

**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 TAGABAWA BAGOBO people of Sitio Tudaya and Sitio
Baruring in Brgy. Sibulan, Sta. Cruz, Davao del Sur and Sitio Diansig and Sitio Tambubong
in Brgy. Bulatukan and Sitio Lucatong in Brgy. Biangan , Makilala, North Cotabato**

REPORT PREPARED BY:

Myfel Joseph D. Paluga, University of the Philippines Mindanao, Mintal, Davao City
Kenette Jean I. Millondaga, University of the Philippines Mindanao, Mintal, Davao City
Jerimae D. Cabero, University of the Philippines Manila, Ermita, Manila
Andrea Malaya M. Ragrario, University of the Philippines Mindanao, Mintal, Davao City
Rainier M. Galang, University of the Philippines Manila, Ermita, Manila
Isidro C. Sia, University of the Philippines Manila, Ermita, Manila

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Summary

An ethnopharmacological study of the Tagabawa Bagobo 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 Tagabawa Bagobo. The ethnohistorical background of the tribe was also included in the study. The study covered two major Tagabawa Bagobo areas surrounding Mt. Apo, Davao del Sur areas in the southern side and Makilala, North Cotabato in the western side. The study covered (3) areas, namely Tobison, Todaya, and Sibulan in Davao del Sur and (3) areas, Sitio Diansig and Sitio Tambubong in Brgy. Bulatukan and Sitio Lucatong in Brgy. Biangan, Makilala, North Cotabato. Barangay Bulatukan served as the researchers' satellite site.

A total of 107 plants and 20 other natural products, 10 traditional healers in the community, 10 local conditions were documented. We were also given the chance to join and document the 'Lanahan' indigenous religious group, or more accurately called the *Apo Sandawa Langis* group in their yearly health-related ritual to Mt. Apo. Documentation employed the use of prepared ethnopharmacological templates which included: 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 different peoples' organizations, religious institutions, and from different key individuals prior to the documentation and collection of medicinal plants.

1 Introduction

The effort to continue the traditional health practices documentation initiative of the University of the Philippines Manila College of Medicine (Department of Pharmacology), and its funding agency Philippine Council for Health Research and Development, has led to the present project entitled “Phase II Documentation of the Philippine Traditional Knowledge and Practices on Health and Development of Traditional Digital Library on health for Selected Ethnolinguistic Groups: Mindoro, Zamboanga, Davao and Cordillera.”

One of the selected sites was the Davao region which we divided into three province-unit research areas: (a) Davao del Sur and Davao City, where three of our five sites are located (Malita {for Tagakaolo group}, Todaya, and Makilala {for Tagabawa Bagobo group}); (b) Davao del Norte, where Talaingod is located {for Talaingod Manobo group}, and (c) Davao Oriental, where Mati is located {for Mandaya group}.

The different sites we visited for a project that initially centered on plants and peoples' health practices and views gave us lasting engagements with diverse organizations, individuals, and communities that, even after the formal ending of the project (May 2012 to May 2013), opened continuing joint community-academic activities and plans meant to deepen community initiatives and exchanges to generate knowledge of their localities for the peoples' uses.

Perspectives and objectives

From the very beginning, our engagements with the selected sites had been guided by this perspective of cultivating long-term engagements on the basis of shared interests on indigenous knowledge and community-building projects.

As a theme (indigenous health concerns and practices) that resonates well with every area we have visited, the core objective of the project—to make a systematic documentation of plant-based medical knowledge among Kaolos, Tagabawas, Matig-Talomos—immediately connects it to three other aspects of concern in and for the areas:

(1) conservation of herbal sources (plant and non-plant materials) in their localities—found abundant but fastly disappearing—and the immediate addressing of their many other socio-environmental concerns, especially in the context of their much-challenged ecological areas given their marginalized socio-political standing;

(2) developing resource materials from such documentation for use as teaching materials in the *lumad* (Mindanao indigenous peoples) schools of their areas; and,

(3) deepening the scope and rigor of the generated knowledge by designing long-term knowledge and community-strengthening links between local cultural specialists and academe-based individuals.

Our initiating plants-and-health theme, therefore, quite naturally branched into three other future possible and doable joint projects: (a) resource conservation and medicinal plant gardening and folk-friendly processing; (b) development of education materials (for use in both lumad and non-lumad contexts, primary to tertiary levels); and (c) undertaking continuing co-researches on local history, folk science and folklore, and indigenous philosophies and folkways in general.

Such future projects with the particular sites where we did plant collections and interviews—Matamis, Dimoluk and Calatagan villages in the Tagakaulo (or Kaolo) area; Sibulan, Tudaya, Makilala, and Locatong villages in the Tagabawa Bagobo area; Dulyan, Laslasakan, and Nalubas villages in the Pantaron Manobo (or Matig-Talomo) area; the Palo Cuatro village of Balyan Nanay Parong and the Kamunaan garden and lumad museum of Atty. Al Aquino—can only be undertaken in the background of deepening friendly bonds between us and key individuals and organizations in the mentioned communities.

Selection of study areas

The ethnomedical study of the Tagabawa Bagobos was conducted in two cluster-areas: Sibulan-Tudaya-Kapatagan cluster (in Sitio Tudaya, Brgy. Sibulan, Sta. Cruz, Davao del Sur) and the Bulatukan-Locatong cluster (in Makilala, North, Cotabato side). The selection for the study sites was based on the criteria that these major sampling areas are long-standing research sites of one of our team members (MJ Paluga) and so the key individuals and organizations we have connected with for this study are either the same individuals and organizations our team member has for long been connecting with or 'snowballed' community figures from key lumad friends of the areas.

The general criteria used for our site selection for the whole project are the following: (a) the community has reputation for indigenous medical/healing practices, i.e., presence of at least three actively practicing indigenous healers; (b) the community is living at or near forested areas; (c) the community is known to have continually practiced its indigenous traditions; (d) the community has stable peace and order situation; and (e) the community can be accessed using available means of transportation within a reasonable period of time. The first three items of the above list are given more weight in our area selection in cases where not all of the criteria are optimally passed by a possible field site.

Gathering of Information

Sampling approach and plant-collecting methods

Our sampling practice is designed more for collecting as many plant samples as possible in the context of a simultaneous, on-going random 'mapping' or searching of key informants or healing specialists (usually called as snowballing approach). The data, therefore, being non-systematically taken, is not usable for formal quantitative analysis.. However, some rough patterns emerging from our data-sets are suggestive of some exploratory potential and given brief discussions below.

The researcher documented the community's concept of health and wellbeing and how they respond to each one; the different medicinal plants utilized by the healers and the counterpart illnesses that it cures; their diverse healing methods and practices alike. Free and prior informed consent was implored before any documentation was done.

The researchers' immersion with the community allowed them to observe their culture and some patterns of behavior, participate in their activities of daily living (ADLs) and learn aspects of their language, beliefs and struggles in life. Participant observation and interview, mostly informal were utilized to gather data while collection of medicinal plants for scientific identification and herbarium specimen storage was done through forest exploration with the informant and applying some practical suggestions given in Martin (2004).

The researchers also conducted focus group discussions (FGDs) among health care providers mostly participated by mothers and trusted elders in the community and initiated consultation meetings with key informants, tribal leaders and members of the community.

Organizations and institutions

As much as possible, cognizant of the key social and political importance local formal organizations play in building and strengthening lumad communities in the context of political challenges that are generally called 'development aggression', the rule we followed is always to work with organizations (and in areas not so organized, with key individuals or cultural experts) that we believe have achieved a high 'moral standing' in the villages we are directly working with.

The following lists the major organizations and individuals we have directly worked with relative to our study:

Todaya. Our main organization host here was the **Apo Sandawa Sarili Langis** (in the villages of Tobison, Todaya, Sibulan). Our major informants and guides were the following: Delia Erano, Minda Puroc, Onto Werno, Salvation Torino, Abe Nixon, Romeo Puroc, and Tatay Loreto Balido.

