

**Phase II Documentation of Philippine Traditional Knowledge and Practices on Health and
Development of Traditional Knowledge Digital Library on Health for Selected
Ethnolinguistic Groups: The SUBANON people of Malayal, Sibuco, Zamboanga del Norte**

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Summary

An ethnopharmacological study of the Subanon was conducted from May 2012 to May 2013. The one-year study included documentation primarily of the indigenous healing practices and ethnopharmacological knowledge of the Subanon. The ethnohistorical background of the tribe was also included in the study. The study covered the Barangay Malayal, Zamboanga del Norte.

A total of 114 plants and 4 other natural products, 6 traditional healers and 5 focus group discussions in the community were documented. Documentation employed the use of prepared ethnopharmacological templates which include: medicinal plants and other natural products, herbarial compendium of selected medicinal plants, local terminology of condition and treatments, rituals and practices, and traditional healer's templates. Immersion in the community was the primary method employed. Interview and participant-observation, and forest visits were utilized to gather data. Focus group discussions were also done as a form of data validation. Formalized informed consent for this study was asked from National Commission of Indigenous People, barangay officials, and from different key individuals prior to the documentation and collection of medicinal plants.

1 Introduction

The University of the Philippines Manila, through the National Institutes of Health – Institute of Herbal Medicine and College of Medicine (Department of Pharmacology) has an ongoing study on the documentation of the traditional knowledge on health and health practices of selected Philippine ethnolinguistic groups. This was supported by the Philippine Council for Health Research and Development and the University of the Philippines Manila.

In 2012 to 2013 an ethno-pharmacological study on the three sites of the Subanon tribes of the Zamboanga Peninsula was conducted by a research team from the University of the Philippines Manila in collaboration with the Western Mindanao State University through the College of Science and Math Dean’s Office. The project was subsidized by the Philippine Council for Health Research and Development and the Institute of Herbal Medicine.

Background and significance

The Philippines is one of the richest countries in terms of culture diversity, as well as of biodiversity. There are 110 indigenous communities and more than 170 ethnolinguistic groups in the country. Among these are the Subanons of the Zamboanga Peninsula which is the subject of our contention. They form part of the Lumad Group of Mindanao.

Mindoro groups	Palawan groups	Lumad	Muslim groups
➤ Alangan	➤ Batak	➤ Subanen	➤ Maranao
➤ Bangon	➤ Cuyonon	➤ Manobo	➤ Maguindanao
➤ Buhid	➤ Tagbanwa	➤ Mandaya	➤ Yakan
➤ Hanunuo	➤ Palawano	➤ B'laan	➤ Tausug
➤ Iraya		➤ T'boli	➤ Sama
➤ Tadyawan		➤ Hignon	➤ Jama Mapun
➤ Tau-Buid		➤ Teduray	
➤ Ratagnon			

Table 1. A list of some Philippine ethnolinguistic groups

Each indigenous or local community possesses a unique body of traditional knowledge and practices which have been developed throughout centuries of use and passed down to succeeding generations. This information base continuously evolves, adapting to changes in a community's culture and environment. It also includes the peoples' wealth of knowledge in health and healing. The communities, characteristically living in the mountains or their fringes, have depended mostly on plants and other natural products from the forest to prevent or treat sickness. But environmental degradation and the onslaught of lowland mainstream cultures now threaten their healing traditions.

The culture of wealth of the people is inextricably tied to the rich biodiversity of their ancestral lands.

The loss of biodiversity to rampant logging, mining, and other environmental atrocities undoubtedly has an immense impact on the cultural wealth of our indigenous peoples and local communities. Lifestyle change as a result of displacement from their ancestral domains and lack of supportive mechanisms to pass on knowledge are leading to the discontinuance of their traditional healing practices.

A systematic and comprehensive endeavor to assist communities in documenting and upholding their healing traditions may be valuable in confronting this situation. The documentation previously done is not enough to cover the breadth and depth of the immense body of Philippine traditional knowledge and practices in health.

Another threat faced by indigenous and local communities is bio-piracy or the misappropriation of their knowledge and resources. In 1985, the estimated market value of plant-based medicines sold in developed countries already reaches \$43 billion but less than 1 percent of the profits were returned to the knowledge owners. Pharmaceutical, food, and cosmetic industries benefit from the wealth of their knowledge and environment yet only a few have acted upon the loss of the traditional knowledge, practices, and biological resources of the communities. Facilitating community documentation may then be a method to uphold the rights of the knowledge-owners as they are able to manage gathered data and assert their right to free and prior informed consent, proper acknowledgement, and equitable sharing of benefits in the utilization of their knowledge.

In this project, communities who will be trained in documenting their knowledge and practices may opt to:

- a) Keep gathered data within the community.
- b) Share selected data with a research institution with set mechanisms to protect community owned knowledge, this data will not be disclosed without prior informed consent of the community, and/or
- c) Share selected information which may be publicly disclosed and inputted in a Traditional Knowledge Digital Library (TKDL), similar to the TKDL model of India.

This national electronic database is a modern method of protecting our cultural heritage as old and new documentation on traditional knowledge in health are gathered and encoded into a digital format. Should traditional knowledge accessed in the TKDL be used for further scientific studies, the individual or agency will be linked to the knowledge – owner community to whom they should secure free and prior informed consent. Eventual product development shall call for discussion and agreements on appropriate access and equitable benefit-sharing.

The digital library will also provide currently available information gathered from previous work by other researchers and scholars. Selected information from available literature on early ethno botanical studies, mostly done by American and Filipino scholars, as well as traditional healing knowledge from old lexicographic and linguistic documentation of Spanish writers may be included.

This undertaking shall involve many institutions.

A memorandum of understanding among the cooperating institutions is being finalized. The set of duties of each institution, including technical and financial contributions, is defined in the MOU.

To be able to cover the different ethno-linguistic groups across the country, partnerships with regional agencies will be formed. Individuals from the institutions will be trained to facilitate the documentation and protection of the communities' health knowledge and practices.

A pilot study funded by the PCHRD has been completed. From this pilot study in an Ayta community in Quezon Province, we were able to develop data-gathering instruments. The prototype research protocol and data-gathering instruments will be openly shared to groups interested in this undertaking.

Objectives

Pre-documentation Stage

1. To identify and select ethno-linguistic groups and study communities based on established criteria
2. To identify and link up with research partners in the different regions
3. To orient and train project team in facilitating participatory research
4. To conduct consensus building with communities and integrate their recommendations
5. To prepare the research agreement and obtain Free and Prior Informed Consent
6. To prepare the database design of the digital library

Documentation Stage

1. To facilitate in building the communities' capacity for research
2. To document with the communities their traditional knowledge and practices in health
3. To collect herbarium specimen together with the communities, with their consent
4. To assist in developing mechanisms for protection of the community's traditional knowledge, practices and biological resources
5. To monitor project implementation and ensure that researchers abide by the Code of Ethics

Post-documentation stage

1. To assess and validate with the communities the gathered data
2. To select with the community information which may be inputted in the digital library

3. To prepare a hard copy of the documentation and herbarium collection with and for the communities and if applicable, to the regional research partner
4. To develop culture-sensitive health education materials with and for the communities
5. To evaluate the project with the community
6. To establish gene bank in the communities, research partner in the region, and in UP Los Baños, with the community's permission
7. To centralized data for the national digital library
8. To implement the database design of the digital library
9. To establish measures for appropriate access to traditional knowledge and equitable sharing of benefits arising from the utilization of the said knowledge
10. To promote communities' rights to their traditional knowledge, practices and resources
11. To promote the use of relevant information/use of the digital library to the indigenous and local communities, local health NGOs, local environment advocates, local cultural workers, the scientific community, and policy makers

Methodology

Site selection

The Zamboanga Peninsula was the identified area of study which is where the Subanon tribe resides. Three areas were selected based on the distinct differences in the dialect each group speaks and the distinct practices that each follows as a result of spatial differences. There are those coming from the Western coast of Zamboanga City, or the Subanons of **Malayal**, Sibuco, the central Subanons of **Mandih** in Sindangan Zamboanga del Norte as well as those coming from the eastern part or the Subanens of **Lapuyan**, in Zamboanga del Sur. These communities all possess the following basic requisites:

1. A reputation for indigenous healing practices as evidenced by the presence of traditional healers.
2. Richness of the biodiversity of the ancestral domain of the people.
3. Willingness and capacity of the community to participate.
4. Presence of peace and order in the community.

