Sama, also called "Samal" in Spanish or English studies, is one of three ethnic groups in the Sulu archipelago, the others being the Yakan and Tausug. The etymological origin of the word is not yet clear, although Jundam (1983) ventures that "Sama" may derive from the word "sama-sama" or togetherness. The language of the Sama is Siama/Sinama, also called Bahasa Sama, Bisla Sinama, and Pamong Sinama. Other groups speaking the Sinama language, or variations thereof, are the Badjao, the Jama Mapun (West Sama) of Cagayan Island, the Yakan, and the Balangingi of the Samales island group.

The Sama are scattered in noncontiguous areas on the Sulu archipelago, the southern boundary of the Philippines, consisting of a chain of volcanic islands between the Zamboanga peninsula and the northeastern tip of Borneo. The archipelago is divided into island groups, the major ones being Basilan, Balangingi or Samales, Sulu, Pangutaran, Tapul or Siasi, and Tawi-Tawi.

Basilan proper is the largest island in the archipelago. It is inhabited by the Yakan and Sama, but its surrounding smaller islands are inhabited entirely by the Sama. The Balangingi group which has 19 islands, among them Tonkil, Balangingi, Simisa, Tatalan, Bukutwa, Bulinig, and Bangalaw, is occupied by the Sama. The Sulu group, of which Jolo is the principal island, is inhabited by the Tausug. The Pangutaran group, which consists of 14 islands, the principal ones being Pangutaran, Pandukan, North Ubian, Laparan, and Tababas, has a Sama majority, with the Tausug comprising a minority. The Siasi group consists of 38 islands, among them Siasi, Pandami, Tapul, Lugus, Laminusa, and Kabingaan. Siasi and Pandami have a preponderance of Sama, but the local heads are Tausug. Laminusa and Kabingaan are smaller islands also thickly populated by the Sama. The many islets and coral reefs ringing these major islands are filled with Sama settlements. The Tawi-Tawi group, where the Sama population is concentrated, has 88 islands subdivided into northern and southern sections. The northern section is composed of Bongao, Sanga-sanga, Tawi-Tawi, Tandu-batu, and numerous islets. The southern section consists of the islands of Kinapusan, Bintulan, Tabawan, South Ubian, Tandubas, Sikubun, Lataan, Mantabwan, Banaran, Bilatan, Manuk-manka, and Simunul. This island group, also called "the back door of the Philippines," became a province on 21 September 1974.

Sibutu and Semporna (Sabah) are two islands on the southernmost tip of the Philippines. When Spain ceded the Philippines to the United States, these islands were not included within the boundaries of the Philippines as defined in the Treaty of Paris on 10 December 1898. In November 1900 a separate treaty ceded these islands, including Cagayan de Sulu, which lies 250 kilometers west of the archipelago, midway to Palawan.

Because the Sama have several subgroups, they define their ethnic unity on the basis of the following criteria: their orientation to the sea, their Islamic beliefs and practices, their language, and their loyalty to a kin group. However, they differentiate among themselves because of varied historical backgrounds, degrees of orientation to the sea, dialects, habitats, degrees of cultural assimilation into the Tausug, and ecological-economic factors. The total Sama population as of 1983 was 244,160 (NCCP-PACT

1988).Sama subgroupings based on orientation to or away from the sea are: the Sama Paglahat who have settled on land; Sama Talon who live in the interior and subsist mainly on farming; Sama Lipid (Littoral Sama), who live in clusters of stilt houses on the seashore or in coastal waters; and Sama Dilaut (ocean Sama), also known as Badjao/Bajaw or sea gypsies, whose religion is ancestor worship.

Every Sama group identifies itself with the name of its settlement, which is defined by a unique genealogy and history, a specific set of economic activities, or a certain degree of affluence. Various groups may claim descent from the Muslim missionary Makdum Mukthar; from Alexander the Great's chief aide, Jamiyon Kulisa; from sharifs; or from Chinese traders. The original Sama Balangingi were depicted by the Spaniards as pirates and slave raiders. Many have assimilated into the Tausug group.

Geographic proximity and cultural assimilation have tended to blur distinctions between the Tausug and Sama, and the Sama and the Badjao. Some Sama have assimilated into Tausug society by intermarriage and the use of the Tausug language. They prefer to identify with the Tausug, who are politically and culturally dominant. On the other hand, Badjao groups who settled on land and worship in a mosque become indistinguishable from the Sama.

History

Folk history depicts the Sama ancestors as living on the coasts of the Simunul among the Timbakkan (a species of tree). The first man was Maas-Malakituk, who was converted to Islam by Sheik Madum Mukhtar.

Historians Saleeby (1908) and Orosa (1923) say the Tausug preceded the Sama, the latter group having immigrated from Johore, around the 14th century. However, an ethnolinguistic study by Pallesen (1985) identifies Sama speakers who had settled in Zamboanga and then spread out to Sulu by 1000, whereas Tausug speakers started arriving from northeast Mindanao only at about 1300.

Chinese accounts in the 15th century show that there was Hindu influence in the area, going by certain words and titles like *adat* (custom law) and Maharajah. Trade with the Chinese existed by at least 1000 and certainly thrived during the Yuan dynasty (1278-1368). Arabian Muslim missionaries came in the 14th and 15th centuries to convert the people, and Islam has been the most pervasive influence ever since.

There were cursory contacts with the Portuguese, Dutch, and British. Except for the Spaniards' naval suppression of the Sama pirates, Spanish colonization hardly touched the area, for their presence was confined to "well-fortified garrison towns" (Pallesen 1985:7), like Jolo and Zamboanga. Spanish accounts from the 17th to the 19th century reveal that the Sama Balangingi engaged in slave raiding and "piracy." The accounts referred to them, along with the Maranao Iranun, as "Los Moros Infieles" (the Muslim infidels), who raided the coastal towns of the Visayas and Luzon islands, and the other

southeast Asian countries, to capture slaves for the Sulu sultanate. At that time, the Balangingi were the most dominant Sama group. Their islands had four forts, which were "stockades of two, three, and four tiers of stout tree trunks, packed with earth and coral to a height of 20 feet and defended with heavy cannon" (Warren 1978:484).

The Sama's political and economic relationship to the Tausug explains their slave-hunting raids. After Islam was introduced in the 15th century, the Tausug developed the most organized political and economic system in the archipelago. They established the Sultanate on Jolo, where the Tausug population is still concentrated, and the Sama became politically subservient to them. Furthermore, because the Sama lived on islands that had little water and vegetation, they were dependent on Jolo for their subsistence.

As Sulu's local and foreign trade expanded, it required more laborers to gather its sea and forest produce, such as *tripang* (sea cucumber), birds' nests, wax, camphor, and mother-of-pearl. The Sama, having little to offer their Tausug patrons except their boat building and maritime skills, went in search of slaves in exchange for a share of the Tausug wealth and power.

