

“Agusanon” is derived from “agus” meaning stream,” “an” meaning “place,” and “-on,” a suffix denoting people and their language, the term referring to “the native people inhabiting the territory drained by the Agusan River, their culture and language.” However, as the native peoples have been crowded out of their lands by Christian settlers, the latter are now dominant and in possession of the flat lands in the Agusan Valley. The earlier population has been driven into the mountainsides and slopes by Islamization, which may have begun around the 15th century, and Visayan immigration. Hence, it is actually more accurate to call these native people Agusan Manobo, the second word being the Hispanized word for Manuvu, the original name.

The Agusanon Manobo belong to the original stock of proto-Austronesians who came from south China thousands of years ago, earlier than the Ifugao and other terrace-building peoples of northern Luzon. Ethnolinguist Richard Elkins (1984) coined the term “Proto-Manobo” to designate this stock of aboriginal non-Negritoid people of Mindanao. The first Manobo settlers lived in northern Mindanao: Camiguin, Cagayan, and the areas of Bukidnon and Misamis Oriental. Descended from the Manobo are the groups which speak 19 Manobo languages and major dialects. Other sources claim there are 21 groups, including Bagobo, Tboli, and Ubo.

The eastern Manobo count among their number the Agusanon Manobo, who are found in the two provinces, Agusan del Norte and Agusan del Sur. These two provinces were separated in 1967. Two major studies that have been made on them include those that inhabit “the whole Agusan Valley as far as the town of Buai on the upper Agusan and on the eastern side of the Pacific Cordillera” (Garvan 1931:3), and “those inhabiting the riverine communities at the confluence of the Agusan and Adgawan Rivers” (Montillo-Burton 1985:13). The Manobo population is concentrated in Agusan del Sur, some of it extending to the southeastern part of Agusan del Norte and the southern part of Bukidnon province. The whole Manobo population numbers 250,000, of which the Agusanon Manobo is a large fraction (NCCP-PACT 1988).

History

The history of the Agusanon Manobo is a mixture of documents written by the Spanish missionaries and their oral tradition, in which warriors and enemies are remembered as giants and monsters. An 1897 account by a Spanish friar mentions that Magellan landed in Butuan in 1521, and that a cross was planted at the mouth of the Agusan River to commemorate the first mass celebrated there. In 1591, Butuan became an encomienda (land grant to an individual Spaniard) and tributes were collected. However, the construction of a fort in Linao (now overrun by the Agusan River) indicates the Agusanon Manobo’s fierce resistance to colonization. Records of Christian conversion probably refer to the Visayan lowlanders, since all attempts made by the Spaniards to make the Manobo conform to the pueblo system were futile. Between 1881 to 1883, for example, all the newly formed pueblo in lower Agusan were burned and abandoned by the Agusanon Manobo. By the close of the 19th century, when the Philippine Revolution was only beginning elsewhere in the country,

the Spanish missionaries and troops had already withdrawn from the upriver area, although towns along the main river and around Butuan (now the capital city of Agusan del Norte) had been transformed into *rancherías* or Spanish settlements.

These settlements were easily taken over by the American colonizers and eventually absorbed into the national government system. Presently the indigenous culture, especially embodied in the religious beliefs and rituals, is still recognizable. However, this aspect is now mixed with Christian elements, such as the lighting of candles and the offering of animal sacrifices and food to saints. The warrior class and warrior chief are gone and, in their stead, government officials implement the policies and laws of the national government.

Economy

The upland Agusanon Manobo practice swidden or slash-and-burn farming, whereas those inhabiting the valley practice wet-rice farming. Other major means of subsistence are fishing, hunting, and trapping. Besides rice, which is the major crop, the clearing is planted to supplementary crops, e.g., camote or sweet potato, sugarcane, vegetables. To the man falls the tasks of house building, hunting, fishing, trapping, and felling the trees in preparation for clearing the fields. When the family falls into debt, he tries to earn additional cash by boat making, mining, and basket making. He prepares the rattan strips and abaca fibers for the woman to weave into baskets and cloth. He fashions the implements for fishing, hunting, and trapping, and he engages in trade. In the past, the man was expected to defend the household members and the settlement. This was especially so before World War II, when they engaged in much intertribal fighting.

Anthropologists have observed that the burden of work lies on the woman. After the man has felled the trees, she clears the fields and does the planting, weeding, and harvesting herself. She is engaged in pot making, mat and basket weaving, cloth weaving, sewing, embroidering, bead making, and food gathering. She does all the household chores, e.g., drawing water from the source which is usually a considerable distance from the house, cooking, caring for the children, and tending the sick.

Political System

Each settlement consists of a clan ranging from 20 to 200 members, who are headed by a chief *bagani* (warrior). In 1910, anthropologist John Garvan (1931) noted that there was no separate title for the headman except for “*bagani*,” a title that he shared with other members of his class. The term *datu* was used by the Visayan traders for this headman but not by the Manobo. The Spaniards called him *masikampo* (derived from *maestre del campo*) and the Muslim called him *kuyano/kulano*.

A *bagani* was chosen to be the headman if he had killed at least five persons, was fluent

in speech, was knowledgeable in the custom law, was generally just and kind to the community members, and was favored by the gods. In battle he was the bravest and strongest. A banquet held by the chiefs of neighboring settlements indicated their recognition of him as the chief of his settlement.

However, he enjoyed no special privileges as the headman, and his influence was derived more from his wealth and power as a warrior than from his position. As a member of the bagani class, he also wore distinctive clothing: a red jacket, trousers, and headkerchief. All these pieces of clothing were embroidered with yellow, blue, and white yam. He was protected by the war god Tagbusau. When on a war expedition, he tied his hair in a bun and covered it with a wooden headpiece.

Although there was no assembly house in the settlement, he occasionally called a *kahimunan* (assembly) to get a consensus of opinion of the people. The elders' advice was always respected for as long as they could still participate in deliberations. Community decisions, however, always conformed to custom law. The headman was the arbiter and judge in matters of dispute between the members of the settlement. As the priest of the war god Tagbusau, it was also his duty to satisfy his god's thirst for blood. He was believed to have a *kometan*, the magic power to harm an offender. He wore a *tahilan*, a charm that derived its power from an enemy's blood. He was also a healer, for he was called upon to officiate curing rituals for people suffering from hemorrhage or any other illness involving the flow of blood.