For purposes of this write-up, only the Subanons of Barangay Malayal of the Municipality of Sibuco, Zamboanga del Norte is considered in this book which is the first of the three areas selected.

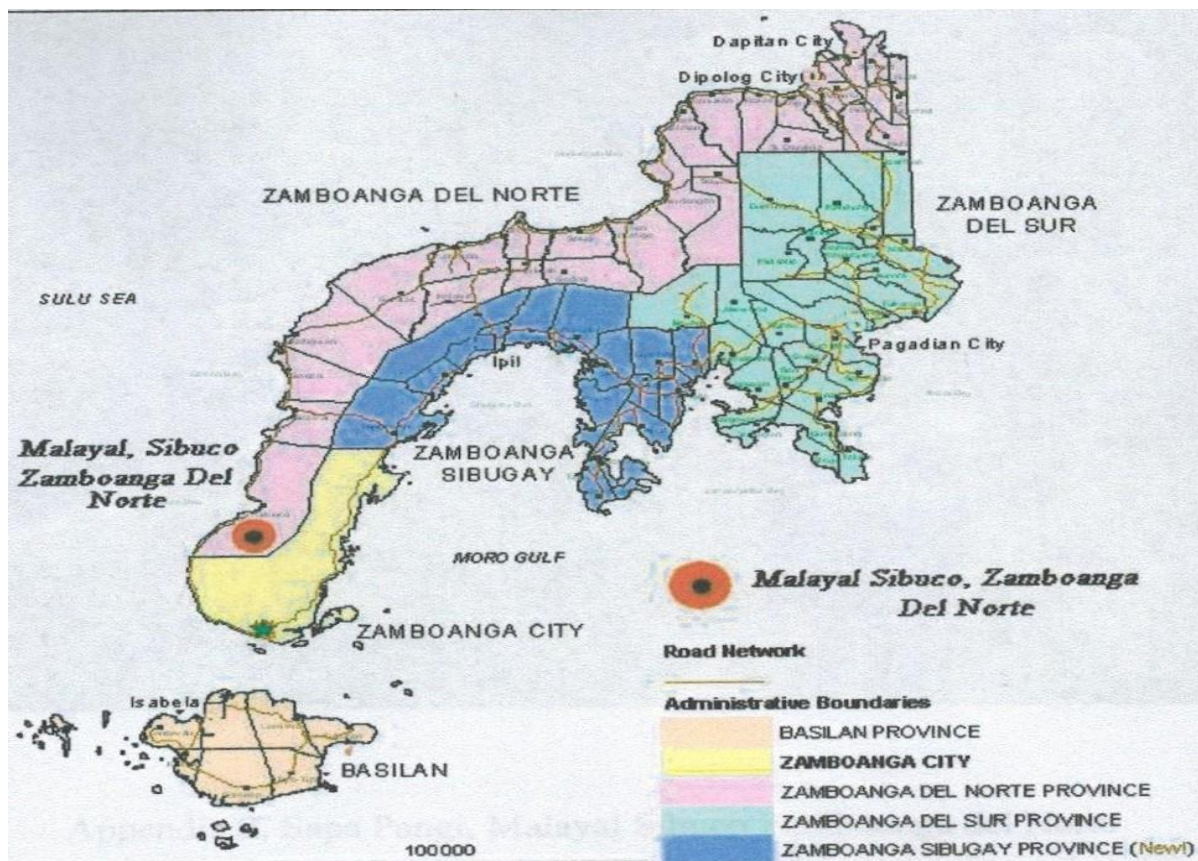


Figure 1. Map of Zamboanga Peninsula showing the location of Malayal, Sibuco

Selection of key informants

Preliminary Phase



Figure 2. Picture of the researchers with the regional director of the NCIP, IX

Approval and access considerations

This stage involved meetings with the National Commission for Indigenous People for the Free and prior Informed consent to be granted in order for the study to commence. Also, several courtesy calls to barangay officials, school heads, purok leaders and known relatives and neighbours of healers. It strategized to pinpoint the most knowledgeable, trusted, local Subanons who speaks the dialect and is educated. For Zamboanga City, given the language barriers, one has to be multi-lingual especially where Chavacano, Bisaya, tagalog and English is concerned. Other basic considerations include his or her:

1. position in the community
2. knowledge of the residence of and personal acquaintance with the healers
3. availability during the time of the research study

4. willingness to serve even for a short period of time
5. ability to work in a team with diverse culture and attitude

After repeated search, by the process of addition and elimination, talking to housewives, by-standers and barangay kagawads, informants were identified following the criteria set. The informants were actually active in traditional healing. Some informants like the elders and housewives or family caregivers were themselves interviewed about traditional medicine. There were thirteen (13) informants interviewed, six (6) of which are healers.

Data gathering

The research used the qualitative purposeful sampling method where the researchers intentionally selected individuals and sites to learn and understand the central phenomenon on the traditional knowledge and healing practices of the Subanons of Malaya. It involved casual conversation, life history and life-cycle interview, key informant (participant) interview, semi-structured interview, ethno-genealogy, questionnaire, observation, focus group interview, elicitation techniques where researchers use scrapbooks to elicit the names of plants and uses, audio or visual recording, such as camera recording, spatial mapping to record ways why data varies, such as in groups and institutions. The most commonly applied of all is fieldwork.

Fieldwork

In this setting, the researchers collected data by spending time at the participants' sites where they live, work and do leisure activities.



Figure 3. (Left) Researcher on-duty, (upper right) the house where the researchers live at Glinowagung, (c) beach shot at the beautiful ocean of Malayal where the researchers bathe themselves to quench away their exhaustion

To understand best the patterns of the Subanons' culture, the researcher-ethnographer spent considerable time with the group. The patterns were not easily discerned through questionnaires or brief encounters. Instead, the ethnographer went "to the field" – lives with or frequently visits the Subanons' being studied and slowly learned the cultural ways in which the participants behave or think.

The researchers used interview guide questions for the ethnography of the study area; local name of a plant, its use/s, plant part/s used method of preparation, and direction for application.

Collection of specimens

Preparation of materials for plant collection and preservation

Materials like manila paper and wooden pressers were made ready for purposes of collection, segregation, lay-outing and classification and transport to the laboratory and the museum for validation of scientific nomenclature and description.

Following the interview where the healers describe and points out to the researchers the plant and plant parts used and how it is applied, the leaves, fruits, flowers, or the whole body of the specimens were collected with documentation of its habitat and its formation. The collected specimens were labelled using local or common names and pressed to be identified and labelled scientifically after which it is laid in pressers for proper preservation.