The Visayan, Tagalog, and Malay captives were incorporated into Sama society, so that by 1836, they made up 90 percent of the Balangingi population. Ironically, many of them became boat commanders of slave expeditions, and their knowledge of their previous localities and their native languages was especially useful.

Spanish Governor General Narciso Claveria y Villora, during his term from 1844 to 1849, enforced a war policy against the Balangingi. In 1849 three fleets of Spanish soldiers attacked Balangingi, killed 400, and captured 150. Governor General Urbiztondo, who succeeded Claveria, continued the policy of Muslim suppression; and the Balangingi dispersed to Basilan, Tawi-Tawi, Zamboanga, and East Borneo. Those who transferred to Zamboanga became traders of their own sea products and farmers. The Tawi-Tawi group tried to continue their old way of life but were defeated by the Spanish navy. By 1870 the era of slave raiding had ended.

The Americans were slightly more successful than the Spaniards in colonizing Sulu because they established a public school system and won over the traditional leaders. American economic and cultural influence continues, mainly as it filters in through the national culture, but Islamic culture remains dominant. At present, the archipelago is incorporated into the national government structure, but civil unrest exists in some areas.

The late 1960s witnessed an incident, the Jabidah Massacre, which focused the attention of the Muslim world upon the Philippines. In 1967 the Philippine Army started a secret unit called Merdeka, which was composed of young Muslim trainees, most of them Sama. At year's end, they were transferred to Corregidor Island and the project was renamed Jabidah. However, the trainees became dissatisfied, especially because their pay had been delayed, and they demanded to be returned to

Sulu. Under the impression that they could go, they complied with orders to go to an airstrip in groups of 12. Here, soldiers fired on them. It has never been ascertained what Jabidah's real mission was.

Economy

The most important occupation among most Sama groups is fishing. At the same time, shell and seaweed gathering for the international market have become a primary occupation for some communities. Traditional sea products that are still gathered are pearls, mother-of-pearl, tripang ("sand-ingesting Holothurians" or sea cucumber), seashells, and tortoise shell. Besides cassava, which is their staple food, tenant and small landowning farmers produce rice, coconut, and hemp. In the southern part, the Sama combine both farming and fishing. A few have become intermediaries, taking over some of the trade dominated by the Chinese. Some women in communities far from central markets have resorted to retail trading of dry goods in makeshift stalls. Otherwise, Sama retailers concentrate on the fish market. Other occupations are logging, hunting, small entrepreneurship, and private or government employment.

Some Sama communities have become identified with their particular economic activities. For example, the Sama Simunul are known for *buras* (rattan mat with painted designs) and pottery making; the Sama Sibutu, for boat building and wood carving; Sama Balimbing, for drying food and sea products; Sama Tapul, for producing *atis* (sugar apple) and mandarin oranges; Sama Laminusa, for *tepo* (mat) weaving, bag making, and pearl diving; and Sama Manubul, for fishing.

Political System

In pre-Islamic times, the Sulu archipelago was composed of small communities called *banwa*, each defining its own island territory and headed by a *datu* (chief). With the introduction of Islam and the institution of the Sulu/Tausug sultanate, these independent banwa were gradually subsumed under one *bangsa* (nation) in the 19th century. The Sultan was the bangsa head; he was advised by the *ruma bichara*, a council of representative datu. The Sultan appointed a Tausug datu to uphold the sultanate's law, but he also appointed Sama *panglima*, usually those already accepted as leaders, to be his immediate and visible representatives. Sometimes, however, a Tausug, Chinese, or a Sama from another community is appointed as community leader.

Notwithstanding the attempts at integration into a larger polity, the Sama's allegiance is primarily toward his or her *tumpuk* (cluster), a kinship group living in a cluster of houses. The cluster is headed by an elder, who is also a panglima or *imam* (religious leader). Other titles that he may have are datu and *maharajah*. A settlement that may or may not be a kin group is the *kawman*, whose unity is defined by the members' participation in activities related to their *langal* (mosque).

Some island villages disapprove of the practice of some kinship groups using mosques exclusive to themselves. On the island of Ungus Matata, however, this practice is the

norm. Overseeing the mosque and its activities is the *pakil*, the class of religious leaders. From the highest to the lowest rank, the pakil consists of imam, *hatib*, and *bilar*.

The national government is represented at various levels by officials like the mayor and councilor, but the barangay captain is usually the datu/panglima, who is elected because of the following qualifications: he is a descendant of *kasalipan* (the nobility); is gifted with *ilmuh* (wisdom); professes traits appropriate to a leader, such as honesty and fairness; officiates at religious celebrations; and arbitrates and counsels in matters of dispute. He bases his decisions on both the adat (custom law) and national law. Some datu/panglima are believed to have the magical powers of *busung* (curse that can cause illness) or *barakat* (blessings).

On the other hand, the duties of an official who is not a traditional leader are: to inform the community about government policies; to collect taxes for the sultan who claims property rights over certain products, like pearls; to supervise government projects; and to resolve disputes beyond the panglima's jurisdiction.

The archipelago is also divided into three sections based on the territory over which the *agama* (religious courts) have authority. Established during the American colonial period, the agama cover the following sections: the northeastern part of Jolo Island, the southeastern part of Jolo Island, and the southern islands of the archipelago. These courts handle cases arising from the violation of Muslim customs and practices. Penalty is in the form of fines.

Despite such attempts at integrating the Sama, each subgroup has evolved aspects of the bigger political structure in its own particular way. The Balangingi, for example, practice local autonomy and do not subscribe to the rigid social stratification characteristic of the Tausug-influenced Sama. The Pangutaran, on the other hand, recognize an aristocracy composed of the datu and the *salip* (men or women claiming descent from the Prophet Muhammad).

Social Organization and Customs

The traditional social structure consisted of three classes: the *barbangsa* (aristocracy), which was subdivided into the kasalipan and *kadatuan*; the *mahardika* (free people); and the *ipun* (slaves). Vestiges of this structure remain in the present system, which consists of two classes—the elite minority and the lower-class majority. The elite's sources of wealth are the following: inheritance of the property of the traditional ruling class, trade with north Borneo, and education as a means of entry into a profession. The last two factors allow for some social mobility.

The cohesiveness of a Sama group is based on strong kinship ties. A kin group lives in one place, where the members build their cluster of houses. Therefore, neighbors and fellow villagers are also relatives. In some communities, a kin group builds a mosque for its exclusive use. It is the kin group that defines the individual's rights and

obligations, and mutual loyalty is expected between each member and the group. Loyalty is elevated to the status of an alliance when members of two groups marry.

The *mataan* (nuclear family) usually lives initially with the husband's family as a dependent unit, especially if the couple is young. The *magdanakan* is a household consisting of more than one mataan. A couple that lives as a separate unit builds a home near the family of the wife or the husband. *Kampung* is the kin group, members of whom ritually affirm their closeness during important holy days in an act called *mag-ampon*, when they clasp and kiss one another to symbolize mutual forgiveness of past transgression.

