

are employed, and various forms of diversification products are practiced.

In due time, after working on such farms, does it not seem probable that these farmers will internalize the progressive atmosphere in which they live, and will be changed in outlook toward greater open-mindedness?

Thus, as Fr. Madigan has conceived, instead of investing all the money budgeted for rural development on extension and community development projects, the government and private organizations might very profitably set aside some funds for low-interest loans to capitalize the organization of large-scale corporation farms, to which small-scale farm owners might lease their lands, while at the same time working on such farms. Such loans would make possible the salaries of highly competent and able agricultural specialists who will organize and manage such large farms.

In this way, the advantages of large-scale agricultural production will be reaped, at the same time that the attitudes and outlook of farmers are being changed.

From the economic point of view, this approach of organizing large farms may be the best vehicle for rapid economic development. As Dr. Thomas R. McHale said, in the Seminar on Human Factors

in Economic Development, held at Xavier University in July, 1966:

... Because of changing technology and because of economies of scale, the "family-size" farm unit (in the Philippines this would be, typically, a 2-3 hectare farm) is an inadequate vehicle for rapid development, from the production point of view. The reasons are manifold. Such small size units are inefficient absorbers of credit, equipment, and new technology. Here in the Philippines the most spectacular developments in agriculture as far as productivity per unit surface of area, per man hour input and per unit of capital input have been in large-size agricultural operations.⁴

From the sociological point of view, there is reason to hope that exposure to such a large, diversified, modern farm will produce in its workers a greater receptivity to progressive innovation. Once attitudes favorable to progressive agricultural innovation have been formed, then the vicious cycle of resistance leading to low production will have been broken, and in its place, a beneficial cycle of openmindedness leading to willingness to change to more efficient technologies and thus to greater production will be established.

⁴ Thomas R. McHale, "Comment on 'Food Production Program From The Viewpoint of a Rural Sociologist'" in Francis C. Madigan, S.J., (ed.), *Human Factors in Rural Philippine Development* (Cagayan de Oro City: Xavier University Research Institute for Mindanao Culture, 1967), pp. 193-194.

Folk-Islam in the Life Cycle of the Jama Mapun

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This paper aims to demonstrate that folk-Islam as found among the Jama Mapun of Kagayan Sulu Island, is not a veneer over a native substrate but a living

social structure and world-view. The body of empirical facts on which this demonstration is based were gathered during a period of nine months living and doing re-

search among the Jama Mapun people in Kagayan Sulu and Southeastern Palawan.* Although the original field interest was in ethno-ecology, the study was later focused on folk-Islam as an integrating structure and value-system of the people's socio-economic behavior and adjustment to nature. The pervasiveness of this religious social structures makes it a central phenomenon that must be reckoned with in any effort to understand any aspect of the Jama Mapun way of life.

The Jama Mapun

The Jama Mapun, one of the least known among the nine groups of Muslim Filipinos in the Southern Philippines, are a Muslim people inhabiting a wide territory including Kagayan Sulu Island, Southern Palawan, North Borneo and several islands (e.g., Turtle Islands) in between. Linguistically they belong to the Samal-Badjao taken as a generic linguistic family. Among the Joloanos the Jama Mapun are known as Samal Kagayan; in Borneo they are known as Badjao. Their main subsistence activity is agriculture and trading, fishing being a supplementary activity. Farming is both subsistence (upland rice, corn, and root-crops) and commercial (copra). Traditional and contemporary trading follow a regular "ring"—Kagayan-Borneo-Palawan-Kagayan. Lately traders have included Zamboanga as a major port of call. The trade items, which in the past included sea-products, edible bird's

nests, cloth, metals, rice, and forest and farm products, at present include modern consumer goods.

Kagayan is a high island of volcanic origin with an area of about 46 square miles. Geologically the island, during the land-bridge period, may have been the northeasternmost promontory of a North Borneo shelf that jutted out into the Sulu Sea basin; the sea between Kagayan and Borneo has only an average depth of 50 fathoms. Historically Kagayan has had interesting comments from various visitors—Chinese, Arab, Spanish, British, and American traders and explorers. Most of them reported on the pleasant appearance of the island and on the exotic array of flora and fauna and on the strange and colorful people who lived on it.¹

The community studied is on the north side of the island, in the village of Duhul Batu. Travel was made extensively around the island, in Southern Palawan, Turtle Islands, and Sandakan, to make passing observations. Thus it can be

¹ Arab missionaries, according to Saleeby, entered Sulu by the "northern route" from Brunei through Kagayan to Zamboanga and down to Sulu. Kagayan was also in the direct route of Chinese traders entering Sulu sea through the Balabac Strait; the late H. Otley Beyer reported an old Tang archaeological site in the island. The first Spanish expedition to the Philippines in 1521 also visited the island as shown in the diary of Pigafetta. The American Captain Wilkes and the British Admiral Keppel visited the island in 1842 and 1847, respectively, and wrote admiring accounts of it.