Makilala. Our main host organization here was the **Makilala-Malumpine Tribal Association** (Mamata). Our major Individual informants were the following: Marcelina "Ori" Eli, Felomina Anap Ando, Quinasome Pandayan Domon, Arsenia Lasib Balicog, Aurelia Enok, and all the family members of the late Datu Awad Tampulong.

Lucatong. In Lucatong, we were assisted by the **Lucatong-Biangnan Bagobo Association**, especially in the focus-group discussion we conducted. Our main informants were: Remedios Kabaling, Gloria Sandangan, Juanita de Dios Imban, Gabriel Tampulong, and Elnita Karan.

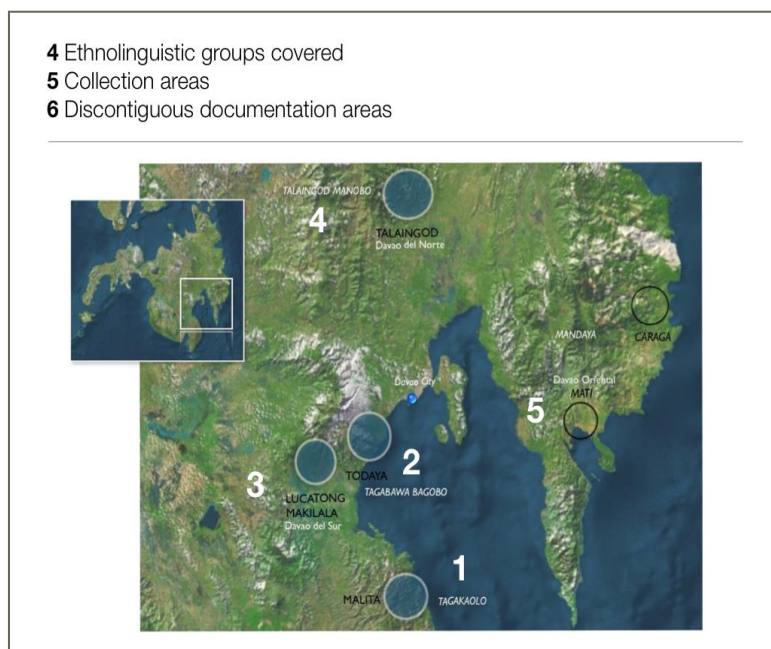
The researchers were able to identify 10 traditional healers in the community and informants who supported and spared time to be interviewed. One of the profound observations and realizations of the researchers while finding key informants in the community is that the knowledge in healing and the utilization of the medicinal plants are not concentrated on specific number of people only. There are some people who are considered as the community health experts or specialists but the basic knowledge about medicinal plants use is shared by the community members alike.

Ethnopharmacological templates were prepared to aid the researchers in what to collect and gather that is considered to be essential for the study. The prepared guide questions did not confine us from documenting the abundance of traditional knowledge and practices of the Tagabawa Bagobo people. Aside from the templates, the researchers were also equipped of instruments for documentation such as voice recorder and digital camera which were utilized in the whole process of the study. Permission to record was sought prior to conducting any interviews or simply taking their pictures.

2 The land and the people

Overall, the five plant collection sites covered by the study fall under the traditionally-labelled 'Davao area' since the time of the early Jesuit missionaries, but now divided into three Davao areas: Davao del Sur (and Davao City), where three of the five sites {see map above} are found (**1** Malita, **2** Todaya, **3** Makilala-Locatong {we fused our collections from these villages and treated them as one site because of their relative proximity, geographic and ethnographic-wise}), Davao del Norte, where **4** Talaingod is located, and Davao Oriental, where **5** Mati is located.

This part of Mindanao, the southeastern region, covers two major families of lumad groups {those covered by this study is in boldface}: the *Mandaya group* (covering seven named ethnolinguistic groups, like the **Mandayas**, Mansakas, **Tagakaolos**, and others: see the important study of Nabayra, 2012a) and, perhaps better seen as a super-family, the *Manobo group* (covering diverse and highly dispersed groups—like the Higaunons, Matigsalugs,



Template map from: <http://gspace21.ls.apple.com/html/attribution.html>

Arakan Manobos, and many others). Also under the Manobo family are the Bagobo groups: **Tagabawa**, Klata or Jangan, and Obo {called also as Manuvu by EA Manuel}, the three ethnolinguistic groups that surround Mt. Apo. In the *Norte/Agusan* area are two other sub-groups of the Manobos: the relatively lowland Agusan-area Manobos {Agusanons} and the highlanders, the Pantaron or **Talaingod Manobos** {also wrongly called, 'Ata Manobos'} and the Bukidnons.

Downward from this covered area, one meets the *Blaan-T'boli group*; of South Cotabato; and upward from this area, one meets the *Aeta/Negrito group* (Mamanuas) of the northern Mindanao area.

Geographic and related features of the Tagabawa Bagobo area

The Tagabawa Bagobos are located, both in the past and in the present, in the eastern and southern regions surrounding Mt. Apo. Their central traditional home-areas are in the present municipalities/barangays of, indicating their probable traditional cluster-areas: (a) the Sibulan-Todaya-Kapatagan, (b) the Bansalan cluster, and (c) the Bulatukan-Locatong cluster (in Makilala, North Cotabato side). In riverine perspective, our collection sites are basically in the Bulatukan River (Makilala) and Todaya-Sibulan Rivers.

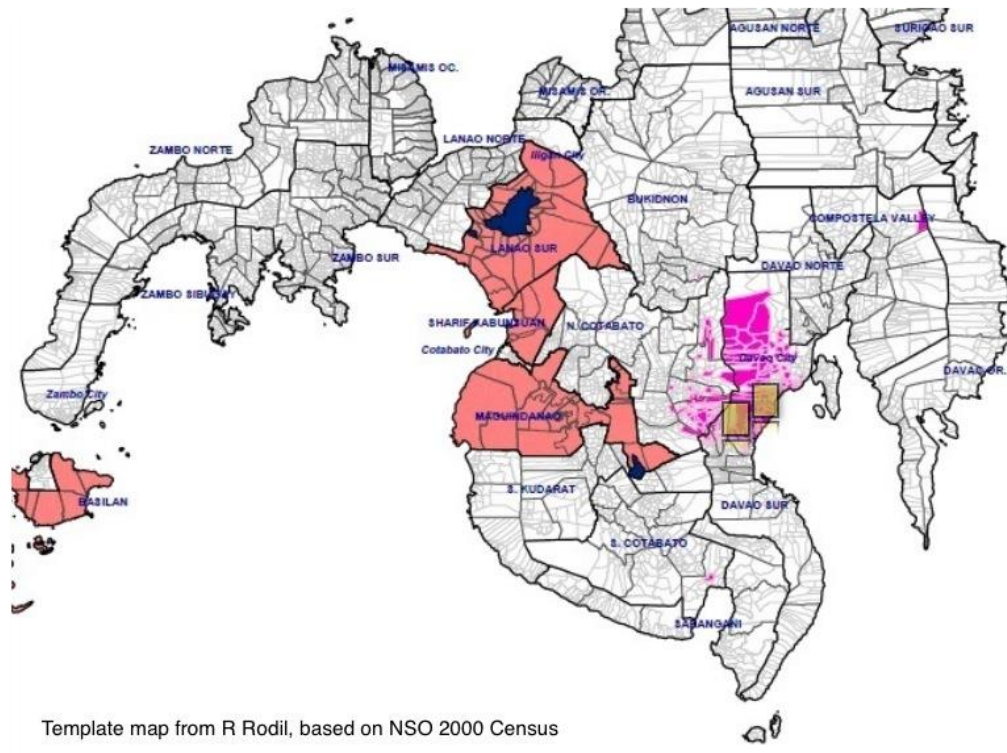
We have done a more focussed data-gathering and collecting activities in the Todaya area (although conducting also substantive ethnographic field visits and interviews in Sibulan) because of its geographic characteristic (closer to forested areas) and, more importantly, because of its historic and anthropological status as a place: (a) it is a historic *ilihan* or place of refuge during political and environmental problems and calamities for Tagabawa peoples centering on Sibulan-Todaya-Kapatagan cluster-areas, and (b) it is the center of research documentation of a medical anthropologist, Kenneth Payne (1985), who conducted a comprehensive study of the medical practices of the Tagabawas in the 80s, the results of which we would like to build upon and update.

