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The Sulod: A Mountain People in Central Panay

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The Sulod: A Mountain People In Central Panay, Philippines

F. LANDA JOCANO

The writer first visited the Sulod settlements in the mountains of Central Panay in November 1955. This contact was accidental. Out of interest in studying native folktales, the writer, then an undergraduate student, toured the mountainsides of Panay collecting folk songs, stories and proverbs. It was during one of the trips to the upland barrios of Maasin, Janiuay, Lambunao, and Calinog in Iloilo province¹ that his attention was called to a very long, popular tale called *Hinilawod*,² portions of which were known in almost all places he visited. A close follow-up eventually led him to the Sulod settlements in the area of Mt. Siya and Mt. Bocboc, Tapaz, Capiz. However, lack of necessary field equipment and other materials prevented the writer from making recordings of the epic story. Luckily in October 1956, he was able to obtain the support of the Faculty Council of Central Philippine University, Iloilo City, and, together with Samuel Talapian, CPU

¹ During his trip in November 1955, the writer was accompanied by his friends, Mr. Demy P. Sonza and Mr. Jose Navarra.

² *Hinilawod* is a combination of the root-word *Halawod* and a *Kiniray-a* infix *in* which means "from" or "that which is derived from." *Halawod* (often spelled *Jalaur*) is one of the main rivers in Iloilo province, along the banks of which the principal characters in the epic were believed to have resided. Literally, *Hinilawod* is used by the Sulod to mean "the tale from *Halawod*."

radio technician, returned to the area and tape-recorded portions of the epic. This initial recording, however, was suspended after a week's time because the writer exhausted his funds and there was no immediate source where he could get additional financial assistance to carry on the field work.

In May 1957 the Asia Foundation took interest in the project. Supported by a liberal grant-in-aid from the Foundation, the writer returned to the area in June of that year to complete the recording of the epic, and to make a brief socio-cultural study of Sulod life.³ Upon reaching the area, however, he found his former informant unwilling to cooperate. This forced him to look for other informants. After a week's travel over the rugged mountain passes, he met an old practicing *babaylan*⁴ or "medium," Hugan-an by name, who could sing the entire story from memory.⁵ Hunger which ravaged the area during this part of the year considerably hampered the field work. The writer returned to the University and made arrangements for the final recording of the epic. Then in August, accompanied by Antonio Bernardino, another CPU technician, he went back to the mountains and stayed there until October.⁶

THE HINILAWOD

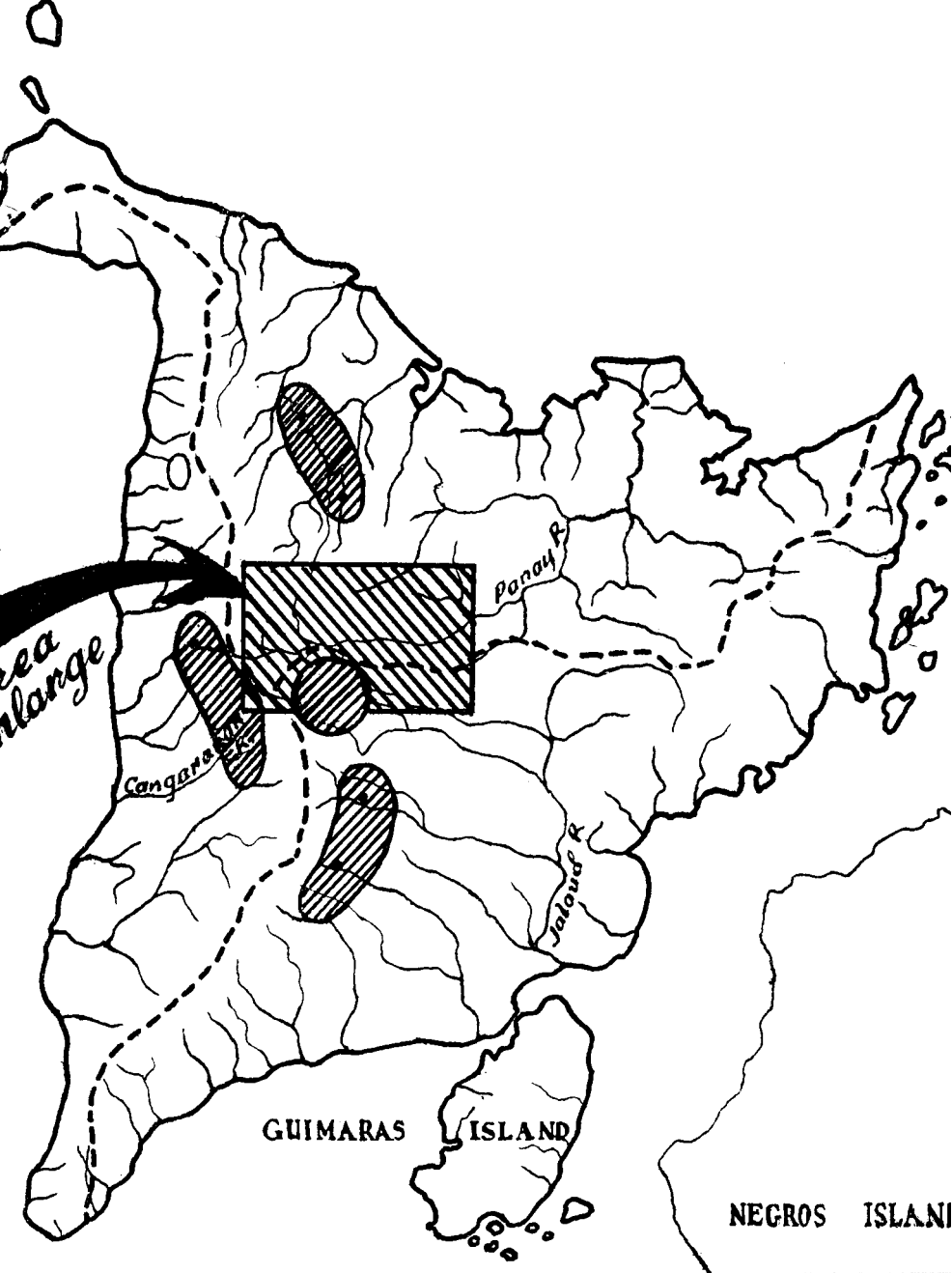
The *Hinilawod* is a living epic employed ritually in the ceremonial activities of the Sulod. The transcribed text from the tape-recordings of this epic, which runs to approximately

³ The field work during this year was directly supervised by the staff of the National Museum. The writer wishes to acknowledge his indebtedness to Dr. Eduardo Quisumbing, Director of the National Museum, and to Dr. Robert B. Fox, chief of the anthropology division, for their most valuable suggestions and unselfish cooperation.

⁴ The term *babaylan* or *baylan*, "medium," is used in this paper to refer to men and women who claim (and are believed by the mountain people) to possess extraordinary powers to cause and to cure illness. They assume a dual role of a medicine man and religious leader. Henceforth, the word *babaylan* or *baylan* will not be italicized.


⁵ It takes approximately twenty-five hours of continuous listening to hear the entire epic story.

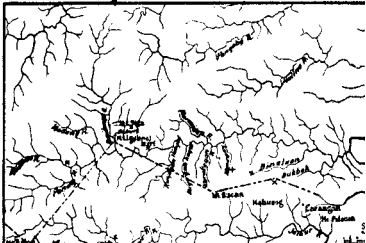
⁶ The technician returned to the University ahead of the writer.



PANAY

LEGEND

 Approximate distribution of the cultural-linguistic groups



one thousand pages of single-spaced type, is being translated into English and will be published in future with further data on its functions in the ceremonial life of the Sulod. However, since no systematic anthropological investigation has been made of Panay's mountain people, it was thought desirable to present a brief description of their distribution and some specific data on the socio-cultural characteristics of one of the groups—the Sulod. This paper, therefore, represents some of the background data originally obtained in the field to provide a framework for understanding the use and meaning of the *Hinilawod*.

THE ISLAND OF PANAY

Panay is the sixth largest island in the Philippines. It is approximately an equilateral triangle and has an area of 11,520 square kilometers.⁷ A chain of mountains extends in a curved line from the northern to the southern point, joined at the middle by another unbroken chain of low ridges, stretching towards the northwest, thus dividing the island into three parts. The southeastern part of the island is occupied by the province of Iloilo. It is about 170 kilometers long and 60 kilometers wide, and has a total area of 5,304.49 square kilometers.⁸ The whole northern part of the island was formerly occupied by the province of Capiz. However, with the passage of Republic Act No. 1414 in 1956, it was divided into two: the northeastern part is retained by Capiz while the northwestern part constitutes the new province of Aklan. The province of Antique embraces an area of 257,927 hectares of narrow mountain slopes and deep valleys, stretching along the entire western coast of Panay. It has an estimated population of 280,710.⁹

⁷ Cf. *Panay Yearbook* (Iloilo City 1935) pp. 3-4; Enrique Abella *Descripción física, geológica y minera en bosquejo de la isla de Panay* (Manila: Tipo-Litografía de Chofre y cia. 1890) pp. 7-10.

