid two eggs. One hatched a woman, and the other, a snake. The snake went to where the sea and rivers met; there he exploded and brought forth a man who lived alone for many years. While crossing a river, a long strand of hair entangled his legs, to which he held tight so as not to drown. After a long search, he found the owner of the hair, the woman who later became his wife. The Mandayas are believed to have descended from this couple.

According to Serapin A-uy, their ancestors believed that only eight of the first Mandayas were granted the salvation offered by the *Tagginiit ta Kalibutan* [Creator of the Universe]. Nowadays, Mandayas associate this belief with the Bible where only Noah's eight families were saved when the gigantic flash flood washed the first settlements and settlers away.

According to the researcher's sources at Lebanon, Montevista, the Mandaya may be classified into five sub-groups:

(a) *Dibabawon* - mingle with those who live in plain areas. They are not afraid to associate with non-Mandaya nor with the Bisayas. Thus, intermarriages resulted between them and lowlanders.
(b) *Mangoangan* - are forest dwellers. Their source of living comes from their innovative use of the materials the forest provides.
(c) *Tagamawab* - reside in the boundaries of New Corella.
(d) *Agusanon* - Mandayas living in Agusan.
(e) *Mansaka* - Their name originated from a Visayan term *saka* which means move upward. These people were a part of the Mandaya tribe who moved to the hinterlands or to the upland upon the advent of the Bisaya. That is why they are called Mansakas – Mandayas who moved up – to be distinguished from the others who remained. They are in actuality the pure and original Mandaya since they intermarried only with Mangoangans, finding it difficult to associate with the Bisaya.

According to Emma Lintapan, the Dibabawon, Mansaka, and Agusanon are educated while the Mangoangan are illiterate. The ancestors of the last group are a sensitive lot who take offense at being eyed by a stranger. If one laughs at them or looks them straight in the eye – the person will either pay or be killed by the Mangoangan. Even if a person inadvertently laughs as they happen to pass by, the Mangoangan will come back and kill the person.

The key informants unanimously said that from among the five subgroups of the Mandaya indigenous group, the Mandaya of Barangay Lebanon belong to the second one. They call themselves Mangoangan or forest dwellers. However, there are also Dibabawons and Mansakas living in the area who arrived through intermarriage.

CULTURAL BACKGROUND

All of the researchers' respondents stated that in the early days, *tapok* or living in an area where neighboring households are only a few feet apart, was nonexistent in a Mandaya community. The people built houses where they farmed, which meant that neighbors were often mountains apart.

However, Ms. Emma Lintapan stated that Mandayas of olden times were nomadic. Their resettlement depended on how long they took to finish harvesting the crops they had planted. They did not use the same farm lot twice. After harvest, they left the area and looked for another area to farm.

As for their houses, it is said that the most common settlement type was composed of the single-roofed structure with durable flooring but without walls and divisions. They called it a *komon* or common, since one area served as bedroom, living room, dining room, kitchen, etc. For the roof, they used the leaves of *pasan*, commonly known as *uway*. They tied it tightly until rainwater and sunlight could not penetrate through anymore. For the flooring, barks of *lawaan* and *ilang-ilang* trees were used. Eventually, when walls became fashionable, they used tree bark which they deemed strong enough for the purpose.

According to Cesar A-uy, a Kagawad of Barangay Lebanon, and the youngest of the three A-uys who served as key informants, the exclusion of walls in building houses was done for survival purposes, since it was too complicated to roll and slide to one side of the house to escape if an enemy or any danger was present on the other side. In addition, since it was part of their culture to leave the house and area itself after the harvest season and whenever a family member died, they avoided constructing a comfortable house of concrete to live in, which would only make it harder for them to leave. But despite the fact that they did not have walls, their houses were not unadorned. They made use of the posts constituting the house on which to hang their precious belongings that served as status symbols (such as *agong*, golden water containers, and swords). Choosing an area on which to build a house was not difficult since nobody owned land nor considered it personal property. Land was for the use and consumption of everyone.

Some Mandayas built houses on trees which also had no walls. All they secured was the roof for the purpose of having shelter or shade.

According to Villarin A-uy, the Mandayas were an innovative people who survived by patiently discovering the usability of things present in their surroundings. The early Mandayas used the *baubo* [a shrub] as soap and shampoo. By gently squeezing the vine, they extracted the *baubo* juice which they used for cleansing bodily dirt. They produced fire by rubbing two red stones

together. Another way of creating fire was by gently rubbing together two frail *barobo* tree branches. The natives eventually learned how to produce matches from processed *gutgutan* or *barobo* trees. Their source of illumination in the past was sunlight during the day and the moon and stars when nighttime came. After the discovery of fire, they used the *dugos sa putyokan* [beeswax] to make candles, which they brought whenever they went *mangayam* [hunting]. Another form of illumination came from the *salung* [sap] of *danguog* [lawaan]. To obtain the *salung*, they sliced parts of a bark until the *salung* dripped. They then exposed the *salung* to the heat of the sun for about three days. When it was totally dry, they wrapped it with leaves of *uway* until it was about one meter long. They then tied it using the *uway*. Its light provided very good illumination which could last a long time.

Serapin A-uy said that the *mata sa abo* served as soap for the Mandayas in the past. The natives procured it from burnt and used firewood, which became clean coal. They put it in a *bagol* [coconut husk] and brought it with them to the river whenever they bathed or did the laundry. It was said to cleanse their skin and whiten their clothes thoroughly. He added that since they did not have bathrooms back then, even women bathed naked in the rivers. Any undue advantage by men would mean death for the man.

Cesar A-uy talked about the eating habits of the Mandaya. According to him, they ate only if they were hungry. They did not indulge themselves if they were not hungry. Back then, *siestas* and even regular meals were not known.

SOCIO-POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS

According to Villarin A-Uy, during the early days, the Mandayas did not practice the election or appointing of datus (the highest position a Mandaya can aim for in their independent political arena.). They only had the *Matikadong*, an elderly person who is respected and obeyed by the people. The *Matikadongs* acted as advisers whom the people depended on for crucial decisions, especially for problems in the community. They also acted as judges. Whenever feuds and wars broke out, they acted as mediators and tried to stop the bloodshed through peaceful processes. When meetings or general assemblies were called, they facilitated these gatherings. Their presence was also very significant in ceremonies where they served as witnesses and advisers.

When datuship came to be, it was by appointment. It was not a matter of bloodlines but the qualities a person possessed which qualified him for datuship. At one time in the past, the word of the datu was the law. Whatever he said was not questioned by the people and his word was absolute. This seldom happens today.

In the past, Rajah-Mudah was the highest tribunal in the political organization of the Mandaya. Most Rajah-Mudahs were not of royal blood. Again, the position was not inherited, but earned. The Mandaya did not have an established political structure nor a hierarchy of politicians or people governing the community. Supporting Mr. Villarin's statement, Datu Pug-on said that after the *Matikadong*, the people also looked up to and respected chieftains whom they believed possessed extraordinary wisdom which benefited the community as a whole. *Baganis* [warriors] were also respected. The people relied on their capacity to maintain peace and order, and to protect the community from invaders and enemies. The role and responsibility of a *bagani* to the community was clearly depicted in Datu Pug-on's account of a war that broke out between the Mandaya and the Kalagan during the Islamization process. During this chaotic event, a well-known *bagani* named Gansa, who led the Mandaya group, and Isay Inam, who led the Muslim group, entered into a *dyandyi* [pact] to avoid massive destruction. They took a piece of rattan, cut it, negotiated, gave their word, and that settled the dispute.

Cesar A-Uy's (a political figure in the small community of Barangay Lebanon) version, on the other hand, differs slightly from the two accounts stated above. He said that Mandayas of the early days did not have datus to direct and supervise them. The ancient Mandayas lived in groups which when it had grown in number would then cause them to choose a leader. Since the *Matikadong* held the highest position, they decided what form of punishment was appropriate for a proven criminal. Furthermore, according to Cesar A-Uy, the primitive Mandaya adhered to and practiced "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth." If a member of a particular clan or family was treated harshly, the relatives would trace the one responsible for the deed and do to him what had been done to their relative, or more.

On the topic of primitive punishment, Emma Lintapan added that if a young woman's marriage to a young man had already been arranged by their parents, and another young man eloped with her, there was a great price to

pay. The other man had to pay a dowry or bride price larger than the original dowry. He also had to reimburse the expenses of the other man's family for the wedding preparations. And lastly, he had to pay a large sum to the girl's parents for expenses incurred in her upbringing. This he had to pay in the form of valuable bronze materials like the *agong*, jars, and *masiti* or swords, *patadjong*, and animals. The same price was demanded from those who refused to go through with the originally arranged marriage.

In the event of having several suspects in a crime or one suspect who denied having done a criminal act, according to Mr. Villarin and Serapin A-uy, the Mandaya justice system had its way of resolving this problem. The suspect(s) had to undergo a physical test which served to determine the "truth." The suspects are brought before a crowd. Then the *Matikadong* would call on the *diwatas* and the guidance of the *Taginiit ta Kalibutan* [Creator of the Universe] to bless a bronze bracelet (owned by an old woman) which they then placed in boiling water. *Ao* or rice husk was used in creating a fire. Each suspected individual would be asked to retrieve the bracelet from the boiling water barehanded. It was said that if the person was innocent, the boiling water miraculously cooled, enabling the individual to take hold of the bracelet without burning his hands. As for the guilty, even before he could come close to the water surface, a mighty force seemed to pull his hand into the container while the water was boiling. He would not then be able to pull his hand out. Thus, his skin would peel off and his flesh would burn. The guilty is then obliged to pay a fine in proportion to the crime committed. The innocent, on the other hand, received the fines paid by the guilty person. If the number of proven innocents was more than one, the fine was divided accordingly by the *Matikadong*. The fine came in the form of valuable bronze materials such as *agong*, water jars, gold, and stainless *masiti* with intricate designs.

Another method was by using *daras* [an itchy leaf] to identify a thief. The process involved wiping the hands of the accused with the *daras* leaves. If the person was guilty, his skin would peel off with the *daras*, exposing his flesh.

ECONOMIC INSTITUTIONS

The interviewees were unanimous in saying that in the olden days, the staple food consisted of native rice, sugarcane, and *camote*. They did not eat

corn which they grew only to feed to their chickens. To this day, some of them still cannot abide the taste of corn, and like their ancestors, they feed it to their hogs and chickens. According to Mr. Serapin A-uy, Mandayas originally raised chickens. On the other hand, Emma Lintapan believes that chicken raising was an influence of the Bisayas. They also grew tobacco, mainly for personal consumption. Their beverage, which made Mandaya men inebriated, was made of tuber they used for sugar and appetizers mixed with *langkuway* and soaked with ginger for three nights. It was then transferred to a *tadyao* [jar] and buried until it turned into a delicious wine. They were also *dawa* producers, which has no Visayan translation, but was described as fine and rounded.

According to Villarin A-uy, Mandaya men usually went *pangayam* [hunting] in groups of two or three. It was very seldom that a man went hunting in the forest alone because of the great risk in encountering wild animals. Hunting in groups assured them of safety. During *pangayam*, the men brought with them a *bangkaw*, *papana* [arrow], *masiti* [sword] and *asu* [dog]. It usually took two to three hours before they caught a wild boar or any other wild animal in the forest.

All of the key informants stated that the Mandaya also raised wild pigs, monkeys, and rats for food. When they went to the forest hunt, they were accompanied by trained dogs who ran after the prey and alerted his owner as to where these were. When the dog barked, it meant the prey was nearby. They did not originally eat snakes and foxes, but because of the non-natives' influence, they eventually learned how to prepare, cook, and eat these animals. In addition, if the natives caught a baby boar, they raised it first, until it was big enough to feed a large number of people.

Serapin A-uy provided a step-by-step description of the farming process. Farming, according to him, was an easy task. The forest and rivers were rich in resources and the soil was abundant in minerals. Mandayas did not have to plow the land or till the soil to plant the seeds. *Sabwag* was the farming style where all the farmer had to do was sow the seeds by hurling them wherever he liked. As the soil was very fertile, there was no application of fertilizers. The farmer then waited for the harvest season. Harvesting, on the other hand, was very tedious and time-consuming since it was before the time of man-made machines that hastened the process and freed the people from exhausting

work. The ancient process was done by plucking the unhusked rice from the stem one by one.

The community helped in the harvest of one's farm with a special payment system. Anyone who assisted on the first day of harvest could bring home everything he had gathered on that day, on condition that he return the next day and help to harvest the rest of the crops for free. On the succeeding days, the accumulated crops would go to the owner. Before beginning to harvest, the natives looked for a place within the farm perimeter where they put a fresh egg and offered their heartfelt gratitude to *diwata Inang* whom they believed owned and protected rice, and thanked her for safeguarding their crops. During the ritual, they would also ask for *Inang*'s permission to harvest the crops.

Harvest season was a very festive occasion. Villarin A-uy recalled that after a harvest, the farmer sounded his *agong* and *gimbal* to signal a successful harvest. Banging the *agong* and the *gimbal* incessantly for three consecutive days also invited the people to a feast. Whoever heard the sound, which resounded to the distant mountains, would begin traveling to arrive in time for the celebration. As a result, a big gathering took place. During the feast, they usually slaughtered five pigs, which were placed after cooking in a temporary cottage wherein they built an altar. The altar was adorned with *idyok* leaves and a wooden idol which the natives lavished with praises and prayers. All varieties of food prepared were placed before the altar, surrounding a plate full of chicken liver. After all the preparations, the natives then gathered around the altar and started the *diwatahan*. Through their prayers, chants and dances, they called on the presence of *Kalinganan* who guards their fields and assures them a bountiful harvest and *Mananaop* who drives away the *dangan* [insects] that destroy the crops. After some time, an unsuspecting individual would be possessed by a *diwata*'s spirit and begin speaking in an unknown tongue. Through this person, the messages of the *diwatas* were transmitted to the people. Since the person spoke in a language incomprehensible to ordinary individuals, the messages were interpreted by a *Matikadong* who was said to be guided by a spirit that enabled him to interpret the words correctly. Shredded chicken liver was an indication that the *diwatas* heard their prayers. When the feast was over, the farmer then moved to another area which he could farm.

They also practiced *kaingin*, a process of burning trees to clear forest area for farming.

According to Cesar A-uy, *hakut*, a pest that destroyed the crops, was already a problem for the native farmers. To save their crops, the natives appealed to the *diwatas* for assistance. They looked for an old tree that had fallen and placed fresh eggs under it while praying. Afterwards, they talked to the insects and asked them to leave the crops.

Mandayas of the early days were not only hunters and farmers but fishermen as well. Back then, neighboring Mandaya men fished in the river as a group. But first, they saw to it that good weather was ahead, using the height of the sun as a guide. They then proceeded towards the river, toting their *bantaks* [fish trap] with them. Each individual then held a stick to guide the fishes into the trap. Most of the time, they brought home *banak* and *bigok* [isda sa bato].

According to Fely Balone, the Mandayas do not celebrate special holidays. They are a very hard-working people who prefer to work unless requested by their leader to attend special gatherings.

ARTS & CRAFTS

According to Fely Balone, Mandaya men of the olden days wore nothing on their upper torso and a *bahag* for the lower part of their bodies. But as the years went by, this changed and eventually, they were seen wearing sleeveless *chaleko* and *inabo* [short pants]. The materials for their attire came from the *barobo* tree. The women used *patadjong* as the lower covering and a long-sleeved blouse for the upper part. They had no undergarments. However, they loved adornments or jewelry. Another account of how the Mandaya women of the past dressed describes black and red long-sleeved blouses with a cut-out in the back. Their skirts were tied to their waists, and they arranged a triangular handkerchief on the left side of their skirt as an accent.

The materials used for their clothing were similar to *abaca* and pineapple fibers and were believed to have come from a variety of tree found in the wild called the *agaon* which had a red trunk. That was the reason why the dominant color of their clothing was red.

For piercing the earlobe, they used the *piyok* [an insect] to bite their ears to create a hole. They then fashioned an earring from polished coconut husk to wear as adornment for their ears.

The Mandaya, like all indigenous groups, have their own set of musical instruments that enliven their celebrations: (1) the a*gong* is a round-shaped musical instrument made of bronze. It has a small mound at its very center, where it is pounded to create the desired sound; (2) the *kulintang* is exactly like the *agong* in design and material, only much smaller in size. Unlike the *agong*, a *kulintang* is composed of a number of small *agongs* which are tied side by side and arranged in a big frame that could hold them firmly. Its counterpart today is the piano; (3) the *kudlong* functions like a guitar but with only two strings; (4) the *tangko* is a native bamboo guitar. Unlike the *kudlong*, it has five strings. The natives carefully put a bamboo to the center portion, while being extra careful not to separate the string from the bamboo itself; (5) the *gimba* is made of the skin of a *binaw* [deer] and functions as a native drum.

According to native folklore, the *gimba, agong,* and *kulintang* were created simultaneous with the first man. During their ancestors' time, blacksmiths discovered the materials the instruments were made of and tried fashioning these instruments. From then on, Mandayas owned replicas of the original *gimba, agong,* and *kulintang*. It was also said that their Mandaya ancestors could not eat during ceremonies without these three instruments. Thus, it was proof enough to the Mandaya that *Tagginiit ta Kalibutan* created the musical instruments at the same time that he first created man.

Aya-aya or *Ayaw-ayaw* or *Bua-bua* is a well-known lullaby. While the guardian (or whoever took care of the child while his parents were away) shook the *yubyuban* [hammock], she sang this. Unlike hammocks of current times which are swung horizontally, hammocks in the olden days were pulled up and down. The song would tell the child that he must keep quiet and go to sleep because his mother was away looking for food but would be back soon.