The *Gazetteer of the Philippine Islands* gives a tourist description of Kagayan. "Account given by scientists and navigators represent . . . the island, as possessing many attractions. Admiral Keppel, of the English navy, who visited Cagayan Sulu in 1847 says: 'This island, from its size and population, is next in importance to Sulu itself. Scenery is perfection of tropical beauty, with sufficient cultivation to redeem it from appearance of wildness.' Capt. Sir Edward Belcher mentions . . . circular inlet of very deep water, entrance to which is by gap 50 yds. wide, but cut off by bank of coral which admits little of anything larger than canoe.... English traveler St. John was also charmed with beauty of the island, which he characterized as 'gem of the ocean,' with 3 wooded peaks covered with coconut and fruit trees, revealing scattered houses and villages'. . . . (p. 409)

* The main study was conducted for six months in 1966; the pilot study was made for three months in 1963. The researcher is grateful to the Community Development Research Council, the Research Foundation in Philippine Anthropology and Archaeology, Inc., and to the Agricultural Development Council, Inc. for their support of the main study. The pilot study was made possible by a SEATO research grant given to the National Museum where the author works. The entire project was carried on by the researcher as a member of the Museum's Division of Anthropology. The researcher is also grateful to colleagues at the Division for their advice and encouragement.

said with some confidence that the observations on the life-cycle and folk-Islam is generally true of the Jama Mapun as a group.

The Life-Cycle

The unfolding of a Jama Mapun human career from birth to death occurs within the context of the family and the community. But folk-Islam touches the individual through the agency of religious functionaries known as *paki*² who represent the religious organizing structure of the community. Thus the events described below will be like a dramatic presentation in which the central stage is occupied by the developing individual and by the religious functionaries while around them stand the family and the community.

A. Childbirth and Childhood

Before a Jama Mapun child is born into this world (*dyunya*), he is already conditioned into the behavior and anticipations of his future family of orientation. The conceiving (*nang-ngad*) wife and the husband are under customary do's and don't's. The wife is enjoined to avoid sewing or patching or stepping over a pestle; she should unlock all locked containers to insure ease in delivery. The husband is enjoined not to lift dead persons or dig graves or wear anything around his neck for fear that something bad would happen to the child. Any food the wife may happen to desire, even if, she be ordinarily forbidden (*haram*), should be granted her by the husband because, it is believed, such desire springs from the child's desire inside the womb. Concern for the child's welfare suggests that the Jama Mapun are highly child-centered.

² *Paki* is the Jama Mapun rendition of the Arabic *faqih* or *faqir*. The latter means a member of a Moslem holy sect who lives by begging; the former means a jurist, a man who is learned in the *fiqh*, law (Gordon 1965:1-2).

When the time comes for a woman to give birth (*maddi*) her family will call upon the midwife (*baliyan*) who is invariably a woman practitioner. The following information on the beliefs and practices in connection with the actual childbirth event was supplied by Duba:³ the mother of our chief informant from upper Duhul Batu, Mursalin Nur.

1. As soon as the child has emerged, *baliyan* cleans the umbilical cord (*batang ponsot*) by sliding her finger three times towards the child and as many times towards the placenta (*tamuni*) as necessary to remove the black and red spots thus making the cord white clean.
2. The *baliyan* cuts off a section of the cord from the placenta; the length of the section remaining attached to the child is measured by the distance from the baby's stomach to the top of his head.
3. The freed cord is then tied with white thread (*sarban pote*;) at seven places starting from the attached end and thence at about one-inch intervals to the seventh knot near the free-end. The first knot at the root is tied rather firmly to encourage the final detachment of the cord at this point. Normally the *batang ponsot* drops off after three days; if it takes more than three days the people say that the child will become hard-headed when it grows up.
4. There are two practices in the disposal of the detached cord. One way, according to Duba:, is to place it in a *kuit katompat* (young coconut leaves woven into a small fist sized container ordinarily used for cooking ritual rice) and to bury it near or under the mosque. The other way, according to Kundu (my host's married sister) is to tie the cord to the string above the boat-shaped cradle (*toyang*) which hangs from a springy bamboo pole. Kundu said that the above (first) practice

³ Throughout this paper glottal stops will be represented by a colon (:).

is common among the highly religious families (*bangsa paki*).

5. After the child has been bathed with cold water, it is firmly wrapped in a swaddle (*barung*) from head to feet, with pink or yellow cloth (not white since white cloth is used in wrapping the dead). The swaddling, which continues for a month or so, is gradually removed; first the head is freed; then the rest of the body. According to some, one reason for the body swaddle is to keep the child's legs straight. It is also feared that the child's hands if left free would hurt the child. All swaddling is removed once the child can turn over on his stomach by himself.
6. The seven knots tied along the length of the umbilical cord corresponds to the seven elements that issue from a delivered woman. These elements are considered siblings (*danganakan*) of the real child. (1) *bohe*:—water issuing from a woman preceding childbirth; (2) *tutuban*—another type of fluid that flows just before the child comes out. (3) *laha*:—blood; (4) *koko kuit*—a certain part connected to the placenta; (5) *tamuni*—placenta; (6) *batang ponsot*—umbilical cord; and (7) *anak*—the human child. This belief accounts for the care with which the afterbirth is disposed. Its a ritual disposal to be performed by a *paki*.