⁸ *Yearbook of Philippine Statistics 1946* (Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1947) p. 1.

⁹ "Estimated Population by Provinces" *Bureau of Census* (Manila 1958 mimeographed).

PANAY'S MOUNTAIN PEOPLE

Among the highest peaks in the island of Panay are Baloy, Nausang, Siya, Bocboc and Alfonso XII. From these peaks run seven large rivers: namely, Pan-ay, Jalaur, Aklan, Tigum, Bugasong, Ansuage, and Ulian. Along the banks of these rivers, on the slopes of the interior hills, are the homes of Panay's mountain folk.

Generally, these hill people are called *Bukidnun*¹⁰ by the lowlanders, which literally means "mountain dwellers." To distinguish them from the *Ati* or Negritos who are also found in the mountains, the Christian inhabitants in the lowlands have given these non-Christians distinct names. Those living in the mountains of Capiz and Aklan are called *Mundo*¹¹; those residing in Iloilo are called, interchangeably, *Bukir*¹², *Putian*¹³, and *Sulod*¹⁴; and those from the uplands of Antique are called *Buki*.¹⁵ Their approximate distribution is shown on the accompanying maps.

The settlements of these mountain folk are situated in the mountains of Tapaz and Jamindan in Capiz; in Libacao and Madalag in Aklan; in Lauaan, Bugasong, and Culasi in Antique; and in Janiuay, Lambunao, Calinog and Maasin in

¹⁰ *Bukidnon* is a combination of the root-word *bukid* "mountain" and the suffix *nun*, a Kiniray-a ending designating "state of being from a certain place" or "living in a certain place" (e.g. *Calinognun*, to mean "those from the town of Calinog" or "living in Calinog").

¹¹ Meaning "very wild." H. Otley Beyer *Population of the Philippine Islands in 1916* (Manila: Philippine Education Co. Inc., 1917) p. 63; Eugenio Ealdama "Monteses of Panay" *Philippine Magazine* XXV (January 1938) 23ff.

¹² Informant: Jose Navarra, Maasin, Iloilo.

¹³ Informant: Mal-am Odig, Misi, Lambunao, and Malam Uma, Mambiranan, Calinog, Iloilo.

¹⁴ Informant: Claro Decretales, Agkalaga, Calinog, Iloilo, who was the writer's guide and companion in the mountains.

¹⁵ The word *buki* is a shortened, corrupted expression from the root-word *bukid*, meaning "mountain." This abbreviation is usually used by the lowland folks to ridicule those who are illiterate or backward in manners and actions. However, it came to be used to describe these mountain folk. Informant: Z. Cabrejas, Sibalum, Antique.

Iloilo. Those from Antique are estimated to have reached 4,383; those from Capiz (which includes those from the new province of Aklan) 4,610 and from Iloilo 1,227¹⁶.

These people are scattered throughout the high ranges and in the lower forests, forming separate self-contained groups. Their economic life is largely dependent on dry or *kaingin*¹⁷ agriculture, supplemented by hunting and fishing. They also make bolos with elaborately carved handles, knives and spears, and weave baskets, mats and headwear—items which they exchange for lowland goods like cloth, salt, and other household necessities brought into the mountains by Christian traders with whom they carry on seasonal commercial relations.

Generally speaking, these mountain folk are conservative in their ways and have retained many beliefs and traditions which were once found in the lowlands and which still survive in the latter area to a limited extent. For example, they still believe in a hierarchy of good and evil spirits called *diwata*¹⁸ with whom communication is held through the mediation of a medium or *babaylan*.¹⁹ Sacrifices are given to these spirits

¹⁶ "Summary and General Report" Table II *Census of the Philippines* 1948 (Manila 1948) p. 374. Before the war these people were estimated to have reached 3,321 in Antique, 6,313 in Capiz (which includes the new province of Aklan) and 6,787 in Iloilo. *Vide* Beyer *op. cit.* p. 63.

¹⁷ *Kaingin* is the Sulod term for "dry agriculture." Henceforth, this term will not be italicized.

¹⁸ Cf. Capt. Artieda "Relation of the Western Island, Called Filipinas" (1573) in Blair and Robertson *The Philippine Islands* III (Cleveland 1903) pp. 190-207. For use of similar term to describe the supernatural beings, see José Maria Pavon *The Ancient Legends of the Island of Negros* (The Robertson Translation of the Pavon Manuscript of 1838-1839) Philippine Studies Program, Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago (Transcript No. 5) p. 17.

¹⁹ Cf. Diego Lope Povedano *The Ancient Legends and Stories of the Indios Jarayas, Jiguesinas, and Igneines which contain their beliefs and diverse superstitions*. An annotated translation of the Povedano Manuscripts (1578), a thesis presented to Far Eastern University (Manila, December 1951) by Rebecca P. Ignacio (MS) pp. 26-28. See also Antonio Pigafetta *Primer viaje alrededor del mundo* (Madrid 1899). For English translation see Blair & Robertson XXXIII 167-171.

for good graces.²⁰ Marriages are contracted by the parents, often even before the children are born—the agreement being conditional upon the favorable sex outcome of both births.²¹ Age is the basis of community leadership among these people. They recognize and keep count of the years, months and days by watching the movements of celestial constellations and noting lunar phases.²²

The mountain folk still practice teethfiling.²³ Though the writer did not witness this activity during his stay, he was informed that it is done during childhood after the permanent teeth appear.²⁴ The child bites on a stick or piece of wood and the front teeth are made even by rubbing a whetstone against the enamel. They also chew betel,²⁵ the ingredients being leaves (*Piper betel* Linn.), areca nut (*Areca catechu* Linn.), lime and tobacco.

Tattooing is another widespread practice. One can seldom find an upland man without a tattoo. There is however no formal design or figure favored; tattoos are imprinted according to one's desires. These are pricked into the skin by a needle or any pointed iron instrument dipped in a native ink made of the juice of ripe *langi-ngi* fruits (a vine, *Cayratia trifolia* Linn.) and powdered charcoal. Sometimes soot scraped from the bottom of pots or cooking cans is used instead of the usual ingredients. The tattoo is called *batuk*. The persistence of tattooing is of considerable interest to culture-historians as it was a widespread practice in the past among the Bisayan

²⁰ Cf. Pedro Chirino S.J. *Relación de las Islas Filipinas* Blair & Robertson XII 268-269.

²¹ Cf. *Ibid.* p. 294.

²² Cf. Pavon *op. cit.* p. 9.

²³ Cf. Antonio Morga *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas* Blair & Robertson XVI 207.

²⁴ Informant: But-an of Buri.

²⁵ The process of chewing is called *mama* or mastication. Locally, the ingredients are known as *buyo*, *bunga*, *tabaku* and *apug* (slake lime made out of burnt shells of fresh-water snails called *awis* [*Stenomevania spp.*]). The spittle produced by the *mama* is called *tilad*, a reddish thick substance. It is sometimes used for medicine, as in a stomach ache.

people. In fact, prevalence of "skin-painting" led early Spanish chroniclers to describe the Bisayans as *Pintados*. Wrote Loarca:

The men tatto their entire bodies with very beautiful figures, using therefor small pieces of iron dipped in ink. This ink incorporates itself with the blood and the marks are indelible.²⁶

LANGUAGE

The dialects of these upland people are genetically related and very similar to the lowland *Kiniray-a*²⁷ (the language called *Hiniray-a* by the Hiligaynon speaking people). The mountain dialects are characterized, however, by the presence of many archaic expressions. This accounts for the difficulty which *Kiniray-a* speaking lowlanders meet when talking to these upland dwellers.

Most of the mountain people are monolingual. Moreover, they do not have any generally accepted term to describe their own dialect. Some groups, when the writer inquired, called their dialect *Binukidnun*,²⁸ others *Kiniray-a*, and still others had no specific term. An extensive linguistic study is needed in this area to establish where the dialectical boundaries fall. So far there is not a single published work on the dialects of Panay's mountain people, nor is there any on the lowland *Kiniray-a*.

THE SULOD

The *Sulod*²⁹ live in small settlements called by them *puro*³⁰ (sitio) which are separate political and social units scattered on the ridges and through the lower forests of Mt. Siya and

²⁶ Cf. Miguel de Loarca *Relación de las Yslas Filipinas* (Arévalo, Iloilo, P.I. June 1582). English translation in Blair & Robertson V 117.

²⁷ Spoken in the interior towns of Iloilo, Antique, and some barrios in the hinterland of Capiz.