Rituals marking stages in the Sama life cycle are a mixture of Islam and folk practices. Folk belief regarding a woman's pregnancy mandates that the husband avoid participation in death rituals in order to ensure a long life for his child. In the presence of the expectant mother, no one should linger at the foot lest the infant also linger in the mother's womb. *Sharia* (Islamic law) warns the mother against abortion. It is also believed that the infant becomes "ensouled" by the fourth month, and therefore the mother must be especially careful then.

When the infant is born, the *bhang* (the Ajan prayer) is prayed if it is male, and *kamat* (a portion of Ajan) if female. The umbilical cord is cut at the point where the cord reaches the forehead from the navel. The cut portion and the placenta are wrapped in white or black cloth to keep the evil spirits away, placed inside a *baung* (coconut shell), and buried near a mosque. The imam or the infant's father, who carries the shell, must look directly in front as he walks toward the burial site, so that the child will not be cross-eyed. When the cord falls off the baby, it is hung over its sleeping place indefinitely. The child's family name is the same as the father's first name. Its first name is usually a Muslim name, such as Fatima or Muhammad. There is no special festivity or ritual for the naming of the child.

Magsaw-duruh, a nursing mother's act of sharing her breast milk with the baby of another family, is a common practice. It is decreed by adat that magsaw-duruh children are siblings; hence, marriage between them is incestuous. The penalty for violating this rule is death by drowning.

When the child turns one year old, the parents perform a folk ritual called *magkaja*. The child is brought to the *tampat* (ancestors' graveyard, considered sacred), to prevent the *Sayitan* (evil spirits) from causing ill fortune for the family, or the child's illness or death.

Two Islamic rituals held on the same day for the year-old child are the *paghakika* and *pag-gunting*. In the paghakika, the imam ritually slaughters a year-old goat. Its blood is poured into a hole in the ground, which contains a piece of white coco cloth with the child's name written on it. The goat's meat is served to the guests. This ritual affirms the child's genealogy and ensures recognition of his or her father on *Ilaw Damuli* ("Day Hereafter").

The pag-gunting is considered by some subgroups as the child's baptism to Islam. The child's forelock is washed in the water of a young coconut. Then the imam cuts the child's hair in three different places while it is carried by an adult, who must be free of any physical or mental handicap and whose parents must still be living. This guarantees the child's physical and mental health in its lifetime. The lock of hair is placed inside a young coconut, which is suspended from a tree. A feast is served to relatives and friends to celebrate the occasion.

Most celebrations, such as the pag-gunting and weddings, have a *maligai* as the centerpiece. This is a small replica of a wooden house, with its roof made of native cakes into which are planted peso bills arranged like flags. The tray on which the house stands is piled with various dishes and fruits. Adding to the festive atmosphere is the *talian*, a bamboo pole decorated with multicolored buntings. Both structures symbolize the celebrant's maligai, which may also mean one's dwelling in heaven.

Pag-islam (male circumcision) is done between age 7 and 10, and, as the term suggests, signals the boy's entry into the Muslim fold. It is done by either the imam or any qualified male adult. No special celebration or ritual attends this operation. The procedure is done in a corner of the house, with the boy covering himself with a bedsheet. Coffee ground to a fine powder is then applied to the wound, which is covered with a white cloth. To ensure rapid healing, the boy should avoid stepping on chicken droppings and walking over a *linsungan* (rice pestle).*Pagsunnat* (female circumcision), rarely practiced now, is a solemn occasion, attended by community ritual singing and dancing, called *lelleng* and *igal*. The girl's face is made up and she is dressed in traditional style. Hidden from public view with a blanket, her clitoris is slightly scraped by the *panday* (medicine woman) to decrease the possibility of sexual arousal.

Upon reaching puberty, children of both sexes are no longer allowed to intermingle. Gender differentiation is also stressed in their training. For instance, the virtues of "chastity, perseverance, and tidiness" (Jundam 1983:40) are emphasized for the girls, whereas physical strength and *kuntau* (self-defense skills) are underscored for the boys. A magical skill that both sexes may be taught is *ilmuh pagkal'ula*, a curse psychically or orally recited to injure or kill an enemy.

Courtship may be enhanced by the *parkata-an manusiyah*, which is a boy or girl's ilmuh (wisdom) to win the loved one's attention. A girl, however, can counteract the power of the boy's ilmuh with a *habay*, a piece of white cloth on which verses are written. This is wrapped in black cloth and worn like a belt. Its power is strengthened if it is exposed to incense smoke on an early Friday evening.

A young couple's marriage plans are made with the parents' consent but other relatives are involved as well. The boy's relatives, bringing along some food, make the first visit to formally ask for the girl's hand. Each family chooses a spokesperson skilled in negotiating for the *aheka*/*ungsug* (bride's dowry).

Once a final agreement has been reached and the wedding date set, the boy's family is given enough time to raise the dowry (cash, cattle, rice, and jewelry). Both families celebrate the end of negotiations with another repast offered by the boy's family. The boy meets his future in-laws for the first time when his relatives accompany him to the girl's house to serve at the table. He may also be expected to render service at the girl's house for some time. For 10 days before the wedding, the girl undergoes the *tambu-un* (isolation from the public). Drums announce the wedding day two or three days in advance.

The festivities on the wedding day start in the morning, when the guests gather at the bride's house to sing, dance, and exchange stories. Behind a partition, the imam gives the bride a ritual bath in a corner of the house while entertainers sing the wedding lelleng (song). Female relatives then prepare the bride with special makeup, her best clothing, and jewelry. The traditional wedding makeup is *borak*, white rice powder that transforms her face into a white mask.

At noon, the groom, clothed in white trousers and shirt, arrives with an entourage of relatives. He sits opposite the imam on a buras. The imam, wearing, a headcloth, places incense in a coconut shell before him and the groom. He removes his headcloth, clasps the groom's hand over the incense smoke, covers their clasped hands with a cloth, and chants Arabic verses. The groom repeats the imam's Arabic chant and ends with a vow in Siama that he will take good care of his wife and family.

Male guests join the chant. The groom and the imam then each take one end of the imam's headcloth and the imam leads the groom toward his bride, who is still hidden behind the partition. This is removed and the imam asks the bride three times if she accepts the groom. After her third assent, the groom leads the bride out of the house, each of them holding one end of another cloth. They go to his house, followed by all the relatives. The guests chat and laugh noisily during the ceremony, and only the couple and the imam behave solemnly.