Field-based observations and some ethnic patterns

A significant by-product of our health-practices documentation of Todaya is the forming of a close friendly relation between our team and the 'Lanahan' indigenous religious group, or more accurately called the *Apo Sandawa Langis* group, whose ritual revolves around practices related to the 'caring' of a bottle-object, called simply as *lana* (oil), and so their popular name, whose main contents are: (a) a ritually extracted vulcanic sulphur of Apo and (b) a selection of herbal plants growing only near the peak, and (c) coconut oil whose very meticulous preparation involves a whole day and night collective praying, praying, and highly-ritualized movements relative to the cooking and processing of oil from the fresh coconut fruits.

On this basis of close friendly relations, we were allowed to have a more intimate observational vantage point as they invited us to participate (K Millondaga and J Cabero were able to join) in one of their bi-annual health-related pilgrimage to the peak of Mt. Apo for the ritual gathering of herbs and sulphur at the peak.

Last month (August), an academic activity in the Sibulan area of the joint BA Anthropology classes of the three of our team (MJ Paluga, K Millondaga, AM Ragrario), especially in a discussion with Lanahan's present head, Tatay Etok Balido, led to a plan for a joint community-academe long-term partnership in helping them write the history of the Lanahan group from their perspective and in their own Tagabawa language. We gave Tatay Etok one of the hardy field notebooks that Dr. Sia is campaigning as a useful documentation tool for knowledgeable individuals of the communities, as he was very enthusiastic and happy in moving the planned local history and cultural documentation.



DISTRIBUTION OF BAGOBO IN MINDANAO (BLUE) AND THE LOCATION OF TODAYA AND LOCATONG-MAKILALA TAGABAWA BAGOBO (YELLOW BOX)

3 History

Available literature

The Bagobos are the most studied group of the Davao region, measured by bibliometric entries in two major annotated bibliography works of Mindanao, the pioneering work by Alfred Tiamson in the 80s and the more recent 2003 work by the Mindanao Consortium, Inc. The range of studies, however, have unequal qualities in terms of depth and field-empirical basis and either focussed on limited aspects of Bagobo material life (with textiles receiving much attention) or local histories of state-demarcated areas.

Three Filipino scholars who have contributed important works on Tagabawa society, history and culture are Heidi Gloria (ethnohistory of the Bagobos), Mac Tiu (folklore and history: a Davao region history that highlights the contributions of the struggles and cultures of diverse ethnolinguistic groups), and Albert Alejo, SJ (cultural anthropology and political ecology: Alejo {2000} gives a detailed discussion of the politico-cultural conflicts that emerged from the government-initiated PNOC geothermal project, called as 'development aggression' by opposing groups, *lumads* and non-*lumads*). Shinzo Hayase (2007) has given a rounded picture of the local and wider regional socio-economic links involving the three ethnolinguistic Bagobo groups (Obo, Tagabawa, and Klata-Jangan) of Mt. Apo.

Anthropological work on the Bagobos, on the benchmark of EA Manuel's overall collected studies on the Manuvus (Obo Bagobo), like the major work, *Manuvu Social Organization* (2000), and the series of folkloric translations and retellings, is still to be done, if it is not yet too late for salvage antheopology given the fast-working acculturative forces of Western modernity.

The best work on medical anthropology, perhaps in the whole Mindanao area, is the unpublished dissertation of Kenneth Payne, 'The Sulphur Eaters' (1985), which centered on Todaya-area Tagabawa Bagobos and the 'Lanahan' group revitalization movement.

We relied much on Payne for our initial idea of Bagobo health practices and *materia medica*, and, after our series of fieldworks, found Payne's description and analysis of Lanahan-Tagabawa practices to be quite robust. Our team has digitized Payne's thick-paged study for font-resizing, repagination and sharing with the Lanahan community who noted that they have not been given a copy of this otherwise faithful and important work.

4 Material culture

The Tagabawa Bagobos, among the indigenous peoples of eastern Mindanao, are specially known for their blacksmithing (*panday* or *gomanan*) and weaving (*inabel*) traditions.

Their textile traditions are considered as one of the three significant indigenous textile traditions in southern Philippines (T'boli, Mandaya, Bagobo) that developed distinct symbolic designs that easily distinguishes themselves from T'boli/B'laan and Mandaya weaving designs (Reyes, 1992). Two scholars have done specialized studies on the textile and weaving technology tradition of the Tagabawa Bagobos: Angelica Reyes (1992), from a comparative perspective, and Cherubim Quizon (Quizon in Hamilton, 1998; Quizon, 2012), who did an in-depth study of the weaving designs and the specialist weavers of Sibulan-Todaya area.

The blacksmithing tradition of the Tagabawas of Sibulan-Todaya area is given a comprehensive study in the dissertation and subsequent journal publications of HL Achanzar (e.g., Achanzar, 2007). In our last fieldwork in the fieldsites visited by Achanzar, the traditional blacksmiths of Sibulan and Todaya have already passed away and their blacksmithing knowledge and practices are no longer practiced. There is, however, in an interior sitio of Old Bulatukan, Makilala, a bearer of this Sibulan-Todaya blacksmithing tradition: in the course of our plant collecting activity, we met in the area a traditional blacksmith, with his Todaya-style forge, who originally came from Todaya but transferred here a decade ago and made a living by farming and blacksmithing.

A more popularized presentation of Tagabawa society and material culture can also be found in Mangune (2008).

5 Economic activities

Like many upland indigenous peoples of Mindanao, the Tagabawas have traditionally relied for their subsistence needs on rotational farming (of native varieties of upland rice and cultivating a range of rootcrops), river fishing, and hunting of some wild fauna (pig, deer, birds) in the forests (see an important study of *kaingin* and other indigenous economic activities in Gloria and Magpayo, 1997). Abaca extraction is a major cash crop for Tagabawas since the early 20th century. Most Tagabawa communities have more or less interacted with the new colonial economy of the Americans and the Japanese which focussed on abaca plantations. The acculturative effects of the colonial and post-colonial socio-economic arrangements into indigenous life is the focus of study of Gloria's *The Bagobos: Their Ethnohistory and Acculturation* (1987), with Sibulan as its narrative site. Hayase (2007) gives a wider regional and global political economic context for the economic changes in the Bagoboland of the 20th century.

From our recent fieldwork in the Todaya area, we were able to make an initial documentation of their traditional technology of starch (*natek/natok*)-extraction from an upland palm (*Corypha umbraculifera* L.), comparable to the *sago*-extracting practice of lowland Agusan Manobos. *Natek*-extraction among Tagabawas, especially the indigenous technique that they have developed for this, is different from that of the lowland Manobos of the Agusan Marsh areas and have not yet been given a full ethnographic documentation in the anthropological literature.