Unlike the songs of today, Mandaya songs had no exact lyrics and melody. Songs were composed on the spot especially during a celebration where lyrics were inspired by the occasion. Its melody depended on the person playing musical instruments and the singers simply harmonized to the tune. The one known to possess a beautiful voice was always requested to sing.

Villarin A-uy stated that ancient practices did not permit an individual to dance with the opposite sex. If women danced, men could not dance with them. Whatever festivity or occasion was celebrated, their musicians played the *gimbal* and *agong*. As with their songs, their dances did not have exact steps for a particular song. Dance steps depended on the music. If the musicians played loud and fast music, the dancers would adjust their steps accordingly. If soft music was played, they would create steps appropriate for that kind of music. For soft and sweet music, the *kulintang* was favored as the appropriate musical instrument. A dance which depicted the Mandayas' gratitude to the *diwatas* for a bountiful harvest was called *Inang* since it was offered to *diwata Inang*. Other native dances were the *Banuy* and the *Nunduton* which were performed during special occasions

RELIGION

All informants stated that Mandayas practiced *Diwatahan*. They believed that good spirits or *diwatas* are out there watching over and guiding them. Whenever somebody had an ailment, they offered pigs, dances, and chants to ask for the *diwatas'* healing powers. *Diwatas* were said to be very powerful. If a person did not believe in them, he would die even without any cause.

They considered pigs and chickens holy and used these as offerings to *diwatas*. A mountain with a *balete* tree is considered holy, because the natives believe it to be the abode of their *abyans* [spiritual guides] and *diwatas*. The *alimukon* [dove] is also considered holy and is said to forewarn the natives of any misfortune. Most of their decisions were either affected or influenced by the *alimukon*. One concrete example was its impact on farming. When the planting season came and the natives started *galas* [clearing up the area in preparation for planting], and heard the sound of the *alimukon*, they would follow the first thought that came to mind. If going on with their work crossed their mind, they would continue. Otherwise, they immediately stopped, for negative thoughts were considered bad omens and would only result in unproductive farming. As a contingency plan, the natives always looked for another area to clear. If a person planned to travel, they waited for the *alimukon*'s signal of a safe journey. It was considered a bad omen if the chirp of the *alimukon*

was heard from the back of the traveler because it meant that he would encounter a mishap during the course of his trip. Even if almost halfway to his destination, if he heard the chirp from his back, the traveler would return, believing that danger lay ahead. However, if the *alimukon*'s chirp was heard from the front, it meant he could safely reach his destination.

Even their hunting expeditions were influenced by the *alimukon*. Before going to the forest to look for food, a hunter first waited for the *alimukon*'s chirp from his left. That meant that the hunt would be successful. If the chirp was heard from any other direction, he would then stay home believing that even if he spent the entire day hunting, he would come home empty-handed.

They also practiced animism. They offered gifts and prayers to a sculpted piece of wood with blood poured on several spots. Whenever they needed the help of their *diwatas*, they would go to the place they considered holy and where the man-made statue was. There they gave their offerings, to the accompaniment of songs, chants, and dances.

Serapin A-uy added that in the past even after the Bisaya came and mingled with the Mandaya, they continued to perform their native rituals and ceremonies. If a woman fell sick after giving birth, her relatives immediately sacrificed a pig to the *diwatas*, with dances and prayers, for her recovery and good health.

These rituals aroused the Bisayas' curiosity and they asked for the chance to participate. The Mandayas, being hospitable people, allowed the Bisaya to witness the performances even if they did not allow the Bisaya to participate and prohibited them from consuming any of the offerings. And when food for consumption was served, they ate separately from the natives.

After the ceremony, when the Bisaya left, they were given native products which the natives had prepared for them. They never went home empty-handed. Somehow, the Mandayas always had something to give to their visitors. The respondents also stated that in the early days, miserly people did not exist and that prior to the entry of Christian settlers, Mandayas were virtuous. They lived by their rules and regulations, which were few and simple.

CONTEMPORARY PERIOD

Prior to the founding of Lebanon, it was named Sitio Talin by the *Matikadong* or Council of Elders. Around 1963-1964, a certain Reverend Gakal came to the place, organized the natives, introduced Christianity, and eventually named it Lebanon, a name he took from the Bible after a place in Israel. But according to Ms. Ingracia Datuin, a Mr. Palabrica from Iloilo was the one who organized the natives, introduced Christianity, and named it Lebanon. Lebanon — then known as Sitio Talin — was not a population-centered area. The bulk of the Mandayas were concentrated in Sitio Hinabatan (seven kilometers from the former Barangay Lebanon). Thus, Barangay Lebanon was transferred to Hinabatan.

Thereafter, Lebanon Calvary Church was established through the supervision of Reverend Gakal. It was followed by the organization of Barangay Lebanon which made possible the election of the first barangay captain, Alipyo Ansing (a native of the place and a Mandaya by birth), in 1967. He was succeeded by another Mandaya, Tsikote Tabag. In 1969, Tirurays settled in Barangay Lebanon. Eventually, when the Mandaya population grew and the area they occupied expanded, the Tirurays left the site. In the late 1970s, Mandayas lost confidence and trust in their leaders whom they expected would protect them. Instead, their leaders cheated and deceived them for personal gain.

In 1972 MINDAHILA (Mindanao Highlanders Association) was organized in Barangay Lebanon. The pioneers of the association started recruiting Mandaya members. However, it was not long before anomalies started which the Mandayas did not want to get involved with. They left and MINDAHILA was abolished. Then in 1984, a non-native, in the person of Antonio Felialan, joined local politics and won. Then followed Floro Pequero (also the current barangay captain of Lebanon) and Romeo Davis — both Bisaya's (a term used when referring to non-natives). Currently, they have barangay sessions twice a month where the sentiments of the people are articulated. The barangay captain, however, constantly coordinates with his *purok* chairpersons regarding any problems and developments. They also have roving parties whose objective is to guard the community from danger.

At present, Barangay Lebanon does not have electricity. The power company that supplies electricity to the whole of Montevista cannot extend power supply to the area because of the limited number of residents. The residents cannot raise the money needed to put up posts to serve as their connection to the power company. Today, they use lamps fueled by petroleum, which is much easier to make since all they need is an empty bottle with a lid which they perforate at the center after which a rolled cloth whose length reaches the end of the bottle is placed. They put in gas and it is then ready for use. Aside from that, lamps are also available at affordable prices. As for their water supply, most of the residents of the barangay utilize rain water which they store in large tanks.

Cesar A-uy specified that just recently, for safety purposes, *tapok* – or living in an area where neighboring households are in close proximity – was encouraged. Montevista nowadays, is an NPA (New People's Army) infested area, along with the Scout Rangers. The government encouraged the *tapok* for more convenient monitoring, which became a necessity when the insurgents came. *Purok* chairpersons now exist to represent each *tapok* in the barangay council. As a result, the barangay captain can attend to the needs and complaints of the people since minor problems within the group are attended to by the *purok* chairman or sub-barangay captain. Thus, major problems and projects of the barangay are given due attention and time since the barangay captain's responsibilities are shared. In the past, they had difficulty calling for a general assembly or meetings since messages were not received on time by the people because of the distance.

Recently, a certain Kagawad Garcia (a Bisaya) was authorized to organize the Montevista Integrated Tribal Association. Through this organization, 20 datus were assigned to 20 barangays of Montevista. They are responsible for monitoring the progress and activities of the barangay, which they report to the municipal office for documenting and reporting purposes. Noel Lintapan, a Mandaya, was designated for Barangay Lebanon.

The key informants gave almost similar responses when it came to the political changes in their community. They stated that today, even if the Mandayas are already subjected to the national laws, some of their customary laws are still practiced, such as punishing one who steals another person's husband or wife. It is said that the natives adhere to the government's rules

since they are able to adjust to them. They also cite the difficulty of being regulated by two sets of laws since conflicts may arise to confuse the people. However, it is their sentiment that the government favors wealthy individuals which puts the natives at a disadvantage. They feel that government is neglecting its responsibilities to the natives. Despite everything, the hope that government officers will give them support – even after elections – remains.

POLITICAL PROBLEMS IN THE COMMUNITY

Villarin A-uy claimed that the primary problem of Mandayas is financial instability. Most of them do not have stable jobs and rely only on their farms. And because their lands were sold by their ancestors in the earlier days, they no longer own enough land to support their family's basic needs.

Ownership of land was not practiced in the past. In the past, the Mandayas did not give much attention and importance to property and material wealth. With education and outside influences, the natives' original concept of property has changed. Thus, at present, they fight over land. Subsequently, their behavior affected the development of their community. For example, unscrupulous natives in office diverted for their personal use the budget allotted for the construction of roads for the safety and convenience of the residents of Barangay Lebanon. The residents of the barangay had long been requesting to have the road leading to the community paved. However, bulldozers simply flattened the roads, an ineffective and costly process since the ground softened and became muddy when heavy rains came. Hence, it became difficult and sometimes impossible for any vehicle to transport the natives' goods to the public market and downtown Montevista and back. In short, economic activity is hindered which is disadvantageous for natives whose source of livelihood is peddling and selling. That is one reason why they remain underdeveloped. However, some of the political leaders of the barangay are now combining their efforts to generate the money needed for road construction.

Emma Lintapan said that vote buying is rampant in these parts of the country. During election time, political candidates give the Mandaya sardines and a few kilos of rice in exchange for votes. Promises of helping them out of their poverty are given, only to be forgotten after election time.

Fortunately, there is continuous funding for the school, but the teachers do not receive their salaries on time.

According to Serapin A-uy, one reason why the Bisaya look down on them is because they do not have any written documents about their origins. The development of their tribe is not documented. Had there been a documentation of their early culture, it would not be difficult to pass the traditions on to the next generation, and the present generation can follow the practices correctly with the aid of the written documents. They would be performing the same rituals step by step; there would be no variations. Some would have known how to speak in tongues which they call *bantuy* and others would have known how to interpret them correctly. Today, they face an uncertain past which affects their present lifestyle and might also affect their future.

When the researcher asked why the natives are not cohesive when their goal is the preservation of their culture, Serapin A-uy replied that the Mandayas' ethnocentrism is of a different level. They actually have some variations in their own customs which are similar to the burial practices of the *Mangoangan* and *Dibabawon*. Because of a very strong sense of solidarity and ethnocentrism, they believe that only their way is correct. According to him, one reason why the natives do not unite in the *tapok* or geographical clustering is because there is no law that requires them to do so. The Mandaya had a dispersed settlement pattern in the past. Their houses were mountains apart. Today however, their dwelling places are in close proximity with each other which he interprets as a form of unity. The Bisaya revolutionized the traditional Mandaya lifestyle. They introduced alterations and substitutions to their ancient ways. The Bisaya influenced their economy, introduced a new religion, played up education, and began to dominate even the political institutions in place.

SOCIAL CHANGES

The Mandaya family is residentially nuclear but functionally extended. It is characterized by a strong sense of solidarity so that no matter how distant the relationship is, e.g., a fourth degree cousin, as long as they share the same blood ties, they refer to themselves as *igsu-on* or close-kin.

Ancient and current breast-feeding techniques are similar. Emma Lintapan identified the difference where, in the past, it was acceptable for another nursing mother to breast-feed a child, especially when the real mother was away working at the farm or doing errands.

A Mandaya child in the past was adventurous and accustomed to simple and uncomplicated activities, having grown up playing with animals and with children his or her age, and at home in the forest. Today, a Mandaya child grows up playing with plastic toys which their parents buy from the local market. Today, most Mandaya parents encourage their children to have at least a basic education so that they would not appear ignorant when they grow up.

Mandayas practiced polygamy. Men were allowed to have two, three or more wives so long as they could support them equally. A Mandaya man must be able to provide a house for each wife because in Mandaya culture, wives should live separately. Women however were not allowed to have more than one husband.

Because of the influence of the missionaries, they are now married in churches. In the past, most marriages were arranged. The process began with the man's mother and father approaching the woman's parents to present the proposal. If the latter agreed, both parties would then plan and discuss the marriage. After the parents haggled over the bride price and preparations, a pig was slaughtered to signal that the agreement had been finalized. Bride price or *bugay* was in the form of *agong*, pigs, clothing and precious materials such as *masiti* and bronze jars. Only after the preparations were set would the man and woman be notified of the forthcoming matrimony. But prospective marriage partners were not totally unaware of what their parents were doing. All the unattached individuals were aware of the custom and were then prepared for the eventuality.

Bride service was a common practice. It was a man's way of humbling himself by working for the girl's family, accommodating their demands for period of time. The most usual means of service was chopping wood and fetching water from the river or wells. To woo the girl, he brought presents for her, usually flowers and viands, whenever he came for a visit. Sometimes, the girl's parents decided to have the man do *galas* [prepare a certain area for farming] before they agreed to the marriage proposal.

During the wedding ceremony, a mat was usually spread where the couple would occupy the center, surrounded by *Matikadongs* who served as witnesses. After praying and asking for the *diwatas'* guidance for a peaceful and happy marriage life for the couple, they were then asked to share food on a leaf (which served as a plate) or *bagol* [coconut husk]. The couple then fed each other. Afterwards, the *Matikadong* gave the newly-married couple some advice as to how to live a peaceful and fulfilling married life, to cherish and to love each other until death, how to discipline their children to grow up to be good men and women. Subsequently, *pakong* would take place by slightly banging the foreheads of the couple together.

Villarin A-uy recounted another wedding practice. The couple sit side-by-side to share the internal organs of wild animals like liver, intestines, kidney, etc. which was deliciously prepared in the Mandaya's ancient style of cooking. After consuming the food served on a large leaf, the couple was then pronounced as man and wife. Today, this method is known as *kasal sa banig* [mat wedding] and is still very much practiced by the Mandayas. After the couple has been declared man and wife, the relatives of the girl get the chance to choose among the native delicacies on the table first, followed by the man's relatives.

Nowadays, weddings are a lot more expensive. The wedding dress for the bride, clothes for the groom, bridesmaids, flower girl and those included in the long guest list and the wedding banquet cost a lot. Added to the list of expenses are all the officiating priests' or pastor's fees and contribution to the church. This is why Mandaya couples who cannot afford the extravagance of a modern-day wedding resort to their traditional way of binding two people forever. According to Cesar A-uy, when the natives started practicing monetary economy, the bride price also changed. It became P500, 10 pieces of clothing or a pig weighing 50 kilograms.

After their wedding night, if the man discovered that the girl was no longer a virgin, which very seldom happened, the dowry would be returned to girl's family and the groom's expenses reimbursed. Ironically, in their present community, premarital sex is an ordinary occurrence. If in the course of their married life, the girl is treated unjustly by the husband or vice versa, he or she is accountable not only to the injured party, but to the family as well.

Serapin A-uy says that Mandayas are people who live up to their word. Even if a marriage ceremony has not taken place, only death can set a couple apart. Separations happen nowadays, although divorce is rare. This is so since every individual fully realizes its impracticality because of the difficulties involved in the process. In Mandaya culture, when a couple decides to separate, both have to repay their in-laws the expenses involved in the marriage feast and preparations. The custody of the children, on the other hand, depends on their choice. Unlike the Bisaya, the parent not chosen is not obliged to support the children.

In Mandaya culture, when a person dies, all his belongings are buried with him. This is done because the sight of the possessions of a loved one only causes grief to the family members. They also thought it dangerous to keep the belongings of a deceased. In the early days, corpses were wrapped in *ilang-ilang* or *lawaan* bark. The mat the dead body was placed in could be used for wrapping the corpse before the burial. There were those who practiced burying their dead without clothing in the belief that what is created from dust must return to dust. Ancient beliefs taught that if the body is enclosed within a hard covering, the soul would be trapped inside and be unable to join the *diwatas* in their sacred place. This is the principle behind not utilizing wooden coffins. The soul would not be able to return directly to where it belonged because of the barrier which the coffins provide.

According to Serapin A-uy, in the early days, the Dibabawon and the Mangoangan's (a sub-tribe of Mandaya) differed when it came to burial practices. The former, after burying their dead under the house, set the house on fire. The latter, on the other hand, did not practice burning, although they also buried the dead under their house. Afterwards, they would leave the house as it was and looked for another. Eventually, they discovered that tree trunks could be used as coffins by digging a hollow long and deep enough for the whole body. After a day of mourning, the deceased was buried. Embalming was not yet practiced.

At present, corpses are placed in coffins if the dead one's relatives have the means to produce the necessary materials. Mourning, like before, lasts only for one night since embalming is still not done. However, they adopt the Bisaya style of burying their dead in one area (a cemetery).

NORMS AND VALUE SYSTEM

The Mandaya of Montevista, like any other ethnic group, adhere to and follow certain written and unwritten norms within their society. They also cherish traditional values which distinguish them from other Mandaya groups.

According to Serapin A-uy, their ancestors committed very few spiritual and material transgressions. They were law-abiding people who valued the customary laws imposed by their elders.

Social roles for both sexes of varying ages are still at work within the Mandaya community. They live in a patriarchal world where men dominate in almost every aspect. Within the household, women serve and cater to most of the needs of men's.

According to Fely Balone, in the early days, single women usually made a *banig* [mat] which they used at home. Sometimes they also assisted in the rice fields and farms after doing their household chores. Married women took care of the children at home. When it came to a point that the children could be left alone with the elderly, mothers assisted at the farm since extra hands were always needed for a larger produce. After spending some time at the farm, women then returned home to prepare the family's meal for the night. The women are still expected to do these tasks at present. Clothing the family is also the women's job. They weave cloth for their family, using their creativity to make the apparel presentable.

Mandaya men, on the other hand, were and still are farmers and hunters. It was and still is the man's responsibility to look for food for his family. Unlike the Ata and Matigsalog whose cultures dictated that women carry most of the baggage when travelling, while men carry only a *bangkaw* and *alimukon*, Mandaya men relieved their women of the heavy baggage. Babies were placed on the backs of women.

Children, especially boys of the right age and strength, were obliged to assist their father or parents at their farms and accompanied the men in hunting.