The young couple then stays with the wife's family but the marriage is not consummated until the third night. *Lingkod tul'lu* or *tabad lingkod tul'lu*, preparations for this night, begin on the morning of the third day, when the groom's family visits the bride's, bringing *balanja* (presents and good cheer). That night, white coco cloth is placed on the bed of the newlyweds to determine the bride's virginity, which is believed to be signified by drops of her blood on the cloth. If no such evidence is found, adat requires the bride's family to return the ungsug, double the price. If the groom's family wishes, the marriage may be dissolved. Evidence of the bride's virginity is proclaimed to the community with a celebration, called the *tibaw-pitu*, on the seventh day.

Islamic law allows polygyny up to four wives, who must be treated equally. However, polygyny is usually practiced only by the datu or the affluent. The husband must secure the permission of his first wife and parents-in-law. The first

wife is dominant over the other wives when it comes to housekeeping. In case of divorce, which Islamic law also allows, the bridal dowry or a fraction of it is returned to the groom, the amount depending on the length of the marriage, number of children, and cause for divorce. A long marriage requires no settlement.

Death rituals are a mixture of Islamic and folk rituals. The corpse is washed, wrapped in a shroud, offered ritual prayers, and buried within 12 hours. It is placed in a *liyang* (niche), instead of a coffin, and buried in the ground 1.8 meters deep. A *sunduk* (grave marker), pointed or round shaped for the male and scalloped for the female, is placed on the burial site. Sometimes a *kubul* (grave frame) surrounds it.

A week of vigil, mourning, incense burning, and the reading of the Holy Quran follows. A non-Islamic practice is for the family to place the deceased's clothes neatly folded on a miniature bed called *patulihan* ("place for lying down"). Food and a glass of water are offered to the spirit of the dead. On the seventh, and last, day of mourning, a group of pakil sit around a buras on the floor and offer the *duwa-a* (ritual prayers) for the dead. Food offerings covered by *turung dulang* (dome-shaped plate covers) are laid on the buras. The duwa-a is repeated on the 20th, 40th, and 100th day after the death. Every year thereafter, a ritual in memory of the dead is observed.

Religious Beliefs and Practices

The Sama's belief system has been described as folk Islam because it is a combination of Islamic and folk beliefs. Like other Muslims, they believe in the five Pillars of Faith, celebrate Islamic holy days, and congregate at designated times of the year to listen to the *khutba* (imam's sermon). They also believe that the world is divided into Dar-al-Islam (Muslim territory) and Dar-al-Harb (non-Muslim territory) and that, if Dar-al-Islam is invaded, every Muslim is obliged to defend it, to the extent of waging Jihad (Holy War).

The five Pillars of Faith are: the declaration of one's faith in one God and his messengers: "There is but one God, and Muhammad is His prophet"; prayer five times daily at dawn, noon, afternoon, sunset, and night; obligatory and voluntary almsgiving; fasting during the Ramadan; and pilgrimage to Mecca at least once in one's lifetime.

The Ramadan is a month-long period of fasting, when Muslims abstain from eating, drinking, and any other form of pleasure from sunrise to sunset. It commemorates the month when Allah revealed the Quran to the prophet Muhammad. The Quran is the source of all the principles and ordinances that Muslims live by. It covers all aspects of a Muslim's religious, social, and political life. It defines the five Pillars of Faith and includes civil and criminal laws on marriage, divorce, adultery, and social relationships. It is part of the curriculum in every Muslim school, where it is learned in Arabic verse.

One prays daily in the direction of the ancient mosque Kaaba in Mecca. The male Muslims are obliged to attend prayer congregation every Friday at the mosque,

where they also listen to the khutba, the imam's sermon guided by the teachings of Islam, namely: the *Tawhid* (oneness of Allah), Sharia (divine law), and preachings on the social, political, and religious way of life. The sermon is also delivered at the *Hariraya Puasa*, which marks the end of the Ramadan period, and at the *Hariraya Hadji*, which marks the end of the pilgrimage to Mecca.

Kanduli (food offerings) and prayers specific to each occasion are made on Muslim holy days, such as the offical start of Ramadan, or on the day of *Ashura*, also locally called *Tulak-Bala*, when significant events in the history of Islam are recalled. These include Allah's return to Adam after his exile from Paradise; Allah's rescue of Noah from the ark; Allah's rescue of Jonas from the belly of the whale; and Allah's appearance before Moses.

A folk practice is the *panulak balah* or cleansing day. Offerings of yellow rice, a live chicken, eggs, betel nut, and native cakes are placed on a raft which is allowed to drift on the sea.

These beliefs and practices were observed of the Sama Sisangat (Ducommun 1962) and Manubul (Rixhon 1969), but there is a great diversity of cultural practice among the various Sama subgroups.

The essence of good is personified by Tuhan, and that of evil by Sayitan/Saitan. Both terms are of Arabic origin. Although Tuhan is perceived as more powerful than Sayitan, the Sama's concept of him is more vague than that of Sayitan, who seems to have definite, human characteristics. Sayitan causes illness and death among humans. When the *panday* (midwife) or *angubat* (medicine man) cannot diagnose the cause of a person's death or illness, then it is assumed that "Sayitan has eaten one of the internal, vital organs" (Ducommun 1962:100).

A sick child who is believed to have been possessed by Sayitan is entrusted to the angubat, because his curative methods do not offend the spirit. The cure is a combination of herbs and the *tawal*, prayers in Arabic taught by an angubat to his apprentice. There is a tawal for every type of illness.

To ward off Sayitan's attacks, one may offer special prayers, or food, and wear *anting-anting* or *ampes* (charms).

The Sayitan is also conceived as the spirits of dead ancestors who demand attention from their living relatives by causing illness in the family. Some Sama use Sayitan synonymously with *djinn*; others conceive of djinn as the spirits of dead ancestors under the leadership of Sayitan.

"Sayitan" may also mean the numerous spirits in the environment, who dwell in rocks, especially black volcanic ones, and various species of tree. Miscarriage is caused by the *komeng* (the blood of a pregnant woman), which, in a man's form, appears to a pregnant woman in a dream and has intercourse with her. The *balbalan* appears as a

flying bird; the *pangguah* is "the spirit of the dead not properly buried" (Rixhon 1969:6).

A dying person's last breath is the *ngawa*, spirit escaping to travel to the afterlife. Some Sama believe that judgment is rendered on those who have died, the good going to *sulgah* (a place of happiness) and the bad, to *nalkah* (a place of fire). Many of them believe in the *lutau*, ghosts of people who have led evil lives. The lutau kill people by sucking their blood or the air out of their lungs. They emit a strong, foul odor and take a variety of horrible forms, such as a "white tentaclelike shape" (Ducommun 1962:103). The lutau cannot swim, but they can float over water or hitch a ride on someone's boat. They live in the mountains.

Architecture and Community Planning

A Sama kinship group of 100 to 500 members lives in a cluster of houses, usually standing on wooden pilings on the seashore. Each group is affiliated with the nearest mosque. This Sama community may be located within a larger non-Sama town. Those who are engaged in farming live in houses built on dry land. In western Sulu, the houses are "completely over tidal mud flats or reefs" (Gowing 1979:92). In eastern Sulu and Basilan, water reaches the supporting posts only at high tide.

