

In Manubul, as in Guinhangdan and Tarong, punishment takes a variety of forms. The number of disciplinarians in the three subcultures is worth comment. Disciplining a child is not a duty of the parents alone.

Regarding rewards, one pattern seems to stand out distinguishing the Manubul mother from her counterpart in Guinhangdan. She finds it almost always necessary to give promised rewards. The stubbornness or illness of a child is not infrequently associated by Manubul mothers with the failure of adults to come through with a promised reward.

More significant differences may yet be discovered by wide research among the different Philippine groups and a more valid comparison of their child-training attitudes and practices. On the other hand, such similarities as those pointed out above remind us that Manubul, Guinhangdan, and Tarongan are but subcultures or parts of a larger cultural whole. We may conclude that there are among Filipino mothers socialization patterns which environmental, geographical, and perhaps even religious differences do not alter significantly.

Sisangat: A Sulu Fishing Community

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THIS IS A REPORT on a pilot study of the beliefs and practices of the Samal of Sisangat. Data were collected during a six week period of field research in the summer of 1962. The techniques used to gather data were participant observation and a series of interviews with the most knowledgeable and articulate people in the community, generally the older men.¹

Sisangat is a community located on a coral reef just off the western coast of Siasi island near the town of Siasi, Sulu. Politically, Sisangat is a barrio of the municipality of Siasi. The inhabitants of the Island are predominantly Samal who maintain a subsistence economy based on fishing.

Of the 245 household on the Island at the time of the study 147 or about 60% of the total were single family households. Of the multiple family households, most were occupied jointly by two families, though there were a number of three, four, and even five family households. Joint households generally follow the matrilocal pattern but there are a few patrilocal households to be found on the island.

The beliefs and practices of the Samal of Sisangat will be treated under five main headings, namely, marriage practices, care and education of children, political organization, worldview, and out-group relations. A final section will present suggestions for future research.

Marriage Practices

Marriages are always arranged by the relatives of the prospective marriage partners. Usually a boy chooses a girl

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he is attracted to, then his parents go to her parents to make arrangements. If the parents do not approve of the intended marriage, the young people must submit to their decision. The parents can and often do force a reluctant boy or girl to marry a partner they have chosen. Sometimes a boy will run away from that situation, but a girl must resign herself to her fate.

According to many adults, eloping is becoming more frequent today than it was in the past. Parental non-approval sends the couple running off to a nearby settlement to get married. On their return the *imam* or *panglima*, religious functionaries, and both sets of parents will discuss the matter and reach agreement on the terms of the bride price. Another type of marriage is called *miniway*. Miniway is the term used when a girl wishes to marry her sweetheart and does not want to wait till he decides to go to his parents to arrange the marriage. Miniway translated is, "she went home," meaning she wanted the boy. The marriage in this case is arranged immediately, often the next day. While this is not the usual marriage arrangement, it is not a rare occurrence either. Although there is no shame involved for the woman, the informants who related the practice snickered and joked as they told of the man's reluctance and the woman's impatience.

In all marriages the groom's family pays a brideprice, *mautaud*, which is agreed upon by both sets of parents. If no agreement can be reached, the settlement is left to an imam or panglima. The amount of *mautaud* varies as do determinants of the amount paid. If the parents of a girl have taken good care of her they can demand a higher *mautaud*. If they have been "careless," the amount offered will be lower. If the

woman likes the man she will prevail upon her parents to make the *mautaud* an amount he can afford to pay. If she does not like him she will attempt to make the *mautaud* prohibitively high. In any case when the man's parents pay the *mautaud* the woman is forced to marry him or her family will be shamed. Aside from these the man may wish to give a high amount, as it is a matter of prestige for a wife to have received a high *mautaud* or for a husband to have been able to pay a high *mautaud*. The wife is thus considered a greater treasure to her husband.

If a *mautaud* is not paid the marriage is considered illegal. Few girls would go to a man who has not paid *mautaud* as they would feel shamed.

Regularly arranged weddings are announced to the community by drumming two or three days in advance. (For a *miniway* the drumming takes place on the morning of the wedding only.) On the morning of the wedding the guests gather at the house of the bride to dance, tell stories, or play musical instruments. The bride is kept behind a partition and attended by other women. She is dressed in her best clothing, her face is made up with cosmetics, and she wears any jewelry she owns or has borrowed for the occasion. Around midday the groom is brought to the home of the bride by his relatives. He wears all white, usually Western style trousers and shirt. The Imam sits on a brightly colored, intricately designed mat, with relatives and witnesses. The groom is seated opposite the Imam.

The Imam places incense in a half shell of a coconut before him and the groom. The Imam removes his headcloth, takes the groom's hand in a firm clasp, places a cloth over the clasped hands, and with the smoke from the

incense filtering up through the clasped hands, begins to chant in Arabic. Toward the end of the ceremony the groom repeats the Arabic chant of the Imam. Then in the dialect he promises to take good care of his wife and their family. At the end of the ceremony several men join the groom and the Imam in some of the chanting. After this the Imam leads the groom on the end of the Imam's headcloth to the bride's enclosure. As the partition is removed the guests rush toward the Imam and the couple. The Imam asks the girl three times if she will take the man as her husband. She replies yes each time. The groom, nervous and scared, emerges from the crowd with his bride sad faced, and leads her out of the house, on the end of yet another cloth. They go to his house in the company of many relatives; the ceremony and the celebration are over.