The elderly, on the other hand, were given the option to choose the child they liked most and felt comfortable living with. The one chosen wholeheartedly and readily accepted the responsibility. As their age would not allow it, the elderly are not able to help in farming and hunting. Thus they are the ones

left to guard the house and to watch over the children. Oftentimes, their meals were already prepared even before the other members of the family left.

In recent times, the roles have remained the same, except that today, men need to look for a good-paying job since money is an important element for survival. And today, women look for innovative ways to earn money to augment their husband's earnings. Eventually, Mandaya women became exposed to and eventually practiced the Bisaya women's occupations. Today, aside from selling and peddling their crops at the downtown area, some of the native women do manicure and pedicure to earn extra money.

An ancient norm practiced by the natives and which is still practiced by some of them is generosity. Villarin A-uy said that when a man happened to pass by while a Mandaya was fishing, even if they were not acquainted, the passerby received part of the Mandaya's catch. The natives did this so that the man would have something for his family. Then, although they are not obliged to do so, the recipient whenever he could – reciprocated the generosity of the one who gave him fish. When a Mandaya caught and slaughtered a boar, and another person happened to pass through, the passerby received a portion of the wild boar. They did not have a weighing device then but if we weigh the portions of the meat and fish they usually bestowed, it would range from two or three kilograms. The Mandaya saw to it that what was left would be enough for his whole family.

According to Cesar A-uy, when the Mandaya entered the monetary economy because of the scarcity of wild animals in the forest, the gradual depletion of fish in the rivers, and the continuously growing population, the natives were not as giving as before. Today, everything has a price. Everything must be reciprocated with some exceptions (e.g. if the needy one is a relative). Nowadays, generosity depends on the person. But somehow, the positive attitude of generosity has not been totally forgotten. In certain circumstances, the Mandaya's generosity still overpowers their need.

In the old days, calendars did not exist, but this did not prevent the Mandayas from being conscious of time. When people agreed to meet on a specified day, what they did was to fold an *uway* according to the number of days agreed upon so as not to forget. They then tied the *uway* at their waist, and for every day that passed, they separated a fold of *uway* from the others.

When only one piece was left, that was the indication that the next day would be when they agreed to meet with somebody.

EDUCATION

The Mandayas did not devise a system of writing nor did they keep records. Thus, their traditions and values had no way of being transmitted to the succeeding generations except by word of mouth.

When the Bisaya came, no native knew how to speak any other language besides Mandaya, thus, communication was very difficult. The problem was solved only when some natives ventured to the lowlands and learned how to speak the lowlander's language. Then, they taught their fellow Mandaya the Visayan translations of the words they used.

During the 1960s, missionaries came and began a literacy program, making education accessible to the natives. They were headed by Pastor Emilio Gakal who asked that a school be established. From then on, children went to school and *Ilokano* teachers came. In 1963, a private school was put up, followed by a public school that offered schooling only up to the fourth grade. English was the subject given much focus. The Filipino language and mathematics were also taught. The problem, though, was that the number of teachers was not sufficient for the pupils coming to school. Aside from the academic subjects, livelihood was also taught, some of which involved their traditional ways. Gradually, a new set of attitudes and styles evolved. Today, there is the Barangay Lebanon Elementary School which offers schooling up to the sixth grade. If the children want to continue their formal education, they enroll at the public schools located at downtown Montevista.

According to some of the Mandaya, education paved the way for advancement. One disadvantage is that as the natives gradually adopted the ways of the Bisaya, they eventually forgot some of their traditions and customs but for the most part, they were able to preserve their language. However, most younger Mandaya cannot understand some of the words used by their ancestors, since they use Visayan in communicating most of the time.

According to Villarin A-uy, many of the natives who are able to attain the highest degree of education and were able to acquire a field of specialization, are of the *Agusanon* tribe. Very few came from the *Mangoangans*. However, some

of them exploited their own people. One example is an educated native who was able to get a grant from foreigners merely by sending voice tapes and some information and names of natives. Supposedly, the grant was given to provide assistance to the natives to help alleviate their poverty. Another problem with natives lucky enough to get a proper education is that they are unwilling to return home and serve their people after having been exposed to a more luxurious lifestyle and job availability in the urban areas. On the other hand, there are natives who still do not give importance to education and who do not encourage their children to go to school.

The Mandaya *kinaiyahan* [culture] has undergone a drastic and swift change. Christianity has led to their rituals and spiritual beliefs becoming Bible-oriented. These new beliefs are deeply embedded and greatly influence the Mandaya lifestyle.

Prior to Christianity, the Mandaya did not have strict rules. Trespasses were easily forgiven and were ordinarily left unpunished despite the presence of native laws, since they were a compassionate people. When they adopted the national laws, crimes were given appropriate sanctions. But the irony of it is that the natives, instead of exhibiting positive behavior, display negative attitudes that affect the community. Interestingly enough, the people are not as easily forgiving. Nowadays, if one commits even a slight mistake towards a fellow Mandaya, he must anticipate revenge. One who has unjustly treated another is accountable not only to the latter but also to his family and to society as well. Although this practice existed in the past, it has since worsened.

In the old days, they tried to avoid problems by settling these through peaceful means. The natives usually dealt with disputes and disagreements themselves. Killing was the worst offense. Today, despite the fact that people know and can differentiate right from wrong through the supervision of their religious leaders — based on Biblical rules — and comprehend what is punishable by the law, they seem to have become more law- breaking.

Furthermore, they found that illiteracy has its positive and negative aspects. The advantage of literacy and familiarity with how the world works is that the people ceased being fearful. However, irrational fearlessness and overconfidence have resulted as well. Mr. Cesar A-uy elaborated on such irrational boldness by citing the Mandayas' increased immorality. Currently, the sects

with which the natives are affiliated all encourage monogamy. However, some Mandaya men became adulterous and the current generation indulge in premarital sex.

HEALTH

The Mandayas are very knowledgeable regarding the uses of herbal plants they find within their community. According to Fely Balone and Emma Lintapan, in the early days, people were seldom sick. The usual ailments experienced by Mandayas were *takud* [rheumatism], and coughs for old people. To cure coughs, the natives boiled *alikalang* [gabon]. The young ones, on the other hand, experienced *lutaan* [muscle pains] and fever which was cured by taking a bath and by once applying *gita* [tree trunks with a sappy taste]. In addition, the natives mixed *adgao* with water which was believed to immediately alleviate high fever. Another was drinking water with wild shrubs found in the forest. The natives called this *bagon, buna* or *kanilan*. For a woman to avoid labor difficulties, she was made to drink the water from the boiled roots of *cogon* or boiled water with the *mutya sa unggoy* [amulet extracted from a monkey's heart].

Today however, health practices have undergone a lot of improvements. Ever since Barangay Lebanon became accessible to the Bisaya because of the roads created by loggers entering the area, midwives, nurses, and doctors have been coming to conduct free vaccinations and consultations. The natives from then on had access to antibiotics and other medicines. They also practice family planning which prevented overpopulation and diseases. Furthermore, the natives were given the chance to learn new ways of curing ailments. However, the barangay does not have a health center yet so volunteer doctors and nurses use either a classroom or the *purok* [waiting shed] as a clinic.

FOOD PREPARATION

The Mandaya were a people who loved to cook. Serapin A-uy shared the steps and ingredients of one of their delicacies, the *kubong*. Mandayas are very fond of *kubong* which is a root crop found in the forest which comes from the ube family but has lots of thorns. Before digging up the soil to obtain this crop,

the natives first ask for the *diwatas'* permission. It is their belief that if they harvest the crops without their *diwatas'* blessings, only small ones will be bestowed on them, thus making it difficult to secure enough *kubong* for a large number of people.

Cooking *kubong* involves a lengthy preparation. Villarin A-uy described the procedures wherein bamboo and mosquito nets are necessary materials. The former is used to chop the *kubong* while the latter is used to sift the chopped *kubong*. Soaking it in river water is essential since the *kubong*'s sap is poisonous. Thus, half the net is submerged under water while the other half is exposed to the air and held by a native while his companion chopped the *kubong*. After shredding it to pieces, the *kubong* is boiled until supple enough and, with the use of the net, soaked in the water for three days. After being steeped in fluid for three days, they retrieve it from the water and wrap it in the *hanagdung's* [a tree] bark and then place it in a *kolon* [clay pot] underlayered with parts of the *agutay's* trunk (also known to the natives as *saging sa unggoy* or monkey's banana). The difference is that unlike the banana, the *agutay's* fruits are in the form of seeds. They then cook it over a fire and after some time, it becomes edible enough. It is imperative that this delicacy be cooked beside the river.

At present, Mandayas still cook *kubong*. The preparation and materials used remain the same with one difference. Today, they either place the thoroughly soaked *kubong* inside a bamboo and then throw it into the flames or place it in a cauldron to cook. But it is still cooked beside a river as in the past.

ECONOMIC CHANGES

Cesar A-uy stated that farming has gone through very drastic changes. Today, Mandaya farmers have a hard time because of various uncontrollable factors such as bad weather, insects and pests, rocky ground, and expensive fertilizers. It is also very strenuous and time-consuming. On weekdays, they work in the farm from sunrise to sunset. To be able to rest when the sun is at its peak, they build a temporary *payag* [hut] on their farm lot and bring kitchen utensils to the farm so they do not have to return home for lunch. Saturdays are for general assemblies wherein they are updated regarding the goings-on in their community. And since Mandayas are religious people, Sundays are set aside for church worship.

Most of their crops were introduced to them by the Bisaya through the barter system. The Bisaya were able to acquire lands from the Mandayas also through bartering. They brought goods such as sardines, *tres-b* [a kind of cigarette] and *malorka* [a beverage]. These commodities were precious to the natives since they could not be found in the mountains. Since they did not have anything the Bisayas considered valuable for exchange aside from their lands, they traded it for the materials mentioned above.

Villarin A-uy said that at one time in the past, various kinds of fish were abundant in the rivers where the Mandaya fished. When it rained, water from the mountains looked like bubbles of soap, because the trees' roots cleansed the water. Barangay Lebanon's rivers were clean until the loggers and concessionaires came. Today, their rivers are tainted with dirt and garbage, fish are scarce, and the water is not fit for drinking nor for washing clothes.

Previously, it was a one-way barter system. The Bisaya would go up the mountain, introduce a merchandise unfamiliar to the natives and trade them for hectares and hectares of land. Nowadays, because of the frequent encounters with the lowlanders, their natural creativity has been stimulated and they are able to make use of the abundant natural resources around them, selling or trading their products to the Bisaya.

If at one time their form of exchange was commodity to property, eventually, the Mandayas adopted the monetary economy from the Bisaya. They experienced difficulty earning enough money to support their families. They confessed that their ancestors were victims of the trickery and schemes of the Bisaya. Some of them even witnessed the deception but could do nothing since they were uneducated and could not yet decipher the ways of trickery. But because of the need to survive and to compete in the world, they were gradually forced to learn the trade. Today, they are able to outwit the Bisaya who once took advantage of their ancestors.

The Mandaya of Barangay Lebanon, Montevista remain an agricultural community whose basic livelihood is farming. Some of them were able to secure enough capital to establish mini-stores that sell most of the community's needs. Based on the researcher's observations, the storeowners are either Bisaya couples or Mandaya who married a Bisaya. They have also established a cooperative whose members are both native and non-native residents of the barangay.

ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF THE COMMUNITY

Long ago, the Mandaya owned the vast acreage of land at the outskirts of Montevista. In time, the non-natives established residences and claimed ownership of a vast portion of these lands. However, the Mandayas are now trying to regain the lands owned by their ancestors, which the non-natives acquired from their unsuspecting forefathers.

According to Ms. Marilyn Yu-mon of the National Commission for Indigenous Peoples (NCIP) in Mati, Davao Oriental, the natives could regain their lands through the Ancestral Domain Claim which is part of the Indigenous People's Rights Act (IPRA). She added that the non-natives were very shrewd and took advantage of the Mandayas' ignorance. After bartering portions of land which the natives owned once with commodities such as sardines, *tres-b* [cigarette], and the like, they processed papers for them to legally own the lands.

Just like everyone else, the Mandayas are now having difficulty providing for even the basic needs of their families.

As for their farming, Villarin A-uy said that pests are a constant problem, preventing the Mandayas from producing high-value crops which could be sold at the market for higher prices. At the moment, they produce crops which sell cheaply or may not be sold at all, resulting in financial losses and empty stomachs.

CULTURAL CHANGES

Currently, the Mandaya of Barangay Lebanon are fluent in Visayan. They also understand Tagalog because of their access to academic institutions and media, specifically television and radio.

The members of this particular band of Mandaya remember very little of their indigenous folklore. The current generation finds it difficult to recite their oral literature, forgetting parts and needing to confirm the accuracy of their version from their elders, who are also sometimes unsure.

Today, the natives tend to reject some parts of their culture. It seems that the idea that what is foreign is better and that one's lifestyle, products or ideas are inferior to that of others, has been adopted by them. Villarin and Serapin A-

uy said that the natives no longer perform traditional dances and songs, even during special occasions. In fact, they now celebrate occasions which are also celebrated by the non-natives, like the fiesta. In place of their traditional songs and dances are Bisaya compositions and dances transmitted to them via battery-operated radios and television (when they get the chance to visit relatives and friends in the lowland). Most Mandaya of the present generation do not know how to play their musical instruments nor to sing their native songs.

These days, no Mandaya can be seen wearing traditional clothing. In addition, very few own such clothing, since the prices of the materials necessary for weaving have gone up. Furthermore, these materials are no longer available in the area.

According to Villarin A-uy, four decades ago, missionaries reached the area where the Mandaya live. They surveyed the area and became interested in it. They called for a general assembly where they did not have a hard time getting both the attention and cooperation of the people. The Mandayas were easily convinced because they had a high regard for the non-natives. They also believed that the Bisayas' proposal was for their own benefit. It was not long before they adopted Christianity.

The advent of Christianity was advantageous for the Mandayas, at least according to some of them. Christianization introduced them to the larger society. It gave them insights into how to make living easier and more convenient. It also gave them the chance to be educated. But it also brought with it disadvantages and inconveniences. It gave loggers the chance to devastate the forest which was originally inhabited by a vast number of exotic flora and fauna and centuries-old trees. Christianity was also the tool that gradually diminished the natives' pride in their roots and traditions, an attitude that has worsened in the present generation. Last, it was the catalyst for change that drastically affected their customs, traditions, and beliefs.

In the past, Mandayas religiously practiced *diwatahan*. However, Mandaya of the present generation seldom practice the rituals for fear of being laughed at.

ANALYSIS

Barangay Lebanon, Montevista, Davao del Norte at present is inhabited by both natives and non-natives. The latter are mostly Ilonggo whose ancestors were among the first to introduce the Mandayas to education. These people play a significant role in the community. Many hold positions in their local government.

The non-natives had easy access to the Mandayas who regarded them highly and welcomed them to the community. It was the Bisaya who were able to convince the Mandaya that accepting the Christian religion would be beneficial to them. The non-natives expressed their concern for the welfare of the Mandayas which was why they gained their trust and respect. The non-natives' ways (e.g. clothing, actions, talking) were novel and attractive to the natives, and caught their attention. The Bisaya did not encounter much difficulty manipulating the natives and acquiring parts of the natives' lands. They bartered goods which were not available or were new to the natives for their land. Thus, the Mandayas were willing to be educated and to learn these new ways, believing it to be a step towards a better life.

Cultural transformation was inevitable when the non-natives were able to penetrate the area which was once exclusive to Mandayas. In this situation, the Bisayas' implicit aim was to change the "primitive" culture of the Mandayas and to introduce their own culture. Continuous interaction opened the gates that separated the natives from mainstream society. This caused drastic changes as the Mandaya adopted the new ways, deeming them more correct and appropriate than their native ways.

The Mandaya of Montevista no longer practice their indigenous culture. From the family to religion, to economics and finally to their political institutions, extensive changes occurred to the detriment of their indigenous culture. Let us take a closer look and tackle the changes, growth and development that have occurred in each of the institutions and what its implications and consequences are.

One institution that was greatly affected is religion and their failure to preserve their *diwatahan* practice. With the advent of Christianity, this religious ritual slowly deteriorated, until it finally disappeared. Mandayas are a

very religious people who practiced animism in the past. They had various rituals and practices designed for specific occasions. They had rituals for marriage, for illnesses, before and after harvest, and for death and burial which played a significant part in their culture.

Marriage practices which involved the Mandaya's *bugay* or dowry system has been changed because of economic conditions. The natives used to haggle over animals, land and clothing and native valuables such as *agong* and *masiti* [sword] as their dowry and bride price. At present, although very few of them practice the dowry system, the form of exchange has been monetized. Today the dowry has become P500, 10 pieces of clothing or a pig weighing 50 kilograms. As for the wedding ceremony, some of the Mandaya couples now go through a Christian marriage. Those who cannot afford the expense perform the traditional "*kasal sa banig*." In addition, arranged marriages are seldom practiced today. Whereas, premarital sex in the past was taboo among the natives, it is a common occurrence in the present.

The ancestors of the Mandayas practiced polygamy. However, this was common at a time when life for the Mandayas was basically uncomplicated and resources were just within reach. All the men had to do was provide for the fundamental survival necessities of the family they wished to support. They did not have the added burden of today's breadwinner who has to work continuously to acquire the money needed to buy not only the basic food stuff, but also pay for their children's education, buy liquid petroleum for cooking, buy clothing, toys, etc. It is no longer a matter of hunting and foraging for food. Men today need to work because resources have become insufficient. The soil is not as arable as it was and insects and pests destroy crops. These are among the many problems which Mandaya men face today, making it impossible for them to support many wives. This depicts how economic changes have affected the Mandaya concept of the family.