6 Political structures and processes

Laura Benedict (1916) and Fay-Cooper Cole (1913) are two early American colonial period anthropologists who have done actual visits in the varied Bagobo communities of the Davao Gulf area. Their classic works depicted a political structure of the early 20th century Tagabawa society as loosely classifiable under a 'complex chiefdom' type, if we use the traditional anthropological frame (band-tribe-*chiefdom*-state) which depicts an increasing order of political complexity. These early written accounts, plus oral-history accounts, seem to portray a network of Tagabawa communities governed by village chiefs with more than two layers of political hierarchy and different kinds of social and economic specializations (Payne, 1985, for example, gives a range of medical specializations). In oral history accounts which we have gathered, it appears that Sibulan chieftains consider the the upland Todaya chieftains as having wider overseeing roles, and that both Sibulan and Todaya chiefs command greater respect from other contiguous areas, perhaps due both to the geographically strategic value of Todaya and to the lineage of blacksmithing specialists of the Sibulan-Todaya area.

7 Social institutions

The two important social practices in the traditional life of the Bagobos (Obo, Clata, Tagabawas) that deserve a more comprehensive description than that found in the present literature are the economy-related *tamuk* (prestige object) exchanges and ritual-related *gin-em* (ceremonial drink) ceremony (Gloria, 1987: 13-17) and the still-practiced *paka-karo* (metal implements) ceremony. Traditional exchanges of prestige objects are critically important as they serve to connect Tagabawa communities to the wider world beyond their cultural domains. Yearly ceremonies, on the other hand, like the now-faded *gin-em* and the continuing *paka-karo* serve to assemble regularly in one site several dispersed communities, thus functioning as a cohesive and a culturally reinvigorating tradition.

At present, the *Lanahan* (*Apo Sandawa Langis*) religious institution serves as the most important social structure that protects and maintains many traditional practices of the Tagabawas especially in the context of the growing intrusive forces of modernity.

Mt. Apo and the Lanahan sect

Mt. Apo is given the highest respect and reverence by the *Lanahan* group and figures several times in their yearly rituals. Below is a description of a ritual participated by members of the research team which highlights some important views of the Tagabawa Bagobos and the *Lanahan* group related to ecology and health. This was a unique ritual done to commemorate the founder of the sect, Apo Ingel, who is said to have lived in the early 1900s and organized the Tagabawas in a formal religious structure in response to varied forms of social and cultural challenges at that time.

Apo Ingel commemoration ritual. The Apo Sandawa Sarili Langis, a religious sect whose members are mostly Tagabawa Bagobos, and is based in Bagobo settlements on the foothills of Mt. Apo, consider the peak as the central location of their religious devotion. Their main object of veneration is the *lana* or coconut oil, usually mixed with sulphur from Mt. Apo, which they believe have curative properties. Thus, the sect is also commonly referred to as *Lanahan*.

Members of the Lanahan conduct ritual climbs up Mt. Apo to collect the sulphur that is essential in their religion. During the most recent ascent, from 8-10 March, 2013, researchers Kenette Jean Millondaga and Jerimae Cabero joined the 58 other members of the Lanahan to gather additional data about the healing practices of this group.

On the night of 8 March 2013, members from the five chapters of the Lanahan congregated in Sitio Todaya, Brgy. Sibulan, Sta. Cruz town, Davao del Sur. The members consisted of both men and women of all ages, including a seven year old boy.

At four in the morning of the following day (9 March 2013), the ritual formally began. Merlyn Puroc, one of the *sinaligan* (the leaders of the Lanahan), summoned the members into their church with a conch shell horn. A short prayer was recited individually in their vernacular.

After this prayer all those present were instructed to form two straight lines. Following this arrangement, the group walked from this present-day church of the Lanahan to an old church some 500 meters away. This older church is in an area called Katayawan, which, translated into Bisaya is *mahayagan*, meaning a well-lit place. At this location another prayer (which the members of the Lanahan refer to as *serbis*) was offered.

The group continued up to Upper Pogpog, where a list of the members of the ascent was given to the Datu for security purposes. The Datu is also a member of the Lanahan.

As the climb continued the members maintained the line that they had formed back in Todaya. This is grounded in their belief that, if someone breaks the line and walks ahead of

the people before him, these people will absorb the strength of the member who had gone on ahead, thus weakening him.

At around eight o'clock in the morning the group reached the second stopover, which the Tagabawas call Kapawaan but was renamed by Bisaya speakers as the Palaka Hot Spring because of the spring area's frog-like shape. There, they offered another serbis. The rest of the ascent will be characterized by prayer offerings at various spots along the route to the peak that they consider sacred. Many portions of the route of the Lanahan are away from the trails often used by mountaineers.

At around 10:30 in the morning the group reached Subangon, where they offered another serbis. Subangon is considered by members of the Lanahan as the entrance to Mt. Apo itself. The area is marked by a huge tree on top of an outcrop with a cave. After the serbis, which was sung, coins were collected from the members and placed inside the cave. After a few minutes, there was a tremor (Mt. Apo is an active volcano), but the members remained unperturbed and simply observed their surroundings (*palibot*) before finishing their serbis.

Close to noon, the group reached Kampo Uno (Camp Site 1) a spot that is also used by mountaineers as it has a strategic water source. There, the group had a quick half-hour for lunch before proceeding next to Camp Site 2, reaching it by one in the afternoon.

At Camp Site 2 the members of the Lanahan offered another serbis, after which the group settled down to rest and make the area suitable for sleeping. Some members went to gather fire wood, while others prepared native coffee and cooked food. Dinner was served just before nightfall.

At night, it started to drizzle, but tents are not allowed by the Lanahan during the climb. They believe that using tents or creating shelters will only encourage stronger rain. The members, men, women, and children, lay on the ground warmed by bonfires. As the night wore on it became colder and the drizzle continued. Merlyn, as the leader of the group, began to pray, holding the stick with a red cloth tied around one end. Later, she would say that her prayer had been granted for the rain stopped and she saw stars.

The next day, 10 March 2013, the members awoke before four o'clock in the morning to have breakfast. After eating, they offered another serbis.

Just before sunrise, the group reached an area called Kanayunan, which offered a view of the forested areas of Mt. Apo and the Davao Gulf. It was also a strategic place to watch the sun rise. At Kanayunan, there was a huge boulder which seven members of the Lanahan climbed. A serbis was offered by the rest of the group left below, and the members who had climbed did not descend until after the serbis had finished.

From this point on the group entered Mt. Apo's sulphuric area close to its crater, where the climb was more difficult because of the terrain and the smoke issuing from fissures in the landscape. Another serbis was held at the Lamisa, where a naturally flat surface where the members placed coins, bottles of lana, food and drink, and the bamboo stick with the red cloth.

Members from the five chapters of the Lanahan were then instructed to drop their "record" into the mouth of the volcano. These "records" are pieces of paper that served as an attendance sheet of sorts for families that were members of the Lanahan. During every Sunday service or special gatherings in their respective churches, each family member would signify their presence by letting the *talatabang* trace their forefingers with a pencil on half a sheet of bond paper. The *talatabang* would also draw a of a small rhum bottle (*lapad*) to signify the container of the lana. Two representatives from each chapter went to specific craters of the volcano where they could drop their records. Some went up to the *hari ng bulkan* – the main crater or the biggest mouth of the volcano – where they would drop their records. Some said that after dropping the records they saw a butterfly emerge from the mouth of the volcano.

While there, other members collected sulphur. According to Merlyn, the sulphuric area of the mountain is only accessible when permission was granted. If permission was not granted, the collection of sulphur would be impossible because, in her words, "basin sugaton sa hangin".

After lunch the group walked on to a place called Langkaban ka Pilak, where a lake and a cave figured in the group's serbis. During the serbis, some members entered the cave while others stayed near the lake. Water from the lake was afterwards collected and stored to be brought down; this would be used in baptisms (*bunyag*) and other rituals, one of which involves the use of the *salese* plant to apply the lake water on to the head of a church member.

After the serbis at Langkaban ka Pilak, the members immediately descended the mountain, as most have to be back by Sitio Todaya by five in the afternoon.