²⁸ "Dialect of the mountain dwellers." It is a combination of the root-word *bukid* (mountain), the infix *in*, which conveys an idea of "having been derived from," and the suffix *nun*.

²⁹ Literally, *Sulod* means "room" implying a state of "being enclosed," as by the tall mountains. The whole cultural-linguistic group is referred to by this name because of the geographical location of

Mt. Bocboc in Central Panay. The people in these settlements lead their own way of life and control their own affairs. A *puro* usually consists of from five to seven houses, one or two houses being clustered on each of a number of adjoining hills. This is one of the factors which accounts for the difficulty in making a study of Sulod life. Normally, a *puro* is located on top of a high ridge, although there are Sulod who build their houses at the foot of finger-like slopes, beside a river or stream, because these places serve as "watch-towers" where they can see and guard their kaingin from the foraging wild animals. The stream or riverside preference is due to the fact that streams are an important source of water, as well as of snails, fish, eels and other riverine foods.

The standard Sulod house is a poorly constructed four-walled, one-room dwelling raised about three or four meters above the ground on bamboo or timber posts, and supported on all sides by several props called *sulay*. The roof is made of cogon thatch and the walls of flattened bamboo, called *tadtad*, or of the bark of trees. Bamboo slats are the preferred material for flooring. In front of the house is a small, very low, pyramid-like hut—an improvised structure covered with long cogon grass roofing which touches the ground. This hut is called *urub* and is used for emergency purposes like the sudden occurrence of storms and strong winds.

AGRICULTURE

The mainstay of Sulod economic life is dry agriculture. Unlike some lowlanders who also practice dry agriculture, these people are not sedentary; they are shifting cultivators and do

their settlements. The area they live in is surrounded by mountains which form natural walls (namely, on the north by the Taganghin mountains, on the south by Mt. Agburi, on the east by Takayan ridge, and on the south by Mt. Siya and Mt. Baloy) separating them from the outer world.

³⁰ The Sulod dialect has not yet phonemicized. The following orthographic conventions, however, are used in this paper: initial and final glottal stops, and variations in stress and length are not indicated; word-medial glottal stop is not marked between vowels but is marked by a hyphen when adjacent to a consonant.

not stay in one place for more than two years. The mobility of the Sulod is due primarily to the nature of their agricultural activities. The tough grasses and secondary growth which usually follow the harvest of the crops render the kaingin difficult to re-cultivate, particularly as the Sulod do not have work animals or plowing implements. Hence they move to another place where trees grow abundantly and where the soil is free of grass. The abandoned site is called *lati* and may be used again after a lapse of five or more years when the second growth has become established. Sometimes the shifting mode of these mountain folk is influenced or stimulated by the belief in the presence of a host of diwata which cause sickness or ill-luck to the members of a family cultivating a particular hillside.

November and December are the months when the Sulod farmer begins looking for a possible kaingin site. He does not however clear the chosen area until January and February. He simply marks the place, an activity called *ingnga*. In doing this, he goes around the site seven times and erects a *tuus* or marker at the places where he believes the spirits are wont to pass in entering the forest. After the seventh round, he proceeds into the middle of the site, knots a vine and in a loud voice says his *panabi-tabi* or "request for permission" from the spirits to allow him to cultivate the area. Then he goes home and waits for three days, during which time he carefully notes his good and bad dreams. If his good dreams outnumber his bad ones, he may clear the place, for by this sign the spirits have permitted him to farm the area. On the other hand, if his bad dreams outnumber his good ones, he abandons the site and looks for another.

Even if the spirits have given him permission to cultivate his chosen site, the Sulod farmer does not immediately proceed to cut the trees and undergrowth. He allows another three days to pass, consulting the stars. If for three consecutive nights the sky is clear and starry, he goes out to the site on the fourth day and rounds it seven times. Then, after the seventh round he goes into the middle of the site, bringing along with him several *udyong* (a wild grass) stalks. Inside,

he clears a space about four meters wide and four meters long. He steps into the middle of this little clearing and, squatting, cuts his *udiyong* stalks into several parts. Then he closes his eyes, makes a wish and counts the chopped *udiyong* stalks. Coincidence determines his next move. If his wish is odd and the *udiyong* stalks are even, the kaingin site is abandoned for the spirits have changed their minds; but if the number of *udiyong* stalks coincides with his wish, he starts cutting the undergrowth and the trees. The felling of the trees is called *panaga*; the cutting of the branches, a week or so later, is called *puta*; and the burning of the cut grass and trees, *durok*.

Rice, corn, sweet potatoes and other edible tubers are planted in the kaingin. There are about twenty upland varieties of rice, nine of sweet potato, and five of banana. Planting these crops involves complicated rituals which will be described in a future work.

HUNTING

Aside from agriculture, hunting is another important source of subsistence for the Sulod. They are excellent hunters. This skill may be attributed in part to the fact that their meager and uncertain produce must be supplemented with protein foods in order to make both ends meet. Described briefly below (see Appendix A) are the nine well-known methods of hunting utilized by the Sulod to catch wild pigs, deer, chickens, lizards and other animals. Detailed description of these methods, plus illustrations, will be done in the future monograph which will accompany the translated text of the epic of *Hinilawod*. The nine methods described below are: *balatik*, *pangayam*, *luba*, *bakulkul*, *limbuang*, *pahirugmun*, *siay*, *bituka*, and *pulakpulah*.

FISHING

Fishing is another important means of livelihood in the Sulod community. Because it does not require such manly endurance as hunting, it is largely an activity of children and women. The fishing methods employed by the Sulod, which we will briefly describe here (see Appendix B) vary from the simple method (*Salug*) of catching fresh water shrimps, crabs

and catfish by the use of the hands, to an elaborate use of charms, called *tiwtiw*, which are said to attract fish.

ATTIRE

Today, the ordinary attire of the Sulod is like those of the lowland Bisayan. Men when working in the kaingin wear *puroy* (short pants) cut from rough cotton which they purchase from lowland merchants. The women are fastidious dressers, however. Their *camisa* or jacket with long narrow sleeves, usually made of silk and fine pineapple fiber, is lavishly hand-embroidered. Their *patadyong*, a cylindrical skirt sewed on both sides, leaving two ends open, is usually made of silk and cotton, and is always a harmonious combination of colors. Around the waist, holding the barrel skirt, a Sulod woman usually wears a band of red cloth.

On dress occasions, young men wear trousers, as the lowland Bisayans do, and a shirt. Some elders however content themselves with the traditional T-string. They say it is more comfortable than long trousers. Their headwear consists of ordinary lowland *huri* hats during dry season and the *saduk*, a wide-rimmed hat made of *tabun-ak* leaves (*Phragmites karka* [Ritz.] Trin.) and fine bamboo splints during rainy days. The spear is the Sulod's indispensable companion. He usually carries one whether he is working in his kaingin or travelling around the mountainside. Those who are well-off carry additional arms, such as the *talibung* and *saput*, long fighting bolos with elaborately carved handles.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Social organization in the Sulod community is based primarily upon kinship. In one settlement almost every individual is related to one another either by blood or by marriage. The basic unit of the kinship system is the nuclear family, consisting of the father, the mother and their child or children. Relationship is reckoned bilaterally by the child to include all consanguineal kin of both the father and the mother.

BIRTH AND NAMING OF THE CHILD

As soon as the young Sulod housewife becomes heavy with child, the husband calls for a *partera* (Sp.) or midwife. The *partera* examines the mother and estimates the date of delivery. When the scheduled date comes, she is called again to attend to the laboring mother. After the delivery the *partera* bathes the baby, severs the umbilical cord, buries the placenta below the house, and nurses the infant until the mother recovers her strength. The child is fed with honey, if available, which the father secures from the nearby forest.

One week after birth, the *babaylan* is called to present the child to the spirits of the deceased ancestors. This ceremony is called *batak ka dungngan* or "offering to the spirits." The ceremony is usually performed during the day, starting in the morning and ending late in the afternoon. The parents of the child kill a chicken, prepare several rolls of wrapped rice cakes called *sinamug*, and secure a piece of long white string, *bunang*, as well as a digging instrument, the *pisaw*. An opening is made on the floor of the house by breaking a slat. The *sinamug*, the *pisaw*, a roll of rice cake, and the uncooked drumsticks of the chicken are all tied to one end of the string and these are lowered through the opening in the floor. The other end of the string is tied to the hand of the child. Then the *babaylan*, taking the child in his arms, shakes the materials or *sangkapan* by pulling and lowering the string. As he does this he calls for the spirits of the child's different ancestral-deities.

Kirrutik dungngan ni... (he mentions the name of the dead whose spirit he wishes to invoke)... *magtabid kaw kay...* (he mentions the name of the child). *Maglaton kaw hay ginasangub kag ginabatak ko'y dungngan ni...* (again he mentions the name of the child).