During the solemn chanting of the Imam people chat and laugh. Although a marriage is an important event and some measure of decorum is expected, the one I observed was not pervaded by an atmosphere of extreme solemnity. In one instance a woman began to quarrel loudly and the people shouted retorts at her while others showed amusement at her behavior. Only the groom and the Imam remained serious throughout the ceremony. The interest of the witnesses and the other guests vacillated from the chanting to the commotion.

After the marriage the couple will go to live in the house of the groom's family. However, they will be kept separate as this is still a time of observation. If the couple do not like each other or the woman dislikes the man, it is a time to "rid each one of ill feelings." This is also a time for the husband to begin seriously courting his

wife. If the courtship were to take place in the home of her own parents she would be embarrassed. When the boy has "full privileges" the couple will move to the house of the girl. After a few months the couple may choose to live with either set of parents until they have their own home.

Although the matrilineal pattern seems predominant in Sisangat the present study did not determine the length of time these couples had been with the woman's parents or how long they were intending to stay. It is possible that the composition of the households as reported may be entirely changed at the present time due to the supposed frequent changes in residence on the part of young couples. Another point to be considered is the amount of real moving that takes place and how much of this movement is merely what people say they do as opposed to the actual practice.

Before marriage a docile young girl accepts the decision of her parents without any outward show of disapproval. Then at the tender age of fourteen or fifteen she assumes the position of head of her household. As she lives with her elders in the beginning, she probably does not experience a dramatic shift in roles. The early residency with elders serves as a training period for the young to assume adult responsibilities. All of the men interviewed recognized the wife as the head of the household. Many displayed a humorous attitude regarding the wife's position. One man good-naturedly stated that his wife was the "commander" and he was the "crew." Women are responsible for the handling of money. A wife purchases whatever she deems a necessity and she need not consult her husband in the matter; if a man wished to make a purchase he must

obtain permission from his wife. However, a wife does not tell a man what he can or cannot do in regard to his social, political, and economic pursuits. A wife can merely advise her husband to do "good things," for example, not quarrel with his neighbor, be fair to relatives, and avoid stealing. All of the family members, husband, wife, and aged parents living with the couple, will decide on major issues concerning the family, among them the decision to move to another community, the case of divorce, choice of marriage partner for children, and amount of mautaud to be requested.

Although the woman is the financial head of the household and shares equally in family decisions, marital arguments can and do lead to physical violence wherein a man strikes his wife. She never accepts this treatment meekly even though she may be at fault. (Here again one witnesses the independent nature of the Samal woman.) If a woman does not forgive a man, she has recourse to fighting back or seeking a divorce.

Although divorce is sanctioned by the law of the agama court, the relatives and the community will attempt to reconcile the prospective parties to the divorce. The quarrel between the two may spread and cause disharmony or ill-feelings between their respective supporters, and thus involve many in the community. If the couple cannot be reconciled the case is then taken to the panglima for judgment and settlement. Should he be unsuccessful in overcoming their differences he decides on the settlement of common property. Although any party may initiate the divorce, the panglima will decide who is at fault. The guilty party pays the panglima's fee and the property settlement is arranged.

If the couple have children several arrangements can be made. Factors determining who will care for the children are the age of the children, which partner is found guilty, and the desire of the parents. Older children can choose which parent they will live with. Suckling babies usually go with the mother, but not always. (A wet nurse in the man's family can feasibly nurse the child.) As both parents usually want the children an equitable split is often made.

There are numerous reasons for divorce. Some of those noted were adultery, stealing from one's spouse or the spouse's relatives, non-support of wife, constant quarreling, a misunderstanding that cannot be resolved, a woman's refusal to obey her husband, wife-beating, desertion, a man's uncontrollable gambling, laziness, and non-surrender of a man's earnings to his wife. In short, any seemingly reasonable excuse can provide grounds for divorce.

The community does not regard divorce as a bad institution, but considers it "ordinary." The couple is not ostracized or in any way punished for seeking to settle their unsolvable marital problems by means of divorce. However, the community does frown upon a man or woman guilty of adultery or stealing from one's spouse or the spouse's relatives. The fact that these acts result in divorce is secondary to the immorality of the act itself. These are "wrong" acts and those guilty of them are "bad" people. Since divorces due to the other causes do not cause a great deal of commotion in the community, most people take a fatalistic view of the situation. One man philosophically observed, "Sometimes a man has a good friendship that lasts till death or can end in a short time. So it is with marriage."

Childbirth, Care, and Education of Children

Childbirth is not accompanied by any elaborate ritual or regarded as a special event within the community. When a woman's time for delivery is near the proper attendants are summoned. She is either attended by female relatives with knowledge of the proper procedure or if difficulties are encountered during the delivery a midwife is summoned. After the delivery the mother, the child, and the placenta are bathed. The mother is given medicine to drink which "makes her stomach feel good" and cleanses her of internal blood. Sometimes the midwife, an Imam or anyone "who knows the words," will say a prayer asking for a happy life for the child. (Opinion varies regarding the need for prayer at birth.) The umbilical cord is cut and some people follow the custom of smearing the end of the cord with ashes "to enable it to fall off later." Infection and death are often the result of this practice.

After the placenta is washed it is placed in a clean coconut shell and taken to the mainland for burial among the mangroves. When the umbilical cord falls off the baby it is hung above the bed of the child until it becomes dust and disappears. Most informants stated that the procedure dealing with the placenta and the umbilical cord was practiced in accordance with custom. Many did not know what would happen if one neglected to perform these rituals. According to others these acts had to be performed as nothing belonging to the child should be destroyed lest the child suffer illness or contract skin disease.