Research design

The **ethnographic research design** was employed in writing about the Subanon healers, as a distinct group of people. Using this qualitative design, the healers were studied in their homes, noted how they behaved, think and talk for the researchers to develop a general portrait of the Subanon healers.

Review of related literature

The Zamboanga Peninsula includes the present-day provinces of Zamboanga del Sur, Zamboanga Sibugay, Zamboanga del Norte, and Zamboanga City (Georsua, 2002). The Subanens of Zamboanga del Sur are found in the central, eastern, and western municipalities. Those of Zamboanga del Norte are scattered in the vicinities of Sindangan and Labason.

Peralta (1989), citing Cirilo Lonsido (OSCC, Pers. Com), divided the Subanon into five groups: (1) Sindangan, (2) Salug, (3) Lapuyan, (4) Gutalac/ Siocon/ Sibuco/Baligyan, (5) Tuboy. The census notes of the National Museum (1944) showed that there were about 204,056 Subanon in Zamboanga del Norte and about 193,305 in Zamboanga del Sur.

According to Dr. Gaudiosa M. Ochotorena (2002), in her overview of the Subanen Traditional Musical Arts talk, one of the primitive groups in our country is the Subanon group, a great number of whom are residing in the mountain and the farthest rural areas of Zamboanga del Norte.

Notice that Subanen and Subanon are used interchangeably by writers, depending upon their inclination or the locality of the tribe spoken about. A book written by the Pigsalabukan Bansa Subanon(2012) stated that the word Subanon evolved from *Subangnon*, which derives from the root word *Subane* meaning “the first rays of the moon or sun.” Subangnon is the self-ascription of the Subanon people to refer to themselves as “the first to rise or appear” in what is now known as the Zamboanga Peninsula. Some writers say that Subanon comes from the Visayan word *suba* which means river, and thus interpreting it as “people of the river or people of the upstream”. This signifies that before Bisayans came, the Subanon did not yet exist. But this is far from the truth because the Subanon had already inhabited the Zamboanga Peninsula long before their arrival.

The Subanon people, currently estimated at almost 1 million, are the biggest ethnolinguistic group in Mindanao. They used to live along the coast and river deltas in small communities of closely related families, dependent on their natural environment like the forest, rivers, and shores (Pigsalabukan Bansa Subanon, 2012).

Although they have common beliefs, customs and traditions, the Subanen of the Zamboanga Peninsula may be classified according to variations of the languages they speak. The language of the Subanen of Zamboanga del Norte is influenced by the Visayans of Negros. That of the Subanens of Zamboanga del Sur is influenced by the Maguindanaos of Cotabato, while that of the Subanens of Siocon, Malayal and Zamboanga City is influenced by the Joloanos of Sulu. Thus we have the Pengoles-Dumanquilas Subanen, the Balangasan and Dliangan Subanen, the Sindangan and the Malayal-Siocon Subanen, and the Sibugay-Bacalan Subanen. At present, the Subanen language is greatly influenced by Cebuano Visayan, Tagalog, English and Spanish, as in the case of Zamboanga City (Imbing, 2002).

2 The land and the people

Zamboanga del Norte is the second largest province in Region IX. The area is elevated where few portions are rocky and rough even along the coastal areas.

Malayal, the study area, has an estimated land area of 4,035.65 hectares. The area is composed of primary and secondary forest with dense vegetation. It is hilly and rocky with a very rocky terrain.

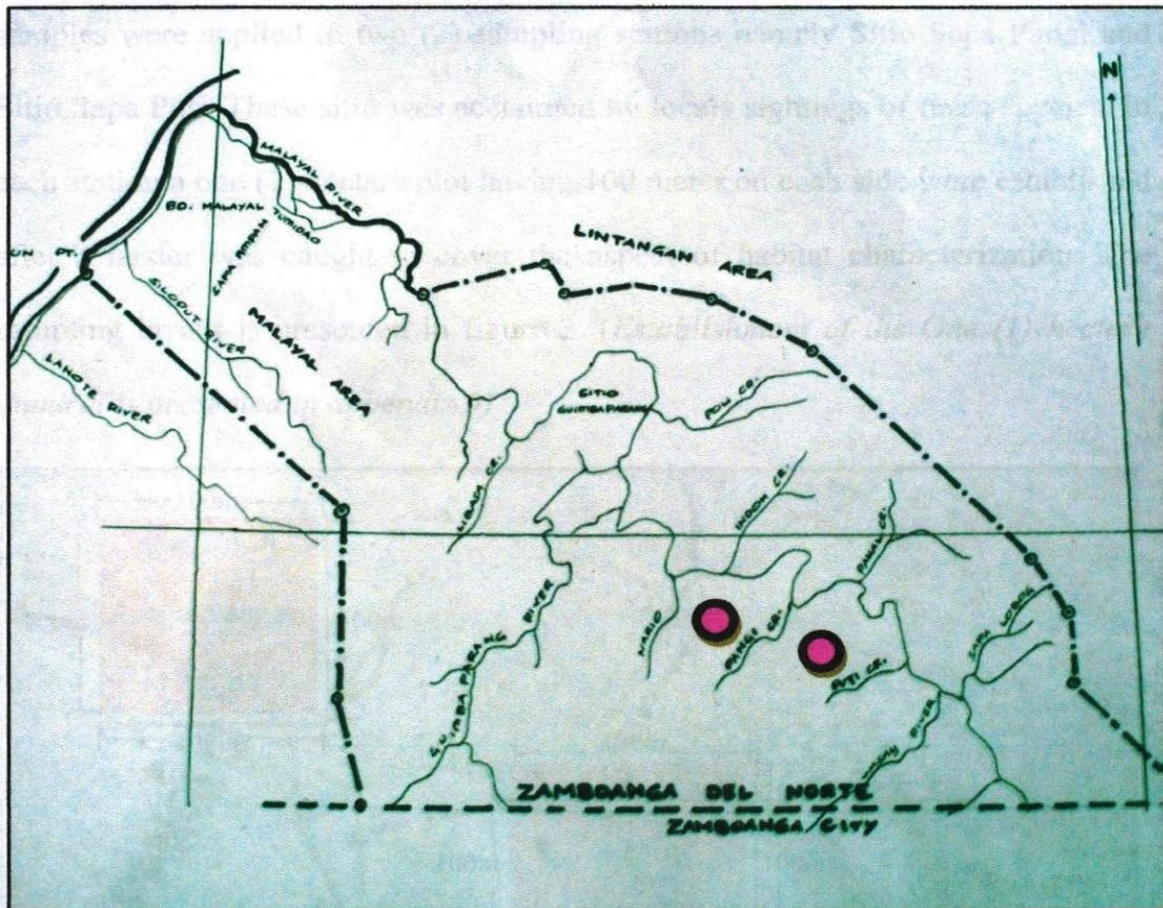


Figure 4. Base Map of Malayal, Sibuco, Zamboanga del Norte

Access to the area

Malayal, Sibuco, Zamboanga del Norte is approximately an hour ride from the Zamboanga City to Labuan for P46.00 and about 1 hour jeep ride from Labuan to Malayal for P70.00 which makes it 2 hours ride from Zamboanga City proper. Other mode of transportation is habal-habal which costs P150.00 per head. It is easy to go halfway from Zamboanga to Labuan but residences find it difficult to take a ride from Labuan to Malayal. The reasons would include the rocky and rough road that is unpaved that characterizes this dangerous ride passing through a cliff and the limited transport facilities venturing to the secluded community.