The call to Allah: Bahng⁴ and kamat

If the child was born in the morning, the *paki* must be called that same day to bless the child; if he was born at night or at dawn, the *paki* must be summoned early the following morning. The blessing of the newborn is a religious ritual in which the *paki* whispers into the tiny and innocent ears of the child the famous Islamic call to prayer usually chanted by a caller atop a minaret. This call is official-

⁴ We use the letter "h" in medial and final positions to lengthen the value of the preceding vowel.

ly known as *adhan* containing two verses, the *bahng* and the *kamat*. Jama Mapun practice dictates that the *bahng* be used for male children, and the *kamat* for the females. The term *bahng*, however, is the common term given to the ritual. This first contact of the newborn with folk-Islam is more of a family affair. Later there will be a community affair in which the child will be presented to the neighborhood during the *pag-gunting* and *pag-timbang* rituals.

The presentation to the community: Pag-gunting

The *pag-gunting* is a complex ritual consisting of cutting (*gunting*) some hair off the newborn's head and of weighing (*timbang*) the child against an equal weight of ritual goods. This is a community ceremony in which several *paki* are invited to pray and to perform the ritual; and a feast is given for all the visitors. The child's family are expected to prepare for this affair. Preparation includes ordinary and special rice, rice cakes, chicken, goat, or a cow (*dayahan*, if the family is rich). Coffee (*kahawa*) and chewing-betel are available for the older guests. At the end of the ceremony each guest goes home carrying a gift of rice-cake wrapped in banana or *gabi* leaves; such parting gifts are called *sampu*. The *paki*, besides taking home their *sampu*, also are given alms (*sadaka*) consisting usually of uncooked rice and money. The giving of *sadaka* is looked upon as a highly meritorious act in the eyes of God. There is a charming belief that a *sadaka* of rice, which is often only enough to fill a half coconut-shell, is so heavy with religious merit that a boat can sink under its weight.

The first part of the *pag-gunting* ceremony is a common prayer (*doa:a*) led by the chief *paki* or *imam* and assisted by other religious and elderly persons. They

sit together cross-legged on colorful mats spread out in the center of the room (*bilik*). They form a circle at the center of which are the religious paraphernalia—fire, incense, a book of prayers, a pair of scissors or a knife, a young green coconut still containing its uncontaminated natural fluid. A fancy hole is cut out near the top side of the coconut, with the incised section left behind to serve as a stopper. Inside the coconut is a gold ring tied with a piece of thread.

After the first part of the prayers is over all the *paki* stand up and move to one side of the room to perform the *pag-timbang*. The weighing apparatus is a piece of green *kapuk* branch wrapped with a colorful *patadjong* cloth. At the extreme ends of the pole, which is about five feet long, are hung two hammocks also of *patadjong* cloth. One of these hammocks will contain the child. The opposite one will contain the ritual goods—rice, banana, sugar cane, money and other ritual objects. Once a balance has been reached, the *timbang* is rotated seven times accompanied by a lilting religious song from the *paki*. After the seventh turn it is rotated back, and the child is taken out. The ritual counterweight is also taken out and divided according to the number of participating *paki*. These goods form part of the *sadaka*.

Still standing, all say a few more prayers, after which the *pag-gunting*⁵ proper follows the *pag-timbang*. The child is brought to the center of the circle, facing the head *paki*. With much unction he dips his fore- and middle-fingers in the fresh liquid inside the young coconut and with his wet fingers gently anoints the child's lips and three spots (forehead and temples from which he snips off a few locks of hair

with the scissors (*gunting*) or knife. After each cut, the *paki* prayerfully passes the hair to his (*paki's*) lips, forehead, and heart and finally deposits the locks inside the young coconut. After the third cut he gently blows and prays over the head, passing his old hand over it. The ritual is now over, and all the *paki* sit down again in a circle to chant the last part of the prayers. The prayers are concluded by a general exchange of greetings of peace and brotherhood—a symbolic gesture in which two greeters touch and clasp each other's hand, with the head slightly bowed in religious humility. Ideally, each one greets everyone else present at the prayers.

Everybody then sits down to partake of the feast prepared by the host family whose child has just been blessed and presented for public notice to the community.

The newborn is normally breast-fed by the mother until a second child comes along. Weaning is facilitated by applying some bitter substance on the mother's nipples; one substance used is ampalaya (*paliya*). If the mother is sickly and cannot breast-feed, the child may suck from another nursing mother. Children who suck from the same women are called *mag-saududu* (from *sau*, to share, and *dudu* breast). Male and female *mag-saududu*, even if not from the same biological mother or father, may not marry each other; such unions are regarded as *sumbang*, incestuous.

There is no ritual for name-giving. Some informants say that before a child receives a name it is referred to as Muhammad, if male, and Fatima, if female. Two-syllable names are preferred, which may be easily changed if parents feel that the name does not fit the child. Name changing sometimes follow periods when the child gets sick. Names are also changed when a pilgrim returns home from Mecca.

⁵ The *pag-gunting* is found among the other Muslim groups. In Manila we attended two similar ceremonies, one among Maguindanao Muslims, the other among Taosugs. Also see Ewing (1958, 1960) Guthrie (1966).

B. Pre-adolescence

From the time of the familial *bahng* and the communal *pag-gunting* during the first year, the growing Jama Mapun child undergoes no other ceremony until his physical and psychological initiation into the Muslim community.

Pag-Islam: Physical initiation into religion

Pag-Islam (also known as *pag-sunat*) is a physical initiation undergone by all growing Jama Mapun. Females undergo it around their seventh year; males, around the tenth year. The ritual focuses on the genitals. For a girl, the ritual consists in having her clitoris scratched several times with a bamboo knife, similar to an instrument used in smoothing pandanus strips for making mats. In this ceremony only one male *paki* is present; the rest are elderly women who assist. Before, during, and after the ritual, the usual prayers are said.