The child can be named right after birth, during infancy, or after infancy. Naming, like childbirth, is a private affair with no public ritual connected with

it. Choice of a name is not restricted by any set rules. Either parent can name the child any name they prefer. Children take the first name of their father as their last name, for example, Miswari Jilani's child is named Madji Miswari. This may be a survival from the time when a person was referred to as so and so, the child of so and so, each person having only one name. (Madji, the child of Miswari). Since all names are utilized as first or second names it is difficult for an outsider to trace kinship affiliations past two generations.

Those who have been influenced by Taosug baptismal rites perform two ceremonies during childhood. Although these ceremonies are similar in practice to the Muslim rituals, their meaning is not clear. The two ceremonies are called the *patimbang* and the *pagunting*. In the *patimbang* an infant is put in a sling which is then put on the end of a stick. At the opposite end, in another sling, is placed food. The food usually chosen is cassava, fish, cakes, and rice. (Meat or poultry are not utilized as the people do not like the taste of meat.) The stick is turned three times and the Imam says a prayer in Arabic. The food is then taken from the sling and eaten in the feasting that follows the ritual. The reason for the ceremony was vaguely attributed to custom.

More commonly practiced is the *pagunting*. In the *pagunting* a piece of the child's hair is cut and placed in a young coconut. The coconut is then tied to a cloth and hung on a bamboo. The feast attended by relatives and friends then follows. For each informant who described the ceremony there was a different rationale given for its performance. The various reasons given were. "So the child will have long hair"; "It is the custom"; "To show others that a family has

the means to celebrate such a ceremony"; "The child will get sick if the ceremony is not performed"; "To ask the help of *Tuhan* so the child will live long." "The child must be baptized as unbaptized people go to *Nalka* (hell)."

Ideally these two ceremonies should be performed as soon as possible. However in actual practice they are performed at any age. The time of baptism depends on the family's ability to pay for the attendant ceremony. One man, who had three children under six, none of whom had gone through ceremonies because the family did not have the means as yet, stated that if a person died before the ritual was performed, he would not be welcomed by *Tuhan*. (This is contrary to other informants' views of the after-life, where judgment is based solely on the person's good or bad actions.) When questioned about the fate of his own unbaptized children should they die before the performance of the ceremony, he replied that little children are always welcomed as they have no "sins" yet. Others, questioned about the performance of the ceremonies, agreed that they should be performed soon after birth but saw no religious significance in the reasoning behind this.

The children are not concerned about these rituals as they are primarily engaged in having a good time all day long. Their ideal play often takes the form of simple games which are usually composed of a set of repetitive acts. There are only a few toy objects, such as handmade tiny vintas, miniature pettinguns, and small spears. The children utilize the most meager articles for toys. For example, a half coconut shell is placed on the foot, then kicked into the air. This is repeated until the child tires of the

game. Most children have small dugouts of their own and are free to play in larger boats when these are not being used by their parents. All day long in the water or in the boats, they roam and laugh and sing. Even when they are collecting sea food, vending, or caring for infant children, there is an air of jovial bantering among them.

Infants are kept with the mother till they are weaned; then they are cared for by the older children. Toddlers are usually attended but can also be seen playing alone or in groups of three or four. These tiny children often merely sit in the shallow waters near their home, content to dig in the sand for long periods of time. Toddlers, like the older children, can handle a small dugout canoe with facility. Some of these small craft are only large enough to accommodate a couple of four year olds.

The adults seem to be so assured that the children are capable of caring for themselves or are attended by older children that they take no apparent notice of them. In one dramatic instance the frightened screaming of a child was heard. The people looked in the direction of the sound and even upon seeing the child struggling in deep water, failed to register any visible signs of alarm. The child was only two or three years old; he had been walking among the houses and had stepped into a depression in the sand. Another child of about six or seven was several feet away from the screaming child and was laughingly hurrying toward him. Though the water was deep none of the observing adults made any attempt to help. When the rescue was completed the people turned their attention back to what previously occupied them.

Similarly the parents take no interest in teaching the children to swim. The children learn to swim by watching and imitating the other children. While they swim underwater skillfully, they appear clumsy and cannot swim for long distances on the surface. The better swimmers are noted and pointed out by the people. Some boys work at improving their skill but many do not. In order to accustom themselves to remaining under water for long periods of time, the boys take a rock as a weight or have another boy hold them down. This will be an important factor in their success as fisherman later in life. The girls can swim but they do not attempt to become accomplished swimmers. Their adult duties will not require a proficiency in the water.

Although formal education is valued verbally, in reality economic pursuits take precedence over schooling. During the school year, children attend the public school located within the settlement. A complete elementary school, it has seven teachers, including a head teacher. Regular school attendance is not observed by the majority of children. The occasions when children normally do not attend school are: (1) the periods in the day when the tide is out (food collecting is the main duty of the children at this time), (2) the times when they are needed to help their parents, or (3) when they have no food or clothes. This indifferent attitude toward schooling is reflected in the behavior of the teachers.

In spite of the current appalling school situation most of the younger people seem to have achieved (at least statistically,) a higher degree of education than their parents. Statistical evidence shows that of the 294 heads of households, 166 never attended school. About

81 or approximately half are 50 years of age or older. The majority of adults who have reached anywhere from grades one to six are in their twenties or early thirties. Of the six household heads who attended high school only one was graduated. This man was elected barrio lieutenant because of his superior education. It is probable that the older people had no available school to go to so they never attended school. Most of the children in Sisangat today are sent to school for at least one or two grades. Some of the teenagers are attending high school in the town of Siasi and two young adults are studying in the University of the Philippines in Manila. Those obtaining a higher education will seek work outside of the settlement in white collar jobs. A few return to the fishing community, Sisangat itself is not receiving the benefit of its few citizens who would be capable of promoting progress within the community. Life situations are mainly handled by resorting to custom, the tradition of one's father.