8 Knowledge and practices on health

The following will present a synthetic view of the general patterns that we think can serve as interpretive frame for the health/healing practices of the four indigenous groups that we have studied (Tagabawas, Tagakaolos, Mandayas and Talaingod Manobos; our empirical data for the Mandaya group, however, is more based on secondary materials, pre-gathered collections and information from the *Kamunaan* museum, and less on in-depth fieldwork interactions with indigenous healers).

Schematic themes in indigenous life and health practices

The set of five meta-categories given in the table below is constructed as a working frame in order to approach, organize, and link varied practices and categorizations by indigenous communities, especially those related to health and well-being concerns.

The heuristic frame stands on the initiating idea of the importance of the category 'house' in the Austronesian/Philippinesian civilizational roots. This point is asserted both in the *Pantayong Pananaw* school's emphasis on the study of *bayan/banua/ili* 'community' categories {with Zeus Salazar as a major scholar contributing highly seminal studies along the line of house-society lexico-semantic links: for example, *bayan* is a lexical form of *ba(ha)yan*} and in the observation of Claude Levi-Strauss (in Waterson, 2009) that Southeast-Asian societies should be called 'house societies'.

The main assertions of the heuristic frame are the following: starting from the initiating idea of the central importance of 'house' across diverse ethnolinguistic groups:

1. The wider expansion of the idea of 'house' as dwelling place is, in the context of Mindanao, the category *banua/banwa*, forming a *baloy-banwa* house-world schema.
2. There is a categorial double for the idea of a 'world' in the indigenous worldview, captured nicely in the term *dakel banwa*, 'great world', in the Tagabawa language, in reference to the unseen 'world of the afterlife', the '*kabilang daigdig*' or '*kabilang buhay*' among Tagalogs.
3. The idea of an unseen world among *lumads*, and its many phenomenological descriptions in both emic and etic reports, is better grasped if understood as describing a mode of experiencing this same socio-physical world: the experiencing of it as a world of terrifying, spectral qualities.
4. The two other (maybe more than two) important meta-categories in indigenous life, 'livelihood' and 'spirituality', can also be better grasped in their central conceptual structure if they are lined-up with the meta-category 'afterlife': they are outlining varied modes of relating to the world of realities given in the *baloy-banwa* schema. (See the heuristic and interpretive notes in the B-table of 'Selected ethnolinguistic groups...' table given below.)
5. The concerns of the indigenous communities we have studied relative to 'well being', 'health concerns', 'afflictions', and their culturally-linked concerns with 'livelihood',

'food', and 'having a good life' (*maganda*/beautiful and *maginhawa* {literally, 'breathable' and also 'loving', based on the Manobo and Mandaya categories})—all these can be structurally understood if juxtaposed with the given heuristic frame. (See the table below: 'Where is the concern with health...')

6. The ubiquitous concern with spirits and their role in indigenous construal of 'sickness' and 'afflictions' can also be framed well and grasped of its probable logic if linked to the constructed heuristic frame.

From the above perspectives, one sees why indigenous peoples' notions relative to 'health' (and plant use) are substantively linked to their dual (a) socio-economic concerns with food and livelihood and (b) psycho-ecological concerns with the 'spirits' and hope-emphasizing 'spirituality.'

The general pattern emerging from this approach in making sense of *lumad* views on health appears to be this: that while positive aspects of health and well-being are of this side of the 'world' (*baloy-banwa* dimension), and its major concerns with 'good food', 'good house', 'good work', and 'good air' (a *ginhawa*-as-love or 'loving atmosphere'), major health related disturbances—sickness and afflictions—are construed as coming from the 'other world': the 'world of images and specters'.

9 Traditional healers

Types of healers

Tarabawian

Tarabawian (from the root word, *bawi*, meaning "medicine") refers to the general medical practitioners among the Bagobo (Payne 1985:48), who both diagnose and treat patients. Most, if not all, of the tarabawian interviewed make use of medicinal plants in both diagnosis and treatment. They treat a wide variety of health conditions, from minor illness such as cough or fever to more complicated conditions like *sammor*, or spirit-related afflictions. They acquire their healing abilities by directly observing their elders, though they may also learn techniques from their dreams. The tarabawians are the most numerous healers in terms of number.

Mabalian

Mabalian refers to midwives or women who assist in childbirth. She takes charge of the steps in delivering a child, from preparation of the paraphernalia prior to delivery, securing the safe passage of the infant, as well as postpartum care. The mabalian often has an assistant present during delivery, though some mabalian work by themselves. Of the five mabalian interviewed, two have sought a formal license to work as birth attendants. One of them has already acquired it while the other is still undergoing the process. Both of them come from Makilala, North Cotabato.

Mabalian are also known to be good *tarailos*, or masseuses (*hilot* in Bisaya and Tagalog). This ability allows her to treat people with joint and muscle pain. She is also approached when a patient suffers a *lios* or a fracture. These medical conditions are commonly associated with agriculturists like the Tagabawa Bagobos, whose continuous work in fields leads to overwork and fatigue.

Mabalian are also often tarabawian themselves, though not all tarabawian can function as mabalian.

Tagabawa Bagobo healer profiles

The researchers were able to interview five (5) mabalians, seven (7) tarabawians, and one (1) key informant who has basic knowledge about healing.

The mabalians are Arsenia Lasib Balicog, Aurelia Enok, Delia Erano, Minda Puro, and Salvation Ontong Torino. Ms. Balicog and Ms. Enok are both from Brgy. Bulatukan, Makilala, North Cotabato, while Ms. Erano, Ms. Puro and Ms. Torino are from Sitio Tudaya, Brgy. Sibulan, Sta. Cruz, Davao del Sur.

The tarabawians interviewed are Nixon Abe, Romeo Puroc, Felomina Anap Ando, Marcelina Eli, and Quinasome Pandayon Domon. Mr. Nixon is from Sitio Baruring, and Mr. Puroc is from Sitio Tudaya, both in Sta. Cruz, Davao del Sur. Ms. Ando and Mr. Domon are from Sitio Tambubong, and Ms. Eli is from Sitio Diansig, all in Old Bulatukan, Makilala, North Cotabato. Aurelia Enok, who is a mabalian, also considers herself as a tarabawian.

Onto Werno, from Sitio Tudaya, does not consider himself to be a healer, though he is also knowledgeable about medicinal plants, their names and functions. Thus he was included in the interviews as a key informant.

Most of the healers interviewed are still actively practicing and still render service to anyone who seeks it. They believe that their ability to heal, a power bestowed upon them by virtue of being “owned” by a spirit guide or lesser deities (Payne 1985:130), as well as the materials for healing (such as medicinal plants, sulphur, *malasim wayig*, or water from a sacred spring) must be shared with everybody because these are gifts from Manama, their supreme deity: “Manama worked the cures through the healer, who in essence was but a tool of God”, (Payne 1985:71).

Nixon Abe

Nixon Abe is a tarabawian born on October 11, 1974. He specializes in using non-plant materials in his healing practices. He first uses a *baston* (cane) in diagnosing his patients, and uses items such as *ulo sa unggoy* (monkey's skull), *himpilya sa baksan* (snake's fat, see Fig. 1) and *sungay sa binaw* (deer horns, see Fig. 2) to treat them. For example, deer horns are used for *sibanlo*, a spirit-induced affliction attributed to the patient having disrespected or mocked certain kinds of animals.

Nixon Abe, who began healing people at the age of 13, learned this ability from his father, Odimay Agwan Puroc, who was also a tarabawian. He currently resides with his wife Nessie Abe with their three children, Ricxon, Fritchie Love, and Fritchel, in Sitio Baruring, Sta. Cruz, Davao del Sur. Aside from healing, he supports his family by farming crops such as maize, abaca and peanuts. He is a member of SSL, or Apo Sandawa Sarili Langis, an indigenous religious sect that mainly uses *lana* or coconut oil in their rituals.