Pag-Islam for a boy is "circumcision." A sharp steel knife is used to cut a hole on the upper layer of the foreskin (*pre-puce*) through which the glans is then inserted, like a human head through the head-opening of a T-shirt. The rest of the foreskin forms an irregular mass on the underside of the neck of the glans. This ritual is performed by an all-male group of *paki*. As usual, prayers are said before, during, and after the ritual.

Pag-Islam is also a family and communal affair. The ceremony is regarded as an introduction of the growing individual into the Islamic community, hence the term, *Pag-Islam*. It also affirms the social solidarity of the community by recalling their common institutional symbol of Islamization. This practice applies even to adult converts to Islam, for instance, among the pagans of Palawan. The so-

cial function of the entire *pag-Islam* ceremony is underlined by the usual giving of a feast in which the neighborhood is invited. The usual *sampu* and *sadaka* are distributed.

Pag-tammat: Psychological initiation into religion.

Physical initiation, however, is not enough. To enter Islam more fully, the growing Jama Mapun must enter it also with his mind; he must undergo a psychic initiation in terms of learning the basics of Islam as conceived by the community. This second initiation, which follows soon after *pag-Islam*, is called *pag-tammat*. The term literally means completion or graduation from a course in basic Islam which involves not only the learning of the "Five Pillars" but also some skill in reading the sacred texts, chanting, singing, and praying.

Pag-tammat is a graduation ceremony. Behind it lies a learning period of from six months to two years. There are no schools from which the pre-adolescent can acquire such knowledge and skills. What serve for schools are the homes of learned *paki* who excel as teachers or *guru*. Parents send their young children to these Koranic schools or *madrassa* to get the necessary training. According to one *guru*, H. Muhammad Hussin of the village of Kompang, the children who study under him receive lessons twice a day, from seven to eight in the morning, and from one to two in the afternoon. There are 30 lessons to be learned in reading, starting from the alphabet. Pupils sit cross-legged in front of wooden X-form lecterns. Learning is pure rote imitation, word by word, phrase by phrase, in half-chant monotone. Pupils also learn to sing the *muhd* (Taoşug, *maulud*) songs. These are commemorative songs, something like Christmas carols, sung during the month of the Prophet's

birthday (*maulud-en-Nabi*). The *muhd*'s similarity with Christmas carols ends with their commemorative function; in tone and actual singing, the two are very different. The *muhd* songs are sung singly; and their tone is plaintive and melancholy; they are quite long and high-pitched.

As soon as a pupil has passed the necessary lessons, he is ready for the *pag-tammat*. The occasion is a festive one for the happy parents. Invitations are sent out to the *paki* to offer the usual *doa:a*; relatives and neighbors are summoned to join in the feasting. The heart of the *pag-tammat* ceremony is the recital and performance of the young graduate. Dressed in gala attire, with face painted in the approved style, he sits cross-legged on a mat, and in front of him is a book propped up on a high cushion. The proud parents and relatives sit around silently as the young graduate chants his lessons and sings the *muhd*. As usual, there are prayers before, during, and after the ceremony. A community feast crowns the happy occasion.

With the achievement of the *pag-tammat*, the young Jama Mapun is now considered a full initiate into the Muslim community; he or she has been initiated both physically and psychologically. At around this time, he or she will also have achieved a new social and biological status. The boy (*anak-anak*) has grown into a young man (*subul*); and the girl *anak-anak danda* into a young woman (*budjang*).

C. Adolescence

There is no recognized ritual marking the stage of adolescence; probably one reason being that the time between the attainment of adolescence and marriage is a short one. Nor can we consider the *pag-Islam* rituals, although they focussed on sex, as puberty rites because they occur at an age when puberty is still a few years

away. However, this may be an appropriate stage to say something about psycho-sexual differentiation and development.

One very striking thing among the Jama Mapun is the marked differentiation between males and females. In the daily routine of work, meals, worship, dancing, and rituals there is a clear distinction between the sexes. In the early stages of the life-cycle, a male child receives the *bahng*; a female, the *kammat*. In *pag-Islam*, the male is initiated later than the female, and the reason given is so that the female child may not feel too much embarrassment, as she would have if she were initiated later. The place for burying the afterbirth differs for males. During meals men and women never eat together; men eat first and are served by the women who eat later often in the kitchen. During *doa:a* prayers, women do not sit around the circle with the men who may join the *paki*. In the mosques, men are the principal worshippers; women worship behind the men. Finally in the *lunsay*, a community song-dance performed during weddings, boys and girls form their own lines and no hand-to-hand contact is allowed between them. In order to link the two lines to form a circle, the linking pairs at both ends use a handkerchief or piece of wood to act as "insulators" between them. In spite of this rather extreme segregation, Jama Mapun society has provided a social forum where the sexes mix in an atmosphere of heterosexual interests. This forum is the *lunsay* song-dance.

Since the *lunsay* seems to be designed primarily to fit the adolescent stage, it will not be out of place to briefly describe it here (Casiño 1966). Part of the charm of the *lunsay* dance is the sound of clicking bamboos produced by foot-stamping. To produce this sound effect, two sets of bamboo flooring are set one on top of

the other, with the top rather loosely set on the lower one so that the two can vibrate against each other.