The bagani achieved the highest rank by degrees, depending upon the number of enemies he had slain and certain manifestations by the gods. The bagani of lowest rank was the *manikiad* who had killed one or two men in battle; his distinctive mark was a headkerchief of striped red and yellow. The *hanagan* had killed five enemies but would qualify as a headman only if the gods favored him by possession. The *tinabudan* was a chosen one, as proven by his being *tagbusauan*, possessed. In this state, he performed certain ritual acts, specifically falling into a trance and eating the enemy's heart and liver. He was then allowed to wear the red headkerchief. The *kinaboan*, having slain 7 to 27 enemies, wore a red jacket. The *luto* (cooked, finished) had slain 50 to 100 and could wear red trousers. The *lunugum* was believed to be a favorite of the gods for having speared a dead man in an enemy's house. For this peculiar feat, he was dressed entirely in black.

Manobo society was a warrior society in which revenge was considered a religious act. Therefore, custom law was based on the right of revenge, usually committed as a ritual act. Revenge by killing was allowed for the following crimes: adultery, fornication, rape, and homicide. If one could not avenge himself on the culprit, he had the right to declare a vendetta on a culprit's relative. All other crimes were settled by the imposition of fines. Custom law upheld respect for one's person and property.

For crimes like theft or nonpayment of debts, testimony and arbitration were combined with a trial by ordeal, such as the plunging of the accused person's hands into boiling water, diving in water, or placing one's hands over a candle. Innocence was proven if

one came out of the ordeal unscathed.

Although there were generally no female chiefs, there was in 1910 a highly influential woman named Sinapi, who lived on Simulao River near the settlement of San Isidro. Her influence, however, extended to upper Simulao and Bahaian, because she traveled from one settlement to another “like a chief,” and was consulted on matters that the headmen could not arbitrate. Jesuit documents in earlier times mention another influential woman named Pinkai, who lived on the Argawan River.

Social Organization and Customs

The traditional social structure consists of the bagani, *baylan*, commoner, and slave. The bagani class, now gone, defended the community and went to battle. The baylan, still existing today, are male or female priests and healers. They read dreams and omens, foretell the future, and heal the sick with herbal medicine and elaborate mystic rites, during which they are invariably possessed by the *diwata* (spirits). Their powers are either inherited or conferred upon them by the spirits. The commoners were farmers; and the slaves, who had been seized in raids, belonged to the ruler and were usually given away as part of the bride-price.

Betel nut quid is an important social and religious item, for it is believed to be the gods' favorite food and is part of the ritual offering. Among the Manobo people, it is offered as a sign of friendship and hospitality. It is considered an offense to refuse it when it is offered.

Certain rites attend significant stages in the Agusanon Manobo's life, such as childbirth, courtship, marriage, and death.

When a wife becomes pregnant, taboos are strictly followed by the couple. The husband avoids working with rattan strips, for these symbolize the infant's umbilical cord, which could strangle it. For the same reason, no necklaces or any kind of binding is worn. When the woman sits, one knee is left uncovered. Both husband and wife avoid using speckled or dirty firewood, or else the baby might resemble it. When descending the ladder, visitors or the couple must not stop midway and go back up again.

During the woman's delivery, rattan is a central ritual item because it symbolizes the fleshy bond between mother and infant. The midwife burns it where the smoke will reach the patient. It is burned to symbolically cut the bond and make the delivery easy. In difficult childbirth, the female baylan is called in. She places lemon and sasa reed under the house and invokes the evil spirits to keep away. The placenta is then either buried under the house or wrapped and suspended from the floor under the house.

There is no ceremony for the naming of the infant. The name is taken from that of an

ancestor, a culture hero, or an event related to its birth. There is, however, an elaborate birth ceremony that must be held within a month. Called the *tagun-on*, it is held in honor of the god Mandait, who determines the character of the infant's two *umagad* (souls).

There are no special rituals at the onset of puberty, although as the child approaches it, both male and female undergo the filing and blackening of teeth and tattooing. The boy is circumcised.

Betrothal is traditionally arranged by the parents years before the children marry, because negotiations sometimes last over a number of years. There is much circumlocutory language and the speeches are delivered in a declamatory fashion. The first present that is given to the girl's father is a spear or knife with silver decorations. On the second day, a pig, spears, bolo, daggers, plates, and jars are presented to the girl's family. The end of negotiations and gift giving is marked by a great feast, in which the man's family gives the last set of gifts. Finally, the girl's parents in turn give a feast, in which they return to the boy's parents half the value of all the gifts that passed from father to father.

The marriage ceremony is held when the girl reaches puberty and the boy is 18 years old. The bride and groom, seated on a mat, exchange a handful of rice. They then transfer the rice from their right to their left hand seven times while proclaiming their marriage. The guests then burst into much shouting and laughing, naughtily shouting sexual innuendoes at the newlyweds. The female baylan then reads omens on seven betel quids.

Although polygyny is allowed, it is practiced only by those who can afford it. The first wife must give her consent, and she retains her position as head wife. When the husband dies, his family can choose a new spouse for his widow, who commands a lower bride-price than the first time.

Illness is believed to be caused by evil spirits. When an epidemic occurs, a small raft full of food offerings is floated down the river to appease the water demons.

It is believed that a person with certain mystic powers can harm an offender through the kometan. For example, prolonged sickness and eventual death results if one eats food that has been mixed with a certain part of a particular type of bamboo, or with woman's blood exposed to the sun and to the moonlight, then mixed with human hair. A man wishing to win a woman's love concocts an aphrodisiac made of *ki-ut*, the wax produced by an insect and tree ashes.

When a person dies, the body is washed and dressed in its best clothes. Burial takes place within a day, for decomposition is avoided. The coffin is a hollowed-out log, cut lengthwise in half for the main part and the lid. Each half is three faced so that the covered coffin is hexagonal.

The brief vigil begins with the baylan placing a betel-nut offering beside the coffin. The mourners address the dead, extending an invitation for both the deceased and all the inhabitants of *Ibu*, the afterworld, to attend the death feast.

As the coffin is carried into the forest to be buried, there is much wailing and shouting, partly in mourning, partly to keep evil spirits away. A thatched roof is set above the grave and a pot of rice with a hole at the bottom is hung up under the roof. The bagani, weapon and shield in hand, stand in wait behind trees for the evil spirits. If the dead is male, he is buried facing the east; if a woman, she is buried facing the west.

Before entering the house after the burial, the mourners purify themselves with a mixture of water and herbs contained in a coconut-shell cup set by the doorway. Then the baylan presides over the death feast. A winnow containing cooked rice and bananas is placed on the floor in the house. A banquet is laid around the winnow. The mourners sit in a circle and place their betel-nut offering on the winnow as they implore the deceased not to haunt the living. The head of the family takes a handful of rice and shapes it into a human figure. As this figure is passed from one person to the next, each one takes a nip. Meanwhile, the spirits of the dead are invited to partake of the feast. After the meal, the contents of the rice winnow are tossed into the air, and everyone hastily falls back to avoid being touched by the food offering. Then there is dancing to the sound of the drum, gong, and chanting of the baylan.