Figure 5. The road to Malayal is steep, hilly, narrow, and passes a mountain range that is vulnerable to landslide

To reach Glinowagung, one must ride a habal-habal from Purok 7 for P40.00 which will take 20 minutes to be there. One can also take a hike for approximately 1 1/2 hour. Residents of Malayal who are used to this path are able to reach Glinowagung by walking for 30 to 40 minutes. Before finally reaching Glinowagung, there is a river to be crossed.

Bodies of water

Residents of the barangay obtain their drinking water at a stream /spring. For people in Siloput, they fetch at the Siloput stream. Residents of Purok 7 acquire fresh potable water at the so called *timba* where people can also take a bath and wash clothes and kitchen wares. For Glinowagung people, they fetch water by means of hose connected from a spring. At Sitio Katumbal, they get their drinking water at a very shallow well located at the side of the river.

Long time ago, Malayal River was clean, clear and could be a source of drinking water. But because of the mining activities at Sitio Duminatag, the river became turbid and unsafe to drink. Those with sensitive skin or wound/s should not take a bath at the river for the contaminated water will cause itchiness or will infect an open wound.



Figure 6. The river to be crossed in order to reach Sitio Glinowagung

The sea that lies on the shore of Malayal makes the package whole. It is so clean and harmonious and so natural. One could be taken away with the beautiful view especially during the time when the sun shines and sets. Some of the Subanon spend their leisure time sitting under trees and inhale the fresh salty air coming from the wide blue sea. The fishermen and other locals catch various species of sea creatures which are of great help in their daily needs, source of income and of food.



Figure 7. Malaya shore at sunset

Climate

During the months of June to October, Malaya experiences *timpu dupi* (rainy/ wet season) and it experiences *timpu podas* (dry season) on the months of December to April.

Some local terms related to weather include: *kilat* (kidlat) and *lugung* (kulog).

3 Historical perspective

The first tribe who occupied the Zamboanga Peninsula are the Subanons. They stay in what they called now Zamboanga City which came from the word **Somboang**. The Spaniards invaded the city and they made the Subanons their slaves. Someone came, that person is a half Subanon and a half Spanish who became the deliberator of the Subanons. He brought the Subanons from Zamboanga City to Malayal and other places in order for them to end their sufferings. Some of them settled in Malayal wherein that time it is called **Molayal** derived from the word **mosayal** which means “open to sunrise”. As the time passed by, many migrants influenced the lives of Subanons like in the way they chased fish that’s why Subanons used to stay at the side of the river because they became experts on this field.

4 Material culture

Food for special occasions

Wedding

This occasion is preceded by courtship rituals where the preparation of food is a requisite. In Subanon's wedding, there are two boiled eggs and rice prepared for the husband-and-wife-to-be. The groom puts rice then a portion of boiled egg to his bride's mouth and the bride reciprocates the act of her husband.

Relatives and friends who witness the nuptial eat rice and viands mostly made of pork. For Subanons, chicken delicacies are prohibited for they believe that this might result to a "*isang kahig, isang tuka*" way of living of the couple. Only few Subanons eat beef or meat from animals with horns during occasions like this believing that it is symbolic of satanic ways or associated with harsh ways.

Burial

Subanons in the past do not preserve their dead but as years passed by they have learned the ways of extending the wake using lime. Still, food is a commonly served.

On the day of the burial, the family should prepare 15 *dakol*, 15 *momaan*, 1 glass of *gasi*, and 1 glass of water. A ritual is then performed. After the ritual, the immediate family eat even a little amount of the prepared *ginang*. Subanon believed that this is the last supper of the dead with his family. Viands out of chicken meat are strictly prohibited.

Settlement Pattern

Subanon houses nowadays are scattered. They build their houses at their own lot and establish their living. Long ago, if a timuay requires all his people to live with him, they put up their houses nearby the timuay's household.

Unlike these days, the newlywed way back are not required to live separate from their biological families. Those who wish to stay with either the husband's or the woman's parents are allowed to remain. In most cases, there is a higher preference for residence at the woman's parents. It is the present practice for newly wedded couples to wish to advance on their own and in such cases, they are gifted with *palay* seeds to plant; nails and wood to start their own house; rice for their consumption; cooking materials; money for everyday needs, shovel and bolo for gardening and other uses.

The elders usually live with their son/daughter and is taken cared of by them or by their grandchildren. Some elders opt to live separately and on their own. This settlement pattern of the Subanon however has not changed much through the years or between the past and the present.

Baloy

Men build houses (*baloy*). If the materials are ready, one can finish building within two weeks. But if the materials are incomplete, the house can be finished within a month. There is a specific time for house building, it should be built on the fourth new moon, and must be either on Monday or Thursday. During the fourth new moon, one should start building a house before a part of the moon disappears. The materials of the olden Subanon houses are made up of:

- *Roof*- leaves of uway (called ***suysuy***) and anibong
- *Wall*- leaves of uway (called ***suysuy***) and anibong
- *Floor*-anibong stem
- *X support*-woods (round timber) like mulawin and yakal
- *Higot*-stem of uway

Each material is obtained from the environment which is considered a more practical option for them not to face the financial burden of putting up a house.

There have been changes through time with the structure and materials of the houses of the Subanons. Some are made of bamboo and nipa, some are wooden and others are concrete. Some houses have partitions for rooms or designated areas like kitchen, sala, and bed rooms. Some houses have no visible divisions but the said areas are distinct. The materials they have in their kitchen are typical cooking materials like *kaldero*, frying pan, ladle, knife, chopping board, water jar, and *sug-angan* - which are usually bought. They use wood for cooking purposes as “panggatong”, which they could get from the environment, especially in the mountainous areas and forests.

Old Subanons did rituals, which is elaborated under rituals and practices, before building their houses although at present some members forego with the practice.

Kitchen utensils

In the past, residents use the large leaves of plants, such as that of banana as containers or wrappers of food brought to school, the workplace or *kaingin*. Others make use of clay especially earthen pots which are either used for cooking or for containing the embers for the prayers said before the healing ritual. Some of the utensils they use are the following:

- Bolanga- Used to cook vegetables
- Ngolit- Used to cook puto (kamoteng kahoy)
- Mayow- Used to cook rice

Presently, the Subanon make use of the usual kitchen utensils that can be seen in the lowlander's house. Containers like bottle of soft drinks are used as water jugs.

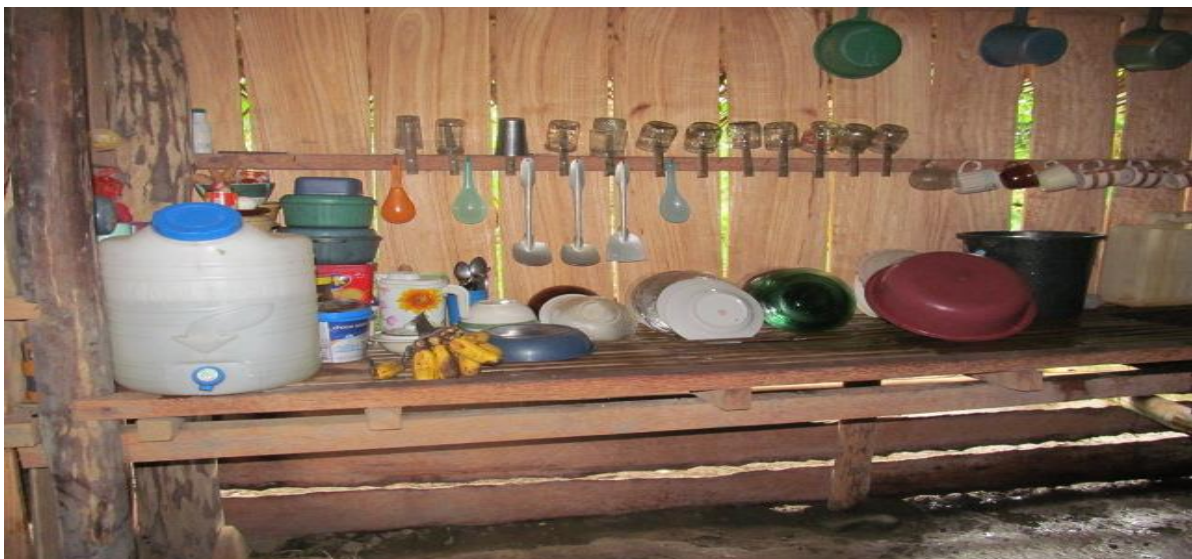


Figure 8. Kitchen utensils and water container used by typical Subanons

Source of drinking water

The Subanons of Malayal have a Natural spring that serves as their source of potable water. **Timba** is a known spot of the neighbourhood which is considered sacred. It is one of the springs where the Subanon fetch water and wash garments take a dip in. Sometimes **timba** is also the swimming ground of the kids.