The other fascinating aspect of the *lunsay* is the songs that accompany the dancing. The boys and the girls alternate in singing to each other. An analysis of the words used in these songs show that the basic theme of the *lunsay* songs is love and sex. The boys court the girls in song-fashion without directly mentioning the girl's name. Indirection and metaphor are artistically woven from flowers, birds, and physical shapes to refer to the girl's hair, color, and shape. The girls in turn sing appropriate answers that are coy but never impolite. Both boys and girls find the *lunsay* an exciting time and place to see and be seen. It is in the *lunsay* that young men and women pick out their future spouse.

The *lunsay* is not exclusively for the unmarried. The old and the young people enjoy it. Tinged with religion, the opening verses of the songs are religious greetings.

D. *Marriage and Adulthood*

The importance attached to the wedding (*ngawin*) ceremony can be judged by the economic and symbolic expenditure involved in staging a successful wedding. The magnitude of the occasion is compounded by the fact that unlike the other *rites de passage*, marriage brings together two families who are under strong social pressure to meet community expectations.

Marriage is both a dyadic and an inter-family contract. In fact, the family aspect of the transaction is the more conspicuous part of the negotiation. There are two basic steps in the family-directed marriage arrangement. First is the exploration (*nuruk-nuruk*) to find out if the girl is negotiable or not. In these early negotiations, a third party is often used, one who is well-versed

in flowery and indirect speech (*sungkuliman*). If the first approach is successful, some token amount is left with the girl's parents. After an interval of a few weeks, the boy's party returns to work out the bride-price and other details of the actual wedding. The usual bride-price is ₱500; but the other additional valuables — rice, cows, properties, etc. — may vary depending on the beauty of the girl and the social status of her and the boy's families.

When the day agreed upon for the wedding arrives, feverish preparations are made in three houses: the groom's, the bride's, and a third house. While a jubilant procession leads the groom from his house to that of the bride's, the latter demurely hides in the third house. A second procession is formed to conduct the bride from this house to her own where the groom is now waiting. The festive air surrounding these elaborate conventions is kept alive by much noise and color: the continuous booming of *kulintang* gongs; the staccato fire of firecrackers or of actual guns; the weird sound of accordion music accompanied by drum beats; and the colorful flashing of large and small flags.

The religious part of the wedding ritual is stressed by the presence of many *paki* who lead the prayers before and after the central symbolic act of the wedding ritual. This consists of two parts: (1) When the groom is confronted by the *imam* and answers the official question whether he is willing and ready to marry and take care of the bride. In this confrontation the *imam* and the groom have their right hands in a firm grasp in such a way that their right thumbs are pressed against each other while covered by a veil; likewise the big toes of their right foot are pressed against each other. (2) When the groom walks over to the bride to remove the veil partly covering her face. The groom's final gesture is to press his thumb against her forehead.

The newly married couple usually stay with the bride's family for some time. Later they may decide to move back to the groom's family. But they will remain part of an extended family until they themselves will become parents and only then will the question of establishing a separate household arise.

The young Jama Mapun now married is regarded as a full-blown adult. In his adult stage he participates in the basic economic pursuits (*ngusaha:*) — farming, trading, fishing. The adult Jama Mapun female carries on her traditional role of childbearer, homekeeper, and helper in secondary economic activities. She helps in planting, weeding, harvesting, copra-making. She washes, cooks, gathers sea-shells, and makes beautiful mats for home use and for sale.

In all these daily and seasonal economic routines, the folk-Islamic religion is never out of the picture. Planting and harvesting rituals and prayers are carefully observed. Before and after important journeys and trading expeditions, the *paki* are consulted on the lucky and unlucky times and days according to an elaborate numerological system called *putika:an* (cf. the Javanese numerological system in Geertz 1960: 30). Prayers may be offered before such journeys and afterwards, particularly when successful. Religion enters even in social conflicts, for the standards of decisions used are usually from the *sara:* (from the Arabic *Shari'ah*), a system of laws imbued with religious theory and sanctions. Thus, the Redfieldian sense of the sacred, postulated for folk societies, permeates the whole round of Jama Mapun adult life, whether economic, social, or political.

E. Death

People believe that a dead person should be buried as soon as possible. If

he died in the morning, he must be buried before evening. If he died at night, he must be in the grave before noon.

Reverence for the dead is shown by care in washing the dead body and in wrapping it in a white, new cloth. Jama Mapun do not use coffins; so the body is simply placed inside the grave. But the placement is such that the covering earth never touches the face and body. To do this without the protection of a wooden coffin, a niche is dug at the side of the main grave. The body is inserted into this niche which is wide enough to contain the body comfortably. Then the niche is closed off by some pieces of wood. Only then is the main grave covered by soil. The top of the grave (*kubo*) is marked off by stones and specially carved wooden markers (*sunduk*) and are raised on two points, one corresponding to a point above the shoulder and the other to a point above the knees of the body underground. When asked why the body had to be placed in a side niche, H. Hussin, a well known *paki* from upper Duhul Batu gave an answer connotative of a deep religious insight. Man's body is regarded as sacred; thus, it must be buried in such a way that although the body may press against the earth, the earth must not press against the body.