Most of the Sama who occupy the smaller coral islands of Sulu and Tawi-Tawi build their houses on piles driven into the reef floor but still connected to the shore and to one another by a labyrinth of walkways and bridges. The elevation of the house depends on the maximum high tide level in the area. This is necessary in order to accommodate their outrigger fishing boats, which are tied underneath the house when not in use.

The typical Sama dwelling is made of bamboo and nipa, coconut lumber and *bakawan* (mangrove); nipa or sawali for the roof and walls; bamboo for the stairs and flooring; coconut wood, bakawan, or other tree trunks for the posts and other structural supports. Instead of trusses, horizontal beams supporting the weight of the roof are placed outside the structure, not inside, because the roof is low.

The *pantan* (open porch or terrace) is a prominent feature of Sama dwellings. Usually facing the east, it serves as a space for drying fish, woodworking, and preparing cassava. It is also the children's playground, a gathering place for families, or a place to hold rituals. Normally, a shed is built right along the porch to serve as the kitchen.

Traditional houses used to be very tall and large, some of them two stories high, with balconies and elaborate carvings. These were large because the typical household was an extended family ranging from 2 to 15 nuclear families under one roof. This type of house, however, is becoming extinct. The Sama house now consists of a single room for lounging, sleeping, and dining. There are no partitions in the house and, depending on the economic status of the owner, it may be sparsely furnished or

richly decorated with buras.

The space below the house serves not only as a shelter for the boat and fishing paraphernalia, but also as the bathroom and laundry room. Nipa and corrugated iron are used as roofing material. Rainwater from the roof is collected because it is the Sama's main drinking water. Wood for walls, floors, and planks, which used to be hand-cut by the Sama from local trees, are now bought from stores.

Visual Arts and Crafts

The dominant art form in the Sulu archipelago is called *ukil*, which may mean the act of wood carving or the design which characterizes the people's textile, wood carvings, mats, and metal engraving. The ukil design is a "curvilinear design which combines stylized scroll, leaf, and vine elements in a seemingly infinite range of abstract variations" (Szanton 1973:33). Motifs of this design are the following: *birduh*, consisting of vines growing horizontally, vertically, or diagonally; *magoyoda*, consisting of the *naga*, a dragon or serpent figure occurring in a series or used as the centerpiece; *pako rabong*, a fern growing upwards used as the centerpiece from which other designs spread out; *niaga*, a combination of the naga and *todi*, "elaborations of leaves, vines, and flowers"; *armalis*, fern leaf, and bud combinations; and *lubid-lubid* or *tiali-tali*, coiled rope used almost universally as a border (Baradas 1968:135). The human form is rarely represented, because Islam prohibits this.

The Sama are best known for their ukil designs on their *tepo* (pandanus mats), buras (rattan mats), and sundok (grave markers), the pako rabong being the favorite motif. The Sama generally prefer to make realistic, rather than stylized or abstract, designs. Inspite of the extensive use of these motifs, each work is unique, for Sama artists create variations.

The traditional attire of the Sama consists of either everyday wear or elaborately embroidered costumes for special occasions. The *patadjung*, a ubiquitous tube-shaped cloth found in Mindanao and the Visayas, is large enough to fit any person, and is worn by both men and women. It has many uses. It is worn either as a skirt or a gown tucked in place at the chest level. It can serve as *putung* (headcover), waistband, sash, blanket, hammock, shoulder bag, cradle, pouch, hood, or pillow.

Patterns woven into the patadjung are checks and stripes. More elaborate ones worn for special occasions may have batik prints or tie-dyed floral and geometric patterns. The *sawwal kantiu* (loose trousers), also worn by neighboring ethnic groups, is made of plain or printed cotton cloth for everyday wear. The sawwal that is made of richer fabric is reserved for special occasions and worn by the women with a *sablay* or a *biyatawi*. On such occasions, men wear it with a *badjuh-lapi* (jacket).

The women's sablay is a loose-sleeved blouse reaching down to the hips. A *simpay*

(band) forms the front opening and extends to the back to form a small collar. The fabric determines whether the sablay is for everyday wear or special occasions. It is fastened in front with ordinary pins or a *karusang* (a set of three brooches). The sablay is worn with a patadjung or a sawwal kantiu, and topped by either a *kamban* (silk or brocade shawl) or a *papanda* (scarf of filmy material).

A blouse worn for special occasions is the long-sleeved, tight-fitting, dark-colored biyatawi. It has a deep keyhole neckline and sides that flare from the waist. Running stitches and *tambuku* (small metal or gold buttons) run along the seams at the wrists, shoulders, neckline and, if any, the collar. The *panyuh* (a large handkerchief) is worn to cover that part which the biyatawi's keyhole neckline leaves bare. The biyatawi may also be worn with a *siyag*/*habul*/*hos* (a more elaborately embroidered patadjung) which is worn with one corner slung on one shoulder or arm.

The men roll up the patadjung or sawwal kantiu and tuck the upper corners at the waistband to make the *bahag*, which is more convenient to wear to work, i.e., pearl diving, fishing, or wood carving. For special occasions, the *sawwal kuput-mahabah* (long, tight-fitting trousers) are worn. It is held at the waist by a strip of cotton cloth called a *kandit*. A tasseled kandit, made of *katsa* (muslin) and embroidered with blanket stitches in vibrant colors at both ends is the *sapu-tangan*, used for religious occasions. Worn with the sawwal is the *badjuh-lapi*, a hip-long collarless jacket with long, tight sleeves, always worn open in front. Both sides of the opening and the seams under the arms and on the shoulders are decorated with silk or cotton cord and tambuku. The *pis* is a large kerchief, folded, and draped to make several variations of a headgear, or to be used as a handkerchief, carry-all, or sling. The *pis siyabit*, with handwoven geometric patterns, is used by the relatively well-to-do. During prayers some men wear the *kuppiya*, a headgear made of black velvet and beaded for special occasions, such as weddings or special Muslim holy days.

The Sama are known for weaving two types of mats: the tepo and the buras. Tepo is a pandan sleeping mat with four types of dyed and inwoven designs: *jali* (stripes), *tabanas* (varicolored squares), *kusta* (checkered pattern in white and another color), and *biyu-biyu* (zigzag). These four basic designs may be combined to make more complex variations, such as the *palang borus* (varicolored rectangles), *kabang* (large squares in alternating colors), *binaliku* (complex zigzag pattern), *kusta sina* (combination stripes and diamonds), *balintung* (combination zigzags and diamonds), *malasa* (small hexagons), and *tinibi* (boat form). Colors are green, orange, red, violet, and blue (Szanton 1973:26- 27).