"Come O Spirit of... (he mentions the name of the dead whose spirit he wishes to invoke) Come and go inside the body of... (he mentions the name of the child). Imbue him with strength because I am offering and presenting.... (again he mentions the name of the child)... to you!

The Sulod name their children after renowned ancestors, after objects bearing significant meaning to Sulod life, and

after qualities and deeds indicating superiority. For example, the *parangkuton's* son in Buri is called *But-an*, meaning "full of wisdom." Another infant in the same place is *Tahuron*, meaning "to be respected." Other Sulod names are *Ludhan*, (most revered), *Daligan* (most beautiful), *Bansagun* (most renowned), *Harangdun* (most honorable), *Sukuban* (very strong) and so forth.

MARRIAGE

Most Sulod are monogamous. However, the relatively well-to-do members of the community practice polygyny which is traditionally permitted, provided the man can pay the *biit* or "bride price" for each woman he takes and if his wife or wives agree to the new marriage. This polygynous practice is called *dapli* which literally means "that which goes with what is ordinarily taken." In this system of marriage, it is always the latest wife who negotiates for the succeeding marriage. The procedure is as follows: if the first wife approves the second marriage, she is sent by her husband to arrange the matter with the parents of the second woman. Then if after the second marriage the man wishes to take a third wife, he consults his first and second wives about his plan, and if both wives are agreeable, he sends his second wife to the parents of the third woman to make the corresponding marriage arrangements. In like manner, it is the third wife who arranges the fourth marriage should the man desire to take a fourth wife, and so on.³¹

As soon as the man has more than one wife, he does not share a mat regularly with any one of the wives. If he does, even with the first wife who always has authority over the other wives in the home, the other women will ask for a divorce. To maintain harmony in the home, therefore, the man sleeps in a hammock suspended in the middle of the room while his wives sleep on the floor, or he sleeps in one of the corners apart from the place where his wives are sleeping, and simply lies beside the one that he chooses when he likes to.

³¹Informants: Andig and But-an of Buri.

Normally, marriages among the Sulod are arranged between parents and always involve long and elaborate social activities which include jousts in poetry, drinking rice wine, dancing and singing. To initiate the first marriage among the Sulod, the man who desires a particular woman does not talk to this woman about his feelings. Instead he makes his intentions known to his parents, who in turn approach the parents of the girl about the marriage. This is called *patalanha*. The girl's parents usually ask the boy's parents to return after a few weeks since they have to talk the matter over with their daughter and many relatives.

When the scheduled date arrives, the parents of the boy and their relatives and the parents of the girl and their relatives come together to discuss the marriage arrangements. This second meeting is called *pamalaye*. The *pamalaye* is an elaborate occasion in the Sulod community since it is the time for merry-making. The relatives of both parties gather together in the girl's home and partake of the drinks and food brought by the boy's parents. Except for the prospective bride and children present, every one is invited to gather around the *pangasi* in the middle of the room. Then while the drinking and eating is going on, the spokesman of the boy stands up and starts the *pamalaye* in poetry called *siday*. He speaks of the lonely, lost bird seeking comfort in the warm nest of another or of a weary traveler wanting shelter in the house of a lovely maiden. The spokesman of the girl stands up and rebuts this love-offering by saying that the nest is reserved for another bird; or that there is no more room in the house of the maiden. This battle of wits usually lasts for one night unless the spokesman of the girl, as usually happens, gives up earlier and shakes the hand of his opponent. When this is done, it is understood that the boy is accepted. Then the nuptial day is scheduled.

The girl's parents usually ask for a dowry known as *pa-ngayo*. It consists of a sum of money, jewelry, a number of fighting bolos, several spears, and the wedding attire for the bride. Sometimes a dwelling will be demanded which may be

occupied by the parents of the girl or given to the couple. The cost of the *pangayo* depends on the social and financial position of the girl in the community. Aside from the *pangayo*, the boy is obliged to work for the girl's parents for two harvest seasons, helping in agricultural activities, pounding rice, carrying water from the well and doing other manual work. This "bride service" is called *panghagad*.

The wedding, called *punsyon*, takes place after the *panghagad*. Again all the relatives of both parties assemble in the house of the girl. The *hibalo* is celebrated for three consecutive days before the marriage. Gongs and drums are incessantly beaten to announce the forthcoming *punsyon*. On the first day of the *hibalo*, the far-distant relatives who have arrived are served first during every meal-time; on the second day, the first and second cousins; and on the last day, the parents of both parties.

During the wedding or *punsyon*, the courses are placed on wild banana leaves spread over the floor of the house. The choice rice wine, brewed inside an ancient Ming jar called *sibulan*, is placed in the middle of the house. This final ceremony is called *bas-i*. Heirloom plates, called *lahang*, are brought out and sorted near the *sibulan*. The spokesman of the groom sits near the right side of the *sibulan* while on the left side sits the spokesman of the bride. The guests, friends and relatives of both the groom and the bride remain standing or sitting on bamboo benches near the walls until they are called to share the feast. The bride is not allowed to appear before the crowd. She is kept inside an improvised room in one corner of the house. She stays there, together with her female friends who constitute her retinue, until the marriage is about to be performed.

As soon as every one is seated before the food, the spokesman of the groom takes a long sip of the *pangasi* from the *tayuk*, a long piece of reed which serves as a straw, and stands up. He opens the affair by challenging, in poetry, his opponent to bring out the "flower of the house." The spokes-

man for the girl takes a sip of the rice wine from the same *tayuk*, coughs a little, stands up, and answers his opponent.

This joust in poetry continues for several hours, passing over to the second or third serving as the case may be. After this dialogue, the spokesman of the bride requests his opponent to let the groom look for the marked "flower" himself. The bride and her "court of honor" are individually covered with white blankets and the walls of the improvised room are removed. The drummer taps his drum and the friends or "best men" of the groom bring the girls, one by one, to the groom. The groom examines the hands, which are the only uncovered parts of the body, of every girl brought before him. He shakes his head if the wrong girl is presented to him. In order not to commit mistakes, thus causing embarrassment to both parties, the bride is always brought up to the groom last. When the man identifies his bride, he removes the blanket that covers her entire body. Then he kisses her hands. The audience applauds and shouts with joy. The bride is then made to sit at the left side of the groom. The spokesman stands up and puts a cloth called *handung* over the heads of the pair, at the same time giving the couple advice on good marriage relationships. Another series of jousts in poetry follows the veiling. After the joust, the groom hands to the bride the *biit* which consists of money, jewelry, combs, beads, and ear plugs placed in an old plate called the *binalongay*. Then he feeds the bride with his right hand; the girl, in turn, feeds him with her left hand. This part of the wedding is considered most solemn and symbolic by the Sulod. The feeding of the bride by the groom with his right hand, according to the Sulod custom, signifies his domestic superiority over his wife and this authority is acknowledged by the bride by feeding him with her left hand.

There are certain rights and obligations involved in traditional Sulod marriages. Supposing after the *pamalaye* has taken place the groom refuses to marry the bride, he must pay the parents of the woman a sum of money. This is called *hinungug*, from the word *dungug*, meaning "honor." If after the *pamalaye* the groom takes his bride away without

waiting for the *punsyon* to pronounce them husband and wife, he has to pay the parents of the girl a certain sum of money as a fine for violating the conditions agreed upon during the *pamalaye*. This is called *hilapasan*, from the word *lapas*, meaning "to trespass or to violate."

It is a Sulod custom that marriage should follow the traditional order of having the older daughters marry ahead of the younger ones. A young man who violates this custom is penalized. He is required to pay the elder sister a certain sum of money or a number of fighting bolos or spears in case he marries the second sister before the older one is married. If he is unfortunate to choose the youngest, say of the three sisters in the family, he has to pay all the unmarried sisters an equal sum of money or the same number of fighting bolos and spears. This fine is called *hilapaw* or *gabaw*, from the word *lapaw* which means "to go beyond."

The Sulod parents generally decide the place where their married children should reside. If the man refuses to accept the decision of his "in-laws" and takes his wife away from the place designated for them by the parents, he must pay his in-laws a fine known as *himulkat* from the word *lukat*, meaning "to uproot" or "to take away." In case the husband takes his wife away from the *puro* where she resides, thus depriving her parents of the happiness of frequent visits, he must pay his in-laws a sum of money or several fighting bolos. This is known as *himung-aw*, from the word *pung-aw*, meaning "to feel so lonesome for want of company of one so dear." Moreover, if the bride has a living grandmother the groom is under traditional obligation to give a gift to the old woman. This is called *hinagnup*.

LEADERSHIP

Leadership of a group is assumed by the oldest man in each settlement. The leader is called *parangkuton* or "counselor." He directs the activities of the settlement like hunting, house building and moving to a new kaingin site. He also settles all disputes within his *puro* and heads the annual social and religious activities like the *buhis* and the *bugay*. He

is assisted by a young man called the *timbang*. When the *parangkuton* dies, the next oldest man in the settlement assumes leadership.