Care for the dead is likewise reflected in a linguistic practice of assigning special reference terms for dead persons. Jama Mapun frown upon direct mention of a dead person's name. The special reference terms differ according to the social status of the person who died; e.g., a dead Datu is referred to as *lindung*; a dead Kalip or Hadji is referred to as *wapat*; and a dead man of ordinary status is referred to as *imua*.

Reverence for the dead may be better appreciated against the Muslim belief in heaven (*surga*) with seven levels (*pang-*

kat). There is a belief in a place for punishment which, however, is not eternal. Many pious acts, like the giving of *sadaka*, are justified by a belief in merit collectible in the next world (*hal ahirat*).

Like the previous *rites de passage*, death rituals are performed for religious and social reasons. The usual *doa:a* prayers offered by the *paki* and the usual small feasts given to the neighbors are features found in the death rituals. Feasts and prayers are offered several times during the first one hundred days after death, and thence every year during the death anniversary the same practices are performed. Prayers for the dead are called *doa:a alua*.

Burials are made in family cemeteries near the house.

Folk-Islam as an Integrating System

Our choice of the life-cycle as an approach to an understanding of Jama Mapun society and culture was dictated by descriptive and explanatory reasons. It was Redfield, in his book, *The Little Community*, who has shown that a single social group and its social process may be holistically conceived of in various ways, e.g., as an eco-system, a social structure, a typical biography, an outlook on life, etc. The life-cycle (his typical biography approach) has the advantage of providing a place for the more dynamic aspects of the social data. It provides an axis through a people's culture from which to view the regularities and values immanent in that society.

On the other hand, the life-cycle has an explanatory value in that it enables one to demonstrate the integrating effect of folk-Islam both as a social structure and a world-view. For it shows "the general and lasting character of the way that men and women enter and pass through a social structure . . . in any stable community there is a characteristic passage" (Red-

field 1960: 52). Likewise for folk-Islam as a world-view, for it enables one to view, through the eyes of the developing individual, the common meanings and values imparted to life by folk-Islam.

Superficially folk-Islam means a synthesis of native and Islamic beliefs and practices. This definition has a strong disjunctive notion in it; it implies that one can point out what is "native" and what is "officially Islamic." Folk-Islam, taken in this disjunctive sense, is characteristic of many outside views; i.e., those views that regard Islam in the Philippines merely as a "veneer." We do not say that these views are necessarily wrong but that they involve a quite formidable analytic undertaking probably beyond the skill of any social scientist not solidly grounded in Islamic history, theology and jurisprudence.

A second way of defining folk-Islam, which sidesteps the rather thankless job of disjunctive analysis, is to define it in an inner-objective fashion, i.e., to define the system as a Jama Mapun would define it. It is this second meaning of folk-Islam that we would like to develop here *vis-a-vis* the Jama Mapun life-cycle. "Folk" in this definition is not to be taken as pointing to native or pre-Islamic elements but as a folk *view* of life under the light of Islam as they understand it. The sense implied is the ethnologist's ideal: "to grasp the native's point of view, his relation to life, to realize his vision of his world," (Malinowski 1922: 25).

Folk-Islam as a social structure

In using the term "social structure" the usual connotation is that of something stable, consistent, and regular. But the stability that it connotes is not rigid and static like a skeleton, but living and dynamic like a homeostatic system. Thus when we regard folk-Islam as a social structure we mean that it provides stability,

consistency, and regularity to social process among the Jama Mapun.

In reviewing the Jama Mapun life-cycle, one notices a common recurrent theme from birth to death. One element in this recurrent theme is the presence of the *paki*. This religious functionary is present at birth to administer the *bahng*; at the community presentation to perform the *pag-gunting*; at the physical initiation of the pre-adolescent in the *pag-Islam*; at the psychological initiation in the Koranic or *madrasa* training and later at the *pag-tammat*. He leads the Friday prayers at the *masjid*, (mosque) where the adolescent worships with the community. He officiates at the marriage of the young adults in the *ngawin*. He helps the adults in their regular round of adult economic pursuits (*ngusaha*;) by performing prayers and rituals for rice-planting, trading, and fishing expeditions. He, finally, officiates at burial and prays for the dead in its journey to the next world (*hal ahirat*). Thus from birth to death folk-Islam, through the agency of the *paki*, is an unmistakable theme. It not only recurs but integrates, patterns, and structures.

The life-cycle, however, is more than an individual affair between the *paki* and the developing Jama Mapun, for both of them are embedded in the social matrix of the family and the community. Thus it is important to regard the *rites de pas-*

sage also as a community process. Viewed in this way each *rite* appears as a focal or nodal point along the line of development around which the social process pulsates, as it were, with greater intensity. Social interaction ebbs and flows according to the five-point rhythm of the life-cycle. The social function is specially apparent in the component feasts given during the major events of a Jama Mapun lifetime. One can see in the feast-event the social principle of commensality and the theory of the ceremonial fund — interesting data for analysis in terms of social organization and economic anthropology (Geertz 1960: 11; Wolf 1966: 7).

Besides the regularity introduced by folk-Islam in the long-range cycle of a life-time, there are also social regularities introduced in the short-range cycle of the year, the week, and the day. The ideal of Islam to regulate the entire conduct of man as a member of a community of believers is nowhere more evident than in the temporal activities of each member of a Jama Mapun community.