Fig. 1. A sample of *himpilya sa baksan* (snake's fat) used by the healer



Fig.2 *sungay sa binaw* (deer horns) displayed on the wall

Arsenia Lasib Balicog

Arsenia Balicog began assisting pregnant women when she was 20 years old, an ability she acquired from her father's cousin. Among the mabalian interviewed, Arsenia was the sole recipient of a license from the local health office after she attended their sponsored seminars and training courses.

Ms. Balicog has been a practicing mabalian for almost fifty years, and she was able to pinpoint the changes in how babies are delivered that have taken place through the years. She narrated how they used to use *buó* (a type of bamboo) in cutting the umbilical cord of the new born, and thread (*sinulid*) as an umbilical cord clamp, whereas today she already employs surgical scissors and other medical paraphernalia. Ms. Balicog is currently 78 years old, and has had seven children of her own. All except two, Marilyn Ugoy and Philmak Gistavo, now have their own families and reside elsewhere.



Aurelia Enok

Aurelia Enok is a 68 year-old tarabawian and mabalian from Old Bulatukan, Makilala, North Cotabato. She was born on July 30, 1945. At the age of ten she began to practice healing, first as a tarabawian. According to her, her abilities came from observing both her parents – her father was a tarabawian and her mother was a mabalian. Later, after 40 years of being a tarabawian, she decided to become a mabalian. She is currently in the process of securing her certification as a licensed *mananabang* (Bisaya for birth attendant) in their community. The training may take up to four years, as the sessions are only scheduled every two weeks in a month.

In order to make ends meet, aside from being a mabalian, she manages to work part-time as a banana vendor in the plaza. On Saturdays, as a member of the Southern Baptist church, she attends the service with other churchgoers in the community. Living with her at the present are her husband Diangga Enok, 76 years old, and one grandchild.



Delia Erano

“Aling Jelly” is the sobriquet of Delia Erano, a mabalian from Sitio Tudaya, Sta. Cruz, Davao del Sur. She was born on March 25, 1964. She works as a coffee and corn farmer in Sitio Pugpog, Sapa. She is a member of the SSL or Apo Sandawa Sarili Langis. She started healing after getting married since, as she describes it, hospitals are far. This was her way of taking care of her children’s health. She learned to heal by observing her elders. Currently, she is living with her husband Odimay Puroc and their four children: Elizer, Berna, Maureen, Arikun.



Felomina Anap Ando

Felomina Anap Ando, 62 years old, claimed that she started practice as a tarabawian when her husband left her one month after she gave birth to their sixth child in 1984, an incident that led her to suffer *sinnat* or post-partum relapse. She said that she acquired her ability when she observed her mother using herbal plants to cure her other siblings. She was born on September 3, 1951. She is currently living in Sitio Tambubong, Old Bulatukan, Makilala, North Cotabato with her unmarried children. She is a member of Southern Baptist church.



Marcelina Eli

Marcelina Eli is popularly known as Lola Ori. She is both a tarabawian and a tarailos. As a tarailos she specializes in the treatment of *lios* (fracture) or *piang* (sprain), but she can also treat spirit-induced afflictions known as *sammor*. She uses different medicinal plants in her healing, including *bogong* which is scorched to treat *grabeng lios* (severe fracture).

She does not remember her birth date but she estimates her age to be 83 years old at the time of the interview. She has seven children, and three grandchildren are living with her today: Jhocently Eli, Jhon Dave Eli and Warren Eli. She is a CAMA COOP member in North Cotabato, Makilala, Brgy. Old Bulatukan, Sitio Diansig.

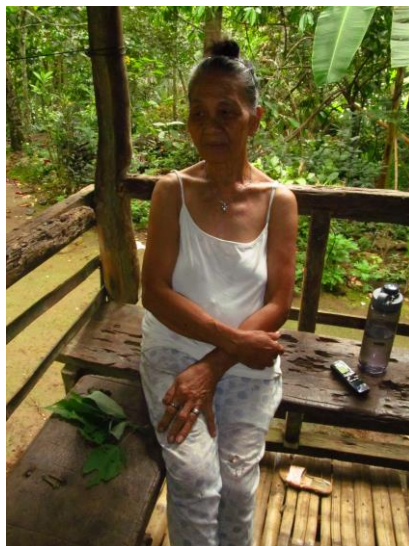


Fig. 1 Scorched *bogong* plant used for *lios* (fracture).

Minda Puro

Minda Puro, or Nanay Omen, is a 48-year-old mabalian from Sitio Tudaya. She was born on January 6, 1965. At the age of fourteen she began formal training under her grandmother, Inak Buyak, which lasted for almost three years. During this time they were living in Sibulan, Davao City. At the age of twenty she started delivering babies, though she said that she does not attend births for first-time mothers (primi gravida). She works as a farmer and is a member of SSL or Apo Sandawa Sarili Langis. She lives with her husband, Udimay Purok (whom she married at the age of 17), and their children: Elizer, Berna, Mauren, and Aruiken.



Quinasome Pandayan Domon

Quinasome Pandayan Domon is a tarabawian from Sitio Tambubong, Old Bulatukan, Makilala, North Cotabato. He is currently 63 years old, having been born on November 5, 1949.

Mr. Domon's father was also a tarabawian, though he refused to teach his son how to heal. Instead, he learned how to be tarabawian by observing his father's activities without the latter's knowledge. He started healing when he had his fourth child, around the year 1967. He possesses his own *oggka* (medicine bundles used to treat putative cases of sorcery [Payne 1985:130]) (see Fig.1 below), that is used to treat *gimassun* (poison or *hilo* in Bisaya).

He married his wife, Dominga Domon, when he was 16 years old. He has had 11 children with her; all but two are unmarried: Dominga and Loyd Harris. He is a member of the Alliance Church.



Fig. 1 An *oggk*

Romeo Puroc

Romeo Puroc, who lives in Sitio Tudaya, considers himself as a tarabawian. He was born on January 7, 1969 and he is 44 years of age. He learned how to heal from his father, who was also a tarabawian. He has used *mama* or betel-nut chew in his healing practices since he was 11 years old, particularly in treating a condition called *binuon*, or a severe type of sammor or spirit-caused ailment. Farming is his primary source of income. He has eight children with his wife, Leonila Puroc.



mama (betel nut chewing) paraphernalia

Salvation Ontong Torino

Salvation Ontong Torino, or Nanay Asyo, lives in Sitio Tudaya. She cannot remember her birthdate but estimates her age to be around 70 years. She considers herself a mabalian, an ability she learned from her mother who was also a midwife. She started working as a mabalian at the age of 40. She avoids assisting deliveries that are *suhi* (breech births). She is currently living with her husband with whom she has had eight children. She is also an abaca and coffee farmer, and is a member of the SSL group.