Figure 9. A child who enjoys swimming in a very clear and clean water of *timba*

According to the old folks, there were plans of transforming it to a commercial water pipe and so in the olden days, the officials constructed a structure made of cement that housed the spring. Several calamities took place and each time the spring returns to its original form and shape. Since that time, they respected the place as one that is holy and God-given; never to erect any other structure nor to transform it into any commercial building that will make the giver angry.

Instruments

The Subanons of Malayal use musical instruments in all their festivities. These are made by the tribe and each event will not be complete without the sound of music from these locally made products.

The Subanon instruments are "*agong*" and "*kulintang*" which are used during veneration or other occasion. Three "*agong*" and "*kulintang*" are used and placed on the "*posangan*" and this set is called "*glomiyán*".



Figure 10. An instrument called **agong** which is used by the Subanon in occasions

Worship songs

Whenever they attend weddings, burial, baptism and in planting seasons, songs of praise and worship are always sung. There are few known examples like

- **Binosalun**- Plays twice and serves as a signal that veneration is going to start.
- **Glinowaan**- Is play after the Binosalan and is performed twice. It is also serves as a signal that worshipping will start.
- **Kinudidi**- This music is played at the time of praying.
- **Ginata**-Music for praise and worship done by men. It is performed by every group of 8 persons falling inline according to the age, from the oldest on the right side to youngest on the left side. This men will circulate 8 times while dancing then after them "**Langlang**" will be played which is done alternately by 8 men then 8 women until all of them do the worship.
- **Langlang**-Music for praise and worship done by the women. It is performed by every group of 8 persons falling in line according to the age, from the oldest on the right side to youngest on the left side. The 8 women will circulate 6 times while dancing. This is done alternately by 8 men then 8 women until all of them do the worship.

Worship symbols

Most houses of Subanons have a *kilala* and a cross with a white cloth planted either on the side or in the front. They believe that having these symbols protects them from unseen beings that might cause harm, sickness, or death to them.



Figure 11. These are the two symbols of faith of the Subanons in Malayal, (left) a plant named *kilala* (*Cordyline fruticosa* (L.) A.Chev.) and a cross with a white cloth (right)

5 Justice system of timuay or timuoy (Pigsalabukan Bansa Subanon, 2010)

A Subanon community is called *pigbogolalan* and is headed and governed by a timuoy. The timuoy/timuay and seven other *bogolal* or leaders in the community administer the traditional justice system. The other bogolal are the *soliling*, *pinosolag*, *gukom basal*, *tumbok*, *mogolang gotow*, *polomisala*, *bolyan/ mokosun*.

A *pigbogolalan* can have only one timuoy and one pinosalag but more than one soliling, tumbok and mogolang gotow. The Subanon have set traditional processes for selecting these leaders.

1. *Timuoy* – One cannot become a timuoy by virtue of appointment. He must be anointed and must come from the lineage of the Timuoy. The *pigbogolalan* has the responsibility to ascertain the bloodline of the individual to assume this position of leadership.

The following traces the genealogy of a current timuoy:

Timuoy Idsak, cited earlier as the head of the Subanon tribe who fought the Muslims in the 11th century, had four sons and one daughter: 1) Apu' Gumabongabon, 2) Apu' Tabunaway, 3) Apu' Dumalan- dalan, 4) Apu' Sumigilid-gilid and 5) Bae Nawan.

Before his death, Timuoy Idsak looked at the leadership potential of his four sons and found Apu' Tabunaway to have the best qualities. Apu' Tabunaway was consequently anointed as Timuoy. He begat three sons: 1) Apu' Moong, 2) Apu' Dumibaloy and 3) Apu' Sulinog.

Timuoy Moong succeeded his father as Timuoy but due to the large area covered by the *pigbogolalan*, Timuoy Tabunaway also anointed his other son Apu' Dumibaloy as Timuoy in another part of the *pigbogolalan*.

When Timuoy Moong died, he handed over the leadership to Apu' Manglang. Timuoy Manglang begat Apu' Mosogya, whose son Apu' Mag sired three sons: Mudai, Anoy and Guitow. Mudai's son, Butok, sired Guillermo and Guillermo in turn begat Nanding, a current Timuoy.

2. *Soliling* – The Soliling are from the bloodline of the Timuoy but from the women's side or daughters of the Timuoy. The Timuoy chooses the soliling to whom he gives the authority to take over responsibility in his behalf.

3. *Pinosolag* – One can become a pinosolag if he is a descendant of a Timuoy from either side, and possesses leadership qualities. If he descends from the female side, he can become a Timuoy but with the rank of *Godam*, which means his rank is only borrowed.

4. *Gukum Basal* – A Gukum Basal does not have to come from the Timuoy bloodline but should have the capabilities to become a leader in the community. In community gatherings to resolve conflicts, he has the task to introduce and explain the issues of the case and to facilitate the proceedings. A pigbogolalan can have more than one gukom basal.

5. *Tombuk* – He protects and defends the rights of an accused person in the Subanön court. If the accused is found guilty or admits to the offence, the Tombuk can ask the Timuoy to reduce the penalty.

6. *Mogulang Gotow* – He is a community elder of high repute and dignity and of the same bloodline as the Timuoy. In the making of laws and policies or in settling conflicts, he gives and shares his knowledge, wisdom, experiences and precedents on Subanön custom law and traditional practices. One or more mogulung gotow are chosen within the pigbogolalan.

7. *Polomisala* – He participates in resolving conflicts. The polomisala could be a non-Subanön so long as he has the ability and potential to settle conflicts within the community. In other places this position is called *Tumanggong*.

8. *Bolyan or Mocosun* – One cannot become a spiritual leader called bolyan or mocosun without a ritual done by the Timuoy and witnessed by members of the community. The community members assess and evaluate his spirituality and reputation. The spiritual leader is vital in conflict resolution as he acts as an adviser and ensures impartiality in the settling of conflicts. Further he performs the ritual to confirm the settlement done in the presence of all bogolal and the pigbogolalan.

Except for timuoy, soliling and pinosolag, women can assume any of the other positions so long as they have the ability and potential to do the work. In the resolution of any issue, conflict or problem that arises in the community, no one can pronounce the verdict, decision, declaration or penalty except the Timuoy. If anyone else from the pigbogolalan has to do this, he should be authorized by the Timuoy. If a conflict arises between two communities or pigbogolalan, its settlement is done in neither one but instead is brought before the Gukom Sog Pito Kudolongan Gonat Sog Pito Pigbogolalan or Gukom of Seven Rivers.

