

The word “Tiruray” comes from “tiru,” signifying “place of origin, birth, or residence,” and “ray” from “daya,” meaning “upper part of a stream or river.” The Tiruray are a traditional hill people of southwestern Mindanao. They live in the upper portion of a river-drained area in the northwestern part of South Cotabato, where the mountainous terrain of the Cotabato Cordillera faces the Celebes Sea. The Tiruray call themselves *etew teduray* or Tiruray people, but also classify themselves according to their geographic location: *etew rotor*, mountain people; *etew dogot*, coastal people; *etew teran*, Tran people; and *etew awang*, Awang people, or *etew ufi*, Upi people (Schlegel 1970:5).

The Tiruray may be classified into the acculturated and the traditional. The first refers to those who live in the northernmost areas of the mountains, and who have had close contact with Christian and Muslim lowland peasants, as well as with Americans since the beginning of the century. The second refers to Tiruray who have survived deep in the tropical forest region of the Cotabato Cordillera, and have retained a traditional mode of production and value system.

The Tiruray number about 27,000, distributed in several areas: the coastal region, the northern mountain region, the Upi Valley, the Tran Grande River, and Maganoy River regions. This entire mountainous stretch, in the seaward portion of northern Maguindanao, is also home to two other cultural groups who are linguistically distinct from the Tiruray and from each other: the nearby Cotabato Manobo, and the Tboli.

The Tiruray are Malay in physical appearance. Their language is structurally related to those of the Malayo-Polynesian family. But when spoken, it is unintelligible even to their immediate neighbors (Schlegel 1970:5).

History

The Tiruray have occupied the same area for several centuries, but they have undergone varying degrees of assimilation and acculturation. It is reasonable to assume that before the Spanish appeared in Mindanao, there were extensive contacts between the Tiruray and the Maguindanao Muslims, particularly since the 15th century. During that time, the people of the Cotabato River basin had been won over to Islam, which had established a sultanate over all of Maguindanao. Attempts by the Maguindanao to subdue the mountain tribes of Cotabato did not succeed, but trade relations eventually flourished between the two groups. The Tiruray came down to the coast bringing forest and agricultural products for trade.

Spanish influence in the area came rather late. It was only sometime in the 19th century, towards the end of Spain’s colonial rule in the Philippines, that the central government in Manila and the Roman Catholic Church were able to establish a stronghold in Cotabato. A Spanish military garrison was put up in Cotabato City, while a Jesuit school and mission were built near Awang, close to the mountain region. The Spaniards were able to convert a number of Tiruray to Catholicism.

The outbreak of war between the American occupation forces and the Muslim people of Mindanao in the early part of the 1900s signalled the beginning of another phase of colonization. The Americans, through the efforts of a Philippine Constabulary officer named Irving Edwards who married a Tiruray, built a public school in Awang in 1916 and an agricultural school in Upi in 1919. The building of roads which ran into Tiruray territory opened up the region to numerous lowland Christian settlers, most of them Ilocano and Visayan, and Upi Valley became the site of many homesteads. The Americans introduced the idea of titling lands as homesteads.

A significant number of Tiruray were persuaded to give up their traditional slash-and-burn methods of cultivation, and they shifted to farming with plow and carabao. This was the beginning of the dichotomy in Tiruray culture: many Tiruray refused to be acculturated and retreated deeper into their ancestral mountain habitat, while others resettled in the Upi Valley and became peasants. Many of the resettled and “modernized” Tiruray have been converted to Christianity, as a result of years of evangelization work by some “clergy who are either American missionaries, Filipinos from Luzon, or profoundly westernized Tiruray” (Schlegel 1970:9).

Their situation has remained basically unchanged since the American period. Political power is mainly in the hands of the Maguindanao who make up the majority population (more than half a million) in the rural and urbanized parts of the province. Local and provincial leaders, under the local government setup centralized in Manila, are mainly Maguindanao.

Economy

For a long time, the Tiruray practiced a subsistence system mainly based on traditional swidden cultivation. Supplemental food supplies were procured through hunting, fishing, and gathering. Other necessities of life, such as iron tools for slash-and-burn agriculture, household implements, and personal items, were obtained through trade with the Maguindanao. Weaving, blacksmithing, and pottery are industries unknown to the Tiruray. They used to wear handbeaten bark cloth. Cotton material, particularly the sarong dress, only came in through trade activities. These articles were obtained by exchanging their rattan, almaciga, beeswax, and tobacco.

Among the more populous settlements of Tiruray, internal trade goes on during market days. The traders are mainly menfolk, because the Tiruray females are extremely shy and not much given to business transactions. It is they, however, who carry the barter products to the market for their husbands. Tobacco is the main crop cultivated for the barter market, but some rice and corn are also grown to be sold to meet basic needs in the house, such as knives, chicken, and piglets. The Tiruray who have turned to plow farming in the lowlands have been integrated into the cash, credit, and market economy, and follow agricultural techniques and crop selection entailed by a peasant type of economic production.