Religious Beliefs and Practices

The Agusanon Manobo are polytheistic, although they seem to acknowledge Magbabaya, the Creator, as their supreme deity. John Garvan (1931) observes that the beneficent deities are collectively called the *umli*, of which little is known because they hold themselves aloof from the human race. They are believed to have brass intestines and to use a gold *limba* (chain) to pull up into their divine abode anything from the earth. Garvan makes no mention of Magbabaya in his study. However, he records two versions of the creation myth. One identifies Makalidung as the creator. He resides with a python in a pillar supporting the earth, which is shaped like a mushroom. When he is angered, he shakes the post, thereby creating an earthquake. Another myth has a female creator named Dagau, who also controls the world. Repelled by the sight of human blood, she punishes the human race whenever blood is spilled by commanding her python to shake the pillars of the earth or by causing famine. The goddess of Maibuyan, the afterworld, is Ibu. Maibuyan is reached through a river on a boat ferried by Manduyapit.

Magbabaya's messengers are the diwata, invisible and powerful lesser gods who can possess human beings, especially the baylan and the bagani, through whom they communicate with ordinary human beings. Based on their medium of communication, they can be classified as nonchanting or chanting diwata. Based on their abodes, they may be classified as celestial or terrestrial. A third classification is based on their functions in relation to human affairs (Montillo-Burton 1985).

An example of a nonchanting celestial diwata is Inadyaw/Inaiyu, who dwells on a lakeshore in heaven. He is the god of thunderbolt and lightning; and of wind, rain, and storm. He punishes breakers of taboos with the anit, i.e., a curse which causes physical deformities or skin diseases. On the other hand, Garvan (1931) identifies Anit as the god of the thunderbolt. Umowiwi is the cloud spirit. Libtakan is the god of sunrise, sunset, and good weather. Terrestrial diwata live in those parts of the earth over which they have dominion.

Tutud-omon or chanting diwata communicate through the baylan, who chants their messages when he or she is possessed. In curing ritual, they are the *abyan* (helpers) of the baylan. Garvan (1931) and Montillo-Burton (1985) list several groups of diwata: the malevolent, the agricultural, the forest, and those concerned with human affairs.

The malevolent diwata, collectively called *busau*, are the *tagbusau*, *pana-iyang*, *tame*, and the epidemic busau. The tagbusau are the diwata of bloodshed and revenge and, in the past, used to incite the bagani to wage war in order to appease their craving for human blood. The pana-iyang cause ordinary persons to run amuck, killing everyone in their path. With the disappearance of the bagani class, the tagbusau and pana-iyang are often considered one and the same. These malevolent diwata punish people by causing hemorrhages or making them vomit blood. The tame is a giant in the jungle that “beguiles the traveler to his doom” (Garvan 1931). Epidemic busau come from the *posud to dagat* (navel of the sea). A particular group of epidemic busau are believed to sail up the Agusan River from Homonhon and attack the coastal towns. The *sundo* ritual is performed in their honor at harvest time in November.

Agricultural diwata are Taephagan, Hakyadan, and Tagamaling. Taephagan is the goddess who guards the rice granary; Hakyadan is the god of rice in its various stages of growth from sowing to harvesting; and Tagamaling is the god of the other crops. The *taephagan* ritual is performed for all three deities at planting and harvesting times.

Diwata of the forests and the hunt are the tagbanua, and spirits Taebobong, Sandiganan, and Sugudun. The tagbanua, producers of rain, must be given a ritual offering before hunting expeditions and other forest occupations. They dwell in balete or *lawaan* trees, which no one must disturb or point at. To do the latter will cause a person’s arm to wither. The three other gods are guardians of wild animals and hunting dogs, who must likewise be propitiated before a hunting trip so as to prevent illness in the hunter’s family.

Diwata of bodies of fresh water are the *yumod*, with a human body and a fish’s tail. They guard the fish and hide in rocky places or in deep pools in rivers, lakes, and streams; and they cause people to drown.

Some diwata function in relation to human affairs. Those affecting the physical well-being of people are Mandait and Manaug. Mandait is the diwata who gives every

newborn its two souls or umagad. The tagun-on ritual is performed in his honor so as to ensure the good health of the child. The *manaug* are collectively represented by a wooden idol that can cause eye diseases. Tagabayau is a goddess who incites to incestuous love and marriage; Agkui is a semi-diwata, semi-busau who incites to lust and incest.

Every person has two umagad and five lesser souls like shadows of the self. A twin, called *untong*, is born in the other world at the same time as the person on earth. Illness occurs when an umagad wanders away from the body and is kidnapped by an evil diwata. Then the other umagad languishes in the absence of its companion. The baylan is called to recapture the lost umagad in a curing ritual, in which the remaining umagad's weeping and moaning is heard through the baylan.

Garvan (1931) identifies two classes of priests: the baylan and the bagani. The diwata communicate with human beings through the baylan whom they possess. Manifestations of *dunaan* (possession) are sweating, perspiring, belching, having spasms, foaming at the mouth, and falling into a trance. They officiate in rituals involving the everyday affairs of the people, such as curing, harvesting, rainmaking, and house building. The bagani were considered by Garvan as "war priests" because they manifested the same signs of possession, were induced by their gods tagbusau to declare war, and performed rituals in honor of their war gods with the use of paraphernalia similar to the baylan's, except the betel-nut offering. The officiating bagani also included in his invocation the names of all those he and his ancestors had slain.

The two most important items used in rituals are betel quid and the blood of the sacrificial pig or chicken, believed to be the diwata's favorite food and drink. The blood offering is the central point of every ritual. A lance or bolo is thrust into the sacrificial victim, which is either a pig or chicken. A bowl catches the blood, some of which is smeared on the altar and on the central participants, such as the patient in a curing ritual. In rituals where the baylan is possessed, the blood of the sacrificial victim, a pig or chicken, is either sucked from the wound or caught in a bowl, from which the baylan drinks. In the past, after a victorious battle, the bagani sucked the blood and ate the heart and liver from a slain enemy. The baylan did the same in their rituals, with slaves as human sacrifices. It was their belief that the gods, who had possessed them, were doing the eating and drinking. During the American regime, the use of human sacrifices was prohibited; hence, pig or chicken was used as a substitute.