6 Religion

The original tanod (religion) of Subanon is called *gudam* then next is *kidanoy* in which people use *bolyan* (religious leaders) to communicate with the God (Apu Mikpongon) through time it became *palin*. *Palin* is focused on the protection of human lives and of the environment.

Kidanoy (Pigsalabukan Bansa Subanon, 2010)

During the *kidanoy* period, the highest form of penalty was death, which was enforced in the following cases:

1. Anyone who killed another received the same punishment as he inflicted on his fellowman. During the mourning period, any member of the bereaved family had the right to run amuck and was not accountable before the law because the act was considered part of his grief. If he was killed in turn, the person who committed the act was similarly not accountable for he only did it in defence of his life.
2. Anyone who destroyed the environment, causing loss of things and objects belonging to nature. The *binulusan* was also enforced in the *kidanoy*. An instance was the violation of the one-year prohibition period for marriage by anyone whose spouse had just died. It was believed that the soul of a dead person did not immediately go back to the Creator or Apu' Mikpongon but roved around his family.

Thus even after the burial, the family laid out extra food for him/her whenever they took a meal, and this was observed for a span of one year. Because of this belief, the spouse could not wed within one year. However, if he/she wilfully violated the prohibition period, he/she was penalized with *gagow-ubayan*, equivalent to 12 bulus, and was also charged of being the cause of the husband's or wife's death.

A year after death, a ritual called *pomuas* was performed, after which it was believed the soul no longer wandered but instead appeared before Apu' Mikpongon. The family then ceased to offer food during mealtime, and the spouse was free to marry without being penalized.

Palin (Pigsalabukan Bansa Subanon, 2010)

The new traditional beliefs or *palin*, which replaced the *kidanoy*, highlight the protection of human lives and the environment which are followed to the present. It is also the belief that when a person dies, he goes directly to the Creator. The rituals initiated during the death of a person are:

1. *Polatas* is performed right after death in which the soul and spirits is turned over to God the Maker/ Creator;
2. *Guakil*, which means turning over o of the dead to the earth, water and air, is initiated during burial;
3. *Ginang Bonua* is the cleansing and purification ritual performed every year to prevent contamination of the living from bad elements. Part of this ritual is an offering to the:
 - a) Servant and Messenger of God, the steward/keeper of the land,
 - b) Servant and Messenger of God, the keeper of the ocean, rivers and creeks,
 - c) Servant and Messenger of God, the Protector of the heavens and the earth, moon and stars,
 - d) Servant and Messenger of God, the protector of the forest, mountains and caves,
 - e) Servant and Messenger of God, the watcher of all creeping and non-creeping animals and birds,
 - f) Servant and Messenger of God, the protector of all human beings,
 - g) To the Almighty God the Owner of our soul and spirit.

Some of the penalties adopted in the kidanoy have been retained in the palin. These are classified into the three general penalties currently in use today that were discussed earlier: death, binulusan and kinumpowan for severe, less grave and slight violations respectively.

The palin beliefs provide that not only the tribe's members but also non-Subanon can be penalized for any breach of the customary law. Further the leaders of the tribe—timuoy or bogolal—are not exempt and can be punished for transgressions particular to their roles such as:

1. Prejudices or showing partiality in settling disputes (bias in resolving conflicts);
2. Adultery committed against the wives of their own people in the community;
3. Seizure of other people's possessions especially those of their own people;
4. Making his own laws for his own personal advantage and interest such as:
 - Laws that entitle him to commit murder,
 - Laws that bring calamity and destruction to the people,
 - Laws that allow him to destroy the environment and nature.

The penalty given for the above acts is the *luwasan nog golal*, meaning “to depose or dethrone him from his present position or office.” This is done in the form of a ritual and witnessed by all members of the tribe within and outside the community.

And part of the ritual is the malediction up to the seventh generation that none from his offspring will rise as timuoy or bogolal. Considering this, the timuoy or bogolal has to be cautious and judicious in settling disputes among his people. In the Sub

Right now, the Subanön’s tanod (religion) here in Malayal is divided into three: the Alliance, Catholic and Palin religion. Alliance religion is more prominent here in Malayal Zamboanga del Norte.



Figure 12. (Left) A sacred place where the Subanons of Palin believer goes to worship every Wednesday, (right) Malayal Alliance Evangelical Church is where the Alliance Subanons spend half days of their Sundays

7 Socio-cultural

Most of the families are classified under the joint family where several generations of the same family living in the same household or in near vicinity. A new couple can live separately if they already have a house but if they don't have usually they will stay at the girl's family. At present this kind of practice is not common anymore because some of them are already Christian.

Courtship

Courting must be done at the house of the girl. During courtship the man will do the household chores like fetching water and *manunggo* (hewn a wood using axe) for him to convince the girl parents that his is really serious.

Marriage

The following are the processes of marriage;

- **Bayal** (arranged marriage is done by the parents from the start of the life of two people). In this process the parents agreed to make their son and daughter a couple in the future. **Tombanga** is the term used to their partners.
- **Sulut** (arranged marriage but the two persons are couple)
- **Daak** (surprise marriage proposal but the two persons are not couple). The man will bring a bogolal (lawyer) who is ready to answer all the questions of the girl's parents. The man will give kosolaan, worth 30.00 pesos, to the parents of the girl. Once they agree, they will receive the kosolaan and plan the date of the wedding which will give them time to observe the man's behaviour and if they don't like the man they will give back the kosolaan in double or triple amount.
- **Glaguy or Minawol** (tanang) is when understanding is between the woman and man only. They will go to bogolal (lawyer) house and stay there. The bogolal will send a messenger to both parties to inform their parents. He will be the one to talk their parents and depend them at all cost. The parents of both parties cannot just go to bogolal house because it might charge any violation that cost 20 centavo per violation.

- **Mok solakan** is when the man brings “itak” (bolo knife) and offers it to the girl’s father then he will say “I’ll give this to you; you may kill or hurt me using this (bolo knife) if I hurt your daughter. If everything is okay, boy’s parents will be invited to the girl’s house to settle everything for their marriage. For pure Subanon, the sunggudan (dory to be given by the man) is worth 120.00 pesos but there’s a Subanon community who asks 5000.00 plus instead of 120.00 pesos.

Wedding

The parents of the groom are the one to answer all the expenses if it is **daak**. In **sulut**, both side takes in charge of all expenses but if it is **glaguy** the cost is not too expensive and is paid by the man’s parents. On the wedding day, the groom stays on other house to prepare and put a Subanon make-up. The bride also put a Subanon make-up and mosquito net in order to protect her from anything and no one or anything should enter in the net even insects.

Wedding dances are presented by both parties while going to the church. The two parties dance until they meet at the junction of the road. In this dance the performers are using spears or “itak” (bolo knife) and dance like fighting. At the altar, the bride takes sit first then the groom. Lots of rituals are done before the new couple can stand up and pieces of advices are given by the leaders. After the wedding, a feast can be held. If the groom is well-off, the celebration can last for about a week.

The Subanons that time have no marriage contract, only verbal agreement with witnesses. At present, because of the government laws, only few of them practice the ancient ways.

Polygamy

Polygamy still practiced but there are restrictions. First, only those who can afford have the right to marry again and it depends on the wealth of the man. Second, the present wife including her parents must agree or accept the situation that the man wants to marry another woman. If the man has wives, there are schedules when and where to stay. In any occasion, the man chooses who he wants to bring along and nobody has the right to object.