Buras is made of rattan stitched together by a man to make a mat 1.2-1.5 meters long or 2.3-6 meters long. It is then painted with designs by a woman. She begins by outlining the design in black and white paint, using a rattan stick. Then she fills in the pictures with red, yellow, green, white, black, pink, orange, and blue. It is used as a wall screen or a floor mat for special occasions. A smaller buras is used as a prayer mat in the mosque.

Buras was originally plain, except for the *buras waysaga*, which had designs burned in with live charcoal. After World War II, geometric patterns made with enamel paint covered the whole expanse of the mat. A later design was a centerpiece which was framed with a border pattern. A subsequent stage in the development of buras designs was the series of smaller designs with partitions between them. In 1957 Hadji Idarus started copying prints of Mecca and Medina onto his buras. Other buras makers elaborated on this by adding ukil designs around the painted scenes.

Other woven items are hats, kitchen items, and traditional war implements. The cone-shaped *saruk* (male hat) is made of woven nipa or pandan leaves, whose natural creamy color is retained. Geometric, spiral, or concentric lines are sometimes painted on the hat. The wide-brimmed *salakut* (female hat) also has a cone-shaped top. Its materials and weave are like those of the saruk. Although usually woven in the natural colors of the leaves, there are those that are "richly dyed and exquisitely crafted" in Sibutu (Amilbangsa 1983).

The *taming* is a fish-shaped shield made of woven rattan, and now used solely as part of the paraphernalia for the Sama fight dance *langka-sayaw*. *Turung dulang* are dome-shaped plate covers with a diameter of about 75 centimeters. The *turung dulang rikiriki* are smaller plate covers that are also used as wall decor. The inner layer is of coconut leaves, the outer is of buri. Dyed and folded pandan leaves provide the decoration.

Engraving is done on jewelry and colored combs. The *gallang* (bracelet) is the most popular ornament. The most common is that made from *sulau* (letter cone) or *kima* (Tridachna gigas). Other pieces of jewelry are the *gantung-liug* (pendant), *aritis* (earring), *singsing* (ring), *hukut-liug* (necklace), and *galungsung* (anklet). Metalcraft designs can be classified according to the following types: the repoussé, relief hammered from the reverse side; arabesque, incision of interlocking curves; and filigree, tracing with thin gold, silver, or brass wires. Although the favorite ornamental material is *bulawan* (gold), precious and semiprecious stones, turtle shell, colored glass, nacre, and black coral are also used.

The *sudlay* is the ornamental comb made from wood, coconut, or turtle shell and inlaid with jewels. The tambuku, the hundred or so small buttons encrusted on the male or female jacket, may range in shape and style from the simple round to the embossed floral or filigree design. A special metal ornament used only for dancing is the *sulakengkeng/saling-kukkul/janggay*, worn as long artificial fingernails made of gold, silver, brass, or tortoise shell. The *panumping*, a crown worn by a bride or as part of a dance costume, is made of paperboard covered with tinfoil of all colors, sequins, beads, and tassels.

Metalwork is done on knives, of which there are three major types; the *gayang* (made solely on Sibutu), the *barung***,** and the *kalis*. The gayang is long and slender. The barung has a long curved edge and may be used for chopping and piercing. It has

incised designs on the handle and scabbard. The kalis, a long, double-edge knife, has three types: the *kalis tulid***,** which is straight; the *kalis taluseko*, which has three waves near the handle on the side opposite the bladed edge; and the *kalis seko*, which is wavy along its whole length. All three types of kalis are elaborately decorated on the guard which "has a series of decorative notches on one side" and a *bella*, a carved representation of an eagle's open beak on the other side (Szanton 1973:20).

Ukil carving is done on the wooden handles of the knives. The gayang's handle is cylindrical with cord wrapping. Its end, however, is "densely carved with fish, frogs, dogs, and goats, often in the act of swallowing one another" (Szanton 1973:22). Its *taguban* (wooden sheath) is also decorated with ukil on the middle and tip. The *upida*/*pedda* (handle of the barung) is curved like a hook, with a pointed projection at the curve and a pyramid-shaped end. The *lenget* (hooked end) carries an ukil design. *Kok kalis* or the handle of the kalis is also called *nay kura* ("horse's foot") because of its shape. Engravings of mother-of-pearl are sometimes added as decorations.

Other items containing ukil carvings are the *tungkud*, a walking cane which sometimes conceals a blade; *tungkud rikiriki* or swagger stick, sometimes decorated with painted faces; and *sanduk panayam*, a coconut shell ladle for making *ja*, a fried dessert made of rice batter.

The wooden frame for the Sama's percussion instruments is shaped like a bird, a fish, or a houseboat.

Barrio Ubul, Simunul, is unique in its use of massive wooden gates in front of houses. The ukil is done on the horizontal beam connecting the vertical posts of the gate. Since the gate is not attached to a fence, its purpose is ornamental.

For fishing and travelling, the Sama have the vinta or *lepa*, which is a swift-sailing double-outrigger boat. The ukil carvings on the stern and prow are referred to as *manukmanuk* (birdlike). The stem is adorned with the *pansal*, a bifurcated projecting shaft with ukil designs. Decorations on the prow are the *sangpad* (a truncated rectangular plate) and the *ajong-ajong* (projecting shafts with carved tips). Vintas are also noted for their colorful sails.

The Sama are famous not only for the ukil on grave markers but also for mat weaving. The sundok is a wooden or concrete sign, 60-90 centimeters high, which is placed on a grave, in the ground or on a base. It may come in the form of a box, boat, bird, horse, or crocodile. The sundok for the male is cylindrical and round, or pointed on top; that for the female is a tablet, i.e., standing flat, with the ukil design topped by an incised comb. Occasionally, the grave is fenced around by a rectangular or boat-shaped kubul, usually with the bird motif; used as the centerpiece, it culminates in a bud or flower. The ukil incisions are painted red, white, green, and blue enamel.

Some Sama attempts at representing the human form are evident in sundok that are

hexagonal and topped by a knob, which may represent the head. In the Muso community at Siasi Island is a set of sundok representing four men, each standing on a boat. The facial features are clearly etched and, although without limbs, each sundok has a clearly defined neck, head, and torso. The sundok on Laminusa Island are painted and set with cowrie shells. Siasi has the only known sundok that are carved in coral.

Of the ethnic groups in Zamboanga City and Sulu, only the Sama engage in earthenware or clay pottery making. Their pottery centers are the following: a part of the Muslim section in Sangali, Zamboanga City; Kaulungan Island, off the southeast coast of Basilan; Tara, whose pottery industry flourished in 1963 but declined by 1969; and Papabag, which used to supply the clay for Simunul but now manufactures its own pottery, causing the decline of Simunul as a pottery center. The items produced are *banga* (rice pots), *simpi* (cassava toasting pan), *lapuhan* (cooking stoves), and *bingi* (storage jars for fresh water or uncooked rice).