The baylan observes omens from eggs, the *budakan* (a kind of vine), dreams, the cry of birds, snakes, and fowl. The bagani observed bird omens before a war expedition. A rainbow moving toward a settlement was read as a sign of an impending attack. Plants that are used against the busau are the sasa reed, *uag vine*, and *sua* (lemon) tree, all of which the baylan places at the openings of houses. Fire and smoke, loud shouts, offerings of betel quid, meat, and rice also keep the busau away.

Architecture and Community Planning

The slash-and-burn agricultural system of the Agusanon Manobo determines where he builds his house, i.e., wherever he decides to make a clearing, usually in a virgin forest. The farmstead, consisting of both the residence and surrounding cultivated fields, is the Manobo domicile. Hence, households of one settlement are dispersed rather than concentrated. The settlement has no assembly house. One nonresidential structure in the settlement is the baylan's *kamalig*, a wooden shed where the religious paraphernalia are kept and erected near his/her house.

The traditional Agusanon Manobo house has one square room, standing 1.5 to 8 meters from the ground. The house itself is about 5 meters high. A total of 4 to 16 posts are used to support the whole house. Rattan strips or *hagnaia* (*stenochlena*) vine are used to fasten the parts of the house together. The floor consists of split bamboo or palma brava laid side by side and running across the house.

The walls are wooden or bamboo poles piled horizontally one on top of another, and fastened to vertical poles or posts at certain places for support. The walls reach only up to the shoulders of a seated person and do not close the house entirely. The space between the roof and the top of the walls makes the house airy. It was originally meant to be the opening from which the people could shoot arrows at the enemy.

The roof is four sided and positioned like a gable. The rafters are supported by four beams, which are tied with rattan strips to the posts of the house. Four main rafters support the gable; hence, these are positioned at a 45-degree angle from the posts. From the ridgepole, which is supported by the rafters, extend lighter rafters laid parallel at distances of 40 centimeters. These extend 50 centimeters beyond the side beams, so that the thatched roof that they support shades all four sides of the house. The thatch consists of rattan fronds. In times of war, strips of bark or split bamboo were used for roofing in order to deflect flaming arrows.

A vague carving of a human figure is made on the ridgepole. At both ends of this pole are attached a pair of 1-meter-long strips of wood on which are the impressions of a crested rooster's head in low relief.

Inside, a raised portion of the room is designated as a sleeping place. Across the room from the door is the fireplace. It is a rectangle consisting of four pieces of wood, 1 meter long and 10 centimeters high. The wooden rectangle is filled with earth and mounted with stones to support the pot while cooking. Firewood is stacked on a frame built above the fireplace. Kitchen implements, tools, fishing and hunting equipment surround the fireplace.

One enters the house by a ladder made of a log on which notches have been carved for the foothold. The ground floor underneath the house serves as a pigpen, rice granary, and storage room for the rice mortar and pestles.

Visual Arts and Crafts

Traditional fabric for clothes was abaca or hemp, but is now cotton cloth obtained through trade. The *umpak*, jacket for both men and women, is closed, so that it is pulled over the head. They are always embroidered on all the seams, i.e., the cuffs, shoulders, sides, neckline, and hemline, which is at the waist level. Typical decorative colors are red, yellow, white, and blue. *Binain* or decorative patterns are geometric, such as diamonds, rectangles, squares, and triangles; horizontal lines and zigzags; and representational figures such as a dancing man, stars, leaves, and crocodiles.

Umpak, the men's jacket, is short, moderately close fitting, square cut, and long sleeved. Besides being embroidered, the seams of the jacket are covered with cotton tufts of red, yellow, and dark blue. A strip of cloth of a different color from the jacket is sewn between the sleeves and the body of the jacket. The top of the jacket's back is covered with an embroidered band, 4-6 centimeters wide. In central Agusan this band at the back of the jacket consists of 6 to 9 horizontal, inwoven stripes of blue yarn.

In upper Agusan the jacket is made of fine, black abaca cloth, or black or blue cotton trade cloth. Color contrast is achieved by the addition of narrow strips of white cloth a little above the cuffs, on the seams of the upper ends of the sleeves, or on the hemline around the waist. An unembroidered jacket is decorated by tufts of cotton yarn over all the seams. On the other hand, an embroidered jacket would be decorated on the back, on the seams at the shoulders, and down two sides of the sleeves with bands of intricate designs 5-7 centimeters wide. Although the typical colors are used, red is the dominant color. At war, the men used to wear an armor made of thickly braided, multicolored cords of abaca sewn together.

The men have two kinds of *sawa* or trousers: one for working and the other for festive occasions. Both types reach to just below the knees. The working trousers are close fitting and plain. The festive trousers are square cut, baggy, and embroidered in the typical colors and designs on the sides and cuffs. A fringe of cotton yarn is sewn between all the seams except at the waist. The trousers are kept in place with a drawstring, to both ends of which are attached tassels in the typical colors. In upper Agusan beads and small bells are added.

The men's hat consists of two pieces of bamboo, joined to form a conical peak, and overlapping at one end to form a tail. Decorations consist of beeswax dottings and tracings, white-seed beads sewn around the rim or around the peak, beaded pendants with cotton tassels, dottings of cotton tufts, and the shimmering green wings of a beetle on the top. On the back are attached five or six rooster plumes. The hat is held in place by a pair of braided and beaded cotton or abaca. A plainer hat, sometimes worn by women, is made of sago palm or bamboo, a circular squat cone.

The men carry their betel quid in a *kamuyot*, a square, abaca knapsack, usually decorated only by a fringe of multicolored yarn that is attached around the seam. It is worn with the arms passing under two strings attached to both sides. If elaborately decorated, it is surrounded by tassels and covered with beads and embroidery.

The chief of the bagani had a special attire, which was predominantly red. The red jacket and trousers were embroidered in the same colors and designs as the ordinary man's attire. His red headkerchief was embroidered with white, blue, and yellow cotton yarn at the corners.

The woman's blouse was traditionally made of fine abaca, dyed red or black. Now it is of trade cotton cloth or a combination of both kinds of cloth. A distinctive feature of the blouse is that the body and the sleeves are of different colors. The usual color of the body is red and the sleeves are black, blue, or white. Occasionally, a blouse with a black body and white sleeves are used. The color of the cuffs matches that of the body. Embroidery is profuse on the front of the blouse. In upper Agusan, the blouse is similar to the man's jacket although the body and sleeves are more tight fitting. Bands of embroidery in alternating colors cover the seams and the oval-shaped neckline. No embroidery is done on the hemline. On the back near the shoulders is a band of intricate embroidery 5-6 centimeters wide. In central Agusan, the blouse is more loosely cut and the embroidery more profuse. Each cuff has a slit for the hand to slip in easily.