Nowadays, Mandaya burial practices are dependent on the economic status of the family. Natives who are financially capable place their dead in biers. Those who cannot afford it, on the other hand, resort to their traditional way of burying – which is either wrapping the dead in a mat or using a tree trunk as the coffin.

The Mandaya are an agricultural community. The harvest rituals and practices in the past fostered camaraderie and brotherhood because of their system of helping one another, to speed up the pace of work. Mandayas no longer practice these rituals. Farming is the fundamental source of livelihood of the residents but present farming techniques are those that were introduced by the Bisaya. So what has happened to their own farming technology?

In the past, the natives did not maintain a specific area for farming, moving often from place to place. They were more subsistence-oriented with little surplus products. It has been said that the area was abundant with natural resources, but because of the consistently growing populations and the intrusion of non-native businessmen such as loggers, these resources are rapidly being depleted. Today, it can be observed that the hills surrounding Barangay Lebanon are turning bald. Although some of the natives own a vast acreage of land, it is not properly utilized. The hills are now barren. Only parts of the slopes have been utilized by planting root crops and shrubs. The improper utilization of lands may be due to insufficient farming materials and equipment. New strategies and farming techniques may have been taught to the natives, but this is not enough. Currently, some of them have been able to access the materials and tools necessary for a more modern system. But their production cannot be considered large-scale. Although they supply products to the public markets and peddle their products in downtown Montevista, their output – in terms of quality and quantity – cannot compete with the larger plantations.

Their structural designs has also been influenced by the Bisaya. The typical Mandaya house was called a "common" wherein the whole area of the house was used by the members for sleeping, eating, and recreation. Today, however, they have followed the non-native fashion of putting divisions within the house for separate functions. A modern day Mandaya house now usually has three divisions – the bedroom, dining room, and kitchen. Their toilet and bath areas are usually in separate structure or a few meters away from the house.

The Mandaya political system has undergone the most sweeping change. Their *Matikadong*, which were their former judicial and political bases, have been replaced by present political positions. The *Matikadong* has been totally

phased out. According to the Mandaya, it is difficult to abide by two sets of rules at the same time, so they chose to be governed by national laws. Their traditional forms of punishment have not survived since appropriate sanctions for a particular crime are already provided for by the national laws.

It has been said that the Mandayas of the past were characterized by sharing and generosity, virtues gradually being lost today. The natives readily shared the prize of the hunt and the catch from fishing. One factor for such practices may have been lack of food preservation methods. The natives could only keep what they could consume for the day, thus, storing was not practiced. With numerous methods of food preservation and refrigeration, sharing and generosity has greatly diminished.

A peculiarity in the Mandayas' ancient burial practices has also led to their lack of connection with their past. They were not able to preserve their heritage and their ancient belongings due, to a large extent, to their ancestors' common burial practices which included burying all of the deceased's material possessions with him or her. Thus, the Mandayas of this generation do not keep any heirlooms. Only stories kept them alive. But because these stories were transmitted orally, variations, exaggerations, and omissions were inevitable. Unlike the Matigsalog who were able to preserve their style of dressing, the Mandayas nowadays cannot be distinguished from the non-natives in terms of attire.

The influx of non-natives to Barangay Lebanon continues. Nowadays, Bisaya settlers flood this formerly Mandaya-concentrated territory. The evolution of this particularly Mandaya community went from a simple to a highly complex social organization. One example is the evolution of their agricultural strategies. From a nomadic farming technique, they now employ modern strategies and techniques such as fertilizers to increase yields. Those who have ample resources use modern equipment. Thus, their agriculture evolved from simple manual labor to complex techniques with the use of machinery that relieve them from manual labor.

Growth and change had positive and negative impacts on contemporary Mandaya society. First, it changed the position of women in society. In the past, Mandaya women's roles were limited to childbearing, child-rearing, household chores, and tending the crops. Nowadays, because of education in basic arithmetic, women work as itinerant peddlers. They sell the crops that

are not needed for home consumption. Through education and exposure to non-native women's occupations, some of the women now do manicure and pedicure to support the earnings of their husbands. Second, their living environment has been changed to the *tapok* system. The natives were driven to do this because of current political problems like the arrival of the NPA and the Scout Rangers. Small-scale capitalists did not exist in the past. Now, mini-stores are found in various areas of the barangay. The natives have established a cooperative, demonstrating how well the natives and Bisaya get along and work together for a successful and progressive community. Third, education and exposure have changed the Mandayas' horizon, extending it to the larger society. Their interaction then was restricted to their brothers and sisters. When the non-natives came, bartering began and thus began the Mandayas' interaction with the bigger society.

The changes that occurred in the Mandaya community of Barangay Lebanon, Montevista were gradual and subtle. They were not able to perceive and anticipate what would happen in the future if they adopted the ways of the Bisaya which brought about the deterioration of the natives' identity. What is most devastating is that they are no longer proud of their dynamic heritage. The natives, because of their interaction with the larger population, are now embarrassed to practice the rituals that were once religiously done by their forefathers. They are afraid of ridicule and of appearing strange. Their desire to become one with the non-natives, to avoid discrimination and marginalization, has motivated their rejection of their native rituals.

With their exposure to mainstream society, they are now driven toward development. Most encourage their children to obtain a proper education and if resources allow, a degree for they believe that through education, their children could support them. With growth, the concept of inequality has also developed. They perceive the government's partiality towards wealthy individuals, noting that punishments are inflicted only on the destitute.

Currently, the Mandayas are regulated by national laws; they subscribe to the monetary economy, they are Christianized, they value education, and they are mostly monogamous. It seems that every aspect of their native culture has been altered and affected by the Bisaya's influence. So what part of their indigenous culture were they able to preserve?

In part, they were able to preserve their native language. According to them, they teach their native language to their children as much as they can. They use it at home. Inevitably, there are words which the present generation does not understand anymore. They youth's exposure to the Bisaya's dialect affects their motivation to learn their native tongue. Academic institutions employ the Filipino language as the medium of teaching. Mandaya children, at a young age, are also exposed to English through the school and mass media (television and radio). Too much exposure through daily encounters and interactions with mainstream society have a great impact on the native language. Despite these influences, the Mandaya are trying to preserve and pass on this aspect of their indigenous culture.

From the interactions between the Mandaya and the Bisaya evolved a new culture combining features of both, though more and more aspects of Bisayan culture have began to dominate. Gradually, Mandayan culture has been redefined in the image of the Bisayan culture, adopting its characteristics and practices, to the detriment of the Mandayas' indigenous culture.

KEY INFORMANTS

- A-uy, Cesar. Kagawad, Barangay Lebanon, Montevista, Davao del Norte.
  Interview: December 4, 1999
  Age: 43 (Mandaya)

- A-uy, Serapin. Resident, Barangay Lebanon, Montevista, Davao del Norte
  Interview: December 4, 1999
  Age: 51 (Mandaya)

- A-uy, Villarin. Resident, Barangay Lebanon, Montevista, Davao del Norte
  Interview: December 4, 19993
  Age: 65 (Mandaya)

- Balone, Fely. Resident, Barangay Lebanon, Montevista, Davao del Norte
  Interview: December 5, 1999
  Age: 47 (Mandaya)

- Datuin, Anastacia. Teacher, Lebanon Elementary School
  Interview: October 30, 1999
  Age: 38 (Bisaya)

- Esteban, Ismael. NCIP- Region XI, Administrative Officer
  Interview: February 10, 1999
  (Mandaya)

- Lintapan, Emma. Resident, Barangay Lebanon, Montevista, Davao del Norte
  Interview, December 5, 1999
  Age: 38 Mandaya

- Yu-mon, Marilyn. NCIP - Mati, DMO I
  Interview: February 10, 1999
  (Mandaya)

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THE MANDAYA OF DAVAO ORIENTAL

MANUEL B. OMPANG

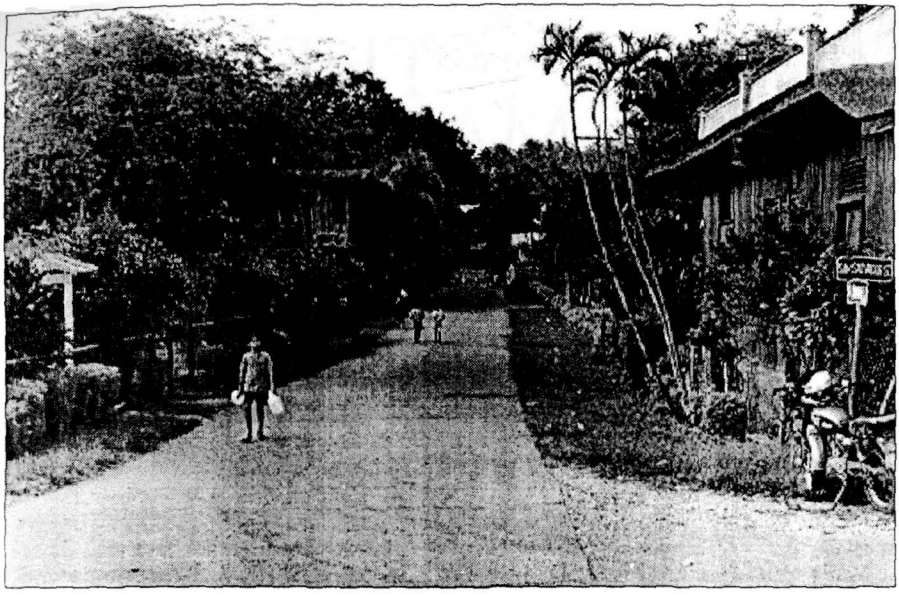
INTRODUCTION

COMMUNITY PROFILE

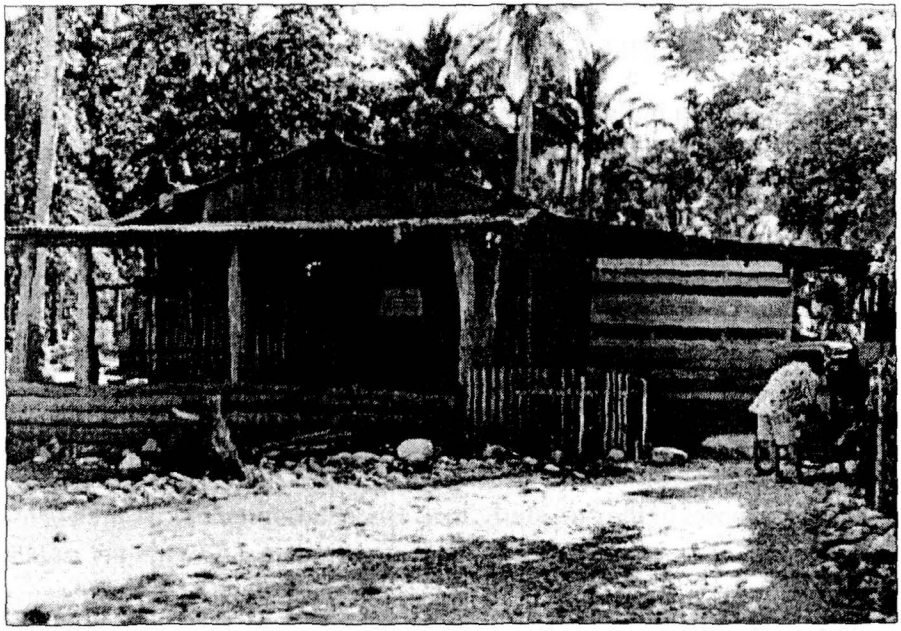
The Mandaya indigenous cultural communities are situated in Davao Oriental, a province mostly characterized by rough terrain. Davao Oriental has the oldest municipality in Eastern Mindanao, Caraga. The province was part of the Provincia de Caraga established during the Spanish colonization period. Later, Davao Province was created and eventually subdivided into three provinces including Davao Oriental.

The interior mountain ranges of Davao Oriental are as high as 2,600 meters above sea level. Rolling to plain areas are found in coastal locations. Its municipalities are lined up facing the open Pacific Ocean in the East. The Mandayas are also found in small numbers in Davao del Norte.

For purposes of the case study, the author concentrated on Caraga and its barangays of Lukatan and San Miguel; the municipality of Manay and its barangays Del Pilar, Rizal, and San Isidro; and the municipalities Tarragona and Mati. The distance from Davao City to the municipalities are as follows: Caraga, 250 kilometers; Manay, 232 kilometers; Tarragona, 202 kilometers; and Mati, 165 kilometers. All these towns can be reached easily by bus,



A neighborhood in Caraga, Davao Oriental



The oldest rice and corn mill in Manay, Davao Oriental, constructed in 1968 and owned by the Dalida family.

jeepney, and other vehicles. However, in going to the barangays, the most reliable means is to hire a motorcycle, which is only advisable during dry days since the roads are not yet paved.

In 1993, Caraga had a population of 31,933, 95.9 percent of whom belonged to the Mandaya-Dabaweño group. The next largest group was the Cebuanos at 3 percent. Between 1980 and 1990, the annual population growth rate was 2.75 percent. The following shows Caraga's population change over a period of 33 years.

Year	Population[1]	Rate of Increase (%)*	Inclusive Years*
1960	12,922		
1970	16,618	28.6	10
1975	19,672	18.4	5
1980	22,831	16.1	5
1987	27,707	21.4	7
1990	29,361	6.0	3
1993	31,933	8.8	3

The leading cause of mortality is pneumonia followed by tuberculosis (TB). The exact mortality rate is not available.[2]

The population of the municipality of Manay, a former barrio of Caraga, is large. Tabulated below is Manay's population from 1918 to 1980.

Year	Population[1]	Rate of Increase (%)*	Inclusive Years*	Density (sq km)[3]
1918	5,335	-	7.73	
1939	11,528	116.1	21	16.70
1948	11,097	-3.7	8	16.08
1960	15,813	42.5	12	22.91
1970	21,114	33.5	10	30.6
1975	24,304	15.1	5	35.22
1980	30,947	27.3	5	44.85

Of the total population of Manay, 92.3 percent were Mandaya-Dabaweños.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

Understanding the indigenous cultural communities, in this case the Mandayas, requires a great deal of knowledge regarding their history, culture, beliefs, institutions and social structures. It is through this knowledge that one can arrive at a sociological explanation of their individual or group behaviors. This study will try to determine and substantiate the patterns of growth and change among the Mandayas of Davao Oriental.

FINDINGS

WHO ARE THE MANDAYAS?

There are many accounts as to who the Mandayas are. Early and recent studies by different researchers and scholars vary in every presentation. Among those who have undertaken extensive studies are: Miguel Saderra-Maso, S.J., Williams A. Savage-Landor, John M. Garvan, Pablo Pastell SJ, Emmanuel Nabayra, Juan S. Dacuycuy Sr., Andrew F. Gallman, S.L. Pacis, Pedro Francisco de Asis, Aram A. Yengoyen, and Emmanuel A. Soria.

According to John M. Garvan, there are four branches of Mandayas:

(a) The *Tagum branch* occupies the area from the mouth of the Tagum River to the confluence of the Salug and Libuganon Rivers, or perhaps a little farther up the two rivers.

(b) The *Agusan Valley branch* is believed to be from the areas ranging from Gerona to Compostela. Gerona is presently part of the civil province of Agusan del Sur and Compostela, the second farthest town upriver of the Agusan River in the province of Davao del Norte. The town near the headwaters of Agusan is Maragusan, now called the town of San Mariano. Garvan believes that these people call themselves Mandayas due to the desire to be taken as Mandaya for various reasons.

(c) The *Pacific Coast branch* occupies those areas along the following big rivers and their tributaries: Katiil, Banganga, Manorigao, Karaga, Manai, Kasauman and the upper reaches of Mati. Katiil is Cateel today; Manai is Manay in Davao Oriental. Maragusan and Salug are

rivers in or near the boundary of Davao del Norte. The Mandayas who were Christianized by the Spaniards in the 1870s now call themselves "Davaweños" or "Dabawenyos," meaning residents of Davao.

(d) The *Gulf of Davao branch* occupies the reaches of all the rivers in the east side of the Gulf of Davao, from Sumlug to the mouth of the Hijo River, the source of which is near Agusan River. These Mandayas call themselves Mansaka.[4]

Pastells wrote that the Mandayas are "inhabitants of the land in the upriver from Tago until Mati, and from Gandia to the springs of Agusan, and around the sectors below the Salug."[5] Tago is a town in Surigao del Sur while Mati is the capital of Davao Oriental. Gandia is in Agusan del Sur while the "springs of Agusan" are Maragusan (San Mariano) and the "sectors below the Salug," which include the towns of Panabo, Carmen, Tagum, Mawab, New Corella, Maniki, all in Davao del Norte.

Asuncion, Montevista and Monkayo are towns in the sector referred to by Garvan as "farther up" the Salug, the last towns of Davao del Norte before the Agusan boundary.[6]

Emmanuel Nabayra, a former priest who was assigned to Manay and the other towns of Davao Oriental before and during the Martial law era, lumped the Mandayas with what he perceived as the bigger group, the Kalagans, together with the Mansaka and the Tagakaolos. He wrote:

> *As early as late 1899 and 1900, settlers from Luzon, Visayas and Northern Mindanao started to pour into this territory, which we presently call Davao Oriental and Davao del Norte. They found the area populated by the Kalagan and the Manobo-speaking people. The Kalagans were divided into three tribes: The Mandayas, the Mansakas, and the Tagakaolos; while the Manobos were divided into the Ata, the Dibabawons, the Mangguangans, and the Sigaboy Manobos.*[7]

Their locations can be discerned by taking note of the root words of the tribe names. Kalagan is from the term *Ka'agan* (Kayagan) which is the most interior part of Caraga, Banganga and Cateel, now called the Kagan Valley, which extends up to Davao del Norte. Tagacaolo is derived from the word

Kaolo or *Kao'yo*, meaning headwater or the farthest source of rivers, e.g. *Kao'yo ng Karaga, Kao'yo ng Man-ai.* Mansaka is taken from "*saka*" which denotes the hinterlands far from the large rivers. Thus, these descriptions or ascriptions are more locational rather than ethnic in nature.