The banga is globe shaped, with a narrow neck. Sometimes it is incised with a herringbone series on the neck or a zigzag band on the lip. A smaller pot at Papabag has two ears for handles on either side, and a cover with a V-shaped handle at the center.

The simpi is round, large, and shallow, with a diameter of 40 centimeters. A smaller one, 22 centimeters in diameter, is produced in Papabag; its lip is decorated with double zigzag incisions.

The lapuhan comes in three shapes: oval, round, and triangular. It invariably has three supports for the cooking pot. Zigzag incisions may decorate the rim.

Also globe shaped is the bingi, which is 25 to 30 centimeters high and about the same at its widest point. A decorative pattern may be a diamond series just below the neck, with dots running vertically across the middle of each diamond. An unusual type of storage jar once produced in Simunul was an imitation of Chinese jars; it had flower and fish decorations in bas relief and was painted yellow and green, or blue and red.

Literary Arts

The traditional literature of the Sama consists of their narrative prose or folktale, generically called *kata-kata*, a term also used to refer specifically to its trickster tales, with Pusung as the central character. Other Sama narrative forms are origin myths, animal tales, numskull tales, magical tales, and novelistic tales. The Sama have kata-kata to explain the origin of food, stars, formations of land, and so on. They also have tales about dragons, angels, ogres, princes, and princesses.

One day, a long time ago, some old men were rowing a banca with the “stout stems of growing grass” when one of the stems broke. Drops of the stem’s juice reached one man’s lips and he was surprised to discover that it was sweet. And that was how sugarcane was discovered.

A housewife was using the tubers of a certain plant to support her stove while she was cooking. One of the tubers broke and some burning hot pieces of it flew to the woman's hand. She sucked her burnt hand and tasted the baked tuber. And that was how gabi was discovered.

There was a naga (dragon) that was so huge that it could swallow ten carabaos. Its tongue had nine venomous forks. The swing of its tail was as devastating as a hurricane. It preyed on all the people until only a couple and their son were left. This family climbed the top of the mountain to implore God to end the destruction wrought by the dragon. They had hardly finished praying when the dragon came crashing toward them. But suddenly it rose higher and higher until it became suspended in the sky. It became the broad sweep of innumerable stars that we now call the Milky Way. One can sometimes see one of its tongues shooting down. At the end of the world, this dragon will come to life again and "devour all the wicked" (Ziegler 1973:117).

In the Pusung stories, Pusung always outwits his superiors. Once, Pusung gave the sultan a tribute of cakes. The sultan found the cakes delicious, and being informed that they were made of the hair of Pusung's pet dog, laid claim on the dog. One day he had its hair served to him and, of course, he found it inedible. Realizing that he had been tricked, the sultan sent his guards to arrest Pusung. The latter, however, told the guards that the man they were looking for had black buttocks, whereas he had yellow buttocks. So the guards returned to the sultan empty handed.

Another favorite trickster is Abunnawas, a loyal subject of the Sultan of Jolo. Like Pusung, he always outsmarts the sultan. For instance, he makes a bet with the sultan that he can walk on top of a piece of wood, and he proves it by walking on stilts.

Abunnawas' greatest achievement, for which he wins his sultan's admiration, is his marriage to a sultan's widow who has been vainly courted by many men, including the Jolo sultan himself. This widow sleeps beside her husbands bones. Abunnawa digs up some human bones and then lingers outside the widow's house, pretending to be a grieving widower himself. The widow sympathetically invites him to spend the night at their house. He goes to bed with his bag of bones, in imitation of the widow's grief. When everyone is asleep, he takes the bones from the widow's bedside and mixes them with his own bag of bones. The next morning, when the widow frantically searches for her husband's bones, Abunnawas points to the two sets of bones now mixed together and claims that, even in death, her husband has been unfaithful to her. She then decides to end her mourning and marry Abunnawas.

One novelistic tale concerns a woman who borrows money for her husband, who has decided to sail away to seek his fortune elsewhere. She borrows from seven officials of the sultanate, one after the other: the pang-lima, maharajah, urangkaya, datu, bilal, hatib, and imam. To each she promises to pay back the loan within a specified time or else give herself in payment. The deadline comes but she cannot pay, so she promises to marry each one, one after the other. Then she has seven gold-painted cabinets made. That evening, each man arrives one hour apart. He is

entertained by the woman until a knock on the door makes him hide inside a cabinet, thinking that it is the woman's husband who had came home. During the next three days, the sultan's guards search for the seven missing officials. The woman then comes forward and reveals the missing men. She wins both the reward money and the fines imposed upon the men for compelling her to marry them, knowing she is already married.

Performing Arts

The Sama musical tradition is closely related to those of the other groups in the Sulu area. The oldest musical form, the *luguh* is sung in religious and social functions, and has a melancholy tune and slow tempo.

The *suwah-suwah* (sprouting citrus seed) is a sprightly, cheerful tune that accompanies the *pangalay* dance. The *tenes-tenes*, a relatively recent form, is a ballad which may be sung on any occasion like fishing, and by anyone, but especially by a young man for his sweetheart. The same melody may be used for different sets of lyrics. Like the tenes-tenes, the lelleng is sung on any occasion, by anyone of any age: children at play, a boy teasing a playmate, a youth singing about a faraway sweetheart, a man fishing or resting; but is also sung on special occasions like weddings, haircuts, or circumcisions. The chanting is monotonous and similar to the *pasyon*.

Not of Islamic origin but nonetheless used for religious ceremonies and dancing is the *kulintangan* ensemble consisting of the *agung/tunggalan*, *duwaha, gandang*, and kulintangan. The agung/tunggalan is a large brass gong hanging from a tripod, bamboo pole, or wooden frame, whereas the tungtung/duwaha is the smallest gong in the ensemble. Both are played with a *lilisag-agung* (wooden stick padded with cloth) and the hands. The kulintangan consists of a row of 8 to 11 knobbed brass gongs, in graduated sizes, the biggest gong producing the lowest tone and the smallest, the highest; it provides the main melody. The gandang, a cylindrical drum with a slightly bulging middle, is made from a hollowed-out block of wood and is covered on both ends with goat skin. The instrument is laid on the drummer's lap, held vertically between the thighs, or suspended from an abaca cord around the neck.

A favorite instrument is the *gabbang*, a bamboo xylophone arranged in size and tone like the kulintangan. A variation of the gabbang and kulintangan is the *bintang*, a xylophone with knobbed metal bars.

Stringed instruments are the *gitgit* and *biula*. The former is a native guitar, made from coconut shell and two strings of horsehair. It has a long wooden handle. The biula is a four-stringed violin.