The skirt, called *malong*, was originally of abaca but now of cotton cloth. It is shaped like a long barrel and is folded over so that one half is inside the other. It is gathered at the left side and tucked in at the waist. It is almost always red, with inwoven horizontal designs, such as black bands or alternating bands of red and black, with white stripes in between. When not worn as a skirt, the malong serves many purposes: as a blanket, a crib, mosquito bar, or carrying bag.

A more valued skirt is one made of heavier abaca cloth inwoven with ikat designs, i.e., stylized crocodile and female figures bordered with lines like those on a snakeskin. However, according to Garvan (1931), this type of skirt is purchased from the Mandaya group and not of Manobo origin.

The skirt is held in place with a waistband consisting of braided nito or human hair, the ends of which are prevented from unraveling by a strip of cloth. Attached to each end are multicolored strands of yarn and strings of white-seed beads. Hanging from the waistband, on the right side, are pendants which hold hawk bells, seashells, additional strings of beads, and medicinal and magical charms of strong-smelling seeds, roots, and grass.

The traditional hairdo for both sexes is a bun and bangs cut straight on the forehead from one side to the other. The woman wears her bun on the crown of her head, whereas the man's bun is lower, halfway between the top of his head and his nape. The woman's bun is fastened in place by a bamboo comb with incised decorations or inlaid mother-of-pearl bits of circles, squares, and triangles. The man binds a headkerchief around his head.

The *baklaw* (armbands) and *tikkos* (legbands) of braided nito, 1.5 centimeters wide, are

worn tightly around the forearms and just below the knees. Sometimes these are covered with beads. Besides being ornamental, these are believed to strengthen the men's limb muscles. The *pugnot*, tight-fitting wristbands 6 millimeters wide, are made of braided, glossy black *agsam* vines and believed to work as a charm against scorpion bites.

Hanging from each ear of the woman is a wooden disk, 3 centimeters in diameter and laminated with silver, gold, or beaten brass wire. Red cotton yarn passes through a hole in the ear disk and the hole in the ear lobe, with a tuft of the cotton yarn left over the ear hole. Another type of ear ornamentation is made of four strings of beads, 30 centimeters long, hanging from each ear. Cotton tassels are attached to the ends of the beads. The colors of both the beads and tassels are red, white, black, and yellow.

Necklaces are made of multicolored small-seed beads, small shells, and crocodile teeth. Another type of necklace is the necklet, wound closely around the neck and about 2 centimeters broad. Each band of beads consists of one of the four favorite colors and strung to form geometric figures. Thus, the necklet may consist of a triangle of yellow beads, a rectangle of black ones, and so on. It is fastened at the back with a button from which a string of beads hangs, falling straight down the back.

Attached to the front of the woman's jacket is a silver disk 7-10 centimeters in diameter. It is incised with concentric circles or other such geometric designs, combined with a series of small triangular holes.

Women wear more numerous and more elaborate armlets and bracelets. Highly prized armlets are those made of *sagai-sagai* (black coral), because these are believed to contract around the wearer's arm to warn of impending danger. Another armlet is made of *taklobo* (seashell), which is used for its whorl whose cross section is triangular. About five of the black coral and white *taklobo* armlets are placed alternately and worn all at once, usually on the left arm.

Bracelets are bands of beaten brass wire, 1 centimeter wide, or braided bands of plant fiber covered with white beads. The *baloso* is a shell bracelet. Once noted by Garvan (1931) was a hollow brass bangle with a piece of lead inside it, so that it tinkled whenever the woman's arm moved. At festive occasions, the women wear *dutus* (anklets), 6 millimeters in diameter, two to each leg. Together with the hawk bells hanging from the belt, these make tinkling sounds as the women dance.

A bride wears additional accessories of bead necklaces, from which hang pendants of crocodile teeth and pieces of mother-of-pearl; bracelets of large white seashells, plant fiber, and coral; a comb, beaded and inlaid with mother-of-pearl, and from which hang cotton tassels; and leglets of braided plant fiber.

The only body painting both men and women resort to is the blackening of their lips with soot taken from the bottom of a pot. Teeth filing is done on both boys and girls when they reach puberty. Fourteen front teeth are filed down to the gums, and the

final effect is that the upper teeth appear to jut out over the lower teeth. The teeth are thus blackened with the juice of the *mau-mau* plant.

Everyone carries inside his mouth a mixture of the mau-mau juice, tobacco quid, lime, and soot compressed into the size of a marble. It is placed between the upper lip and upper gum, and removed only when the mouth is used for other purposes. Hence, there is usually a little bulge on the upper part of everyone's mouth. This mixture is replaced whenever it loses its flavor.

Both sexes have their ear lobes pierced, although the women enlarge the holes up to 2.5 centimeters wide with tufts of pandanus grass. Two smaller holes may be added on the upper part of the ear lobes. The face is kept hairless; hence, both sexes shave their eyebrows, and the men prevent beards from growing by plucking.

Tattoos are worn for ornamental purposes. The men wear these on their chest, upper arms, forearms, and fingers. The women wear theirs on the same parts of the anatomy, but the most elaborate tattoos are done on their calves. Tattoo designs are the same as those embroidered on their clothes, with the addition of the *binuada* (crocodile figure), *ginibang* (iguana), *binuyo* (betel leaf) and other leaf designs, and stars.

The Agusanon Manobo have numerous types of baskets made of either wickerwork or plaited rattan: fish baskets, rice baskets, storage baskets, betel-nut baskets, pack baskets. Other implements of basketwork are fish traps, chicken traps, and ceremonial trays.

The frame of a basket is a cylindrical piece of wood with a flat top and bottom. Rattan strips are woven around this frame. The upper rim is reinforced with a circular band of bamboo. The whole basket is made watertight with *tabon-tabon* seeds filling up all spaces.

The *bubo* is a fish trap made of rattan strips. The cage is about 1 meter long, cigar shaped, with one end larger than the other. A cone-shaped trap, made of bamboo slats, is placed inside the large end to allow the fish to enter but not to escape. A similarly constructed fish trap is the cylindrical *da-ing* used in the swamps for mudfish.

A war implement of carved wood is the shield, made of *kalantas* wood. The center has a knob so that the reverse side provides space for the hand to grip the shield. Lying across the upper end is a piece of wood to reinforce the shield. Further reinforcements are provided by two strips of palma brava or bamboo, or by three panels sewn across the shield with rattan strings. Ornamentation consists of a beeswax coating, a scalloped tracing of beeswax and soot along the borders, and two rows of the same design running vertically on the center. The knob is laminated with a shiny object, e.g., the inside part of a seashell. Tufts of a slain enemy's hair may be inserted into holes 3 centimeters apart, along the two vertical sides of the shield. The upper and lower sides are cut straight, while the vertical sides are slanted toward the middle, in a moderate hourglass shape.