In his unpublished "History of Cateel," J.S. Dacuycuy Sr. wrote that the Mandayas are "offspring of the Malay-Manobo union."[8] Recent studies by Japanese professor Ryuko Utsumi of Seian College of Arts and Design of Kyoto, Japan revealed that the weaving technology of the Mandayas was similar to the Indonesians' while those of the Bagobo and T'boli tribes resemble that of the Malaysians.

Gallman added a little twist. He considered the *Kamayu* of Surigao del Sur to be "outside" the Mandaya tribal groups.[9] The National Museum maintains the same portion in its list of ethnic groups. *Kamayu*, a Mandaya word meaning "yours" is commonly used by immigrants to refer to the native Mandayas in disparaging, sarcastic or jesting tones. Its use is similar to *Kay Itin* [young lad], or *Kay budi* [young girl], which are resorted to in addressing natives in jest.

Pastells also described the Mandaya as "honorable, amiable, peaceful, respectful, patient, and good-looking. They are considered by other non-Christians as the oldest and most illustrious of the peoples."[10]

Records also reveal that the tribe is the largest among the indigenous groups. A report of Governor Gijou on December 21, 1890 stated that the Christians numbered 4,000; Moros, 2,000; Bagobos, 5,500; Tagacaolos, 3,000; Mandayas 8,000; Altuas (Ata) 2,500; Manobo 3,500; and Samales 1,500.[11] Noteworthy is the absence of the Dabawenyo and other sub-groups mentioned in the works of Gallman and Nabayra.

Garvan has a more enthusiastic description: to him, the Mandayas are "the greatest and best tribe in Eastern Mindanao." [12]

All of the above are concordant descriptions of the Mandaya as a tribe except for Gallman's Kamayu theory, which deviates from most of the studies but is exemplified in the dialect this group speaks, which is similar to the Mandayas of Caraga, Manay, Tarragona, and Mati.

The evolution of the Mandaya as described by others has taken many forms. From its original form, it developed sub-groups. Now the Dabawenyo has progressed into an ascription of a "group" of Mandayas. This, however,

happened only after the creation of the province of Davao which encompasses the three Davao provinces: Davao Oriental, Davao del Sur and Davao del Norte. It is significant to note that Provincial de Caraga was created ahead of Davao, which was formerly known as "*Nueva Guipascua,*" the southern part of Caraga Province created on February 27, 1849 by virtue of the decree of Governor General Narciso Claveria. The northern part was named Surigao Province.[13] The name Dabawenyo was popularly used by lowland and educated Mandayas to distinguish themselves from the highlanders. This separation was apparently an offshoot of the Spanish missionaries' allusion to Mandaya converts as *Cristianos,* while referring to the unbaptized as *infieles* [pagan].

It is clear that this formative process was greatly influenced by factors like religion, foreign civilization, the educational system, trade, growth and development. Through these, the preservation and continuous use of the dialect ensures that the identity of the Mandayas as an ethnolinguistic group is maintained. The continued use of the material culture like the *dagmay* [*abaca* cloth], crafts and traditional practices especially animist beliefs also help ensure the identity of the Mandaya. The Dabawenyos' denial of their being Mandayas could be a result of the latter's inferiority *vis-à-vis* the former's lack of historical awareness and the *Cristiano* "syndrome" implanted by long years of colonization. Thus far, the schools and some government institutions in the area are not ready to initiate improvements. The Office for Southern Cultural Communities, a small office created to ensure the well-being of the indigenous groups, does not list the "Dabawenyo" as an ethnic group. Instead, the Dabawenyo is grouped with the Mandaya. In issuing Certificates of Tribal Membership (CTM), the OSCC found that applicants coming from Davao Oriental usually claim their ethnic grouping to be Dabawenyo. There seems to be some confusion on the historical and cultural bases about the Dabawenyo and the Mandayas. Yet when the Dabawenyos speak in the vernacular, they consider themselves Mandayas.

POLITICS

The early political structure of the Mandaya varied depending on the size of the area or followers covered. A compact settlement or "community" did not exist since dwellings were located where the swidden farms were sporadically situated. Clusters of three to five houses usually belonged to the ruling authority like the *bagani* or *likid*. Slavery was common.

Having a larger domain vested political authority in the *likid*, also referred to as the *matadong* or *pasado*. As a symbol of power, he donned a *pudong* [turban] colored with *binaning* [yellow dye]. Under the *likid* was the council of elders or *bawukan* whose members wore a red *pudong*. The *bagani* was next in rank. He had to be a consummate warrior who could head a group of combatants referred to as *maniklads*, equivalent to junior officers. The *maguyantok* were the foot soldiers. The *kalagtuan* consisted of the rest of the group or commoners. The *maniklad* served as the messenger of the *bagani* and the *likid*. The *bagani* had the power to rule in smaller groupings. To become a *bagani*, a Mandaya warrior should have killed 7 to 10 persons. Though this role was transferred by virtue of genealogical succession, one had to earn the title before assuming it.

The last of the *baganis* in the area studied were the Libot and the Ambasan. They divided the area into halves with Libots ruling the northern half including part of Caraga, and the southern part up to the Ambasan. *Baganis* took slaves from other settlements by means of a *bukad* or a surprise raid by the *bagani*, together with his *maniklad* and *maguyantok*. A *bagani* was believed to be able to demolish five persons in an instantaneous attack using his *pangayam* [spear] and *bayadaw* [a long sword, usually double-bladed]. His followers also used the *busog* [bow and arrow].

The council of elders was consulted by the *bagani* on the following matters:

(1) A review of petitions from commoners concerning the desire to redress a mistake or take revenge against another outside the domain by means of warfare [*pangayaw*];

(2) The size and strength of a war party to get captives and/or valuables or to acquire additional choice areas of forest;

(3) The hearing, arbitration, and settlement of all the intra-domain disputes caused by theft, adultery, violence, rape, murder, etc.
(4) The selection of a *bagani* successor among the sons of the *bagani*'s first wife if the present warrior chief was unable to rule or had passed away;
(5) The transmission of the demands, needs, and grievances of commoners in a domain to their ruling *bagani*.[14]

Summary execution was practiced in some areas. In the hinterlands of Manay, an offender or criminal was brought inside the rainforest by the tribal leader who might not be a *bagani* and executed by stabbing. The corpse was thrown into the *dalikup*, a large gap between huge root stumps or giant trees, usually of the *dao* species. Offenses against women were among the most severely punished by the peace-loving Mandayas.

Unlike southern indigenous groups such as the Bagobo and Balaan, the titles Datu and Rajah were not used by Mandaya chieftains, as the nature of their relationship with the Moros was more economic rather than political.

The coming of the Spaniards diminished the power and domain of the *baganis* as the arms of the Mandayas were no match for the colonizers' *carabina* [rifle] and *escopeta* [shotgun]. The Mandayas were thus left with two options. The first was for them to undergo conversion and baptism as *Cristianos*; the second was to oppose the Spaniards and became fugutives in the mountains.

The unbaptized were called "*nyaya ceduya*"[15] from the Spanish words "*nada cedula*" or non *cedula*-bearing. In the early days of colonization, the church and the government were one. Political units were established, followed by massive Christianization or vice versa. A *cabeza de barangay* was appointed to head the small units, later called "*barrio*" by the Americans and now referred to as "*barangay*." A chapel was usually constructed on higher ground surrounded by rows of houses resulting in a compact community. The houses also served as a line of defense for the chapel. Bigger communities were declared *pueblos* or *visitas*.

Slowly, slavery stopped. However, a more advanced and covert form of domination occured through religion as forced labor and the payment of tributes were institutionalized. Baptism became a requisite for all transactions

with the government, the church, the schools and other institutions, thereby resulting in massive "conversion" and the adoption of Christian names, actually Spanish names, for identification purposes.

In 1962, the Recollect Fathers took charge of the Caraga District where they often erected forts and armed the *Cristianos* [converts] against Moro attacks.[16] In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Christianization occurred in Mindanao in a rather slow and staggered process. During the attacks of the Moros on the forts of Zamboanga, of the 20 Mandaya *maniklads* from Caraga, only nine returned. They were utilized by the Spaniards to help fight the invaders. In 1875, the Jesuits came and gradually took over the missions. The church then paved the way for the establishment of all political structures.

Caraga became the center of Christian missions and the government that ruled over the Cape of San Agustin until Mati and up to Tago. It was the capital of the Provincia de Caraga which encompassed the areas now called Surigao, Agusan, part of Bukidnon, Davao del Norte and Davao Oriental. Tago was perceived by many to be the center of the *provincia*, perhaps due to the presence of voluminous records on this small town. Before records were filed and kept in safety in Caraga in 1835, they had to be brought to Cebu via Tago, which lay between Cebu and Caraga.

There might have been a huge amount of records that were lost or not brought to Cebu. Before 1835, records were found in Cebu, Tago, or even in Surigao.

Under Spanish rule, the *baganis* and other tribal leaders continued to wield enormous power. They mostly settled conflicts following indigenous customs and traditions, except when these conflicts had to do with the Church, which the colonizers then handled. Punishment by flogging and incarceration were common.

Illustrious Mandayas shared in governance with the blessings of the Spaniards, and later, the Americans. Teodoro Palma Gil, who started his education in Caraga and was a classmate of Dr. Jose Rizal, became Congressman of Davao District for three terms (1916-1925). Pacifico M. Sobrecarey (governor, 1937-1939) who was born in Manay, and Fernando Generoso (governor, 1925-1928), the son of the daughter of a Mandaya chieftain, became governors.[17] Descendants of Mandayas continued to be influential politicians in

Davao during the American regime. Now known as Davaweños, they occupy key positions in the government and own vast tracts of land thereby raising the pride and superiority of the Davaweños over other indigenous groups.

After the Philippines was turned over by the Spaniards to the Americans by virtue of the Treaty of Paris, the Americans started their occupation. Institutions established by the Spaniards were adopted gradually. The Americans befriended the Mandayas and appointed mayors from among them, who in turn appointed the barrio lieutenant. Most of the appointees came from prominent and rich families.

At the start of American colonization, English became the medium of instruction in schools. Government forms were translated into English. However, religion was spared from intrusion and respected. The Mandayas adopted the new policies and regulations. They considered the Americans their friends and superiors since they received better treatment from them. It was during the American regime when the first Filipino civil governor of Davao Province, Eulalio E. Causing, who served from 1915-1917, was installed. Celestino Chavez was the first elected governor who ruled from 1922-1924.

The Japanese arrived in Caraga, Manay, and Mati in the second decade of the twentieth century. They came as farm laborers, carpenters, and timber workers. They married Mandaya women after having themselves baptized as Christians when devoted Mandayas stipulated this as a pre-condition for marriage. Some of them became traders and introduced new trading techniques like the "bazaar." They acquired huge expanses of land. Japanese *mestizos* were then born. However, they stayed away from politics like most merchants did.

When World War II broke out, the Mandayas sided with the Americans. The early Japanese immigrants joined the Japanese Imperial Army. Some were not able to do so because they were seized by the guerillas and USAFFE soldiers.

The early war years saw the triumph of the Japanese. By 1941, the Japanese started their occupation of the coastal towns. In Davao Oriental, resistance from the lowland Mandayas was slight since they (the Mandayas) recognized the might of Japanese firepower. Davao City was the first place bombed by the Japanese on December 8, 1941.

Following their predecessors, the Japanese installed mayors and governors. The Japanese Imperial Army nestled in the lowland poblacion, virtually avoiding encounters with the USAFFE and guerillas holed up in the hinterlands. Very few religious activities were allowed since groups were regarded with suspicion. The early association of the Mandayas with the Japanese migrants cushioned the fears of the former.

When the Japanese surrendered to the Americans, the mayors appointed by the Japanese were replaced. Some were executed as traitors. The stigma suffered by their descendants stayed for quite a while. In 1948, the election of local officials was held. It was in 1960 that the first Mandaya college graduate was elected in Manay. He was Pedro Bandigan, a native. Women also occupied high positions at the municipal level. Amparo Moralizon-Ranon became the first woman councilor of Manay, Davao Oriental.[18]

The Mandayas have since fully adopted the dominant political system and governance established by the Americans, *i.e.*, democracy. While those in the hinterlands may not be aware of the concept, they nonetheless observe it. Close family ties and a love for peace keep conflicts and complications under control.

ECONOMY

Agriculture

The early economy was blessed with vast fertile lands, a small population, an abundant wild life and freshwater fish, wild tubers and fruits. Gathering was commonly practiced, along with hunting, using various kinds of traps, blowguns, spears, and bows and arrows. *A-uyon* or cooperative labor made it possible to establish large farms. Farmers usually helped one another in planting and harvesting crops.

The Mandaya economy was basically agricultural. Crop rotation was practiced. Rites and rituals were considered essential to the cultivation process. Farms were opened after a *panawagtawag* [offering] ritual, while planting was never done without a *ta'ugbini* or a rite for abundant harvest. Upland rice was grown in *pawa* [swidden farms] together with rows of cultigens in the farm perimeters or near the gullies. Rice, which was the staple food, was ·d annually. A *p'yagtataan* or a thanksgiving feast, during which *b'ya-is*

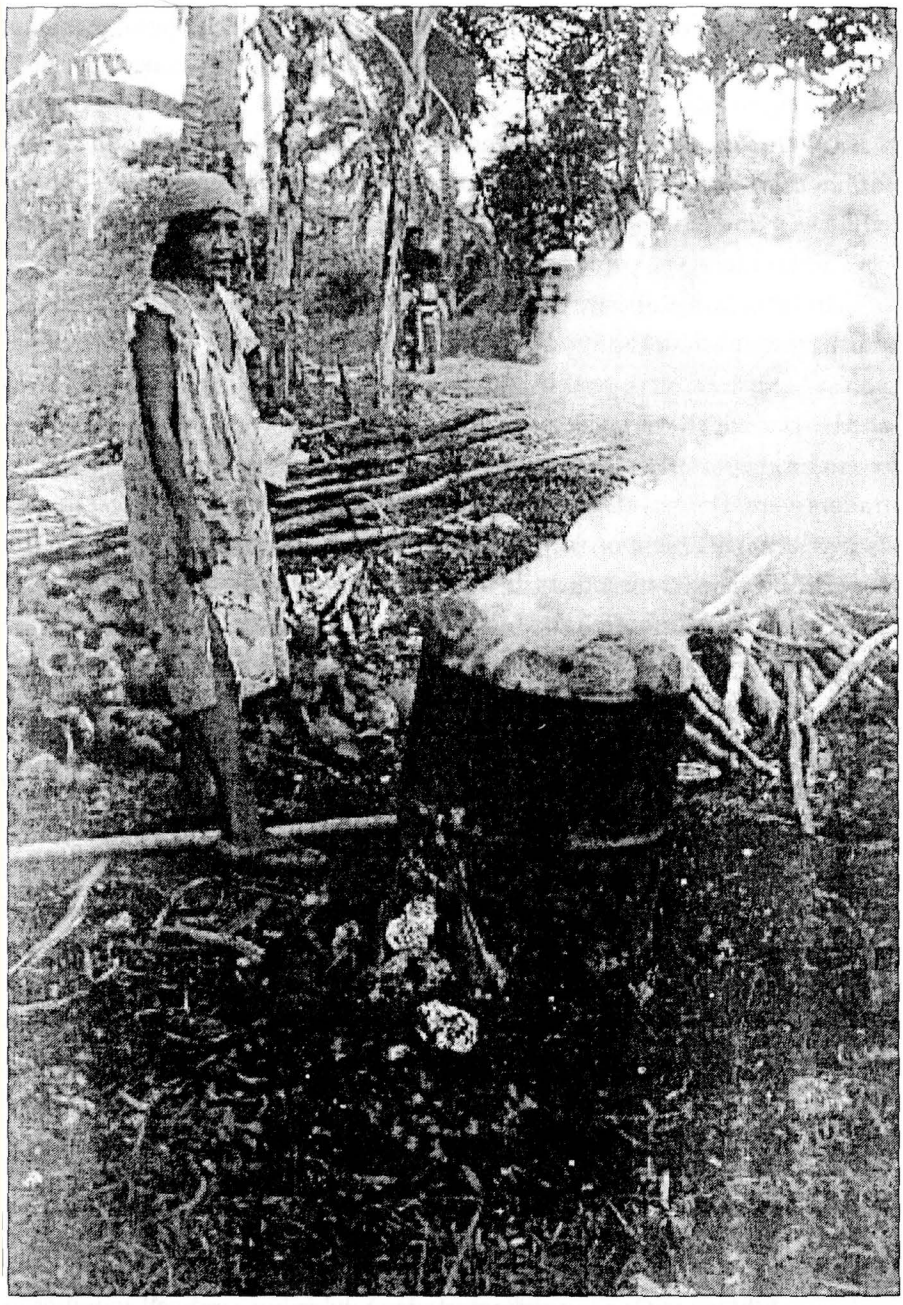
[wine from sugar cane] was drunk and honey and other foods were consumed, was also celebrated. This feast also feeds the farm implements used through an offering ritual.

White corn and other crops were planted after the harvest. Produce were for household and festivity consumption only. Planting time had to conform with lunar and cosmological beliefs. Excess crops were bartered with neighbors and traders who come by boat for other goods.

In 1910, cash economy was introduced by the Americans. The Mandayas started growing *abaca* as a cash crop, marking the beginning of settled cultivation. Plantations were established, following brisk trading in coastal towns and barrios which were accessible to boats, the only means of inter-island and coastal transportation from Davao (now Davao City), where the American traders were. The Mandayas appreciated the introduction of the cash economy as it made available more imported goods like food, wine and *mascada* [tobacco], and eased transactions. In the late 1950s, *abaca* suffered from diseases locally known as "mosaic" and "alkohires" that almost wiped out the plantations.