BURIAL

When a Sulod dies every one in the community is notified. The people in the whole *puro* condole with the bereaved family by contributing material things needed for the *balasan* or "wake for the dead." Each family gives either a chicken, a number of eggs, rice or even pigs. If the man who died is an important man in the community, for example a *parangkuton* or a *baylan*, he is not buried in the ground. A coffin is prepared for him. The men chop down a big tree, cut it to a convenient length, shape it like a boat and hollow it out. Carvings are made on the cover and on the sides of the coffin. The corpse is placed inside the coffin and the slits are glued with the sticky, gum-like sap of a wild tree called *salung*. Then the coffin is placed underneath a special shed made of cogon grass, called the *kantang*, which has been built on top of a solitary hill. Finally, a hole is bored in the bottom of one end of the coffin and a small bamboo tube called *pasuk* is inserted to facilitate the flow of the *tagas* or "decomposing fluid." After a lapse of two or three months, the bones are removed from the coffin, washed, and wrapped in a black cloth, the *baghuk*. The bones are then suspended under the eaves or *barisbisan* of the house. On the other hand, if the person who died is an ordinary man, he is simply buried in the ground to the side of a *kantang*.

THE BABAYLAN

The religious beliefs and daily activities of the Sulod are wholly dependent upon the *diwata* or *saragudon* whom they have to please with appropriate sacrifices, elaborate rites and other exacting religious ceremonies, the whole directed and prescribed by the *babaylan* whose authority is claimed to have come from ancient times. The *babaylan* are either men or women. They are believed to possess extraordinary powers to cure sickness, to exorcise evil spirits from the rice fields and

out of the human body, and to intercede for the people with the good spirits for whatever the latter may ask. Not every one however can become a babaylan. Becoming one largely depends on the *surundun* or "family lineage" and upon the choice of the *sipag sa talon*, "spirits of the forest," which reveal themselves in dreams followed by trembling fits after waking. This is called *rukut*. When a man is thus called upon by the spirits to become a babaylan, his parents or relatives ask the chief babaylan in the community to exorcise the spirits from his body and to train him for "babaylanship." The chief babaylan usually demands an exacting fee, including several bags of rice, a number of spears and bolos, and a sum of money.

The training period may last from seven months to a number of years, during which the student babaylan is taught all the rudiments of the "herb medicine," the ceremonial dances and the other features of the religious rituals. There are seven steps to undergo before any one can become a babaylan: namely:

(1) *Baratakan*.—This is the period of apprenticeship during which spirit-protectors and spirit-friends are assigned. The student babaylan merely assists the chief babaylan.

(2) *Sanguban*.—During this phase of study, the student is taught to recognize and memorize the names of all medicinal plants and to learn all the symptoms of illness as caused by the different diwata of the forest, stream and spring.

(3) *Handugan*.—The student makes his first offering to his chief spirit-protector, the sacrifice being a black chicken. It is also during this period that he learns the names of all of his ancestral-deities, especially those who were babaylan, good hunters and fishermen, and successful farmers during their time on earth.

(4) *Tagbungan* or the period of ritual study.—The student is taught the magico-religious arts, ritual dances, songs and music, but is not allowed to perform them in public. He makes an offering which consists of two black chickens, one of which is buried near the source of a spring or river.

(5) *Hagbayan*.—During this period, the student is allowed to attend to minor cases. He is called *merku*. He assists the chief babaylan in public performance of important ceremonies. At the end of this term, he departs for a nearby cave to communicate with his spirit-friends and to gather herbs for his *himagan* or “medicinal oil.”

(6) *Turupadan*.—By this time the student is expected to know all the rudiments of curing ceremonies, to recognize all known medicinal plants, to memorize all the names of the departed ancestors, and to dance the different ritual dances. He performs these in the presence of the chief babaylan. He is also required to make an offering to his chief spirit-protector. The sacrifice consists of seven red chickens.

(7) *Banawangun* or period of final offering.—The student kills a black pig and offers its liver to his chief spirit-protector and the carcass to the less powerful divinities. He invites the whole community to witness his first public ritual performed without the help of the chief babaylan. He is now a full-pledged babaylan.

CEREMONIES

Religion is so interwoven with the Sulod life that it is difficult to distinguish what is social and what is religious in their daily affairs. In fact, to single out certain observances and to discuss them under the heading “ceremonies” is to become arbitrary. Every activity that a Sulod undertakes, be it in agriculture, fishing, hunting, etc., is always in absolute subjection to the spirits and deities. Moreover, he never attempts anything which might displease the spirits; on the contrary, he does every thing within his power to please these divinities, even to the extent of going into debt in order to celebrate a proper ceremony for the chief diwata or spirit.

There are sixteen special ceremonies, and a number of minor ones, which the Sulod observe each year. These special ceremonies are: *padapun*, *paniwata*, *kinamnan*, *tadag*, *bugay*, *buhis*, *panawangun*, *parahampangan*, *paratubignun*, *burubgaynun*, *pulutusan*, *abyan*, *kumbidahun*, *hirinalwan*, *kurumpayan*,

and *buukun*. Because of their complexity, only four of these sixteen ceremonies will be described briefly below. (See Appendix C.)

FOLK HISTORY

As we have previously stated, the Sulod religion consists primarily of a belief in innumerable spirits called *diwata* or *saragudun* which directly control every human activity. Closely related to this is the Sulod belief that they are descendants of spirit-people who inhabit the different realms of the universe. These realms are: *Ibabawnun*, the "Upper-world"; *Pagtung-an*, sometimes called *Dutan-un*, the "Middleworld"; and *Idadalmunun*, the "Underworld."³²

The *Ibabawnun* or "Upperworld" is divided into two dominions—one occupied by the male *diwata* and the other by the female *diwata*.³³ The most powerful male *diwata* is called *Tungkung Langit*. His origin is not known. He merely appeared in this realm one day and proclaimed his power. He is assisted by other less powerful *diwata*; namely, *Bangun-bagun*, the *diwata* who regulates cosmic movements; *Pahulangkug*, the *diwata* who changes the seasons; *Ribung Linti*, the *diwata* of lightning and thunderstorms; *Sumalongsong*, the *diwata* of the rivers and seas; *Santonilyo*, the *diwata* of good graces; and *Munsad Burulakaw*,³⁴ the *diwata* who has direct power over men. The latter is the most respected and feared among the *diwata* of the Upperworld.

The all-powerful female *diwata* is *Laon Sina*.³⁵ She is assisted in her activities by many lesser divinities, among whom are: *Muro-puro*, *Tibangtibang*, *Labing Daut*, *Tukay Kinabilayan*, *Pinahilig-sa-pingan*, *Pinasaging-Uray*, *Tumbung Gaday-gaday*, and *Salungkating Pada*.

³² These name-places are mentioned in the epic of *Hinilawod*.

³³ See Loarca's account in Blair & Robertson V 121 ff. See also Plasencia, "Custom of the Tagalogs" *Ibid.* pp. 185-189.

³⁴ Father of Humadapnun, the hero in the epic.

³⁵ Chirino mentions a powerful deity, *Laon*, whom the ancient Bisayans worshiped as their "supreme" divinity. See Pedro Chirino *Relación de las Islas Filipinas* (Manila 1890) pp. 74-75.

The powerful diwata of the *Pagtung-an* or "Middleworld" is *Paiburong* and his wife, *Bulawanon*.³⁶ Where these two came from is not known. They have five children: *Ginbitinan*, who became the mother of Humadapnun in the epic, *Matan-ayon*, who became the mother of the heroine, Surangaun, *Layang Sukla* and *Tugang Tubig*, who are often invoked during ceremonies being the guardian friends of a particular babaylan. The lesser divinities are headed by *Pabuaya* and his wife *Durunun*. They also have several children: namely, *Abaw* (shortened word for *Labaw Dunggun*), who became the father of the heroine in the epic, *Sarandihun* (different from the one in the Upperworld having the same name), *Bari*, *Ulandang Langitnun* and *Magkadulon*. Like the two cosmic realms, the Underworld also swarms with different diwata. The highest ranking diwata is *Panlinugun*, the diwata of the earthquake. He is assisted by his brother *Tungkung Langit* (different from one in the Upperworld bearing the same name) who supports the world as his name denotes, and his wife, *Luyong Kabig*, the diwata who controls the stream of snakes at the entrance of the Underworld. *Luyong Kabig* has a sister named *Luyong Baybay*, the diwata who controls the rising and falling of tides. She married *Paigrab*, an unknown diwata, and they have one child, *Masangladung Biday*.