When it comes to the division of wealth when the man died, the partition is not equally divided. The first wife gets a big share and the preceding wives get less. Still, the man has the right to decide to whom he wants to give the large wealth, which is seldom to happen.

Divorce

Divorce is called “*mog Bolong*” in Subanon. The reasons to file a divorce are:

- Irresponsible husband or wife.
- Impotency or sterility.
- When the man beats, maltreats or abandons his wife.

Divorce is witness by a *bogolal* (lawyer) and the person gives “*gitas*” (an amount given by a person who wants a “*mog bolong*”. *Gitas* is usually worth 120.00 pesos. After the divorce, the children’s welfare is under the care of the father.

The person who undergone a divorce is free to marry again as long as the *bogolal* recognizes that he/she is already divorced.

Widows

There are rules before getting married again for the widows. According to the law of Subanon, one can re-marry as long as the *bogolal* recognized that he/she is already a widow/widower.

Burial

If the person who passed away has been sick for a long time, his body is buried before 24 hours from the time of his death. In the earliest practice of the Subanon, the dead body is sliced and lime is applied on the whole corpse. After the application of the lime, it is placed in the huge earthen jar then is laid on the large hole of a big rock. Others get a big tree and cut it lengthwise, and put the limed dead body on it.

The ritual that is performed before a burial is called *polotason*, which is said to be the last ritual of a Subanon’s existence. This is done to take over the soul of the person to the Supreme Being (Ginoo).

Leisure

Primitively, one of their leisure of Subanon was *moktotuwaoy* or dance, where the first dancers were 2 boys then followed by 2 girls. While dancing, they used handkerchief and then they put the handkerchief on the shoulder of the person they chose to be the next dancer. In case the chosen person doesn’t know how to dance, he/she brings the handkerchief and places it at the middle for them to know that he/she has no knowledge in executing the Subanon dance.

Other than *moktotuwaoy*, Subanon also performs *moktalok*, which is a type of dance that uses one *agong* only.

As the time goes by, their past time was changed. They now watch television and listen to the radio, especially DZRH, as their entertainments. If they don't have televisions, they go to their neighbours to watch their favourite shows like *teleserye* and movies. For area that electricity is not accessible, chatting and gardening are their activities. The Subanon also love to drink tuba and some of them likes beer and tanduay.

Education

High school and elementary schools are available in Malayal. The Elementary school is formerly called Malayal Elementary School but because of students who study here are from the whole community of Paniran to Limpapa, it became Malayal Community School. The Community School was established during the American occupation about 1900. There are 93 pre-school and 685 elementary students. There are 16 elementary school teachers, 2 pre-school teachers and 1 principal. The elementary classes start at 7:00 am-12:00 am and 1:00 pm-5:00 pm. But due to unstable situation, the students should not come so early and should be dismissed early while the teacher comes to school early and heads home late.



Figure 13. Malayal Community School which is formerly called as Malayal Elementary School

Boklug

Boklug as a ritual is extensively studied by historians, locally and internationally. Rihanna Angeles of TVI Resource Development Philippines, Inc. (TVIRD, 2011) stated that *boklug* is a religious ritual for thanksgiving, camaraderie, acknowledgement and acceptance of the Subanon indigenous people (IP) of the Zamboanga Peninsula in Southern Philippines. The Boklug ritual also served to remind everyone, especially those within the Certificate of Ancestral Domain Title (CADT) area, of the harmonious relationship formed by the Subanons and TVI Resource Development Philippines, Inc. (TVIRD). It was an act calling on religious spirits to honor the partnership.

On the 17th of May of the year 2011, Timuay Jose “Boy” Anoy and the Subanons of Siocon, Zamboanga del Norte celebrated *boklug* held in Mount Canatuan. The celebration was joined by TVIRD officials and personnel.

Angeles (2011) noted that the preparations for the Boklug started months before the agreed date, which, as tradition required, should fall on a full moon. The preparations entailed, among other things, looking for sturdy *bayog* and *tubungon* trees to be used as foundations and pillars, as well as for bamboo as ceremonial platform. The four strong, heavy pillars stood 25 feet high, erected with the skills and strength of Subanon men. With the foundation and pillars in place, the workers placed bamboo strips to form the platform – the boklug. The platform was built strong to be able to bear the weight of dancers and participants, and pliable enough to allow the movement of everybody on stage without breaking. In the middle of the platform, a 6-inch diameter by 12-meter long pole made from the bayog tree was inserted vertically and positioned perpendicular to a 3-meter hollow log, which was, in turn, placed horizontally on the ground beneath the structure.



Figure 14. Left, *Boklug* structure, the ritual is performed in a full moon to represent “a full decision”, accordingly. Right, Subanons dancing in the same movement (Source: Angeles, 2011)

Furthermore she said that *boklug* is performed during a full moon to represent “a full decision”. It also serves a practical purpose because of the natural light. Hosts and visitors of all ages take turns to go up the platform to dance. A traditional dance step is followed to ensure movement in unison. They jump and dance together, accompanied by joyful shouts from the dancers. The synchronized downward movement makes the pole strike the hollow log underneath, creating the unique resonating sound that echoes throughout the ancestral land. The sound indicated that the ritual was ongoing.

The costume of Subanons, as she added, is usually in white, black or red – who came have interesting meanings. White represents the servant of Apo Magibak-Sanag, a god in all-white garb and with glowing hair who oversees his people. Black costumes are mostly for community leaders or Timuays who see black as a practical color for moving around places so that accumulated dirt will not be noticeable. Red costumes are for the warriors of the tribe: brave, strong, and unwavering. Some say it represents blood.

8 Knowledge and practices on health

Concepts of health and illness

They describe healthy person as *modasig* "makisig" and *molaksit* "alert". While the ill one is *mamoksi* "maputla" and *moluya* "mahina". Dying person is called as "*di motabang*" or "*pok patoy*" where the only present pulse is on the neck (carotid pulse).

Causes of Illness

Kokok

Illness can be caused by *kokok* (one kind of element). One of the physical structures of the *kokok* is the inverted feet. *Kokok* can inflict katol-katol (itchiness) to a person.

Gotow nunok

Illness can be caused by *gotow nunok* (unseen beings). They can impose *saway-saway* (sudden health problems).

Polomokoid

Illness can be caused by *polomokoid* (person who uses black magic). It imposes magic spell to other persons. The spell can either cause good or evil.

Other causes

Other health problems like colds are due to the weather conditions. Loose bowel movement which is the top problem in Malayal, according to the health provider, is due to the water that people take.

Some words used

Subanons used the word wedding "*kawing*", rice "*bogas*", health "*kalungasan*", illness "*dimokodag*", healthy "*molongas glawas*", ill "*mosokiton*", seriously ill "*ilakad*", fat "*malumbo*" and slim "*molanggas*".

Local terminology of conditions and treatments used by Subanon of Malayal

1. Pasmō- There are two types of *pasmo*. *Pasmo* wherein the patient is weak and experience stomach ache and chilling. This is cause of not taking meals on time and can be recognize through observation. This type can be treated using left over rice. Another type of *pasmo* wherein the patient veins are swollen and pain is felt. Taking a bath or washing any body parts when tried are the said caused. It can be diagnose by pressing the body parts if veins are swollen and pain is felt that's the affected part. Bobulan leaves or the whole plant are the said remedy in this state.

2. Bughat- The patient is very weak. This kind of ailment is due to working too much after giving birth and can be identify through observation. Kiyot's house is use as a treatment and some people added the chicken's accessory metatarsus to the remedy. Other remedies used are bee hive, madat, and totubak.