Coconut gained prominence as the new commercial crop after the war because of its various uses. Vigorous planting of coconut easily made the east coast (Manay, Caraga, Banganga, and Cateel) among the top producers of copra or desiccated coconut until today. The perennial quality of the coconut tree, the easy harvesting, low-cost and easy maintenance of the plantation and the huge financial returns from copra sales encouraged massive plantation. In Caraga alone, 45,507 hectares were fully planted to coconut.[19] The construction of logging roads in the 1960s accelerated the establishment of coconut plantations by providing access to new territories, including deforested areas. These roads were later improved and maintained by the government after they were declared barangay roads. Conspicuously absent was inter-cropping of coconut with other crops because of the considerable return derived from *copra*.

The emergence of *abaca* and coconut plantations perpetuated the landlord-tenant system. Demand for labor increased. Tenant families especially, utilized child labor. Communities started to rely on buy-and-sell activities for income.



A Mandaya woman attending to charcoal making.

Barter practically disappeared except in the uplands or interior areas. Immigrant traders like the Chinese, the Japanese, and the Tagalog married Mandaya women and put up stores. Some acquired large tracts of land by shortchanging the natives, resulting in legal suits. The new justice system did not favor the natives who filed suits because of the high cost of doing so and the complications attendant to such. Litigants had to go to Davao City where the court was then located. Moreover, the illiteracy of the Mandayas oftentimes caused them to be easily manipulated into settlement of their suit.

In 1968, the Samahang Nayon (SN), was introduced in the east coast. Government organized almost all barrios into SNs. The lack of financial and technical support, however, caused the movement to die a natural death after a couple of years. Some traditional *A'uyon* [communal labor] continue to the present.

Not all communities enjoyed economic stability. Barangay San Miguel in Caraga, one of the oldest barangays which produced the first Catholic priest of Caraga, experienced a 0.3 percent depopulation in 1993.[20] Many middle-aged males left in search of employment. Most of them went to Diwalwal, a mining haven in Davao del Norte.

The coconut industry virtually controlled the economy of the Mandaya communities such that the fluctuation of coconut prices had an immediate impact on them. A decrease meant an outright slowing down of economic activity. Crimes like robbery increased, while industries like mills and *sari-sari* stores suffered. Migration to other places increased and students were forced to stop schooling.

In spite of various developments in agriculture and modernization, the Mandayas continued observing their traditional farm practices and beliefs. In Lukatan, the strict observance of these rituals remained. As Garvan put it: (the Mandaya) takes on something new but does not relinquish the old."[21]

Fishing

Since the Mandayas were upstream and lowland dwellers, they became expert freshwater fishermen using various methods. "There is no Mandaya who does not engage in fishing. Men and women, young and old engage in fishing."[22] Fishing is done by individuals or in groups. For each kind of fish, a corresponding method of catching exists. For example, the *hakad ng dapog*,

or the breaking of a pile of stones in the river in an upstream direction was undertaken where a *tangi* was placed to catch fish. The *hubas* was a fun-filled method of fishing. It entailed emptying the pond of water, while children and adults played and caught fish. Poisoning or stunning fishes was also practiced using *oliskub, lagtang, tuble* or *digaw*. Deep-sea fishing using rigged bancas or canoes [*lipang*] was done to supplement freshwater fishing.

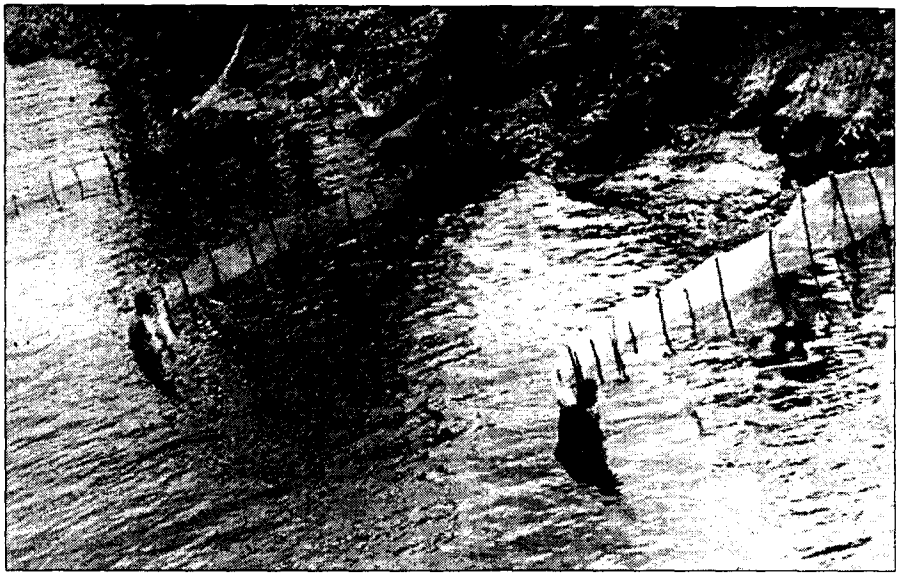
Fishing villages emerged near the mouth of rivers like Santiago in Caraga, Zaragoza in Manay, in Tarragona, and in part of Mati. "Liberation" (post-war) days saw influx of immigrants who initially competed with local folks. They introduced new and more effective fishing methods that the natives adopted, resulting in a harmonious co-existence. Notable among these techniques was the wide use of nets and bigger, motorized bancas. Still, beliefs in cosmological events significantly influenced the Mandayas' fishing activities.

Trade and Industry

Chinese and Moro traders were doing business with the Mandayas long before the Spaniards came. Brassware and gold jewelry were brought by the Moros in exchange for coffee and food items. Porcelain and chinaware became part of wealthy Mandaya households courtesy of the Chinese. Chinaware later became the Mandayas' favorite utensils during traditional marital rites. Cooked rice was placed on a china plate for the groom and bride to handfeed (*bungaw*) a handful of cooked rice (*miyosmos*) to each other. Imported goods thus became status symbols even in the very early days.

The Spanish colonizers focused on establishing religious settlements, schools, churches, and tribunals, leaving trading to other groups. The Spaniards also collected tribute from the natives.

The American regime saw the Mandayas' active involvement in *abaca* production. *Abaca* from the east coast was considered one of the best fibers. It was also during the American regime when there was an influx of Chinese, Japanese, and other non-Mandaya goods in Mandaya communities except in Caraga where a "protectionist" orientation was observed, a carry-over of a clannish stance. Abundant *abaca* led the development of the *dagmay* weaving industry, using a backstrap loom set similar to the Indonesian type. According to the curator for Southeast Asia of the UCLA Fowler Museum of Cultural



Fishing nets intended to catch a variety of small fishes were assembled in one of the rivers in Caraga.

History, Roy W. Hamilton, *dagmay* was the only existing mud-dyeing technology in the entire Southeast Asia. During the war, business slowed down but eventually resumed after the war.

Coconut production made a strong comeback. In 1969, a highway was constructed to connect the coastal towns to Mati, the center of trade. Constant association with immigrant traders and Mati's becoming an attractive business center made assimilation easy. Mati underwent "Bisayanization," so that the indigenous culture and dialect were reduced to a minority. In contrast, Manay and Caraga were able to maintain their ethnolinguistic character. Proud of their origin, the "east coast Davaweños" (where many illustrious Mandayas originated) became ethnocentric *vis-à-vis* the migrants.

The logging industry boomed in 1960. In Manay, six companies managed by Buenavista Timber Corporation (BUENTICO) which built an airport in San Ignacio, Manay, began operations. Mandayas and migrants alike opened swidden farms. While government was keen on Mandayas who practiced *kaingin*, it did nothing against large scale violations by logging companies which failed to replant. When the companies closed their logging operations,

they left a vast deforested area. Consequently, in 1996, a flashflood caused by an overflow of the Lingayao River washed away 100 houses in San Ignacio.

Other industries evolved from the copra industry. The manufacture of coco- charcoal started in 1970. When wood lumber became scarce due to government control and the lack of forest, the coco-lumber business was put up by natives and outsiders. Mandaya businessmen became very competitive so that they began to take over the control of trading by the 1980s. Known for their frugality and innate business acumen, they established significant trading in the lowlands practically replacing the Chinese, like the Manays did. Many Mandayas came from the uplands where their businesses were situated. Some put up modern communication facilities utilizing handsets solely for business purposes so as to access Davao City and provide communication teams regional coverage. Adjusting to the economic system was never difficult for the Mandayas. Though their indigenous social structure had seemingly dissappeared in the process of assimilation with the dominant culture, the preservation of their ethnolinguistic identity continued through their dialect, traditional customs, and beliefs.

OWNERSHIP

Ownership of lands in the Hispanic era was vested in individuals by their occupancy and cultivation of such lands. The vastness of available idle lands for cultivation then made it very easy to own land. Crop rotation was practiced since there were no permanent crops to plant. Abandoned farms were used by others after obtaining approval from the previous owner and the payment of rights. Only immediate relatives like one's children, brother or sister could inherit the land. Otherwise, the closest kin took over. No conflicts with regard to land were observed since there was an abundance of supply.

Under Spanish rule, land ownership was formalized through written documents. Royal decrees from Spain were issued to authorize ownership of lands and businesses. Ownership documented during the Spanish era remained valid under American rule, which introduced the Regalian doctrine.

Land ownership had to be declared to government for taxation purposes. Surveys were conducted prior to titling, a process that created problems for the Mandayas who were mostly illiterate.

Migrant workers in the government like teachers, tax collectors, assessors and lawyers took advantage of the situation. After marrying Mandaya women, they acquired lands, sometimes though dubious means.

Mandayas were victimized by scheming migrants and natives and lost their lands since the justice system favored deeds or declarations. Their problem was aggravated by the distance between their homes and the court in Davao City which was accessible only after a three or five day boat ride, depending on the number of coastal stopovers the boat undertook. In some cases, litigants had to share resources to be able to go through the process.

Some educated Mandayas did benefit from the new landholding system, leaving their descendants with huge estates. When courts were finally established in municipalities, most land cases were filed there. Intra-family disputes were the major problem source. Corruption and bribery also existed. One judge, a migrant, was caught accepting a bribe in exchange for a dubious decision.

SETTLEMENTS

In the olden days, houses in Mandaya villages were situated along the hillsides where swidden farms were. Huts were made of indigenous materials like bamboo shingles for walling, rattan or anahaw leaves and *sani* [nipa shingles] for roofing, round timber, *basag* [palm] or bamboo slats for flooring. These huts [*bayay*] were temporary and could accommodate only one household. The Mandayas were nomadic by nature. Their cultural practice entailed leaving their dwelling when someone died in it.

Other types of Mandaya houses were constructed for special functions. A *hili* was a single-post house of a *bagani* which could accommodate two to three sleeping persons. The *tambubong* was a farm hut used for storage and resting. Due to *bagani* raids, bigger houses were designed with ample security features. No ceiling was constructed to detect intruders easily. A *pangayam* [spear] was placed near the door facing east. Windows were small and provided with *tayakop* [clapper] to produce a warning sound if opened. A *saungag* [booby

trap] was installed around the house occupied by a single nuclear or polygamous family under one male head.

As settlements became more compact during the Spanish era, semi-permanent houses were built. The upper level of two-storey houses was reserved for residential purposes. One-fourth of the ground level was devoted to storage for produce and farm implements. The rest of the ground was used as shelter for horses, poultry or swine. The Spanish influence was also evident in the design of large houses which had balusters, sliding capiz windows, balconies, a wide sala and dining rooms, especially in coastal communities.

The Spaniards were instrumental in founding organized towns with defined road networks, parks, and institutional structures. Coastal Mandaya settlements which have become municipalities were located near the mouths of rivers. Upland communities on hilltops like those in San Miguel, Caraga had a chapel visible to other villages. Some were on ridges like Lukatan, while others were along the riverbanks. Dense communities favored the political and religious activities of the colonizers as well as business enterprises. These organized communities also made the collection of tributes easier for the Spaniards.

During the American regime, modernization and the use of steel, galvanized roofing sheets, cement, and other modern materials and designs became popular in Mandaya communities. Catalogues for houses became available. Wealthy Mandayas adopted the designs and hired migrant carpenters and masons to implement these. After the war, along with the modernization of buildings came the introduction of radios. Telegraph systems were established in poblacions.

The opening of roads to the hinterlands affected some settlements. San Miguel for example, was transferred to a lower location accessible by land. Lukatan experienced a "ribbon development" wherein houses were built along the road on a ridge. The presence of only a few owners of vast tracks of land situated right in the poblacion limited Tarragona's development. When electric power started serving the east coast, modernization began among the Mandayas. Power was also extended to some selected barangays like San Isidro, Manay and San Miguel, Caraga. Ownership of appliances like video players and televisions, refrigerators, stereos, and videokes indicated a family's

standard of living. In San Isidro, Channel 4 (ABS-CBN) can be viewed. In Lukatan, Santos Dongyapon purchased a generator in 1995 and lit 48 houses, but electrical appliances were disallowed due to certain limitations. He also showed English and Tagalog movies on video for a fee. Basically, all community structures were established based on major economic, political, and sociocultural considerations.

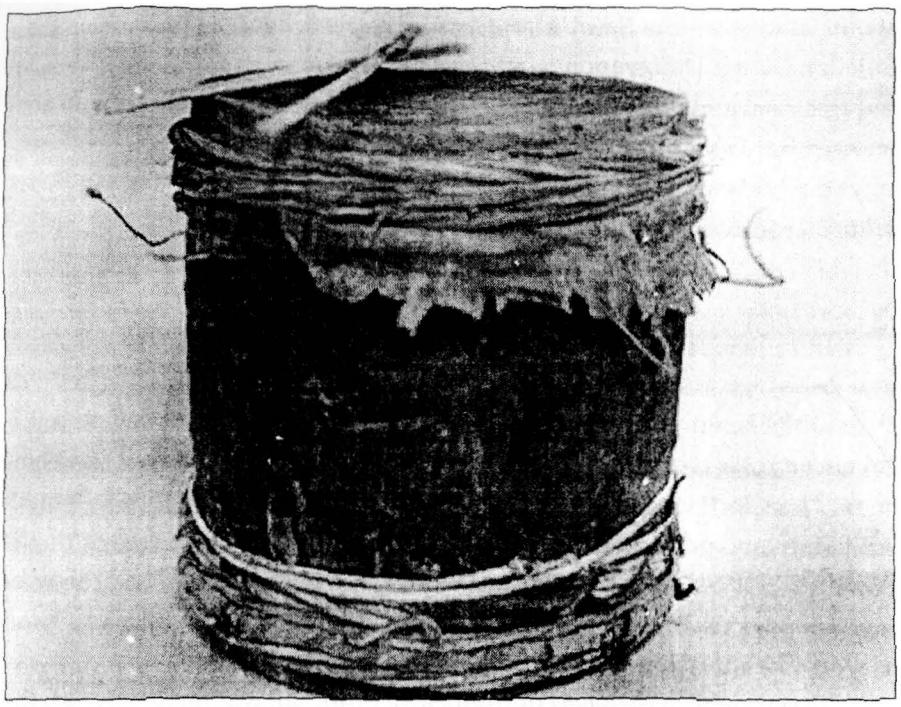
MARRIAGE AND FAMILY

Marriage among the Mandayas was a serious and critical episode in their life and culture which followed rigorous procedures before it was undertaken. Betrothal was practiced. Marriage among young Mandayas was common. The selection of a spouse was based on kinship considerations, domain affiliation, and personal characteristics. Contracting spouses were within the same generation, except for the second and successive wives. The process of courtship was exhausting for the man but rewarding once the woman's hand is won. The courtship was done with the help of the man's parents.

To start with, a *pakisayod* [introductory proposal] was made through the use of a *bayok*, a figurative or poetic chanting involving the representatives of the families of the boy and girl, with *mama* [a combination of betel nut, lime, and *buyo* leaf] as offering. After an agreement was reached, the date of the formal presentation was set during which the *pamuka* [dowry] was negotiated and accepted. Merry-making always accompanied each activity, enlivened by the chanting of the *dawot*, the *bayok*, and story-telling. The *pagtawas* whereby the boy rendered service to the girl and her family followed. After the completion of the *tawas*, a reunion of the families or *kasamongan* was held, and the dowries delivered to the parents and relatives of the bride.

The marriage ritual was a showcase of the Mandaya's rich culture. The groom appeared in his best *pantot* and embroidered *dagum* [*linangaw* of crocodile teeth]. Like the groom, the bride was bedecked with native jewelry from the head down the ankle. A *tungkaling* belt of small bells completed her costume.

The wedding rite was held at noon or sundown officiated by a *likid* or any respected man in the settlement. No special place was selected for the wedding. The celebration could last anywhere from three days to a week. The couple first



The gimbaw *(or* gimbal*) drum, an indispensable instrument in Mandaya rituals and merry-making.*

stayed with the bride's family where they shared a bed only after three days. Since most couples were still young, they stayed with the bride's family or in the groom's house until they were old enough to live independently.

The wedding involving a second wife or later wives did not equal the firsts in the lavishness of preparations. Most often, only the brideprice was tendered to the parents of the girl. Only the man could take on as many wives as he could afford. A wife who had two husbands would be meted a severe penalty, sometimes death for both offending parties. All wives were expected to submissive to their husbands.

The nobility of the girl was measured by her ability to weave *abaca* cloth [*dagmay*], as the tedious and complicated process of doing so required utmost patience.

Traditionally, two types of families were recognized. The common one was the nuclear family composed of the married couple and their unmarried children. The other type was the polygamous family consisting of husband and two or more wives and their children. This latter type was common among the wealthy Mandayas. Though very rare today, they can still be found in remote barangays. A barangay captain of Lukatan had three wives. Almost all polygamous families lived in harmony.