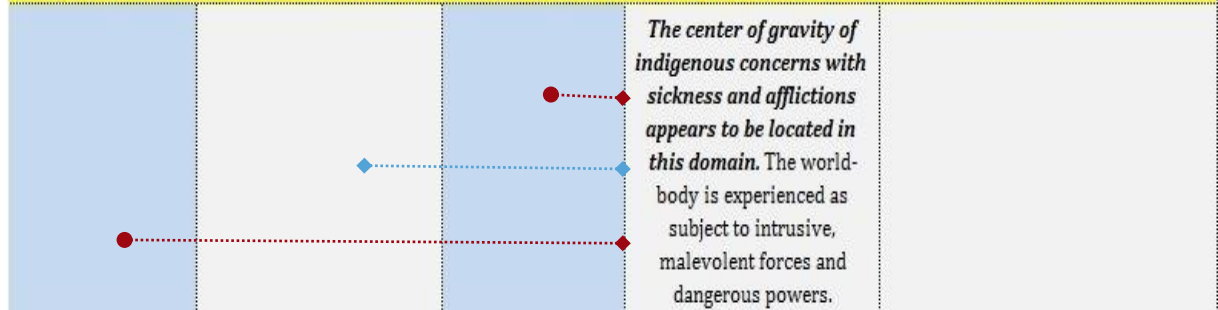
Photos, Plates, Tables



Photos of the oil preparation activity-ritual (early morning of the next day) of the Tagabawa Apo Sandawa Langis group, conducted last May 22-23, 2013, in Sibulan, Davao City. (All photos are taken by MJ Paluga)

Selected Ethnolinguistic Groups and Key Indigenous Categories Pertaining to Life and Living (A)						
Ethnolinguistic Groups	Meta-categories and local terms					
	Bahay HOUSE	Pamumuhay LIVELIHOOD	Daigdig WORLD	Kabilang-buhay AFTERLIFE	Pananampalataya SPIRITUALITY	Other terms related to health, healing, and others
	The following can serve as a <i>lumad</i> meta-category translating the above concepts:					
Lumad	BALAY	KAOYAHAN	BANWA	INGOD TO GIMOKOD	PANUBAD	
Tagakaolo	balay	pag-uya, pag-eyya (Bis.'pamuyo': pag-puyo: uya, eyya, puyo, cf. Manobo, ugpa—lahat, maisasalin, sa literal, na pag-tira-sa-bahay (kalagayan-sa-bahay); Kaolo: 'mano ya pag-uya mayo don' = kumusta ang pagpuyo/panginabuhian ninyo diha? = kumusta ang iyong pagtira, kalagayan-sa-buhay/bahay?)	banwa	kilot ('laing kalibutan' = 'ibang daigdig', ginagamit ng mga dating pari para sa impiyerno), tas na lupa (kabilang daigdig)	panawag-tawag (tawag = Manobo, tubad: pagsasalita, pakikipag-usap), pangintuu	magpamulung (bulung = gamot), anituwan ('may anitu'; manggagamot); magkedel (sakit)
Tagabawa	bale	kangayan ka kantayan ('makunan ng ikabubuhay'; kantayan, Tag. buhay, ikabubuhay)	banwa	dakel banwa ('puy-anan sa nangamatay') (sa literal, 'malaking bayan')	panubad-tubad; 'ang pagtuo sa lumad, nga sa pagtan-aw niya sa kalibutan, anaay nagmugna ug sagrado, pasabot, girespetuhan kay dili binuhat sa tawo' (ang paniniwala ng lumad, pagtingin niya sa daigdig, na may naglalang nito, sagrado, dapat respetuhan dahil hindi ito gawa ng tao)	bogok (sakit); ginaw (hininga, pag-ibig); mabalian (nag-papaanak), tara-ilos (hilot),
Pantaron Manobo	baloy, tuluhan	kaoyahan, katubungan (magandang buhay, mapayapa, walang problema sa pagkain)	ingod, kalibutan (sanlibutan = 'isang pag-libot', kabilogan)	ingod to gimokod (sa literal, 'daigdig ng mga larawan')	panubad-tubad (sa Magbabaya)	goinawa (hininga, pag-ibig); balyan (manggagamot, tagapagsagawa ng ritwal)
Mandaya	balay, bay, ballay; bunsali, abat (in dawot)	talaba(h)o, kaballagan, pyagkugi(h)an ('pagsisikap'), pyagkaya, pyag-agos (paghahanap ng ulam/makain)	katadman, kalibutan, pullo, banwa, liwagan, lugar	'naa lang dinhi, tapad lang nato, pero dili makit-an kay espirito man' (dito lang sa tabi, pero hindi makikita)	pagtuo, pagtaya, pagkaminayaan, matinumanon, naghigugma sa abyan nga nagbaya; panawag-tawag ('offering of drinks, lighting of candles, burning of incense, or offering chicken blood')	balyan (manggagamot)
Blaan	bali	det gu mwe kakaan?' (saan ang makunan ng makain?), 'det galabek dad to?' (ano ang kadalasang trabaho ng mga tao dito?)	bong banwe, bong kabanwe	ang dautan nga tawo, ginaingon nga mupaingon sa ilalom sa yuta (mule lam tanu, 'ilalim ng lupa'), lugar ni Blagul (ug ni Se We, daghan siya totoy, kay sa iya katotoy ang mga bata nga mamatay); ang maayo ug dinaugdaug kuhaon, i-rapture, paadto kay Fye We' ('ang masasama, pupunta sa Kailaliman, kay Blagul, ang mabubuti, kukunin ni Fye We, dadalhin sa Kalawakan')	kaftoo, kdasal, dasal (katulad ng Tagalog na dasal)	
With translation inputs from friends: Kerlan Fanagel (Blaan), Prof. Emmanuel Nabayra, Jr. (Mandaya), Benito Dawsay, Teody Mansimuy-at (Pantaron Manobo), Matet Gonzalo, Raquel Mandaya (Tagakaolo), Tio Monico Cayug (Tagabawa Bagobo)						

Selected Ethnolinguistic Groups and Key Indigenous Categories Pertaining to Life and Living (B)					
Ethnolinguistic Groups	Meta-categories and local terms				
	Bahay HOUSE	Pamumuhay LIVELIHOOD	Daigdig WORLD	Kabilang-buhay AFTERLIFE	Pananampalataya SPIRITUALITY
	The following can serve as a <i>lumad</i> meta-category translating the above concepts:				
Lumad	BALAY	KAOYAHAN	BANWA	INGOD TO GIMOKOD	PANUBAD
HEURISTIC AND INTERPRETIVE NOTES	The linguistic form BALAY is the most stable across areas; the concept may translate well as house = dwelling place ; as <i>tuluhan</i> , <i>torogan</i> (Maranaw; Tag., <i>tulogan</i>), it is the place where one 'sleeps and rests': a moving-and-resting place par excellence)	The terms <i>oya</i> / <i>eyya</i> may be related to the forms <i>puyo</i> (Bis.) and <i>ugpa</i> (Manobo); the underlying concept may translate well as place-condition-means of living or the house as 'life-place': if the house is the foundational space, <i>ugpaan</i> / <i>kaoyahan</i> describes the quality (living a 'beautiful life') of that living-resting-place house.	Banwa/ingod is the larger dwelling place enwrapping the life-place of the house : it is a 'life-world', defining both (a) the sphere where one does life in the broadest sense, and (b) the world as a breathing-caring (ginawa/goiawa), living-and-life-giving sphere (cf., 'life' as <i>umo</i> , in Obo Bagobo {Cabazares and Tamos, 2013}, with its it-is-alive-if-it-gives-life logic).	Either as two linked worlds (two-sided worlds: this-side and the-other-side or the-seen-world and the-unseen-world) or three (the 'other world' is divided again into 'world-below' and 'world-above'), the idea of <i>banwa</i> and <i>dakel banwa</i> , is perhaps well conceptualized as the same earth-world seen from different angles (or emphasizing different dimensions): its socio-material aspects (<i>banwa</i>) and its symbolic-affective-virtual aspects (featuring spectral qualities and sensed images: 'the world of <i>gimokod</i> -images').	The ghostly, spectral world of the <i>dakel banwa</i> is re-experienced in this domain as a world of faith-evoking contingencies, prompting one to think of the world as a person-to-talk-to (or a person to call from the depths of one's <i>ginawa/loob</i>); this is perhaps the basic sense of <i>panubad-tubad</i> or <i>panawag-tawag</i> practices.
	The three categories (<i>balay-oya-banwa</i>) can be diagrammed as two concentric circles of an expanding/deepening living space, with its mode marked by a third category <i>oya</i> ('mode of living').			The idea of an other-world/ <i>kabilang-buhay</i> is, therefore, a second qualitative handling of the <i>balay-banwa</i> : <i>gimokod</i> -thinking as a second <i>oya</i> -mode, the world as full of potent spectral entities. It is the <i>ginawa/buot/loob</i> that senses this dimension of the everyday world, sometimes accessing this in dreams. Imagine the diagrammed life-circle as split into two when everything in it is suddenly infused with spectral qualities: this splitting is the very sense of <i>buhay-kabilang-buhay</i> mode of thinking.	Perhaps in its germinal design, the indigenous world portrays an expansive <i>balay-banwa</i> world experienced thrice : (a) as a caring sphere where one moves and sleeps, (b) as a terrifying place where almost everything in it, and even itself as a whole, can be seen as both having familiar and deathly, spectral dimensions: a world where unseen and half-seen forces and powers are ascendant in our senses, and (c) as a world-person to talk to.