How the Sulod originated was told by an old woman, En-enan. According to her, a long time ago, *Munsad Burulakaw* of the Upperworld descended to the Middleworld by way of the Madyaas mountain in Central Panay and married *Ginbitinan*, a deity from the Middleworld. They had two children: *Humadapnun*, the Sulod culture hero, and *Labing Anyag*, who became the first babaylan. Later *Humadap-*

³⁶ *Paiburong* and his wife, *Bulawanon*, are mentioned by Santaren and Monteclaro in their accounts as members of the group of early Bornean datus who settled in Panay during the pre-Spanish times. Cf. *Maragtas Sang Pulo Nga Panay* by Pedro Monteclaro, Iloilo City, 1907; Tomas Santaren *Bisayan Accounts of Early Bornean Settlements* Translated by Enriqueta Fox, Philippine Studies Program, Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago (Transcript No. 4). Both versions of the *Maragtas* have since been published in the *Sarawak Museum Journal*.

nun bled his small finger and with the help of *Labing Anyag*, created *Dumalapdap*. *Humadapnun* married *Nagmalitong Yawa-Nagmaling Diwata*, the heroine in the epic, but they had no children. This led *Humadapnun* to take the following concubines; *Gayonggayong*, *Siwit Si Unay Na*, *Sibyang Alun* and *Sinangkating*; an act which justifies the Sulod's practice of polygyny.

Gayonggayong bore *Humadapnun* two children: *Baye* and *Lake*. These two children were separated when they were infants, and later *Baye* unknowingly married her brother *Lake*.³⁷ They had the following children: *Mulang*, *Malabi*, *Sabug*, *Turong* and *Ginput-an*. *Mulang* married a woman named *Inarang* and had children: *Mutang*, *Buraknun*, *Tubignun*, *Lukanun* and *Ligawnun*. *Sabug* married *Bituun* and had children: *Anglad*, *Uyaw*, *Ungsad*, *Buringaw*, *Putung* and *Gadung*. *Malabi* married *Ginputan* and had children: *Dario* and *Ambuon*. From *Dario* came the following: *Hanglo*, *Magiran* and *Pido*. *Magiran* married *Ligwanun* and had no children. *Pido* married an unknown wife who bore him the following children: *Dumaraug*, *Eskida*, *Kapudong*, *Tawohun*, *Durugyanun*, *Birisales* and *Mathan*. *Dumarang* married an unknown woman and had children: *Akiton* and *Ambuon*. *Mathan* married an unknown wife and had seven beautiful daughters.

Akiton and her husband bore the following children: *Balasi*, *Hipolito* and *Ambi*. *Balasi* married an unknown wife and had five children: *Berden*, *Nato*, *Aguilyon*, *Santu* and *Hipolito*. *Berden* married a woman named *Inya* and had eight children: *Alyano*, *Burigas*, *Saryu*, *Baril*, *Silay*, *Siana*, *Dunay* and *Sidura*. *Alyano* married *Amil* and had five children: *Garamino*, *Sabinang*, *Arcin*, *Bunay* and *But-an*. *But-an* is now one of the *parangkuton* of *Buri*!

From these people, according to legend, came the Sulod.

³⁷ Cf. Povedano *op. cit.* p. 6; also Loarca. *op. cit.* pp. 125 ff.

APPENDIX A

The Nine Methods of Hunting

The *balatik* consists of a long, pointed *bagakay* pole (*Schizostachyum lima* Blanco) powerfully driven by a horizontally drawn bough of springy wood through the body of the wild animal which chances to release the trigger, a trip-cord strung across the trail. To prepare the *balatik*, the hunter secures a *bagakay* pole, a piece of *bulo* (*Schizostachyum lumampao* Blanco) and several *nito* vines (*Lygodium circinnatum* Burm.) to be used as cords. As soon as the materials are ready, he divides the *bulo* into several slats and sharpens the *bagakay* pole. The sharpened *bagakay* is called *urub*. Then he scouts for a place where he can plant the *balatik* most effectively. He plants the two bamboo slats into the ground, crosses them like an X, and places the *urub* between them. Then he adjusts these sticks to the height of the animal he desires to catch. A *gutlo* or cut is made at the end of the *urub* in order to hold fast the string which is attached to the trigger bar holding the drawn, bow-like structure. A ring of *nito* is attached at the end of the pole. Tied to this ring is another long piece of the same material which is placed across the path of the animal. An *irigan* or fence is constructed on both sides of the *balatik* to guide the animals in front of the trap.

The *pangayam* is a simple hunting method which employs the aid of dogs to catch the quarry. The *limbaung* is done by digging a pit, generally about two or three meters long, one meter wide, and one to three deep in the animals' path. At the bottom of the hole are pointed sticks called *suyak*. The pit is covered with twigs, leaves and grasses. When an unwary animal walks over the covered pit, the cover, which is skillfully built to blend perfectly with the trail, gives way and the victim falls into the pit onto the pointed sticks. The *luba* consists of sharpened bamboo slats or poles planted in the ground, with their pointed ends facing obliquely upward, three or four meters behind the fence which surrounds the *kaingin*, on the banks of narrow cliffs or at the bottom of slopes near

streams or river banks. An animal which jumps over the fence to get into the field, leaps across a cliff to reach the opposite side, or rushes down an incline for water is impaled by the slanting spikes.

The *bakulkul* is a slip-noose with an end-opening large enough to accommodate the head of an animal. Supported by pegs on both sides, this noose is suspended across a *buhi* or deep channel along river banks formed by water erosion. Fences are constructed along the sides of the banks to guide animals into the trap when they attempt to go to the stream to drink or wallow. One of the methods of catching wild chickens is the *siay*, a series of slip-nooses made of rattan which are arranged on a long piece of cane that, assisted by pegs driven into the ground, retains an upright position. A tamed cock, called *katian* or *parangathan*, is tied to a peg inside an inclosure, one side of which is blocked by a large tree or by an embankment. The trap is carefully placed in front of this inclosure. When the wild rooster, attracted by the crowing of the bait, runs to fight the decoy, it becomes entangled in the numerous slipnooses which draw tighter and tighter as it struggles. The *bituka* consists of a noose-snare placed over a small structure of twigs, below which are seeds to attract wild chickens. When the fowl goes for the food, it disengages the trigger-bar by striking against the sticks. This releases the trigger and, because of the force imparted by the bent springy pole, sends the slip-noose flying into the air, closing around the neck of the bird. The *pulakpulak* is done by winding fine abaca strings around corn seeds. When the wild chicken picks the grain, the strings, the end of which are tied to a peg, go with the food. These hold the chickens fast. In the technique called *pakirugmun*, the hunter steals quietly into the wild animal's lair and attacks it with a spear, the *sibat*.

APPENDIX B

Methods of Catching Fish

The use of *bunit* or hook and line is the simplest means of catching fish. As viewed by the Sulod, it does not require

specific skills; any one with a hook and line, they say, can sit by a stream and catch fish. The use of the *binawgun* and the *taun* is another simple fishing method known to the Sulod. These devices are made of bamboo. The *binawgun* has a mouth which automatically closes when a fish has been caught. Sharp slats, pointing towards the bottom, guard the mouth of the *taun*, making the escape of the catch impossible. These bamboo weirs are placed at the bottom of the stream, facing the current or vice-versa depending upon the movement of the fish. The *garong-garong* or *pakul* is used to catch eels. It is constructed like the *taun* except that it is lined inside with thorny vines. It is generally placed at the mouth of a hole where an eel is believed to be hiding so that when the eel comes out to feed, it will go directly into the trap.

The Sulod also use poisonous leaves of wild plants to stupefy fish. One method consists of pouring into the stream large quantities of pounded *tuba* leaves (*Croton tiglium* Linn.) The poisonous juice of these leaves stuns the fish, and all that the Sulod fisherman has to do is gather his catch. The other is done by pounding *tubli* roots (*Derris elliptica* [Roxb] Benth.) either at the source of the stream or at any point in the river that he desires to try his luck. The poisonous juice of this root, which goes with the current, kills all the fish and snails. Another fishing method practiced by the Sulod is the use of *lagtang* fruits (*Anamirta cocculus* [Linn.] Merr.) which are powdered and mixed with chopped earthworms. The mixture is then thrown into the water. Any fish which preys on the earthworm is poisoned.

The *sarapang* is a spear-like instrument made by attaching an iron prong to the end of a small reed about one and a half meter long. The fisherman waits on the river bank and as soon as he spots a fish, thrusts his *sarapang* with lightning speed. The Sulod fishermen, being skillful, seldom miss their object. The *saga-ngat* looks like a *sarapang*. Its prong is also made of pointed iron attached to the end of a short bamboo pole. It is used in deep stream fishing and is employed in the same manner as the *sarapang*. The *Ludup* is done by diving into the deep water and with a spear-like instrument called

sibat or *sikpaw* jabs and impales the fish or eel. The *tabug-tabug* requires a group of men to make it effective. A net called *sarapan* is placed in the water with the mouth facing upstream. A corral is built on both sides of the *sarapan* which is held open by pegs and reeds. Then the men squat in the water and slowly approach the net. Sometimes they carry with them branches of trees and drive the fish into the net.