Political Organization

The national and municipal governments have little significance for the people of Sisangat. This situation however is slowly changing with the recent introduction of elections for the barrio council. Formerly a panglima, or headman, was followed because of his possession of certain characteristics such as fairness, honesty, intelligence, ability to lead, articulateness, and godness of nature. He was not formally elected by the people but was recognized by them as their leader. He would be an arbitrator of quarrels, officiate at divorces, and act as the spokesman for the people of the settlement. Since the law was passed for the election of barrio councils, the office of the panglima has

merely become a legalized and elected position. The panglima's duties as barrio lieutenant remain the same. The intervention of the government has only formalized the function of the headman. The panglima is now elected by popular vote every two years in accordance with the national government's voting procedures. In addition to this change, the introduction of vice barrio lieutenant and councilors is also a new concept. The vice lieutenant assumes the duties of the lieutenant in the latter's absence. The title of the councilor is an honorary one as they have no real authority and perform no duties.

Meetings of the barrio council are held in the schoolhouse in Jambangan, where community development is discussed. If a worthwhile project is approved, the officers contribute the money to support it. The current undertaking is a meeting house for the settlement. Financial assistance from the Presidential Assistant on Community Development is being sought but was not as yet promised at the time this study was taking place. When an ordinance affecting the people is to be drawn up, a general meeting is called and the people vote for or against the proposal, according to their preference. The Vice Chairman, Tiblani Majini, claims that many people attend these general meetings.

Once a year the panglima and the tax collector from Siasi collect two kinds of tax from the people. There is a residence tax of fifty centavos a year and a vinta tax of fifty centavos a year. (Only those vintas in use at the time the tax is collected are counted.) It is the duty of the panglima to know all residents moving in or out of the settlement. He is responsible for knowing who owns a working vinta. The municipal secretary, who acts as the tax collector states that

the tax is levied merely as a means of teaching the people how the tax system works. Also it makes the people aware that they are part of a government system and subject of its regulations. As the actual tax collection is of secondary importance, people who are extremely poor and cannot pay it are excused. In return for the taxes paid, the people are given protection by the municipal police. Following a bandit raid in 1961, some policemen were billeted in the settlement for a few months. When nothing further happened to warrant their continued presence, they returned to Siasi. Currently there are no policemen stationed in Sisangat as the people are peaceful. With the withdrawal of the police the barrio lieutenant was left as the sole peace officer.

One of the main duties of the panglima has always been to arbitrate quarrels. If the panglima does not act fairly or honestly in his role as arbitrator he is given warning; if his behavior does not change he will not be elected to his office again. Furthermore, an unfair judgment need not be obeyed by the wronged party. One informant stated that if the panglima were unfair he would go to the municipal mayor seeking fair treatment. Everyone interviewed testified to the fairness and honesty of the present barrio lieutenant and the incumbent, who is now acting as the vice lieutenant. To prove the extent of their fair dealings one man stated that even if one of their relatives were involved, they would decide on the merits of each disputant rather than favor the relative. Although the headman's position is now elective, the people continue to regard him as appointed by their choice and subject to their will. His behavior still must conform to their desires or they will not obey his directives.

World View

The religious beliefs of the Samal are a combination of old customs overlaid with some of the rituals of Islam. An Evangelist missionary who lived in the settlement for a year maintained that the majority of the people were without any formal religion. He claims to have made about fourteen conversions since he established his church within the community. Though there are several imam, priests of Islam, living in the community they do not resent the presence of the Evangelist minister or his proselytizing. Imam Mawayi Maldani agrees that not many people living in Sisangat follow official Muslim doctrine and practice. However all the people call upon the imam for the marriage and death ceremonies, and sometimes in the event of illness. He is summoned mainly as a holy man rather than as a recognized representative of a particular religion.

Although the people pay a *saraka*, a small fee for services, the imam earns his livelihood by means of fishing. The imam's religious duties are performed as an avocation. Since the office of imam is not hereditary, any man may learn the duties, prayers, and how to read Arabic. He may then obtain the powers necessary to perform the rituals. Imam Maldani says he does not act regularly as an imam for he cannot read Arabic very well. However he has begun performing some duties to prove to the people that he has "a little power."

The imam officiates at marriages, deaths, sometimes at birth, and during illness, and at any baptismal ceremonies. (His specific duties at weddings are described above, while his responsibilities at death are detailed below.) If the imam is called at the birth of a child he will say prayers for the child's

future good health. Some people say anyone who knows the proper prayers can take the place of the imam. But as there is a different prayer for a male and for a female, few people would know the correct prayers. If prayers are considered necessary these are usually delivered by the imam. For the baptismal ceremonies, the *pagtimbang* and the *pagunting*, the imam performs all the rituals involved. A frequent comment by informants was that although an imam was called for the above ceremonies, anyone who knew the prayers would serve as well. The imam is not seen as a being possessing special powers. He is summoned merely as one who knows the prayers. The only event that seems to require a communion with the supernatural is the treatment of illness. Here a healing power must be invoked and the supernatural placated; so a special power is needed.