The woodwind instruments are the bamboo flutes *suling*, *sawnay*, and *pulaw*. The suling is 38 centimeters long and 2.54 centimeters in diameter, with three to six holes. Its mouth hole is wrapped with a thin strip of dried palm leaf. The sawnay is 20 to

30 centimeters long and 1.25 centimeters in diameter, with four or five holes. From midwaydown to its end is a pandan or coconut leaf-bell. The pulaw is a bigger and longer flute that produces a deeper sound.

The *kulaing* is a bamboo jew's harp 30 centimeters long and 3.8 centimeters wide and very thin. Its sound is produced by a 6-centimeter strip that is partially cut from the middle. One end is held in the mouth with one hand while a finger of the other hand taps the strip to make it vibrate.

The Sama dance traditions have much in common with the other ethnic groups of Sulu, especially the Tausug. The basic traditional dance movement is the *igal* or *pangalay*, which is performed by the female. The costume for the igal is the sablay or biyatawi and the sawwal. The hair is preferably pulled back in a bun, although it may also be allowed to hang loose. The dance is accompanied by the kulintangan ensemble or simply a gabbang.

The *sinalayan* begins the dance. The hands are held in front, making a scooping motion, going up and down, with the palm facing down as it descends while the other hand is being raised. In the meantime, the feet are performing the *palalay-lalay*, shuffling steps on bent knees. After this first movement, the dancer may choose from any of the following wrist, hand, and elbow movements: *nilimbayan* (to swing), of which there are two types—the *nilimbayan nidakan* with the arms stretched outward from the chest and the palms facing outward, and the *nilimbayan nibukutan* (to swing backwards) with both hands behind the lower part of the body; *sinagang*/*pataud-taud* (rocking) with the arms making a pushing motion from the elbows to the fingers; *niloboran tanganku* (circular movement of the hands) in which the wrists are rotated; *binaliku* (to fold) with the hands a short distance from the chest, and palms alternately circling while facing outward; and *magdambila* (both ends) with the movement of the hands shifting from left to right and vice versa.

The fingers are kept together while they are stretched as far upward and backward as they can go, especially the thumbs. The hand movements are done together with the *nikelengan*/*maglingad-lingad* or tilting of the head to look at the movements of one's hand. The hands are constantly making either *niliboran* (circular motion) or *nilimbayan* (swinging motion). The torso does not move, but the posture is *pinatudik* (buttocks protruding).

The feet have five positions: *tinukunan* (to stop), at a standstill; *nidaganan* (to pull someone to go with you); *deyo-deyoan* (to go down), knees bending; *nilangkahan*, knees bent while dancing, related to the *langka*, the basic position of the kuntau; and the *pabolibod***,** a circular movement while standing in place.

The dancing style is smooth and flowing; there should be no pauses between movements. There is also no marked ending, although the dance always begins with the sinalayan. There is no fixed sequence of movements, no fixed number of dancers. The igal is performed to mark the various stages of the life cycle, such as the child's first haircut,

ear piercing, male and female circumcision, or a wedding.

The basic male dance movement is the kuntau, a stylized imitation of the indigenous martial arts. It is said that this form of martial arts was taught to the Tausug by a Malayan warrior, who was stranded in Sulu in the 16th century. The basic position of the kuntau is the langka, with feet apart, knees bent, arms raised to the level of the chest and stretched a bit to the front, palm facing outward. It is related to the nilangkahan movement of the igal.

The performer's kuntau may vary from tender and graceful to energetic and warlike. He invariably begins with the "greeting-and-obeisance" movement, in which he flips his hands at chest level, skips and lands cross-legged at a deep knee bend, and flips his hands again at chest level. A variant is to slap his hands overhead, bring them down to ear level with palms facing outwards, slap his hands again at chest level, stretch his arms sideways, bring his palms together at the chest, pivot, flip the hands, and finally, bow.

Almost all traditional Sama dances are variants of the pangalay or igal and kuntau. They may be classified as entertainment or exhibition, occupational, and religious or ceremonial dances.

Dances imitating the movements and behavior of animals are usually comic dances. The male dancer mimics an angry monkey in the *langka-baluang*; a boar trying to crack open a coconut in *igal kussah*; mating butterflies in *kabah-kabah*; and a mating rooster in *pangasik*; the latter dance may also be performed with a female.

Bulah-bulah is a pangalay in which both male and female dancers use bamboo or shell clappers. Two courtship dances that are variants of the pangalay are the *pangilok* and *eringan*, the latter differing from the former only in its use of the sulakengkeng. In each, the male and female dancer tease each other but are careful not to touch nor make any suggestive movements.

The *pamansak*/*igal ha taas patung* is a pangalay of a woman dancing on top of a pair of bamboo poles which are carried on the shoulders of two men. When she is lowered to the ground, one or two men join her and perform the langka-kuntau. The dance ends with the woman returning to her bamboo perch and being carried away.

The langka-sayaw is a mock fight between two male dancers, each carrying a shield and a *budjak* (lance) which they place on the ground. The objective is to pick up the war implements first and to prevent the other from doing so. Hence, they dance around the implements, kicking sand into each other's face. When they have retrieved their lance and shield, they vigorously engage in a mock battle until one "defeats" the other.

The *tauti* depicts a fisher who fails to make a good catch with hook and line and resorts to using the sap of *tubli* (poisonous vine). In his excitement over his large

catch, he clumsily gets pricked by the fish's poisonous spine and the dancer jumps, writhes, swims, skips, and crawls home in pain.

The *sambulayang* or *pangalay pangantin* is a wedding dance in which the bride is hidden from the groom's view by a sambulayang (flag) that is tied to a bamboo pole. She is followed by the groom, who indicates his readiness to defend and protect her by continually touching the hilt of his kalis/kris. The male carrier of the bamboo pole does the same. The dance is highlighted by the bride's dropping her sulakengkeng to the floor one by one, with the groom vigilantly picking these up. The dance ends with the groom ceremoniously handing the sulakengkeng back to his bride.

A pre-Islamic dance ritual or exorcism which is mimetic is the *magomboh***,** named after *Omboh* (Lord ancestor). It is a ritual to cure one whose illness has been diagnosed to have been caused by the sayitan. The center of this dance is an offering of green lotion called "tonix," betel nut, and food. These are set on a tray that is placed on a wooden bed enclosed in a mosquito net. The panglima or imam enters the net and prays. He then emerges from the net in a possessed state. He takes a budjak and makes thrusting movements toward the nets as he dances around it. Occasionally he thrusts the lance at another person who has also fallen into a trance and dances with the shaman. Near the end of the ritual, the panglima hits the patient with his headkerchief.

In some magomboh rituals, an effigy of the Omboh is made out of a basket through which a piece of wood, representing the arms, is inserted. The effigy is then dressed with a sablay. The panglima dances about while carrying the Omboh and imploring the spirit to enter the Omboh. He then holds a dialogue with the Omboh, whose answers are conveyed in signals which he deciphers. • R.C. Lucero, with notes from C. Hila/Reviewed by S.K. Tan

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