The Sulod also use charms in catching fish. However the writer did not witness any charm-fishing during the time he was in the field. He was informed that the charm, called *tiwtiw*, consists of seven roots of each of the three different plants collected inside a cave during dry season.³⁸ These roots are: 1st set: *buyo't linte*, *makaudag*, *salinduyok*; 2nd set *bulanbulan*, *makalisang*, *badiang*; 3rd set: *sumpa*, *dapulay*, *parapad*; 4th set: *hamindang*, *karankaran*, *buyokbuyok*; 5th set: *tagahumok*, *lawi-lawi*, *pisik*; 6th set: *taguhusay*, *hiran-hiran*, *bunyang*; 7th set: *taguriruk*, *lunuk*, *balitadhan*. These roots are placed inside a bottle containing coconut oil. A stone or a piece of wood taken from the water-bed inside the cave is added. When all is prepared, the fisherman goes to the river alone at mid-day. He pours his charm, little by little, into the water and—as our informant swears—the fish and eels will gather around. All that the lucky fisherman has to do is put them inside his basket.

APPENDIX C

Religious Ceremonies

Padapun

This community offering is performed once a year. It is one way of invoking the aid of the spirits of the dead to protect the Sulod from sickness and other misfortunes. The paraphernalia used in performing this ceremony are: one pig, one chicken (a red feathered rooster is preferred), *sinamug*, *puso*, *pahuros* and *sinuman* (all sweetened rice cakes), *simstim* (top-most part of the bamboo with twigs and leaves unremoved),

³⁸ Informant: En-enan of Buri.

areca nut, young areca nut fronds, and seven plates made of banana stalks called *simat*.

The *padapun* begins in the early afternoon and ends in the wee hours of the following morning. Early in the morning of the day before the *padapun* dance begins, the pig and the chicken are bled and dressed. The rice cakes are cooked. In the dwelling of the host, an altar is built near a wall, inside the house and opposite the main door. Then the prepared food is placed inside the *kararaw* (bamboo basket with very low rim) which is, in turn, placed near the foot of the altar. A jar containing rice wine is set beside it, and the *simsim* is tied to the post of the altar. Then for every seven pieces of different rice cakes, two are tied to the twigs of the *simsim*.

At dusk, the members of the family giving the *padapun* gather around the room, sitting on the floor near the walls. The babaylan who officiates in the ceremony steps into the middle of the room. His head is covered with *anahaw* leaves (*Livistona rotundifolia* [Lam.] Mart.) called *banay*. A piece of black cloth is wound around his forehead. A red band, about three inches wide, which is thrown over his shoulders, runs across his breast and is tied to another piece of red cloth which he wears like a belt. *Anahaw* leaves are suspended from the belt.

The slaughtered pig and the dressed chicken are brought before the altar. The babaylan nods at the drummers. The gongs and the drums rattle. The babaylan begins to shout and then dances. He takes two dried *anahaw* fronds from his belt and, marching to the rhythm of the gongs and the drums, approaches the altar. He shakes the fronds over the pig and the chicken, murmuring unintelligible words. Suddenly he jumps backwards and the drummers beat the instruments with increasing rapidity. The babaylan trembles from head to foot, shaking his *banay*. Then he circles the room and each time that he reaches the place where he began (the movement is from right to left) he jumps into the middle of the room, approaches the altar and leaps over the pig and the chicken lying at the foot of the table. As he does this he gives a bark-like cry. After the seventh round, he seizes his ceremonial spear

from an assistant, who has advanced to his side during the sixth round, and thrusts the weapon into the pig's side. Then he sits down, removes the snout of the pig and the legs of the chicken, and ties them to the highest twig of the *simsim*. As the gong resumes the rhythm of the ceremonial music, the babaylan slowly stands up and dances before the altar. Shaking from head to foot, he chants:

...Tumpaya kamo mga ginuknan, parapit kamo mga ginikanaan—si Mamaylan Buraknun, si Bubuadnun, si Lunukun, si Tubignun, si Inmignun, si Huyo, si Mayuyum, si Nugpon, si Nugbali, si Alugbati, si Dalhug, si Dalhug-siTakway, si Anwa-si-Ginhawa, si Urawa, si Ginhawa, si Bangkaya-bangkaya, Amanhilig panmanghunun, amun pamanhayun, haya ka babaylan, bukid pansan ulisan, amun pagdugukun, aya ka babaylan...Tuhawa kamo sa nagapadapun, tuu sa nagapaki-imbun; gadapulay kami sa dulum, dapun darawang gabii. Puhawa sa nagapadapun, tuu sa nagapakiimbun, pamayapasan mo'y saub mo, kukasan ibilin mo, panhunahun kamo't pamtang, panghukas kamo't pamaad, pamaad ninyo mga anus, ku pamtang mga sarutan, kun busug, kun hapu, kun hutahut, pabanug ka bayungbung, ku itus ku sarutan....

...Descend O spirits of our departed ancestors. Come nearer O spirits of departed parents—Mamaylan, Buraknun, Bubuadnun, Yunukun, Tubignun, Inmignun, Huyo, Mayuyun, Nugpon, Nagbali, Alugbati, Dalhug, Dalhug Takway, Anwa, Ginhawa, Urawa, Bangkaya-bangkaya, Amanhilig Panmanghunun, our illustrious forebears, counsellors of the babaylan, strength of our faith, O advisers of the babaylan. The celebrant begs of you all to come down; they want your presence to strengthen their body against disease. They offer you this food in the dark for two nights. Come to the house of the celebrant and partake of the food they have prepared. We beseech your help, protect this house from evil spirits who would cause the members consumption, pestilence, convulsions, or hiccup, rheumatic pain, or weariness. Drive all those spirits who would cause these diseases; destroy those who would bring unto this house misfortunes.

After the invocation, the babaylan picks up the bamboo node from the foot of the altar, resumes his dance, and names the places where these spirits ought to pass in coming down. This second phase ends when the babaylan trembles violently and drops into a deep trance; his feet and hands become stiff and his face shows signs of pain. Thick saliva comes

from the sides of his mouth. There is a hushed silence in the room. A few minutes later the babaylan regains consciousness. He wipes the saliva from his mouth and approaches the head of the family. He tells him that the spirits will come down at midnight, and that he had better remove the pig and chickens from the foot of the altar and have them prepared.

The babaylan then sits by the main door, chews betel, and chats with the people gathered around him. Tuba in bamboo tubes is brought in. Drinking begins. Stimulated by the drink, the babaylan tells the people of his exploits with the evil spirits of the caves which he has visited. Again and again someone will tell jokes and the crowd laughs uproariously. This phase of the ceremony is a period of relaxation and merry-making, a brief intermission in the dramatic and tense ritual performance. Every one is free to move about the house, except to cross the sacred area at the foot of the altar.

When food is ready, the babaylan takes seven old earthen plates called *dulang* and places a ladleful of each kind of food on the plates. He arranges these on top of the altar and leaves them there. Supper is then served to the members of the family and guests. After eating, the babaylan takes a short rest and then resumes with the third phase of the ceremony. The same spirits are called to come down and partake of the food prepared for them which has been placed on the altar. This third and last phase of the *padapun* ceremony is called *palumbus*, or the "farewell address of the spirits." The babaylan has another trembling fit and is soon in a trance. While in this state, he begins talking in a harsh and slightly changed voice. This is believed by all to be the voice of the various spirits. This phase ends the ceremony. The members of the family shed tears as the babaylan calls his *palumbus* in a voice that is low and a little sad, almost on the verge of crying. An older woman, a member of the family who sat beside the writer when he observed the ceremony, sobbed so hard that her whole body shook, for the guardian spirits were departing.

Paniwata

This is performed whenever a babaylan is sick. Another babaylan or his associate, in case the sick man happens to be the babaylan of the community, is called to dance the *paniwata*. The objects used are: one pig, seven chickens, two jars of rice wine, thirty pieces of *sinamug*, thirty pieces of *sinuman*, thirty pieces of *huwadhuwad*, thirty pieces of *tinudlo*, thirty pieces of *alupi* (*lagpi*), thirty pieces of *puso*,³⁹ thirty pieces of *inangay* (a mixture of various foodstuffs placed inside a bamboo node), several pieces of red pepper, and rolled tobacco.