The Samal believe in the presence of a supreme good and ultimate evil. This good is called *Tuhan*; it is an essence which cannot be seen. *Tuhan* is omnipotent and pervades all things. As *Tuhan* is more powerful than the force of evil, *Sayitan*, protection from *Sayitan* can be obtained through prayers directed to *Tuhan*. Prayer can also aid in the curing of illness, maintaining good health, achieving a happy life, or putting one in *Tuhan*'s favor. The role of *Tuhan* with regard to a person's behavior is vague. Many regard *Tuhan* as an essence that is present and merely watches over people, neither guiding, aiding, nor punishing them. Others maintain that *Tuhan* punishes the bad people by making them ill or transforming them into ghosts when they die. The former opinion depicts an omniscient being too remote to be involved in the affairs of men. The latter opinion would seem to indicate the existence of a

personified supernatural being who, like men, make a judgment on the basis of certain behavior and punishes or rewards accordingly.

Sayitan, the force of evil, is a more concrete figure in the beliefs of the people. He has form and all agree on his purpose and function. Like Tuhan, Sayitan is omnipresent. Many accounts state that Sayitan is invisible, which is the cause of the great fear with which people regard him. (Unlike Tuhan, who is always called or referred to impersonally, Sayitan is often referred to as "he" or "him." Others attribute definite form of Sayitan, often giving vivid descriptions. Sayitan exhibits some man-like traits. he lives in a home, or at least one is maintained for him; he will kill a pretty woman he happens to see "out of spite" because he cannot possess her; he is compared to bandits, for like them he is just traveling; and he goes everywhere, "like people.")

Sayitan's main function is to kill or cause illness in humans. He will kill anyone, even strangers, but he is not an avenger of evil deed. Sayitan merely kills people because they are his food and that is his work. He is believed to be the cause of death in cases where a person dies in his sleep for no apparent reasons, or in cases where a person suffers from acute pain whose cause cannot be determined and then dies shortly thereafter; Sayitan has eaten one of the internal, vital organs. When asked how the cause of death through the destruction of an internal organ was determined, one informant frankly stated that one cannot be sure the organ is gone as "it is inside the body, so how can a man see it"? However the people accept this explanation of an otherwise incomprehensible death.

In addition to employing the aid of Tuhan other methods may protect a

person from Sayitan. There is a certain prayer, *ilmo*, which is invoked as a protection against Sayitan. (When this prayer is employed was not determined.) Also as a preventive measure against Sayitan's evil, offerings are placed at the *larung-larung*, the house of Sayitan. One informant stated that Sayitan comes to a man in a dream and inquires as to why that man has not brought him anything lately. The next morning the man immediately takes food, betel nut, or tobacco to the *larung-larung*. (It was not determined whether offerings are given at random or just on a specific occasion.) Small children wear an *ampas* or *anting-anting* as protection against evil. The charm is an ordinary string that is tied around the neck of an infant. A shell, ring, or some kind of bauble is attached to the string. There is no significance given to the bauble; it is placed there so the child can play with it. The child will wear the charm until he "grows big," about age ten. The placing of the charm is only an attempt by the parents to give the child some protection. As the *anting-anting* has no apparent religious significance, no ritual is required to turn the string into a charm. No one seems to question the efficacy of its power to ward off evil. Another kind of charm consists of a white cloth hung on the roof of a house. The imam says a prayer over a piece of cloth which is put on the house of the person seeking protection from evil forces. The cloth is supposed to keep out Sayitan but not all people believe in its efficacy; only those whose fathers followed the custom utilize the flag as a general protective measure. However, the white flag is always hung on the house of the sick to ward off further evil happenings.

In addition to the *ilmo*, which is a form of curing, there is another *ilmo* which is a form of sorcery. This *ilmo*

consists of sacred words written in Arabic. The *maguro*, a man who owns this type of *ilmo*, writes the *ilmo* on a piece of paper and places it near his victim. The latter soon becomes ill, crazy, or dies. This type of *ilmo* is always used in order to harm people. The *maguro* is feared as he may become angry at a person and use his *ilmo* in revenge. Although most informants maintained that no one in Sisangat possessed the *ilmo* for sorcery, one man claimed that Imam Maldani owns one. Usually the *maguro* were said to be men who lived south of Sisangat. None of the informants questioned knew where the *ilmo* came from or how a man could obtain it.

In spite of its inevitability, illness is always an unwelcome condition. Therefore the cause of unexplainable illness is attributed to the forces of evil. Wounds and illnesses are due to natural causes. For example, if a man is struck by a spear while fishing with a companion, the incident is regarded as carelessness on the part of the fisherman rather than the work of supernatural powers. Unexplainable illnesses such as internal disorders, skin eruptions, headaches, muscle pains, and stomach aches, are attributed to *Sayitan* or the *lutao*, ghosts.

One notable exception regarding the cause of an illness was the instance of a child of three or so who was suffering from the pains caused by a large boil on his forehead. When queried as to the cause of child's affliction, the father answered that *Tuhan* wanted the child sick "as it is not good for a human being not to have sickness." When asked how this particular illness would be treated the man told a singular story. The child was possessed by a benevolent guardian spirit who takes good care of children. (Not all children are owned by spirits only those child-

ren *Tuhan* wants the spirits to own are given to them.) The *mangubat*, a local medicine man, knows the spirit that has possession of the child. Therefore the *mangubat* knows how to cure the child without offending the spirit. If the child were taken to the doctor, the spirit might become angry and make the child seriously ill.

Even though the *mangubat* is not often effective and the efficacy of the doctor's medicine is well known, the people go to the *mangubat* first as his treatment is not so costly. The position of the *mangubat* is not hereditary, in the sense that the son of a *mangubat* follows his father's profession. Anyone who desires can become a *mangubat*. Curing powers are obtained through training, and anyone (except outsiders like the interviewer) can be trained for the work. *Mangubat* Sailani has trained one of his sons and a daughter in the art of healing. The son cannot cure all illnesses yet, as he is still in training. The daughter only treats women's illnesses.