The annual cycle is Islamic not only in terms of its lunar basis and Arabic names, but specially in the social-religious activities geared to the various months. Below is a brief tabulation of these activities according to the twelve lunar months. The names within parentheses are the original Arabic.

Month (*buan*)

Social-Religious Activities

1. Muharram (Muharram) Start of Muslim New Year; on the 10th moon Jama Mapun hold a feast called *kabole* where they mix a number of root crops eaten in or near the mosque.
2. Sappa (Safar) Month for weddings; Jama Mapun prefer to hold weddings when the moon is waxing. Also months of *tuak bala* or ritual bathing on three *alba:a* (Wednesday) after the 10th moon.

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| 3. Rabilawwal or Muhd
(Rabi'ulawal) | Month of the <i>muhd</i> when Jama Mapun have feasting and religious singing in honor of the Prophet. Many families hold <i>tammam</i> graduation ceremonies during this month. |
| 4. Tabilahil
(Rabi'ulachir) | |
| 5. Jamadilawwal
(Djumadilawal) | Month for weddings. |
| 6. Jamadilahil
(Djumadilachir) | |
| 7. Rahjab (Radjab) | |
| 8. <i>Sah: ban</i> (Sja'ban) | Month for the <i>doa:a</i> called <i>nuspo sah:ban</i> . Jama Mapun hold <i>doa:a alua</i> or commemorative prayers for dead on the afternoon of the 14th and 15th moon. |
| 9. Ramadan or Puasa
(Ramadan) | Month of the Muslim fast. |
| 10. Haylaya (Sjawal) | <i>Haylaya puasa</i> on the first day. People pray at the mosque; they go around visiting people, friends, and relatives to ask forgiveness from each other. Enemies become friends again. |
| 11. Julkayda (Dzulka'idah) | |
| 12. Julhadji: (Djulhida) | Month for the pilgrimage; the <i>haji</i> falls on the 19th moon, <i>Haylaya Hadji</i> . Weddings may be held on the 8th, 10th, or 14th moon. |

The weekly and daily cycle are likewise Arabic in terms and religious in contents. One of the five pillars of Islam is the *salat* or five daily prayers. In Kagayan Sulu and throughout the Muslim world, believers take time out to face Mecca and worship God (Geertz 1960: 123). The *salat* are said five times a day — at daybreak (*al-suhb*), noon (*al-zuhr*), in the mid-afternoon (*al-asr*), after sunset (*al-maghrib*), and in the early evening (*al-isha*) before retiring. These religious routines have left their impact in the terms and concepts for time reckoning. The Jama Mapun word for morning is *subu*, and the diurnal cycle is computed, as in Arabic, from sunset to sunset.

The entire weekly cycle have the seven days named after the Arabic system — *Isnen* (Monday), *Salasa*, *Alba:a*, *Hamis*,

Juma:at, *Sabtu*, and *Ahad* (Sunday). The climax of the weekly cycle, in terms of religious practice, is the community Friday (*Juma-at*) prayers at the *masjid* or *langga*.⁶ As a social institution, the Friday prayers appear as the major embodiment of the folk-Islamic spirit of the Jama Mapun. Young and old, men and women, and the official religious leaders (*imam*, *bilal*, *hatib*), all come together to renew their social and religious solidarity under Allah.

It should be apparent by now that folk-Islam pervades the whole round of Jama Mapun life — the life cycle, the annual cycle, the weekly cycle, and the daily cycle. Such pervasiveness, touching,

⁶ *Mosque*, in English, is the commonest term to refer to the Muslim's place of public prayers (*salat*). *Langga* refers to a smaller structure. *Mosque* (also called *masjid*) is to a Cathedral, as *langga* is to a chapel.

as it does, the behavior and conduct of the Jama Mapun in every detail, demonstrates that Jama Mapun social process conforms to a religious as well as a social structure. Consequently Jama Mapun social process is to be conceived both as a social and a religious structure. Such a statement is not surprising in view of the fact that Islam, in its essence, sees no distinction between the secular and sacred spheres of social life. Islam is a way of life (Smith 1957).

Folk-Islam as a world-view

This leads us to our final view of folk-Islam as an encompassing world-view. That is, folk-Islam is not only a socio-religious structure which integrates and patterns social process; it is also a world-view that gives meaning and value to that process. World-view has been defined by Lynch (Lynch and Hollnsteiner 1966) as

... the total system of ideas, beliefs, and attitudes shared by a cultural group or sub-group concerning the ultimate meaning of the universe, the supernatural, the problem of good and evil, the inevitability of death, life's trying and incomprehensible situations, and man's relation to them.

This definition implies the basic relations of man-to-man, man-to-nature, and man-to-supernature. This definition applies with all its force to folk-Islam as found among the Jama Mapun.

The man-man relation, for instance, is fully played out in the full glare of folk-Islamic values. This relation is symbolized in the religious handshake and the greeting, *Assalamu alaikum*, at the end of family and community prayers, and even in ordinary social encounter.

The man-nature relation is exemplified in the rituals connected with planting and trading. There is a strong Jama Mapun belief in environmental spirits both good

and bad who must be placated in order that socio-economic ventures may be successful. The spirit-beliefs found among the Jama Mapun resemble in some way the *abangan* variant described by Geertz (1960: 16) in the village of Modjokoto.