A large bamboo basket, *kararaw*, is placed in front of an improvised altar built near the door and facing outside. This is done late in the afternoon. At sunset, the babaylan bleeds the pig in front of the altar while his assistant taps the gong slowly, making a monotonous sound. The blood is gathered in a small, shallow basin made of wood. It is left beside the altar while hair is scraped from the body of the pig. The latter is done outside in the *tambi*, an open platform adjacent to the kitchen. Then the entrails of the animal are removed and the whole body is washed with warm water. The carcass of the pig is brought before the altar. The patient-babaylan is also brought near the altar. The officiating medium sits beside the pig and mutters a few words which cannot be heard by the spectators. His assistant taps the gong continuously. Then he stands up, goes to the patient and whispers in the latter's ear a few sentences. He returns to his seat near the pig in front of the altar and squatting cuts a strip about two inches wide from the hog's back about two inches, starting from the root of the tail and running to the head. He winds this around his neck after which his assistant hands him the spear. Then he stands up and dances around the pig, shaking and shouting. After the invocation which lasts for several hours, the babaylan takes a short rest and converses with the guests. Shortly after midnight he repeats the performance. He leaps back and forth across the body of the pig and on the

³⁹ *Sinamug*, *sinuman*, *huwadhuwad*, *tinudlo*, *alupi* and *puso* are all sweetened rice cakes.

seventh leap thrusts the spear deep into the carcass. He unsheaths his knife and cuts off the head of the animal. Then he dances again and at the end of the dance shouts at the top of his voice. This last shout signifies victory over the evil spirits. The pig is brought to the kitchen, butchered, and the meat prepared for the people present.

Kinamnan

Immediately following the *paniwata*, there is another offering called the *kinamnan*. It is performed during the day. The primary purpose of the *kinamnan* is to ask further favors of the diwata who have been propitiated in the previous ceremony. It starts in the late morning and ends at dusk. The materials used are those also used in the *paniwata*. In fact, one may easily mistake the *kinamnan* for the *paniwata* were it not for the slight differences in the manner of the performance. The invocation in the *kinamnan* is not characterized by the loud, challenging shouts of the *paniwata*; rather, it is said in a passive, pleading, monotone. There is no spear-dance and the babaylan employs no assistants.

Bugay

When a patient continues to be ill despite ritual performances, the Sulod are certain that the patient has caused the displeasure of the most wicked spirits of the forests. Thus, the babaylan performs the *bugay* ceremony, a payment to the forest-spirits for actions of the patient which have aroused the spirits' displeasure. The materials used are: *kamangyan* (native incense), a basin full of earth on which to build a fire, leaves of certain herbs (the names of which the babaylan would not reveal), a jar of rice wine, a live young pig (*edek*), a quantity of white rice, a bottle of old coconut oil in which different kinds of roots and leaves have been soaked, an old shirt belonging to the patient, a *nito* ring, a gong and a drum.

As soon as these materials are ready, the babaylan requests one of the members of the family of the sick person to bring a basin of earth into the room. This is given to the officiating medium. He places it near the patient and builds a

fire. He then takes a pinch of incense and drops it into the fire, at the same time ordering that the wine, the pig, and the rice be brought to him. As soon as these are at hand, he ties the feet and head of the pig with a piece of string, and, together with the other materials, places them in the middle of the room, before the altar and near the patient. Picking up the small bottle of coconut oil, he shakes it vigorously, pours a few drops into his palms and anoints the forehead of the patient. He stoops over the patient and blows on the crown of the man's head. He secures the *nito* ring and inserts the patient's finger into it. He then withdraws and sits in front of the rice, the pig and the wine. The assistants beat the drum and the gong. Suddenly the babaylan trembles violently, the floor beneath him shakes, and he chants:

...Tumpaya kamo mga diya, anu-
naw kamo mga diwata: Agta, Idu-
lo, Tabuknun O hay nagali-
bia kami, nagabayad, nagalibia et
pasubra. Una kami magdawat sa
kaninyo sa talon kon imaw ka
nakaghangut, nakagdapat sa na
umhan kag sa natingkapan. Indi
ru kamo magbalus, indi magbau-
ba, hay nagaliba ru kami, naga-
bayad, nagalibia, nagapasubra kay
Maglayo, kay Pakawit, kay Man-
lubag (then he enumerates more
than a hundred other spirits)...

...Descend and look O mighty
spirits: Agta, Idulo, Tabuknun be-
cause we are offering, paying, giv-
ing, and giving more... We com-
pletely surrender to you the house,
the forest and, if it is necessary,
we will leave the kaingin which
have been your dwelling places
and compensate those who had
been hurt by the falling trees.
Pray, do not retaliate, do not
cause further harm to the patient
because we are paying, giving la-
vishly in exchange of what has
been wronged; giving lavishly to
Maglayo, Pakawit, Manlubag...
(then he enumerates more than a
hundred other spirits)...

After finishing this prayer, the medium turns to his right, takes a pinch of incense, and again drops it into the fire. He wets his hands with oil and anoints the forehead of the patient. He removes the *nito* ring from the finger of the man and orders the members of the patient's family to follow him into the forest. The babaylan leads the procession with four men and women following immediately behind him. Next in the line are his assistants and a number of older men carrying the pig, the wine and the rice. Women and children fol-

low this group. The last two men carry the drum and the gong. Half-way to the forest, the latter beat the drum and the gong to the rhythm of rat-tat-tat-clang! rat-tat-tat-clang! as they walk. They are announcing to the diwata that an offering is to be made for them in the forest. An improvised altar is constructed as soon as the party arrives at the place where the sacrifice is to be performed. Burning the incense, the babaylan resumes his invocation.

Then the pig is slaughtered. One half of the carcass is for the babaylan and the other half is for food to be partaken of by all those who attended the ceremony. The babaylan then burns another pinch of the *kamangyan* and censes the carcass, saying:

<p>Indi ka run mabalus, indi mag- bauba hay ginapakaun, ginapatag- yamun et subra, ginapakaun et su- bradu.</p>	<p>Retaliate no more O spirits for we are serving you lavishly; we are serving you more.</p>
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He goes to the right side of the altar, sits down, removes the twigs and leaves from the ground, scrapes the surface soil and buries the *nito* ring. Then he stands up, takes the old shirt of the patient and hangs it above the altar, at the same time imploring the spirits for the immediate recovery of the patient. Again he returns to the side of the altar and digs up the ring from the ground, murmuring softly:

<p>Sulighawon ko ang dungan na, sagapun ko ang arabu na.</p>	<p>I will look for his guardian spirits; I will look for his pro- tectors.</p>
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Finding the ring, he shouts. The guardian spirits of the sick man have descended! The spectators applaud. Then the babaylan leads the group back to the house. Reaching the house, he sits near the patient, places the ring on the crown of the man's head and blows on it three times. This is to drive the evil spirits away. He addresses the patient:

<p>Indi ka run pagsandan, magpa- daug kadang mga himata sa li- wan hay subra do'y ginabayad ta. Pagsanda indi ka run magpada- wat!</p>	<p>You will not be overpowered anymore, you will be free from the evil spirits because we have paid them more than enough. You will not surrender to them any- more.</p>
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In the evening the babaylan builds a fire on the basin of earth. He places it near the patient and burns a handful of leaves, twigs and pepper. Then throwing a pinch of incense into the fire, he exhorts the spirits to go away, saying:

Antad kamo. Isul kamo hay nagabutang ako ka hiwit. Kon masakpan kamo kag magkaramatay waay ako et labut. Waay kamo't basulon. Nakaimpas du man kami, nakapakaun du man kami et sundra sang sa nasalan.

Go away. Withdraw and be far because I am placing on him poisonous charms. Should you happen to be near and you are killed, you have no one to blame but yourselves inasmuch as I have already paid you for what has been wronged; paid you in excess.

To determine whether the sick man is assured of recovery or not, the babaylan chops of the hind legs of the pig and hits any portion of them with his knife. If the veins quiver, it is a sign that the patient will get well immediately; if otherwise, the patient will have to offer another sacrifice or he dies. This ends the ceremony. The babaylan obtains his fee and that part of the pig which is reserved for him.

The other Sulod ceremonies are: (1) *Buhis*—celebrated during annual festivals; (2) *Panawangun*—performed to ask the aid of the diwata for the good health of children; (3) *Parahampangun*—performed for the recovery of consumptives; (4) *Paratubignun*—celebrated to exorcise evil spirits from the body of those whose abdomens grow larger and larger; (5) *Burubgaynun*—performed to ward off the evil influence cast on a person by the spirits of the springs, brooks and rivers; (6) *Pulutusan*—performed to cure headaches, swelling of the joints and excessive rheumatic pains; (7) *Abyan*—this ceremony has the same purpose as the *paniwata* which has already been described; (8) *Kumbidahun*—performed as an initiation ceremony for the neophyte babaylan; (9) *Hirinalwan*—ceremony celebrated when the field to be cleared is also to be used as a burial place; (10) *Kurumpayan*—performed when the ceremony to be celebrated for the spirits of a sick man is elaborate, and the latter cannot pay the necessary expenses (a substitute ceremony); (11) *Buukun*—performed when a person has been in the forest and becomes ill.