Part of the training consists of recognizing the various medicinal plants and learning where they are located. The *mangubat* always gathers his own plants and only those trained in this profession have knowledge of where the plants can be found. The root called *salak* is rarer than most herbs. As it appears to be a hard wooden root its potency must be attributed to its magical substance rather than to any chemical substance it contains as in the case of the medicinal plants. *Salak* is put in cold water for a time, then the root is removed and the patient drinks the water. It is hard to imagine that the cold water could absorb anything from this wooden root. In cases of fever a common complaint in the settlement, *salak* is used to rub the body of the

patient. Here again its sole efficacy would seem to be magical rather than actual.

In addition to the administration of herbs, the mangubat employs prayer to rid the body of the evil that afflicts it. The mangubat knows *tawal*, curative prayers in Arabic that came from Allah. The *tawal* is unwritten and is passed on verbally from one mangubat to his student. There are many *tawal*, one for each type of illness. Sailani states that "people are always cured by this method." If they are not, "it is because Tuhan is preventing the *tawal* from entering the person."

Although all mangubats can cure any illness, some have specialties in which they are particularly effective. Sailani's specialty is the treatment of spear wounds. At first he says the proper *tawal* over the wound. If he finds he cannot remove the spear after the *tawal* has been said he will request that the wounded man sleep in his (Sailani's) house that night. During the night the mangubat will dream of the man's father and implore the father's aid in the removal of the spear. After this the spear usually comes dislodged. Sailani stated that the ability to communicate with spirits could not be learned; one had to possess this power naturally.

Other methods of treating illness are personal prayers by the patient's relatives or the services of an imam. For example, if a baby becomes ill the family may make a promise to Tuhan in return for the child's recovery. A family may promise that they will no longer be bad, they will stop stealing, lying, or killing. For they fear their behavior may have been the cause of the child's illness. Only if the child recovers are they obligated to fulfill this promise. An imam may be called in

cases of serious illness. He also knows *tawal*, his sole method of treatment. After exhausting all time-tested means, namely, the mangubat's treatment, the imam's treatment, and personal prayers, the sick person may then be taken to the doctor in Siasi. In emergency cases the person usually dies before the doctor can be reached.

When a person dies, the imam is summoned to perform the necessary death rituals. The imam washes the body thoroughly, then assists the relatives in the wrapping of the body in a white sheet. When the body is prepared in this way the imam says prayers in Arabic "for the good of the dead." Friends, neighbors, and relatives will sit by the dead and mourn. Men do not cry during the mourning unless the deceased is a close relative or friend. Crying is considered the task of the women. This wailing may be more of a formality than a sign of any deep emotion. Sometimes a woman known for her skill may be hired by the relatives to mourn. This mourning continues throughout the night with men, women, and children in attendance.

The reaction of the community toward the dead may be seen clearly in the following account. One day late in the afternoon a sudden wailing, closer to shouting or yelling than to moaning, could be heard throughout the settlement. Many boats proceeded in the direction of the disturbance. It seemed as though everyone in the adjacent area was involved in the matter. The crowd was composed primarily of women and children as the majority of the men were still out fishing. The voices of women could be heard clearly. Then at one point the voice of a man yelling loudly could be heard above all the other voices. (The dead must have been

an intimate relative for the man to express his grief so openly.) Then the wailing of the woman was the only sound heard. After the first excitement passed the people not directly involved in the affair went about their business as usual. They knew what had happened by this time and also knew it did not concern them. A woman could be heard chanting and a neighbor who was listening for want of something better to do casually remarked that the voice was quite good.

The initial wailing subsided after about 45 minutes. However a low inarticulate sound could still be distinguished from the ordinary sounds of the settlement. Now the dead would be prepared for burial and the all night mourning would begin. On the following morning the relatives and the imam boarded boats and took the body to the place of burial, either Manubul or Musu. The imam again said prayers and the body was interred. The people then left the burial place and the event was finished. Upon returning home the relatives tied a white cloth around their wrists as a symbol of their mourning. A white cloth is supposed to be worn for one year after the death of a relative.

When the dying breathe their last breath it is believed to be the *ngawa*, or spirit escaping to travel to the after world. The *ngawa* is not to be confused with the ordinary breath, which is called *napas*. As the final link with life is the person's last breath, it takes on a special significance. Although all of the people interviewed expressed a belief in the existence of *ngawa*, some did not know that happened to it when a person died. Some comments were: "It is just like the wind; how will we know where it goes?" "If a person knew where the *ngawa* went he could find it and bring it back to the body, thus

continuing the body's life." The *ngawa* seemed to be closer to the concept of personality than to the concept of soul. It is the person's inner spirit, his character, his unique personality, when he is alive. Whether it continues after the body of the person ceases to exist is not known and does not seem to have been a point of speculation.

As to the idea of a judgment in the afterlife there are as many people denying that a person's *ngawa* is judged after death as there are who assert that a judgment is passed. Those who believe in the judgment say that the good go to *sulgh*, a place of happiness and the bad go to *nalka*, a place of fire. Even those who do not believe in the judgment of the *ngawa*, stating that all the dead go to the same place, believe in ghosts, the *lutao*. The *ngawa* is recognized as different from the substance or lack of substance becoming the *lutao*. Therefore the person's *ngawa* travels, to the afterworld in all instances whether a person becomes a loathsome *lutao* or not.