Polygamy virtually became a thing of the past when the Spanish colonizers introduced the solemn exchange of vows. Such ceremonies in the Catholic Church were officiated by a priest. Despite this being so, traditional marriage rituals in the uplands are still observed at present. In a few cases, the process remained traditional but was followed by formal wedding rites in the church. This combination characterized the Mandaya approach to development as introduced by outsiders. Traditional rituals, however, are no longer practiced in the coastal areas where Christianity gained a stronghold. Polygamy became taboo as the Mandayas adopted the monogamous family system and as polygamy was outlawed by government.

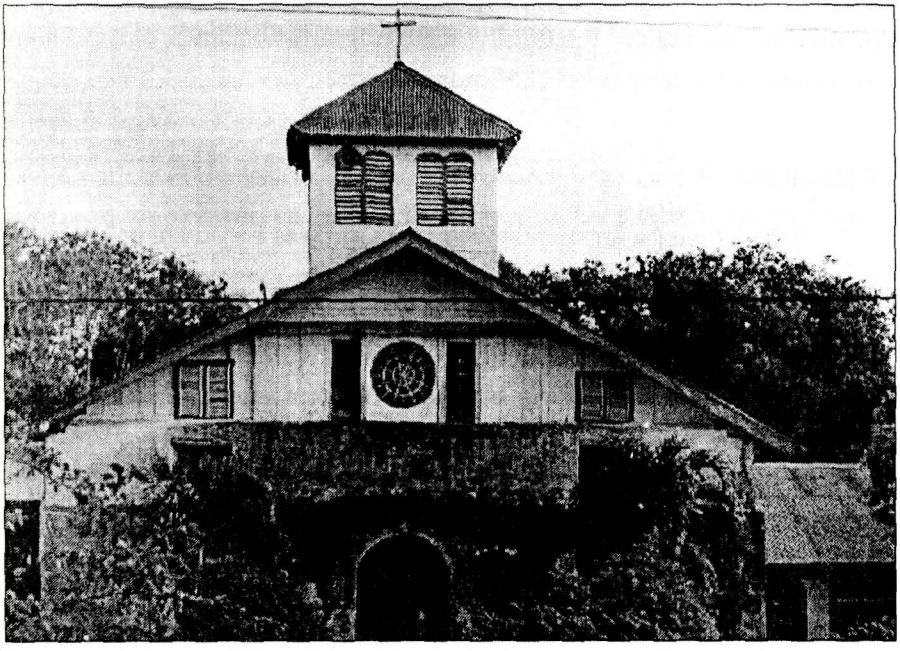
Although the entry of foreign cultures did not diminish the superior position of the man in the family, some migrant-husbands observed and experienced the toughness of Mandaya women.

RELIGION

"Before their (Spanish) religion came, God was already here," so went a popular cliché uttered by an old Mandaya. Aram Yengoyen[23] wrote that the Mandaya religious structure depicted an elaborate hierarchy of spirits and a group of female shamans [*balyan*], whose general function was the interpretation of the supernatural and how it related to man and nature. For the Mandayas, the *Magbabaya* ruled as a supreme being. The *Tagamaling* owned the forests and nature, while different kinds of spirits like the *busaw* and other forms of *magguya* [spirit dwellers] had their respective turfs. This indigenous belief was described as animism. Rites and rituals served several purposes such as thanksgiving, marriage, farming, and healing, among others. The *balyan*, who



The chapel of San Isidro, Manay, Davao Oriental.



The Caraga Catholic Church built in 1884.

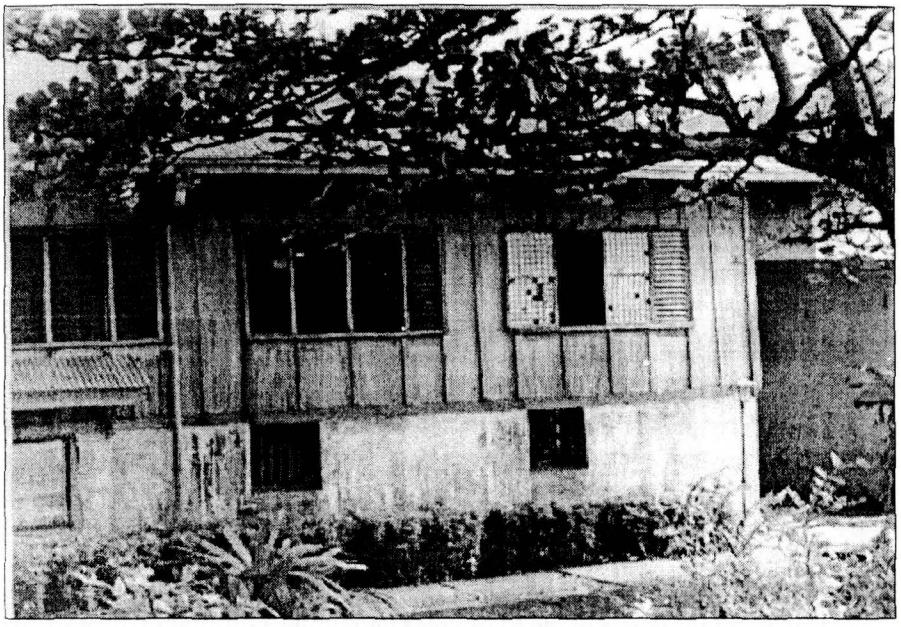
could only be a woman, performed the rituals. A male could only become a *silag* [healer].

The Spaniards, with their might and power, effected the greatest cultural change among the Mandayas. They introduced Christianity and undertook massive missionary work from 1596 to 1622 to convert the Mandayas. Caraga was their first stop in the east coast. Awed by the features and civilization of the colonizers, the natives were convinced or coerced to receive baptism and became *Cristianos*. Different missions headed by the Recollects and the Jesuits visited the area. Conflicts in form and character drew resentment from some natives, especially the *baganis* who immediately led resistance groups. They ambushed Christian villages. Some priests died at the hands of the fierce *baganis*. Eventually, the superior arms of the colonizers won the battle. Oppositors became fugitives and had to hide in the interior to escape persecution and execution, while the converts remained in the lowlands with their colonizers.

The obsequiousness of the Mandayas had limits. Equipped with a strong sense of justice and fairness, they executed Captain Juanito Nitro de Tabora, 12 soldiers and a priest, Fray Jacinto Cor after these persons maltreated the chieftain of Caraga. Seeking vengeance for the injustice done, they killed four men from among the religious order of Augustinian Recollects and captured and wounded two others. [24]

Churches and small religious structures were built in San Miguel, Manay, Zaragoza (originally named Santa Maria), and San Isidro, the early barangays of Caraga. In 1877, Caraga church as it now exists, was built and underwent two renovations utilizing forced labor. Each family was required to bring 10 limestone blocks a week. Failure to do so meant punishment at the hands of the Spanish engineers.

Right next to the church's building was the *convento* with a jail on the ground floor. Though the priests were aware of the maltreatment of prisoners, they tolerated these for that the structure would soon be completed. The Mandayas who were not able to bear the harsh conditions went to the hills and rejoined their tribe. In 1884, the church was finished. Until now, the bell with the inscription 1802 is stored in the church's wing, having cracked and been rendered useless. The church also owned a modest coconut plantation.



This convent is located beside the Caraga Catholic church. Its ground floor was used as a carcel *(jail) for offenders.*

The baptism of converts indirectly inflicted another blow on the term Mandaya making it increasingly derisive or debasing. Every baptized Mandaya child had to take on a so-called "Christian name" which was actually a Spanish name derived from the almanac. The practice explains the abundance of family names like Burgos, Balante, Zamora, Alvar, Moralizon, and so on. Native Mandaya names which were without family names were considered pagan and therefore taboo. After baptism, the child was called *Cristiano* – and no longer Mandaya – as the friars specified. Each church or chapel was assigned a patron saint and a fiesta date. Merrymaking during fiestas was introduced, which jibed with the Mandaya culture of festiveness during major occasions.

The unbaptized, branded as *infieles*, were not allowed to enter schools or transact business with government. They were relegated to a lower status as uneducated, uncivilized or simply ignorant. Thus, education was instrumental to massive Christianization.

The stigma of discrimination remains today. Natives feel insulted when they are called Mandayas as they prefer to be known as Davaweños. Though

some have already realized the injustice of this and began to reclaim their identity as Mandayas, they remain few in number.

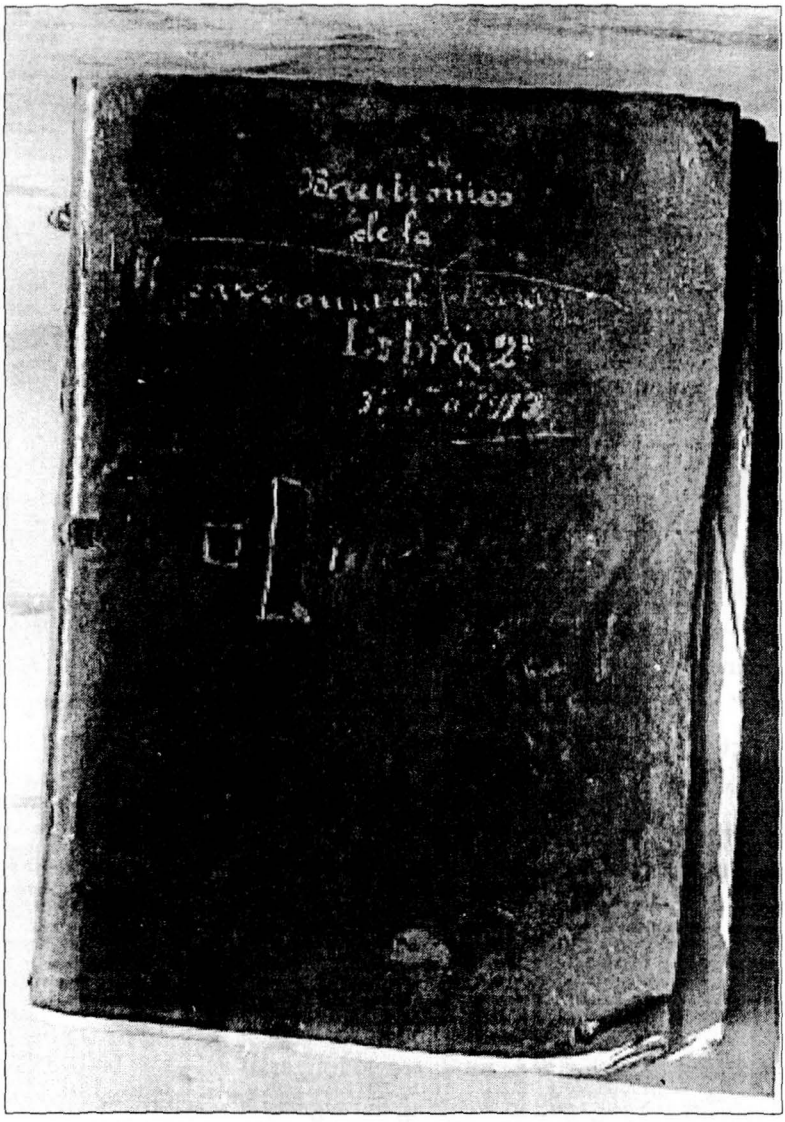
The Spanish convinced some natives to join the ranks of the religious. Ubaldo Basoc of San Miguel, Caraga was taken to Zamboanga to study for the priesthood, making him the first priest of Caraga and Davao Oriental. He was assigned in Zamboanga. In 1983, another Mandaya, Romeo Mapansa, was ordained priest. But he died while negotiating for peace in an intra-tribal war that involved the Ata-Langilan tribe. Indeed, the Spanish religion was so dominant that natives seldom practiced animism except in remote places and during extreme circumstances when they had nowhere to turn to but the *balyan* for a cure.

American and Japanese colonizers alike left the church untouched. To a very limited extent, Protestantism was introduced to the Mandayas by teachers and other workers employed by the Americans in Luzon. The Visayan migrants brought the Jehovah's Witness to Cayawan and Manay Poblacion. By the late 1970s, other religious sects like the Pentecostals followed. The Philippine Benevolent Mission Association (PBMA) made use of "spiritual healing" missions to enter the communities. Later, the *Iglesia ni Kristo* (INK) constructed a chapel in Manay after its establishment on September 11, 1985. Carlito Sumakote, a son of the late mayor Hon. Generoso M. Sumakote, is now head deacon. The convergence of many sects in the Mandaya areas created new religious denominations but belief in some old traditions still exists among them. In spite of this, Catholicism remains the predominant religion. Caraga remains the most unaffected by these new religious developments. Despite the predominance of Christianity, the hinterlands particularly Lukatan (Pichon) and Sangab still embrace some animist practices.

Balyans, though still around, are no longer as active as before. Most retired *balyans* are engaged in weaving the *dagmay abaca* cloth.

EDUCATION

Oral tradition and indigenous arts started the informal education of the Mandayas. Practices, values, and weaving skills were taught to both the young and the adults. Respect for women especially by men was primary and com-



The "Baptism of Manay Parish" also known as Bautismo de la Parroquia de Manay *dated* 1905-1912.

pulsory. Violations against women were dealt with severely, either by extracting payment, long service, flogging or death.

Pastells referred to the Mandayas as "having a clear mind, generally lucid among the children for which reason, I believe, they are capable of any kind of education."[25] Among the indigenous groups, the Mandayas were the earliest educated, Eastern Mindanao then being the first stopover of the Spaniards. The *convento* served as the first school. Chosen Mandayas underwent tutorials from Spanish priests. Those who exhibited potential were sent to bigger Spanish settlements in Zamboanga, Cebu, and Manila where there were regular schools.

The rigid attachment of religion to education exerted the greatest influence and pressure on the Mandayas as individuals, as families, and as communities. In 1909, the *Escuelahan dela Sagrado Familia*, presently known as the Holy Family Academy of Caraga, was established and ran by the Religious of the Virgin Mary (RVM). It conducted classes for Grades I to VI. As previously discussed, all institutions required baptism before giving access to Spanish-created institutions. Indigenous customs and traditions were disparaged or suppressed in favor of Christian prayers and practices. The religious catechism was indispensable in the schools where the medium of instruction was Spanish. Textbooks were also in Spanish, hence this foreign tongue's adoption by the Mandayas. Education proved to be a very effective and potent tool in the Hispanization of the Mandayas. It saw the creation of two groups: the *Cristianos* and the *Infieles*. It might be safe to assume that these groups later become the *Dabawenyos* and *Mandayas*, as we now know them.

The entry of the Americans effected another shift in local culture enabling a smooth transition from Spanish to American control of the schools. Religion was left alone but English was imposed as the medium of instruction. The American government supplied new textbooks. The elevation of educated Mandayas to high and influential government positions and their acquisition of large estates gradually created a gap between them and the less educated. In spite of this, some Dabawenyos, particularly those in Davao City, retained their Mandaya roots.

An increase in the number of schools and an improved literacy rate among the Mandayas paved the way for the gradual disappearance of their indigenous culture. Shortly after liberation, the use of the Mandaya vernacular was

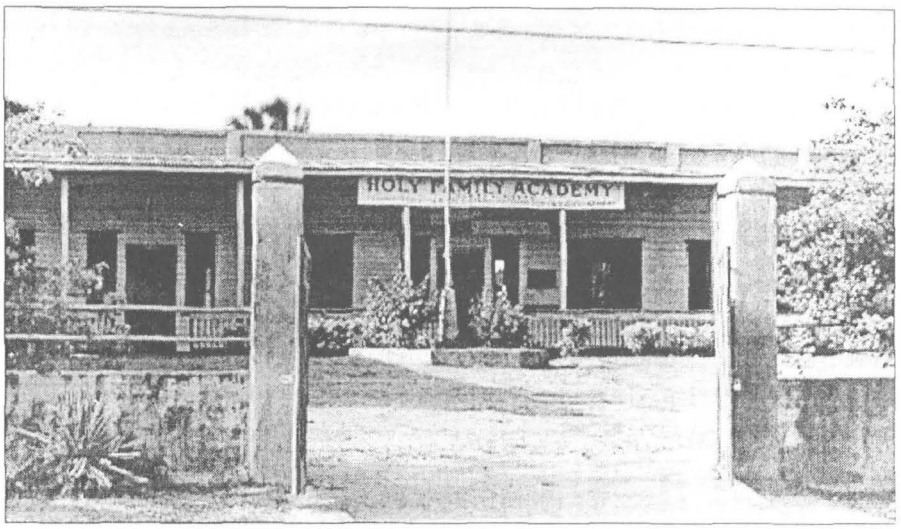
prohibited. Students were trained to speak English and violators were fined. Notwithstanding this prohibition, the Mandaya dialect remained dominant. On the other hand, the ability to speak English became a "measure" of intelligence and superiority. This perception prompted the Mandayas to go to school out of a natural competitiveness and pride. Using banana leaves as paper or rice grains to form letters, the Mandaya children attended the nearest elementary schools, some walking as far as six kilometers each time. Many economically well-off Mandayas obtained higher education, some of them supported by their kin. "East coast" became a by-word in the colleges and universities in Davao City due to their conspicuous presence. Some Mandayas went as far as Cebu and Manila to study. During World War II, Mandayas continued their quest for education. Descendants of Japanese-Mandaya marriages attended Japanese schools in Davao City.

Among the Mandaya descendants who occupied high government positions were Teodoro Palma Gil, who was appointed Congressman of Davao; and Governors Pacifico Moralizon Sobrecarey and Sebastian Generoso, who were classmates of Presidents Quezon and Osmeña.[26]

The growth of the Davaweño as a neo-ethnic group diminished the Mandaya tribe's greatness. Varied individual opinions among the Mandayas on their tribal origins emerged due to colonial mentality and a lack of historical knowledge. As a result of religion and the educational system of the repressive Spaniards that gave rise to a distinctive *Cristiano-infieles* imagery, the word "Mandaya" became a linguistic symbol of disparagement implying ignorance, illiteracy, and paganism.