Finally, the man-supernature relation receives a major stress in folk-Islam. For both man-man and man-nature relations are dependent upon the paramount relation of man with the *Tuhan*, the Great Spirit who rules the world with his omnipotent Will. This extra-human Will (*magbaya*;) is conceived as measuring (*sukud*) success or failure in one's life and enterprise. Thus success is expressed as *mahap sukud* (good measure or luck), and failure is *nya: mahap sukud* (not a good measure or bad luck). This supernatural logic is resorted to explain even ordinary human malice. Thus when some Jama Mapun traders hijacked, in a fit of drunkenness, some traders from Ungus Matata: the distressed islanders explained the deed by recalling the fact that the attackers had forgotten to worship God in the Friday prayers.

Whether the relation is man-man, man-nature, or man-supernature, the Jama Mapun views everything in the light of a half-understood reality of an extra-human dimension. For him, as for the Christian, the world is charged with the grandeur as well as the fear of a transcendent *Tuhan*. It is clear from all this that the Jama Mapun world-view expressed in folk-Islam is highly personalistic.

Whether one looks at folk-Islam as social structure or as world-view, one cannot escape the conclusion that folk-Islam is a pervasive integrating system. It is present throughout the Jama Mapun social process both as a unifying structure and validating assumption to make the Jama Mapun way of life predictable and mean-

ingful for the developing individual from birth to death.

Conclusion

Throughout this paper the Jama Mapun life-cycle has been regarded as a body of empirical facts to be explained by appeal to folk-Islam as a unifying structure and world-view. Folk-Islam was treated as an independent variable. It may be possible to regard folk-Islam as a dependent variable itself in need of an explanation on another level of abstraction. In other words, how does one explain the amazing coherence imparted by folk-Islam on the Jama Mapun life-cycle?

One possible answer perhaps lies in the peasant character of Jama Mapun society as well as in the peculiar genius of Islam as a religion. Wolf (1965:99), in trying to explain the ideological order of the peasantry, suggests that religion, as practised by peasants, has an urgency and immediacy little found among industrialized cosmopolitans. While the objective of philosopher-theologians is the examined life, that of the peasants is how to *cope* with the concrete social order.

Where the peasant is apt to take ritual as given and to accept explanations of ritual actions that are consistent with his beliefs, the religious specialists [philosopher theologian] seeks the meanings behind meanings, engages in the labor of examining symbols and rituals, exploring meanings behind meanings, striving to render meanings and actions more consistent. The religious referents of the peasant are the natural objects and the human beings that surround him; we may call his explanations first-order explanations, while the religious specialist — seeking explanations of explanations — deal with the second-order or third-order meanings.

If it is the peasant character of Jama Mapun society — and we think that Jama Mapun society is indeed peasant — which explains the concretization of folk-Islam

in their social order, we must also look to the peculiar structure of Islam for additional explanation. Again Wolf (1965:101) adumbrates the answer.

In a few religious traditions the religious specialist is a peasant like any other. Thus, Islam relies on local *imamas* who differ from the general run of peasantry only in their slightly greater knowledge of the sacred texts and esoteric knowledge; indeed, in Islam any pious man can officiate at a religious ceremony.

Wolf's observation is amazingly true of the *paki* or religious functionaries among the Jama Mapun. All the *paki* in Kagayan are either practicing farmers or traders. Although the *sadaka* they receive from their services at the mosque and in the life-cycle rituals may add up to a small but continuous economic support, they are not known to live parasitically. The Jama Mapun *paki* are from and of the people. The people appoint from among the village *paki* the official *imam*, *bilal* and *hatib* needed for the Friday services. And the mosques, of which there are 17 in Kagayan Sulu, are all built by the people with their own resources. Islam is a grass-root religion which fits a peasant way of life partly cut off from the main stream of industrialized civilization.

Because Jama Mapun society is peasant, i.e., a part-society and a part-culture, thereby lies the seed of progress or dissolution. For although Jama Mapun society is coherent within itself, it is caught in the logic of nationalizing dynamics to make itself likewise coherent with the larger society which is largely non-Islamic. How to effect this transformation is a question for other social scientists and policy makers. Here we present only the facts and the values involved.

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Agricultural Rituals in a Philippine Barrio*

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The primary purpose of this paper is to describe how rituals as techniques for interacting with and influencing the supernatural beings are interwoven with activities of planting rice and other staple crops in Malitbog, a small peasant community in central Philippines, and to indicate some major sociological functions that these rituals have in the life of the people. The principle that, in every society, there is some common element of meaning underlying the different ritual context (Radcliffe-Brown 1952: 146-48) supports the limitation of this study to that of agriculture. The choice appears arbitrary; but to cover all the rituals in Malitbog or even to endeavor to include such minor rites as those associated with building a

house is impossible in a short paper as this. Moreover, a greater portion of the people's waking hours in this community is spent in procuring a living and in this process their activities include squaring accounts with the spirit world by performing necessary rites and ceremonies to win the goodwill of the supernatural powers. Thus, a knowledge of the significance of rituals associated with the production of staple food is vital in understanding other aspects of Malitbog culture as well as the dynamics of directed social and economic change.

Economic Subsistence

The mainstay of the economic life of the people in Malitbog is wet-rice agriculture, although dry or upland rice is also planted on the hillsides. In narrow valleys and wider plains, dikes are built to catch rainfall and crude terracing is done on

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