Most of the people interviewed believe in the existence of the *lutao*. All those who believe in them agree that they are the spirits of men who had plenty of sins in life, like committing crimes of stealing, lying, and killing. If a man with plenty of sins dies and the people fear he will return as *lutao* they attempt to prevent the ghost's emergence from the body. The grave will be watched as there have been incidents where a white tentacle-like shape has been seen arising from the grave of a man who was notorious in life, upon seeing the apparition, the grave watchers take a coconut shell and hold it over the specter. Often the emerging apparition is very strong and the person attempting to restrain it must engage in a fierce struggle.

The lutao like Sayitan are responsible for some illnesses and deaths that the people suffer. The lutao are all harmful agents who have killed many people in Sisangat, according to some accounts. The lutao will suck out a person's blood or he may grasp a person around the waist and suck the air out of his nose and mouth thereby causing death by suffocation. The person merely seeing a lutao but not attacked may suffer from symptoms similar to those experienced in a state of shock. In this event the person does not require medical treatment; he is allowed to rest until the symptoms pass (which is the medical recommendation for treatment of shock). The lutao kill people so that the victim will become one of them. Also, as they were bad people while alive and forced to roam the earth after death, they take revenge on the living by causing sickness and death.

Although many people have seen the lutao, many others have not; but they have heard of their evil deeds, believe in their existence, and fear them. Among those claiming to have seen a lutao the descriptions vary, some stating they resemble a shadow, others an odious, beastly form. Many people attribute a foul odor to the lutao. Often if one believes he has been in the presence of a ghost his belief is based on a permeating foul odor rather than the visible proof of that presence. As the descriptions vary so do the notions regarding the lutao characteristics.

The lutao are feared because of their odiousness and the fact that they are harmful. However, if a man is brave and strong enough he can battle a ghost and even defeat the specter. Everyone testified to the swiftness of the lutao; they are like the wind and no mere man can escape from them. Some people maintain that there are men and

women ghosts but others say all lutao are men. Any bad person may become a lutao but most Samal agree that most of these ghosts are Taosug, the superordinate ethnic group in Sulu. The specters are said to travel over the water or hitch a ride on a fisherman's vinta; they do not swim to the settlement. Since they reside in the mountains during the day, they must travel to and from Sisangat in order to roam around the settlement at night. The fact that the lutao cannot swim, live in the mountains, and are the ghosts of bad people serves to reinforce the Samal's belief that the lutao are Taosug.

Out-Group Relations

Recently the predominant group in Sulu, the Taosug, have been moving into Sisangat. They are leaving the mainland because of their fear of the bandits. However, many people have gone to Sisangat in order to operate profitable sari-sari stores. As the Taosug store owner owns his own farm, he can sell his produce directly to the consumer, thereby also realizing the profit usually made by the non-farming store owner, in this case the Chinese in Siasi. Moreover, as the Samal are less sophisticated in the use of money than the Taosug, the store owner can exploit this ignorance and make a good profit.

Many of the Samal are leaving Sisangat now that more Taosug are moving in. (At the time this research was conducted only ten Taosug families lived in the settlement. More recent information states that many more have moved in since June 1962.) The Samal cannot refuse to allow the Taosug to live in their settlement as they have compassion for the people who are "fleeing from bandits." Furthermore, they fear the Taosug and would find it difficult to refuse them a living space. The Samal

are afraid of the Taosug, believing that the latter "are mean," carry weapons, are easily angered due to their proud nature, and will kill for the slightest reason. An example of the Taosug's alleged unreasonableness is seen in the case where a Taosug child and a Samal child quarrel. The parents of the Taosug child will carry the argument to the parents of the Samal child. If on the other hand, two Samal children quarrel, they are left to resolve their problems on their own. As only a few Samal own weapons and fewer carry them in public places, they naturally fear the weapon-carrying Taosug. Many said if a Taosug were to pick a quarrel with them they would run away. For fighting would surely lead to their death. The Samal interviewed maintained that the Taosug residents who had been in the settlement a long time were good; but as Taosug are more generally bad than good it was more expedient to move away than take a chance with the newcomers.

Both groups agree that they are very different from one another. However the Samal interpret the difference in terms of personality while the Taosug differentiates mainly on the basis of economics. The Samal insist they are not aggressive but are kind to their fellowmen, good natured, do not carry grudges, and try to avoid trouble. The Taosug, on the other hand, are said to be aggressive, intolerant, proud, quick to anger, and revengeful, and do not hesitate to steal, fight, or kill. The Taosug, stressing economic differences, say that the Samal have little or no clothing, own no land, cannot eat any food they wish to, have no material wealth like weapons, jewelry, or house furnishings because they are fishermen. But the Taosug farmer, comparatively well-to-do, can satisfy many desires. He may go to a movie,

buy clothes, or go shopping. Another factor noted by the Taosug farmer is his ability to produce more while doing less work than the Samal. The Taosug also made mention of the physical appearance of the Samal. The latter supposedly walk in a bent over fashion, are knock-kneed, have dark skin, blond streaked hair, and smell of salt water. All these features are regarded with derision by the Taosug. They see this physical ugliness as a proof of the other group's inferiority to them.

Even the children of the two groups do not develop strong friendships. While they may co-operate in games, they do not extend their companionship beyond the borders of the settlement. The Samal say that the Taosug do not want their friendship. The Taosug agree on this, giving as their reason that the Samal are too greedy. If one goes around with a Samal he will be expected to pay all of the Samal's expenses, unlike the instance of two Taosug friends who alternately pay each other's way. Just as the youngsters do not develop any close relationships with one another, so too the adults never become more than mere acquaintances. They know of each other's existence but do not become involved in each other's lives.