The bagani's sheath consists of two sheets of wood fastened together by an overwrapping of rattan strips regularly spaced. A beeswax coating preserves the wood and gives it a polished look. It is decorated with black bands on the center, upper end, and edges; beads and cotton tassels are also attached.

The Agusanon Manobo use betel-nut boxes of metal, which may have four or more sides. The betel chew components are placed in separate compartments in a box or have separate boxes. The exterior of the boxes may be ornamented with geometric designs.

Wooden idols are carved for curing rituals. The form is only vaguely human, with no limbs, and the facial features are drawn with charcoal. The diwata Manaug, who causes eye infections, is represented by a length of wood with no body features except for the upper half, which tapers into a neck topped by the head. There are slits for the eyes and nose. A string of beads fits snugly around the neck. Some images have clearer features, e.g., the eyes are of berries, and other features are drawn with sap. Distinctions are made between the male and female idols, i.e., the male has a headpiece and genitalia, whereas the female has breasts and a comb.

Religious ceremonies make use of wooden trays, tables, platforms, and sections of bamboo poles. The *bangkaso* is a rectangular wooden tray decorated with palm fronds and with incised, traced, or carved designs. The *talidung* is a sacrificial stand, consisting of a wooden disk standing on one leg. Offerings of betel nut, rice, meat, and others are laid on it. The *angka/angkaw* is a sacrificial table, its top consisting of split bamboo bands laid side by side, with narrow gaps in between. Palm fronds arch over each side of the table and more palm fronds hang down like tassels from the edges. On top is laid the sacrificial victim (Garvan 1931) or the ritual offerings of 6 china plates of uncooked rice and betel quid, 2 glasses of water, 6 candles, and 6 raw eggs (Montillo-Burton 1985). The overall effect is festive.

In the tagbusau ritual one implement is a crude bamboo carving of a crocodile, 30 centimeters long, to which a betel-nut palm is attached. It is suspended in the baylan's kamalig. The symbol for the tagbusau is the *binuka*, made of a 1.5-meter bamboo pole, one end of which is cut like a crocodile's gaping mouth and to which palm fronds are attached. The symbol for Sugudun consists of a piece of wood carved into a triangle and hollowed out for a saucer to fit in. Betel-nut fronds are tied around one side and betel-nut quid are contained in a cup placed atop the saucer.

Used in curing rituals is the *sinengseng*, a 1.5-meter bamboo pole, one end of which is split into several strips and stretched outwards to form a funnel, which holds a plate of rice and betel quid. The *saekat* is used for the tagun-on (birth ceremony). It is either a small replica of a canoe (Garvan 1931) or a bamboo rack made of split bamboo bands interlaced to form a checkerboard top. Palm fronds fringe each side. On it are laid the food offerings and then it is suspended in the house for an indefinite period.

Literary Arts

The Agusanon Manobo have the following proverbs, which use images from nature to highlight a truth:

Anoy man tu karabaw nu upat tu kubong di paka hidjas.

If a carabao with its four feet makes a wrong step, how much more a man?

Bisan bato nu bantilis mai duon panahon nu ug kahilis gihapon.

The hardest stone is eroded by constant dropping of water.

Tu buhi angod tu atojog. Basta nwbuong on kunad ug kaulin.

A woman is like an egg. Once it is broken, it can never be repaired.

Most of the Agusanon Manobo narratives that have been recorded consist of origin myths and mythical explanations for natural phenomena.

They say that the ocean waters go in and out of the posud to dagat, the navel of the sea, which is an enormous hole near the edge of the earth. This is what causes high and low tides. The rainbow appears when the umli, celestial gods, are at war. Dark colors indicate a slaughter on the divine battlefield; a predominantly red band indicates that the war gods are “engaged in hand-to-hand combat” (Garvan 1931). Thunder and lightning occur when the god Anit is angered by people’s derisive behavior toward wild animals. The lightning is his tongue, which he flecks at the culprit.

Anit may have been responsible for turning Ango and his family into the stone formations on Binaoi Peak. They were punished because Ango had ridiculed the croaking of frogs during a hunting trip. As he walked, little stones and then bigger rocks pursued him. When he arrived at his clearing, he slowed down in exhaustion and a stone stuck to his finger. His wife and children came when he called for help, but, though his wife sprinkled lime around him to keep the evil spirits away, they all turned to stone within three days.

When an eclipse occurs, the Agusanon Manobo say that a giant tarantula is devouring the moon. Much commotion then ensues because the men try to drive the tarantula away by rushing out of their houses, shooting arrows at the spider, beating tin cans and tree trunks, playing their bamboo instruments while dancing frenziedly, and shouting at the spider. The women stick needles in the wall of the house in the

direction of the moon.

Evil spirits and mythic giants explain why hunters occasionally lose their way in the forest and never return. Tama is a giant busau who dwells in a balete tree and tricks travelers into losing their way in the forest so he can devour them. A long time ago, Apo (Grandfather) Bohon went hunting and shot a monkey with his bow and arrow. Although he built a big fire, the flesh of the monkey could not be cooked and it only turned black with soot. Apo Bohon finally ate the meat raw, but he never left the woods again, for the monkey was a busau. Persons who happen to meet Apo Bohon in the woods must offer him betel quid or else he will eat them.

Two good-natured giants are Mandayangan and Apila. Mandayangan was once a great bagani, now a god of war who participates in the battles waged by the Manobo. Apila is a giant whose greatest pleasure is to have wrestling matches with Mandayangan.

A legendary giant because of his extraordinary strength was Dabau, who, when he journeyed up the Agusan River on a bamboo raft, had to warn the people to protect their rice fields from the mighty waves that he would cause. He used the trunk of a palma brava tree for a pole. His equally strong sister could throw a whole bunch of bananas to him on the next hill.

There is a legend that explains the origin of the stars, sunset, and sunrise. The Sun and the Moon were once happily married and they had two children. One day while the children were napping, the Moon, as is the wont of Manobo wives, decided to go out to gather food. She bade her husband to keep away from the children, as he would singe them with his intense heat. While she was gone, the Sun, in his fondness for the children, kissed them, and they melted. When the Moon came home, she scolded him so that he finally threw taro leaves in her face and left. He soon softened, but when he came back, the Moon was gone. Since then the Sun has followed the Moon, who eternally flees him, her face still scarred by the taro leaves. And so go the Sun and Moon, round and round the earth. The stars follow her, and, when once in a while a shooting star flies her way, it is the Sun's messenger with his plea for her to return to him.