Textbooks published today show that the historical value of Caraga was deliberately omitted. And yet, Caraga is considered the oldest municipality and capital of Provincia de Caraga. It regained its prominence only when Region XIII was created as the "Caraga Region" although Caraga and Davao Oriental were not included in it. Consequently, Caraga municipal officials strongly protested and questioned the annexation of the term Caraga to Region XIII's nomenclature. While the community sought to protect the historical integrity of Caraga, Congress had yet to act on their petition.

The commercialization of the present instructional materials of the educational system, such as reference books, magazines, charts, visual aids, fliers, and so on, has reached the Mandaya classrooms. Elementary and high school



The Holy Family Academy in Caraga which started as a Spanish elementary school and is now run by the Religious of the Virgin Mary Congregation.

students were taught to adapt to modifications like the use of textbooks and workbooks authored by outsiders, mostly with masteral or doctorate degrees in elementary education.

The tremendous external imposition and demand wrought by modernization discouraged Mandaya pupils from retaining their ethnic identity for fear of being ostracized. For this reason, lowland or coastal Mandayas preferred to be known as Davaweños.

The success of the Mandayas in the educational field can be gauged via the following statistics: an estimated two to three percent of total elementary graduates finished college from the 10 percent-15 percent college enrollees. About 35 percent to as high as 60 percent entered high school after elementary. Of the starters, two-thirds completed the secondary course. Most graduates stayed in the city or in highly urbanized areas to find jobs and to practice as engineers, doctors, lawyers, educators, accountants, nurses, and others.

The pursuit of education among the Mandayas almost totally depended on the price and market for *copra*.

The transformation of the Mandaya society was not conducive to the enrichment of indigenous culture and arts. "Copying" from other cultures or

accepting newly introduced practices characterized the system. Most of those affected by these changes were the coastal Mandayas who were among the first target of education and religion. This accelerated the *disappearance of* indigenous cultural practices and awareness, widening the gap among them.

The Mandayas manifested remarkable adjustments in adopting the different dimensions of learning at the hands of the different colonizers. However, they somehow kept their dialect intact alongside worthy traditional values, beliefs, a material culture and arts, and other characteristics.

HEALTH AND MEDICINE

The Mandayas relied on the *silag* [male healer], such as Bagani Ambasan in the interior of Manay, for a cure from common ailments. On the other hand, a *Balyan*, regarded as a priestess, summoned the spirits to cure the sick whose ailments were not common. The Mandayas depended on herbal medicine for their ailments. However, their last recourse was the healing power of the *balyan*.



The Manay District Hospital in Sta. Maria, Manay which caters to the health needs of local folks.

Becoming a *balyan* was not so easy. A woman has to be anointed by the spirits through dreams or unusual signals like a prolonged fever and visions. There is no formal training available for *balyans*. An anointed-one tags along with an old *balyan* and observes her. She then participates in a ritual, drinking the blood of an offered pig or cutting the neck of a chicken with her bare hands while in a trance. Every Mandaya family had knowledge of herbal medicine, such knowledge being passed down from generation to generation. A *silag* [male healer], for example, would have a *silag* son.

The discovery of new herbal medicines came in various ways such as the observation of animals thorugh dreams or visions and by accident. Trading and interfacing with the Moros and Chinese led the Mandayas to discover more herbal medicines. The Spaniards, Bisayans, and other migrants also shared their knowledge of such medicines with natives. Not all these "contributions" were accepted. Some were discarded after being found ineffective or less potent.

Modern medicine as practiced by a Mandaya started with the arrival of the Americans who introduced vaccines, intravenous injections, pills, and ointments. The first vaccinations were conducted in schools. As children experienced fever after their innoculation, many parents complained and hid their children.

The introduction of new medicines did not immediately create a tremendous impact on the Mandayas who continued to practice and believe in traditional healing. This could be attributed to the failure of the Americans to penetrate far-flung communities. "Culture shock" brought by some unusual effects of the new medicine also discouraged their acceptance. It was only after World War II that modern medicine slowly made headway. Puericulture centers, more popularly known as dispensaries, were established with a doctor assigned to each. Dental treatments were scheduled by a roving dentist.

In 1950, Magdalena Alvar, a nurse, established the first pharmacy in Manay which also served Caraga and Tarragona. Her experiences in medical treatment helped convince the Mandayas to rely on modern medicine. Meanwhile, periodic medical and dental treatments were held in schools for hundreds of Mandaya children. Treatments did not require parental consent. The constant and continual exposure of children to these free medical services marked the turning point in the introduction of modern medicine. Despite all these developments, some Mandayas still believed in the power of the *balyan*

and in the efficacy of herbal medicine especially as antidotes for snake bites and other venom-producing anthropods.

The Mandayas observed the unfolding of the medical revolution in their midst with caution and keenness. As the population increased, the demand for medical services also increased. The government assigned more doctors and dentists whom it hired permanently. In July 1986, the first district hospital in Manay was constructed. This 10-bed hospital was later abandoned and a new building donated by Sra. Carmen Alvar vda. de Teshiba, the half sister of Governor Pacifico Sobrecarey. The Manay District Hospital began operations by October 8, 1990. Outreach programs are carried out by the Rural Health Units (RHUs) formerly referred to as Puericulture Centers. Caraga ran an emergency hospital in 1995 and 1996, but this was closed down due to lack of funds when health workers were devolved to the local units.

The Manay District Hospital offered general medicine, minor surgery, childbirth services, and x-ray and laboratory services. Most of the staff of the hospital including the doctors are "Davaweños." The RHU assumed all outreach health care concerns.

The use of new medicines became predominant in the area, especially among those with access to the poblacion where drugstores were located. There are two drugstores in Manay and one each in Caraga and San Ignacio, a coastal barangay of Manay. Traditional medicine was continuously used in the hinterlands. Today, *balyans* are still called for ailments which the natives could not diagnose. There were also cases whereby the Mandayas in the *poblacion* called the *balyan* to "exorcise" patients who had seizures or were terminally ill.

Programs of government accompanied the slow but steady introduction of modern medicine by government itself and by private companies. Natives began to consider it superior to traditional medicine, especially after many critical cases were cured. Accessibility and convenience aided by the money economy contributed to its spread and propagation. The involvement of "insiders" (Mandaya doctors), some of whom were already specialists, contributed to its popularity and perceived superiority. Reliable and convincing medical findings by the Mandaya doctors eradicated whatever lingering doubts the rest had regarding modern medicine. Consequently, the Mandayas began patronizing modern medicine for their ailments.

WORLD VIEW

Some of the beliefs of the Mandayas are listed below.

ENVIRONMENT, NATURE, AND UNIVERSE

1. Nature is owned by the spirit called *Tagamaling* who lives in the *budbud* (*balete* tree). A bad spirit who also acts as guardian of the environment is called *busaw*. Offerings are given to the spirits to appease them. The *Tagal-lang* is the supreme being. When cutting trees, the Mandayas replace it by planting a seedling so as not to infuriate the *Tagamaling*.
2. Lunar observations are strictly adhered to in planting and in cutting trees or bamboo for house construction. For example, the seventh day after a full moon is believed to be the most ideal day for planting and cutting trees or bamboo. Lumber or bamboo cut before this day will easily rot or be attacked by borers.
3. Nature's curse in the form of *ba'oy* (petrify) or falling fatally ill is cast upon anyone who disrespects or does mischief or makes noise in a virgin and sacred land where unusual sights are around.
4. Nobody must build a house or any structure on the spirit's trail or crossroads. The *balyan* locates this trail.
5. Snakes are not enemies and are to be befriended by saying "*Magbila kita kay ompo*" (Let's be friends, old man.)
6. Only a woman can become a *balyan*, a priestess who summons the spirits during rituals performed for good harvest, health, and healing. A chosen one is "called" through a series of signs like unusual ailments and dreams.
7. A *taugbini* ritual is undertaken before planting rice or corn to ask for a bountiful harvest. It is also believed to cast a curse upon any invader of the farm.
8. A post-harvest feast called *p'yagtata-an* is celebrated with a butchered pig, *b'ya-is* (sugarcane wine) with honey and newly harvested rice. During the feast, all farm implements are made to "eat" by immersing them in cooked rice.
9. An eclipse is caused by a giant celestial *tambanukawa* (black widow spider) gnawing at the moon, causing it to disappear. It is believed

that during an eclipse, snakes, other poisonous animals and insects roam. Children are not allowed to go outside the house. Mandayas make noise during an eclipse to drive away the bad spirits.

BELIEFS, PRACTICES, AND VALUES

1. A sound of the *limokon* bird is a bad omen for someone who is about to leave the house.
2. Children must be inside the house immediately after sunset because the *budbud* denizens are already roaming around. Bumping into them will make one ill.
3. When a deer passes under one's house, its owner will die.
4. Killing a fat deer portends death to the hunter.
5. A house must be abandoned after one of the household members dies in it.
6. Utmost respect must be afforded to women. In the early days, an offense against a woman was punishable by death. The same respect should be extended to the elders.
7. Decisions handed by the *Matadong* or *Likid* are inviolable.
8. Respect for households is obligatory. One's presence is made known, not by knocking, but by whistling or uttering an "*ehem*" outside the house. This respect is carried through to another's property.
9. Coveting another's wife or husband is a capital offense punishable by death or banishment from the community. Any attempt of the banished offenders to return will be met with a stern and fatal punishment.
10. A *palakub* (clapping) of the caskets' cover is done before the remains of the dead are placed inside. The loud thundering sound produced by the *palakub* drives away the evil spirits who might attempt to snatch the body.

CONCLUSION

The colonization of the Philippines by the Spaniards and the Americans played a major role in the cultural and social transition experienced by Filipinos, particularly the Mandayas. The foreign groups' aim to expand their dominion and to attain global superiority brought them as far as the interior of Davao Oriental. They introduced and established new patterns of social structure as prerequisites to colonizing the Mandaya indigenous groups.

Catholicism was utilized by the Spaniards to pacify and colonize the Mandayas. This resulted in their massive conversion from paganism to Catholicism, after resistance to the latter proved futile and impractical as the natives' weapons were no match for those of the Spaniards. The church became a powerful figure that intervened in government affairs. The political system was restructured in consonance with the Spanish government; educational institutions were established; and rules were imposed for strict compliance. In effect, the Mandaya political structure and religious institution were discarded.

When the Americans took over, Protestantism set foot in Mandaya communities. Educating the Mandayas was the priority with English as the medium of instruction. The Americans enhanced what the Spaniards started. Modernization and the use of steel, the influx of educational materials and access to vaccines, medicines and treatments benefited the Mandayas. Eventually, some privileged Mandayas studied medicine and became doctors in their communities.

Indeed, the Mandayas' experiences at the hands of the colonizers left indelible imprints and a culture evident among urbanized Filipinos. Their political structure, education, religion, and trading techniques were replicas of those of the colonizers'. Their identity and distinction as an ethnic tribe was threatened with extinction in the process of assimilation. What remained were a few values, beliefs, traditional healing, some rare chanting and music, dances, the dominant Mandaya dialect – the foundation of the Mandaya group which was never seriously in danger of being discarded – and the exotic art of *dagmay* weaving exclusive to the Mandayas.

The breakdown of their authentic indigenous structure now seemed to categorize them among the non-ethnic groups in society. They, too, were now urbanized, dressed like the rest, educated, enjoyed western music, and lived like non-ethnic groups. The apparent distinction of Mandayas as an ethnic group *vis-à-vis* the urban dwellers with regard to their tribal dialect, customs, and traditions was on the wane. Only a few Mandayas, the majority of them elderly, remained attached to their ethnicity.

But, while the Mandayas underwent these changes, they still drew strength and a sense of identity from their ethnicity — colonial pressure notwithstanding. Their unwavering use of their dialect, *dagmay*, loom-weaving, *bayok*, belief in the spirits, the dyeing process which was the only remaining one in Southeast Asia, attest to this.

The strong pressure of modernization, the advent of new technology and the rapid shift in orientation toward western culture threatened the Mandaya's remaining indigenous cultural heritage and world view. While a positive attitude toward change and technological development was indispensable to community progress, a balance between development and indigenous culture was also necessary. No matter how progressive a community is, the richness and distinctiveness of its cultural heritage is its most precious possession.

As a people must protect their cultural heritage, so should heritage ultimately protect the people.

RECOMMENDATION

The pressure of growth and urbanization among ethnic groups is fast gnawing into the Mandayas cultural fibers. To reduce or prevent its undesirable effects, the following measures are recommended.

1. A Community-based Cultural Development Program

The local government units today have never been in a better position to support this program because of the Local Government Code. This program would cover cultural awareness and advocacy, workshops, the institutionalization of indigenous arts training in schools, and other strategies that would minimize the loss of the indigenous cultural heritage. Specific

projects could be the establishment of a School of Living Tradition or a Mandaya Culture and Arts Center. Here, the "masters" of the indigenous arts like loom-weaving, chanting, brasscasting, traditional modes of livelihood, and other concerns would be able to teach the young with the support of government. The centers would also showcase a mini-museum, a library, and other informative exhibits. The management of these projects would be done by the Mandaya community and do away with exploitative tourism projects.

2. *An Environmental Management Program*

Traditional livelihood could only be sustainable if environmental awareness, concern, and protection were enhanced. The relation of nature to Mandaya traditions, beliefs, livelihood, and arts is indisputable. The program would draw strategies and policies to prohibit destructive development like mining explorations which result in irreparable damage to rivers, soil, plants, and the air. High-yielding alternatives like reforestation and other environment-friendly projects would be prioritized. Both the government and the community should work together to preserve the Mandaya culture.

3. *The Enhancement of Indigenous People's Rights, Awareness and Concerns*

Total recognition by the government of the rights and practices of the indigenous people — by act of law and other directives — is one recommendation. The local units should encourage the indigenous people to retain their traditions. Hence, policymakers should be educated on traditional culture and arts to improve their sensitivity to relevant issues, concerns, and development. Consultation with the people must be conducted prior to government planning and implementation of policies affecting the Mandayas. Government planners tend to favor development policies with a foreign orientation. This condition is aggravated by their lack of understanding of their own people, especially the ethnic group's culture and arts.

Information dissemination, cultural promotion, and campaigns through symposia, seminars, conferences, and workshops need to be conducted by concerned government agencies. Institutionalization of ethnic culture studies and skills training in the elementary and secondary schools must be pursued vigorously.

The low literacy rate and the absence of access to information make ethnic groups, particularly those in the hinterlands, vulnerable to abuse and oppression. An ambulant educational system would help improve the situation.

4. *The Development of a National Framework for the Indigenous People's Development Management*

A national strategy for the sustainable development of the indigenous people should serve as the overall framework for cultural and economic management. Many agencies in the government have individual development programs for indigenous groups. In trying to outdo one another, some programs overlap and are poorly coordinated leaving indigenous people further disadvantaged. A comprehensive and integrated framework will go a long way in supporting the welfare of indigenous communities without damaging their rich cultural heritage.

ENDNOTES

* computed by the author

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5 Pablo Pastells SJ, *The Christianization of Davao Oriental*, (Translated by Jose Arcilla, S.J. from the *Cartas Edificantes*) *Philippine Studies* 19 (1971), p. 653.

6 Estanislao A. Soria, "The Manobos of Southeastern Mindanao" (*Kinaadman IV*) p. 57.

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9 Andrew F. Gallman, *Proto South East Mindanao and its Internal Relationships* (A Paper Presented at the Austronesian Symposium, Honolulu, Hawaii, U.S.A., 1977) p. 1.

10 Pablo Pastells SJ, "*The Christianization of Davao Oriental*" (translated by Jose Arcilla, S.J. from the *Cartas Edificantes*) *Philippine Studies* 19 (1971) p. 689.

11 Gloria P. Dabbay, "*Davao City: Its History and Progress*" 1975, p. 24. Underscoring by the author.

12 Garvan, *op. cit.*, p. 6

13 Socio-Economic Profile, Municipality of Caraga, 1993-1996, p. 1.

14 Aram Yengoyen, "*Ethnic Groups of Insular Southeast Asia*" vol. 2, 1975, p. 54.

15 Mandayas tend to pronouncing *l* as *y*, and to omit the letter *h*, e.g. instead of saying *hanos*, they would say *anos*.

16 Pastells, *op. cit.*, p. 6

17 Dabbay, *op. cit.*, p. 25

18 Socio-Economic Profile, Municipality of Manay, Province of Davao Oriental.

19 Socio-Economic Profile 1993-1996, Municipality of Caraga, Province of Davao Oriental.

20 Socio-Economic Profile 1993-1996 Caraga, Davao Or. *op. cit.*

21 Garvan, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

22 Soria, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

23 Aram Yengoyen, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

24 Pedro Francisco de Asis, Historia general de los religious des calzos, vol. IV, in Blair and Robertson, *The Philippine Islands*, 41:137 ff.

25 Pastells SJ, *op. cit.*, p. 689.

26 Dabbay, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

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MINDANAO ETHNIC COMMUNITIES

PATTERNS OF GROWTH AND CHANGE

This collection of exploratory studies on selected ethnic communities within the Davao area is a welcome addition to the growing literature on Mindanao's indigenous people. Most of these researchers themselves belong to the communities they studied, trained as they were by Dr. Leonardo Chua of UP Mindanao. The others are senior students in the university. Preliminary as these works here may appear to the wizened researcher, they nonetheless prove not only the exemplary interest shown by members of these communities to participate in academic discourse but their capability as well—given the opportunity—for serious scholarship. This anthology should establish a useful groundwork for further *lumad* studies and provide the momentum for the Mindanao Studies Program that has now been devolved from the CIDS in UP Diliman to UP Mindanao.

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