3. Bughat after giving birth- The patient has fever, muscle pain and experience difficulty in moving. In this case the patient did household chores 1 week after giving birth. This can be identified through observation. Bulonti roots are used as a treatment.

4. Panuhot-It is the state wherein the body has lumps because of air and feels like needle. Touching water after doing chores and did not pat dry properly is the said cause of this ailment and can be recognize through observation. The outer layer of the butoli stem is use as a treatment in this condition. Other remedy like tangan-tangan and yabanos are can be use also.

5. Saway-saway- The patient is experiencing any sudden health problems like fever, chillig and thought to be caused by bad and unseen elements that might got hurt unexpectedly by the patient. This can be diagnosed through observation and interview. Kilala and mixture of kusoy , gonad, luy-a , sibuyas with a red fruit, ahos and coconut oil from red drupe of coconut that planted in east are used as a remedy.

6. Ponsada- Stomach ache is felt by the patient and the pain felt transferred from one part of the body to other. *Ponsada* is results of touching water or taking a bath during menstrual cycle which impedes the flow of blood. This may result to the death of the patient if not prevented. This can be recognized through observation. Kowele and kudipoy are used as a treatment.

Adolescence stage of a male

There is a ritual and celebration when the boy is in the stage of puberty. Circumcision is a requirement. During circumcision, the boy chews guava (bayabas) leaves. In this process, the excess skin is cut using a knife with the aid of a "***pakang***" (made up of a banana stalk or of wood) to expose the shaft. For the wound to heal faster, scraped stem of abaca should be rubbed immediately after the circumcision. The wound should be washed using the decoction of guava leaves that is boiled in an ample amount of water.

The Subanon believes that the boy who undergoes circumcision should not eat tomato and chilli and should avoid stepping on chicken manures. The circumcised part should also not be seen by a girl for it may swell.

Adolescence stage of a female

It is a practice that the girl will do "***paglihi***" at the first day of her first menstrual cycle. "***Paglihi***" is performed by taking 2 steps on the stair then jump from there into the floor or ground. It is done if the girl wants only 2 days of menstruation. Likewise if the girl wants 3 days of menstrual cycle, she takes 3 steps on the stair then jump.

To maintain beauty, accordingly, the Subanon forefathers looked into the mirror with orchids or any attractive flowers on their hands. They brushed the flower tracing their eyebrows while saying the "***yam-yam***" (orasyon). The flower may also be placed in a pail with water and use it on taking a bath. Another practice they perform is sitting on a leaf of a gabi so that the girl won't have stain during menstruation.

9 Traditional healers of Malayal



TORRES PAMALISON

Torres Pamalison is a 64 year old educator of Malayal National High School. He is a native resident of Purok 7, Malayal and a Subanon with a Palin religion. He became a widower early in life and devoted much of his time to traditional healing. As an herbalist and a birth attendant, he helped many of his relatives and neighbours in most emergencies. Torres told the researchers that if any of his relatives get sick, he waits to be called. The patient must seek out for his help. According to him, the seeker must be a man of God who has faith on the Creator. Otherwise, he will not recover from his sickness. Torres got his knowledge on traditional healing from his predecessors that include his father who was also a healer. His being an educator also helps him understand the medicinal applications and usage of certain plant and plant parts.



GLORIA “Tundit” ONSILAO LUMAPANG

Tundit, as what her relatives and friends commonly call her is a mother of three (3). She is a 55 year old kaingin farmer who owns and cultivates her own land. She belongs to a Subanon religious group called Palin.

She developed the preoccupation of using plants in curing ailments when neighbours come to her herbal garden for certain sicknesses and through the years she accompanies and assisted the traditional birth attendants and picks the plants from her collection herself. She has been practicing this knowledge for the last 26 years.

Aside from being a healer, Tundit also participates in the translation of the Old and New Testament of the Bible into the Subanon dialect and has worked for the likes of Summer Institute of Linguistics’ head, Mr. Hall. Tundit is considered one of the more cultured in her craft among her peers as she is even able to co-manage health center deliveries of babies, having been oriented on sterile methods.



DIONISIO “TO” GOMEZ MUDAI (First one from the left)

Lolo To’ as he is fondly called by the locals is from Glinowagung, Malayal. He was born on May 5, 1935. He is an active *lupon* (judge) of the community of Malayal which holds session every Wednesday. Lolo To’ does not mind the distance of an hour’s walk to the barangay hall from his home every week just to attend and fulfil his duty. He starts walking early in the morning just to reach his destination before the assembly starts and combats the heat of the midday in going home. That is why, at his age of 77, Lolo To’ is vigorous and is always on the go.

His father, who is an herbalist, taught him about the healing wonders of medicinal plants. As his father treated his patients, he carefully and keenly observed. Lolo To’s experience in herbal healing for the last 10 years makes him a known figure in the Subanon communities.

SOFIA MUDAI DONDINGON (Second from the left)

Sofia M. Dondingon lives in Glinowagung, Malayal, Zamboanga del Norte . She was born on the 9th of November 1942. At the age of 70 years of age, she considers herself one of the most sought after when it comes to traditional healing especially home deliveries which she has regularly assisted for 33 years. This practice has been handed to her from generation to generation, especially the male foreparents. Practically every male in her family possess knowledge in healing. Majority of them are hilots or birth attendants.



MARIA “Maying” ONSILAO CABUGZA

A woman full of wit and humor that’s Maying is. Her mother gave birth to her on April 4, 1955. She spends most of her time in her kaingin. She is an herbalist and a specialist in snake, dog, and insect bites for 37 years. She gained her wisdom in healing through experience and through observation of her father’s deeds. She is a relative to almost all known healers in their municipality. This is the reason why traditional healing is re-enforced and is not lost. Family knowledge is kept sacred and some cases it remains within the household as a secret. It is their cultural identity.



TOLENTINA “Tolen” GUMANDAO ONSILAO

Tolen is one of the youngest healers known. At 49 year old, she has mastered the art of combining religion and the powers of healing, believing in the divine intervention based on the balance of nature.

Tolen comes from the neighboring barangay of Limpapa, Zamboanga City but is in Glinowagung by fate having married one of the members of a family of healers Rondael with whom she has seven (7) children. Her own family in Limpapa, where she comes from, are using plants for certain ailments. This practice is reaffirmed when she started living in this new Subanon community of Malayal. When not busy as a healer, she assists her husband in Kaingin, which is their main source of food and income. She believes in Palin religion just like her neighbours. In fact, it has become the basis of her spiritual healing. She is into herbal medication for only over a year but considers it a blessing from her father and the family affinity with the Onsilao's which further nurtures her ability in this new preoccupation.

10 Materia Medica

This study was able to document a total of 114 plants and 4 natural products used by the Subanon. The common plants used are Bobulan or Sambong in Filipino and Butoli or Bakong in Filipino. Bobulan can treat 6 types of diseases like cough, fever and cold while Butoli is used to treat 4 types of diseases. In some cases, a mixture of plants is used to cure a particular condition. Decoction is the most common preparation used by the Subanon.

The researcher recorded 18 plants for herbarial compendium of selected medicinal plants used by Subanon. The plants that are included in herbarial compendium are classified as uncollected, unidentified and no common names.

There are 22 noted rituals and practices of the Subanon. One of them is called *Glamas*, this is used to ask forgiveness to unseen elements or to get rid of saway-saway. Another one is called *Soklok*, it is done if a child is always sick.

For local terminology of conditions and treatments, a total of 5 are noted. *Bughat* is one of the examples of local condition that can be treated by using totubak, madat, bee hives and kiyot's house.

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