Where is the concern with health and well-being located in the <i>balay-banwa</i> frame?				
Bahay HOUSE	Pamumuhay LIVELIHOOD	Daigdig WORLD	Kabilang-buhay AFTERLIFE	Pananampalataya SPIRITUALITY
Dwelling place: place where one moves (sit, stand, work, eat, drink, walk around, breathe and love (as <i>ginawa/goinawa</i>), sleep, dream, think)	Describes the quality of that living-resting-place house (living a 'beautiful life' /magandang buhay): mode of living. <u>First mode</u> of experiencing the house-world: as a caring sphere where one moves and sleeps.	The life-world enwrapping the house: (a) the sphere where one does life in the broadest sense, and (b) the world as a breathing-caring sphere . The expanded 'house'.	<u>Second mode</u> of experiencing the house-world: as a terrifying place where almost everything in it, and even itself as a whole, can be seen as having deathly, spectral dimensions.	<u>Third mode</u> of experiencing the house-world: as a world-person to talk to .
Indigenous views on well-being and health: (a) what makes a good life (<i>magandang buhay</i>, <i>kangayan ka kantayan</i> {Tagabawa Bagobo}, <i>katubungan</i> {Pantaron Manobo})? Satisfying one's objects of thought/desire for each domain...				
'magandang bahay'	'laging may mapagkukunan ng pagkain', 'maginhawang buhay'	'magandang lupain'	'magandang kamatayan'	'pagmamahal ng may-kapal' (ginawa ng Manama {Tagabawa Bagobo}, goinawa ng Magbabaya {Pantaron Manobo})
Indigenous views on well-being and health: (b) what obstructs the making of a good life? Afflictions coming from...				
 <p><i>The center of gravity of indigenous concerns with sickness and afflictions appears to be located in this domain.</i> The world-body is experienced as subject to intrusive, malevolent forces and dangerous powers.</p>				

The *busaw*-force of *Ingod-to-Gimokod* (IG) {spectral-world} is seen as actively seeping into the **house-world** and challenges its *kaoyahan* {mode of living}. This explains why the central figure of the IG-domain, the ***balyan***, who officiates agricultural rites is also the figure of healing and medicines.

10 Materia medica

The study was able to document a total of 107 plants and 20 other natural products from the (3) areas covered in Davao del Sur and (3) in Makilala, North Cotabato. The appendix lists the scientific name, local name/s, common name, its indication, part/s used, preparation, and direction for use and the plants actual photo if available.

Although our sampling practice is unsystematic, our data-sets and ethnographic interview data show that some plants (a) are utilized more frequently than others in varied afflictions and/or (b) are given more symbolic importance than others.

Based on the name's frequency mentioned in the collated set of listed afflictions provided us the rough idea of the possible 'top-ranking' of plants and non-plants utilized by respondents of each area. Therefore, led us to the top 3 frequently used herbal plants in various afflictions which include: tagamaing (*Blumea* sp.), kamogna (*Acorus calamus* L.), and kalatae (*Ficus* sp.) Most of the preparations are made from single plants and are prepared by boiling (decoction) and (infusion), and are taken orally or applied as poultice.

Physical concerns with highest range of multiple cures (top 5) documented were fever (*ménit é lawa*), stomach ache (*masakit é tabbek or gátták*), cough (*buha*), watery stool (*katagebes or pangindus*), and relapse (both post-partum related and not) (*sinnat*).

For example in treatment for diarrhea or watery stool (*katagebes*), nine (9) treatments both single preparation and different concoctions of plants and non-plants were utilized which include: sugar, decoction of cacao and sibukaw, and infusion of kapeng robusta, avocado, and guava were among other managements for the said affliction.

If a more rigorous sampling is done with this pattern in view, it opens up the interesting question of the ecological and cultural factors that serve as basis for the emerging ranking.

Again, although our sampling practice is unsystematic, it is interesting to observe some commonalities and differences in the kinds of afflictions given importance by our informants on the basis of their memory-based responses to our simple question, 'what are the illnesses and afflictions in their area and what plants are utilized for their treatment?'

Concluding Points

How the community can make use of the research

Area/Ethnicity	Important area features	Health Needs	Can research help? In what way?
Malita (Tagakaolo)	Areas visited have high literacy rate	Health materials for the community	Protection of key medicinal plants
Todaya (Tagabawa)		Guidebook on useful plants for illnesses	Advocacy and teaching materials for their school
Makilala (Tagabawa)	Has Brgy. Health Clinic, midwife; near the town, access to market; limited sources of herbal, plant		Data will help NGOs working in the community
Lokatong (Tagabawa)		Technical needs in establishing their herbarium; materials for herbarium	
Talaingod (Manobo)	Far from the central town	Hygiene, Basic health training	Scientific plant identification; capsule and syrup making, ointment
Mati (Mandaya)		Kamunaan museum (Atty. Al Aquino): scientific plant identification	

The table above lists a sample of health needs and some possible intervention responses that can be undertaken as take-offs of this study.

KEY **INDIVIDUALS** IN THE COMMUNITIES ARE CONTINUING **PARTNERS** (OF UNIVERSITY-BASED RESEARCHERS) IN DOING SUSTAINED DOCUMENTATION, PROCESSING, AND APPROPRIATION FOR **VARIED USES BY THE PEOPLE** OF THE GROWING DATA

It is important to underline the **evolving nature** of the research

As mentioned in the opening chapter, this study is conducted with a long-term view of a healthy interaction between knowledgeable villagers and academe-based individuals who are committed to forging closer bonds with the struggling indigenous communities. The evolving nature of this kind of research should result to a continuous checking and

DOCUMENTATION OF PHILIPPINE TRADITIONAL KNOWLEDGE AND PRACTICES ON HEALTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF TRADITIONAL KNOWLEDGE DIGITAL LIBRARY ON HEALTH FOR SELECTED ETHNOLINGUISTIC GROUPS: THE TAGABAWA BAGOBO PEOPLE OF SITIO TUDAYA AND SITIO BARURING IN BRGY. SIBULAN, STA. CRUZ, DAVAO DEL SUR AND SITIO DIANSIG AND SITIO TAMBUBONG IN BRGY. BULATUKAN AND SITIO LUCATONG IN BRGY.

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rechecking of the data, assumptions, and interpretations in the course of any collaborative works on the theme of local history and cultural analysis for community self-knowledge.

IF FOLKS DO **HAVE LIVING KNOWLEDGE AND ACCESS** TO USABLE PLANT SOURCES (LIKE THE MANOBOS LIVING NEAR THE PANTARON RANGE), WHY ARE THEY **STILL ATTRACTED** (PERHAPS EVEN CONSIDERING AS MORE EFFECTIVE) **TO USING NON-INDIGENOUS, COMMERCIALIZED MEDICINES?**

An observed disjoint in folks' knowledge and behaviour might just be overtaken by the **development of new attitudes** if there is a continuing shared activity between villagers and academe-based researchers

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