Suggestions for Future Research

On the basis of this pilot study, a number of suggestions can be offered for future research. These suggestions can be conveniently divided into four main areas touching on the economy, health practices, education, and culture of the Samal.

The Economy. To aid the people in their attempt to raise their standard of living certain elements of the economy must be fully understood. Future studies

could profitably investigate the following: (1) the degree of reciprocity existing between relatives and non relatives; (2) the role of barter transactions in trade relations; (3) the basis on which economic cooperation is obtained between fishing partners; (4) the various techniques of fishing and amount of the catch relative to the technique; (5) the profitability of fishing; (6) people's attitudes toward work and relaxation.

Health Practices. To improve health conditions in Sisangat certain beliefs and values of the Samal must be determined. Further study that would facilitate the introduction of improved health habits should investigate the following: (1) the degree to which specific diseases are attributed to supernatural causes; (2) common physical ailments among the Samal and typical attitudes toward what is generally recognized as the proper treatment for these ailments; (3) beliefs connected with pregnancy, childbirth, and the care of infants; (4) dietary habits of the people and their attitudes toward certain foods; (5) the degree to which the people believe in the efficacy of manufactured medicines and the treatment administered by a trained physician, as opposed to beliefs regarding folk cures; (6) beliefs or attitudes connected with disposal of human waste products.

Education. Further study is required to determine: (1) the actual percentage of people who value a formal education, and to what degree if any it is valued; (2) the attitude of parents toward the present public school situation (in Sisangat); (3) the role of teen-agers in economic pursuits; (4) the incidence of early marriage and its effect on the obtaining of a prolonged education, that is, past grade school; (5) the extent of mobility among families with dependent children; (6) the type of preparation for

adulthood; (7) responsibility of a wealthy relative in educating poorer relatives' children.

Culture. The student of comparative cultures could profitably explore more thoroughly a few areas that the present study vaguely mentions. In a chance discussion regarding illness a man related that his child was possessed by a guardian spirit. Mead in *Growing Up in New Guinea*,² mentions that all the Manus children are under the care of a guardian spirit. As the Admiralty Islands are not far from Sulu the students of comparative culture might be able to trace the connection, if any, in the similarity of beliefs among the Manus and the Samal. This is only one noticeable link between the two cultures; many others could easily be noted.

In regard to the music and dance form found in Sisangat, the student of Indonesian or Polynesian cultures may be able to trace accurately the origins of the Samal version of this attempt at aesthetic expression. Perhaps the explanation for the absence of other forms may also be discovered by one more conversant in related cultures.

A personality study based on a comparative analysis of the Samal and Taosug personality types may provide a greater basis for understanding the antagonism of the latter group for the former. The degree of acculturation undergone by the passive Samal due to the dominant influence of the Taosug is another related point inviting further study. The fact that such seemingly opposed personality types should have evolved in adjacent areas could seem to invite the student interested in understanding the psychology of a people in

² Margaret Mead, *Growing Up in New Guinea* (New York: Mentor Book, 1953).

relation to their ecology. A final suggestion for study is, what effect, if any, does a sedentary life have on people who were formerly nomadic?

In the body of this paper many tentative suggestions regarding further re-

search have already been made. It is hoped that these suggestions along with those proposed above may be of help to the future researcher in his investigation into the culture of the Samal of Sulu.

Intergroup Relations Among the Taosug, Samal and Badjaw of Sulu

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THIS IS A REPORT of field work in progress among the groups of the Sulu archipelago in the southern Philippines, begun in April, 1962. During the initial trip to the area, from April 4 through June 1, 1962, each of the major market areas was visited, and data collected throughout the archipelago. From June 15 through September 2, 1962, I stayed in Jolo town on the island of Jolo, and while not actively engaged in full-time research, did add some data to my files. A third period, July through December, 1963 will be spent in the Siasi area studying the relationship and interaction of three homogenous communities—one Taosug, and one each of first-class and second-class Samal (see map).

The Sulu Archipelago is a group of some 500 islands extending in a north-east-southwest direction from the eastern tip of Mindanao to the northwest coast of North Borneo. The islands comprise a political unit, the Province of Sulu of the Republic of the Philippines, with settlements scattered over a wide area from Jolo island in the North to the settlement of Sitangkai in the southern part of the chain; the island of Cagayan de Sulu in the Northwest to the Turtle Islands in the Southwest, within sight of the North Borneo city of Sandakan.

The area has long been regarded by northern Filipinos as part of "Moroland" since the area has a strong nominally Muslim affiliation, and had, until the American occupation, a high degree of political autonomy under a Sultanate.

But this is a misleading term since there are three distinct ethnic groups in the area as well as approximately six thousand Christians, mostly immigrants or children of immigrants from the north; several thousand Chinese, or peoples of a Chinese-tribal mixture. The term "Moro" takes into account the three main cultural-linguistic groups: the Taosug, the Samal, and the Badjaw—the groups with which this investigation is primarily concerned. According to Najeeb Saleeby,¹ the Taosug are the indigenous population, who were welded into a political unit early in the 14th century, and were converted to Islam at the same time. Late in the 14th century, the Samal began migrating from Johore in great numbers into the archipelago, but instead of overwhelming the indigenous population, apparently assumed a subordinate status to the Taosug. The origin of the

¹ Najeeb Saleeby, *The History of Sulu* (Manila: Bureau of Science Division of Ethnology Publications, Vol. 4, Part 2, 1908).