The story of the *ikugan* (tailed men) seems to have a historical basis, as it may be interpreted to be the Muslim invasion of Mindanao in the late 14th century. According to the tale, Agusan Valley was invaded by the Tidung people. The men had tails like a dagger and the women, like an adze. After 14 years of atrocities and killings, the Manobo disappeared from the Valley because they had all either fled or been killed. There was one woman left because she had hidden in the runo reeds of the Argawan (or Umayam) River. She continued about her daily business, gathering food and weaving to keep herself busy. One day she found a pigeon's egg in her weaving basket but she soon forgot all about it, and so one day it hatched a baby girl. The woman raised the girl as her daughter. One day a Manobo scouting party came upon the woman and the beautiful girl. The chief bagani asked for her hand, and the foster mother consented on the condition that he place a married couple upon every

river in the valley. Thus was Agusan Valley repopulated. **Performing Arts**

Agusanon Manobo songs are chanted in a style called *gugud*, which is semideclamatory, with long slurs, a recurring series of staccatos, and abrupt endings. It is sung solo, and can be performed either for religious or secular purposes. Even war songs are chanted in the *gugud* style, the difference being that they are delivered more loudly and rapidly. The musical narrative is the *dasang*. The songs are improvisations, with frequent repetitions of the same ideas in different words. The religious *gugud* is believed to be taught by the *tutudu-mon no diwata*. It is the diwata's way of communicating with human beings through the baylan. Hence, it too is extemporaneous.

Musical instruments used only for religious purposes are the *gimbae* (drum), which is made locally, and the *agung* (gong), which is purchased from the Visayans. They are always kept in the baylan's house. The *gimbae* is made of a hollowed-out trunk of a palm tree, with both ends covered with a piece of animal hide, e.g., deer, monkey, lizard, or dog. It is played on either end with the hand. It is said that the people can recognize and name 20 to 50 different rhythms played on the drum. Generally the left hand plays the regular beat, while the right hand improvises in rhythm with the left. Some drum tunes are: *sinakaisakay*, "like the movement of a raft or canoe"; *kumbakumba to usa*, "like the sporting of a deer"; *kinampilan*, "like the flourishing of the *kampilan* sword"; and *minandaya*, derived from a Mandaya rhythm.

The *gimbae* is played to accompany religious and secular dances, to sound an alarm, or to call to an absent one. The *agung* is always played with the *gimbae*. Triangles decorate the face of the *agung*. The *agung* is beaten on the knob at the center with a piece of wood. It is played in rhythm with that played by the drummer's left hand.

All the other instruments are played at any occasion. The bamboo instruments are three types of flute, four types of guitars, a violin, and a jew's harp. The strings are of vine, bamboo, or abaca fiber. The three types of flute are the *paundag*, *to-ali*, and *sabai*. A fourth, called *lantui*, is mentioned by Garvan (1931) but not described. The most common flute is the *paundag*, which is a bamboo section 1 meter long. It has one hole at the end of one side and four holes evenly distributed on the other side. It is played while held in a vertical position. The *to-ali* is a shorter and higher-pitched variety of the *paundag* flute. The *sabai* has a thin bamboo piece, 2 centimeters long, which is loosely attached over the hole near the end where the lips are placed. This is struck while the player blows on the flute. When it is played, it is held in a horizontal position, and has a lower pitch.

There are two types of vine-string guitars: the *kudlung*, which is smaller, and *binijaan*, which is bigger. The neck, fingerboard, and boat-shaped body are all of one piece. The head curves like a scroll, and is carved to represent a rooster's head. Each guitar has two strings made of the inner part of the *bislig* vine. A bamboo string guitar is the *tanko*, made out of one section of a large variety of bamboo. It has two bass strings and three treble strings.

The *takumbo* is one section of bamboo with the joint at either end. The joint partition of one end is removed so that it is cut straight through, while the other end is cut like a gaping crocodile's mouth or a bishop's miter. Two strings are created by lifting strips from the surface of the bamboo and held up by wooden pegs wedged underneath. This pair of strings is beaten with a little bamboo stick in time with the *gimbae*. A hole in the center increases the resonance.

The violin has a hollowed out coconut shell for its body. The bow is a long bamboo stick bent while it is still fresh and pliable. The bowstring has two strings consisting of several abaca fibers attached to the ends of the bow.

The *kubing* is a bamboo jew's harp; its sound is produced by a 6-centimeter strip that is partially cut from the middle of a thin and narrow piece of bamboo. One end is held in the mouth with one hand while a finger of the other hand taps it to make the strip vibrate. Some jew's harps have a spike protruding at one end, and this is tapped to produce the vibrating sound.

Bamboo stampers are large bamboo sections with one joint partition removed. It is held vertically, with the open end up, and stamped on the floor in rhythm with the drum and gong. Bamboo sounders are attached to weaving looms to create rhythmic sounds as the weaver works.

The Agusanon Manobo do not traditionally engage in group dancing, for they dance only one or two at a time. For dancing, both men and women wear the *malong* and their most elaborately embroidered *umpak*. Each hand holds a *tubao* (kerchief) by the corner. The women wear brass anklets to add to the *lisag* (dance music). Instead of the *tubao*, palm fronds are held by the *baylan* and *bagani* for their religious dance.

Before a war expedition, the *bagani* performed a ritual dance in honor of their war gods. Attired in their armor and carrying their shield, spear, bolo, and dagger, they moved frenziedly to the *lisag*, the rhythm of the *gimbae* and *agung*. The dance was interrupted at regular intervals by invocations to the war gods, invitations for them to come and partake of the food offering laid out for them, and prayers for them to help secure the *bagani*'s victory. The chief danced the finale, thrust his spear into the pig's heart, and sucked the blood gushing from the wound. The other *bagani* then caught the blood in their own bowls, from which they drank it. Then they examined the gallbladder and liver for omens on how they would fare in battle.

After a victorious battle, the *tagbusau* possessed the *bagani* chief, who slashed open a slain enemy's chest, pulled out the heart and liver, and ate it. He then performed a frenzied dance around the enemy.

The *baylan* is similarly possessed by the spirits to whom he or she addresses himself/herself. In this state, the *baylan* then loudly voices the spirits' message to the assembly, which could variously be assurances of a plentiful harvest, the recovery of a

sick person, etc., according to the purpose of the ritual. If the baylan is possessed by a chanting diwata, the baylan chants the message. Dancing is always accompanied by the lisag. For the ritual, the baylan and his/her assistants wear the elaborately embroidered umpak and the malong.

Based on participation and purpose, there are two types of rituals: public and private. The public rituals are of community interest, such as the *binuya* (curing), *taephag* (planting and harvesting), *sundo* (anti-epidemic), and *suyad buya* (initiation for a new baylan). For these, a kahimunan (assembly) is called. The private rituals are arranged by an individual for himself or a member of his family, e.g., the *tagun-on to bata* (birth), *sugnod* (death), and *sugudun* (hunting and fishing).

Generally a ritual is divided into three stages: the first stage is the *inapogan* or *panawagtawag* (invocations), which begins with the baylan inviting the diwata to chew betel quid. This is parallel to the Manobo's social practice of offering betel quid to each other as a sign of hospitality. In a curing ritual, the baylan is possessed by his/her abyan. Occasionally, the baylan breaks into a dance or an ecstatic seizure in between parts of the invocation. In rituals honoring the umli, such as *taephag* or *sugudun*, the baylan is not possessed.

In a curing rituals, called *binuya*, preparatory rituals are the *sinaliling* and the *sinuyad*. The *sinaliling* is the ritual offering of a chicken and raw eggs, placed on the *angkaw*, a bamboo raft suspended in the house. The baylan implores the spirits to transfer the patient's illness to the chicken and eggs. A promise is made to grant the spirits' wishes, as long as it is humanly possible. The *sinuyad* is a welcome or acceptance dance in honor of the diwata who comes and identifies itself through the baylan's *gugud* or chant. The purpose of this ritual is to admit the diwata into the baylan.

In the second stage, the sacrificial victim, which is either a pig or chicken, is killed with a bolo or a spear. The blood is caught in a bowl and smeared on the altar and the central participants, such as the patient. Sometimes, the baylan, in a trance, drinks the blood. In the past, the human sacrifice was speared in the neck, from which the diwata, through the baylan, sucked the blood. The chest was then slashed open, and the heart and liver eaten.

The third stage, the *hakyad*, is the invitation for the diwata to partake of the food offering of cooked rice, meat, and eggs. Then the baylan pours a glass of water around the altar. This is believed to be drunk by the diwata.

In ritual that last for three days, the pig's head is the center of attention on the last day. The baylan and her assistants take turns dancing around it and jabbing it with their bolo. This is meant to rid the area of the busau. The pig's rear end is carved into a *binuada* (crocodile). This is attached to the *binuka*, which is held by the baylan as she dances. The baylan and a former bagani take turns dancing. This dance was once exclusive to the bagani, because it was part of the tagbusau ritual. It has now been incorporated into the curing ritual and the *suyad buya*, which is the initiation

ritual for an apprentice baylan. A final ritual is the sprinkling of water on the assembly. The diwata then departs from the baylan when she makes one loud, final belch.

Sinundo/Singangga is the dance ritual to ward off epidemic busau. It is held at sunset. When the busau are believed to have traveled up the river, the ceremony is held at a selected riverbank. If it is supposed to have traveled by land or air, the ceremonial area is the baylan's backyard or a public assembly place. Children are not allowed to attend this ritual because the busau might take a fancy to any of them and take them. The *sundo* is a dialogue between the people and the epidemic busau.

Aside from ritual, some dances may be considered protodramas. The *pangaliyag* is a courtship dance, in which a *tatamista* (lad) is expected to choose his love partner. It is usually danced during a ceremony attended by the clan and invited guests. Conflict may arise when another suitor or other suitors join in the dance. Sometimes, the dance develops into the *sinaet*, war dance, at the end of which only the bravest and strongest suitor is left dancing. The dance paraphernalia are shields, spears, and bolos.

The *pangasawa* is a marriage ritual, a finale of the pangaliyag dance. It is performed at the bride's residence, which is heavily guarded against spurned suitors.

The *kinugsik-kugsik* or squirrel dance was first recorded among the Agusanon Manobo in 1969. It mimes the mating dance of three squirrels—two males competing for one female.

The following dances, witnessed by Garvan in 1910, were not identified by their local names: The bathing dance is performed by a man, who pretends to be an overly modest woman cautiously disrobing beside a stream. He starts from one end of the dancing area, apparently the woman's house, and pretends to carry upon his shoulder a heavy object, a bamboo tube for gathering water. Then he walks with feminine gait to the stream, while casting glances around him. The stream is represented by the edge of the dancing area. He pretends to drink from the stream, then disrobes with exaggerated cautiousness, and proceeds to bathe. There are frequent interruptions that represent threats to a woman's modesty. Finally, fearful of the approach of a man, he finishes his bath with the appropriate gestures, puts on his dress, and leaves the stream, pretending to carry his bamboo tube of water.

The *apian* dance presents a man gathering honey from a bee's nest. He mimes the operations, e.g., getting his materials together, making a torch, lighting it, and climbing the tree. Then he makes sudden frenetic movements, indicating the attack of the bees on him. The effect is comic, especially when he pretends to be stung in the pubic region.

Another comic dance is the depilation dance, which shows a man plucking out his body hair. He contorts his face in pretended pain and constantly glances around him in pretended fear of being seen.

A sexual dance ends in a simulated act of sexual intercourse. The man stealthily enters the lady's house and walks toward her sleeping figure, which is represented by a piece of bamboo. He advances and retreats, circles, hesitates with a hand to the ear, and so on, until he finally fulfills his desire on the woman.

The dagger or sword dance presents a fight between two men, who brandish either Mandaya daggers or war bolos at each other. There are "appropriate flourishes, parries, lunges, foils, advances, and retreats."

The *saet* or war dance is a spectacular war dance of the Agusanon Manobo. It is performed by one or two men holding either a spear or war bolo and a shield. The men wear the bagani's red garments and accessories, including the hat and *tangkulo* (headkerchief). The music is provided by the drum, which is beaten on both ends simultaneously by two players, so that the music is a continuous roll. The feet and head movements of the dancers resemble those of a fighting cock. The two men charge and retreat, shadow and engage each other, thrust and parry, in a simulated hand-to-hand combat. They peer savagely at each other, now over, now at the side of their shield, while their tongues flicker in and out like a snake's. Occasionally they fall to the ground on one leg while constantly moving their heads and spears rapidly behind their shield. Each holds his spear pointed at the other, and this is thrust forward rapidly. Shoulders and shield move up and down in rhythm with the drum. The whole dance takes only five minutes. • R.C. Lucero, with notes from E.A Manuel/Reviewed by S.K. Tan

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