Following an indigenous system of astronomy, the Tiruray reckon the beginning of their swidden cycle by referring to the appearance of certain constellations in the night sky. By December or early January, swidden sites are ritually marked. This is followed by the laborious clearing of the thick forest growth, and cutting down of the big trees. All the menfolk of a settlement work on each household's swidden site, until all the swiddens are cleared and ready for burning by March or April. Corn and several varieties of rice are planted in the clearing, with men and women working together. The women take charge of harvesting and storing the first corn in May or June, and the first rice in August or September. The next phase is the planting of tobacco or a second crop of corn, as well as more tubers, fruit, vegetables, spices, and cotton. Tiruray upland farming is as scientific and environmentally sound as all other indigenous swidden methods. After all the harvest has been done, "the field will not be further prepared or planted until it has lain fallow for many years, so that the vital jungle vegetation may be reestablished" (Schlegel 1970:14).

Since ancient times, the Tiruray have been known as skillful hunters and trappers. A total of 28 hunting methods, and the same number of fishing methods, have been recorded by Schlegel. The Tiruray prepare their traps for deer and pig when their swidden crops have started growing on the hillside slopes, since the game are expected to come out of the forest to forage for food. The fresh shoots creeping out from a burnt clearing usually attracts the animals (Patanne 1977:511). When the swidden fields have been planted to crops, there is not much work left to be done for the menfolk, except hunting, fishing, and gathering foods in the jungle. Aside from their skill at setting traps and snares, Tiruray hunters are experts in using the blowgun, bow and arrow, spear, and the homemade shotgun, this last weapon acquired after World War II.

In recent years, the classification of Tiruray society into the traditional and acculturated has been most pronounced in the differentiation of their subsistence systems. Two Tiruray settlements were the basis for this observation by Schlegel. The first system, traditional swidden agriculture, characterizes the settlement of Figel; while the other, a peasant economy, describes the settlement of Kaba-Kaba. Schlegel describes the first as a system adapted to the tropical rainforest, consisting of slash-and-burn and shifting cultivation. It is augmented by hunting, fishing, and food-gathering activities, and only marginally dependent on trade with the coastal economy. He describes the second as consisting of plow farming in areas which have virtually lost the old forest cover, with almost no exploitation of or dependence on forest resources, and having an extensive involvement with the market economy of a rural lowland society (Schlegel 1979:164)**Political System**

The political organization of Tiruray society is not hierarchical. Each *inged* (neighborhood) of subsistence groups may have a leader who sees to the clearing of the swidden, the planting and harvesting of crops, and the equal sharing of the rice or any other food produced from the land. The leader or head also determines, in consultation with the *beliyan* or shaman, where to move next and clear another

swidden settlement.

Tiruray society is governed and kept together by their *adat* or custom law, and by an indigenous legal and justice system designed to uphold the *adat*. Legal and moral authority is exercised by an acknowledged expert in custom law, called a *kefeduwan*. The expert presides over the *tiyawan*, the formal adjudicatory discussion board before which are brought cases involving members of the community, for deliberation and settlement. The *kefeduwan*'s position is not based on wealth, as there is hardly any economic stratification among traditional Tiruray. It is not a separate position or profession, because he continues to carry on the usual economic activities of other menfolk in the community. The most learned in Tiruray customs and law, possessing a skill for reasoning, a remarkable memory and an aptitude for calmness in debate, and "who learns to speak in the highly metaphorical rhetoric of a *tiyawan*," is apt to be acknowledged as a *kefeduwan*. In one inged, there may be more than one *kefeduwan*, and several more "minor *kefeduwan*." The main responsibility of a *kefeduwan* in Tiruray society is to see to it that the respective rights and the feelings of all the people involved in a case up for settlement are respected and satisfied. The central goal in the Tiruray system of justice, according to Schlegel, is for everyone to have a "good *fedew*," which means one's state of mind or rational feelings, one's condition of desiring or intending." The legal and moral authority of the *kefeduwan* exists for this social goal. Thus, the administration of justice is geared towards the satisfaction not only of one party in a case submitted for adjudication before the *kefeduwan* in the formal convocation of *tiyawan*, but of both sides. This institution has made possible a significant development in the Tiruray justice system. In the past, retaliation was deemed the acceptable means of seeking justice, but with the ascendancy of the *tiyawan*, retribution has been reduced to the payment of fines or damages.

Internally, this traditional system of justice is still followed, especially in the interior settlements where the old lifeways and practices are still followed. But like most other ethnolinguistic groups in the country, the Tiruray are subject not only to the formal structures of local government under national law, but also to the pressure of political change. Political ascendancy, as noted earlier, resides with the predominantly Muslim population in Maguindanao. In recent years, also, the Tiruray have been caught in the crossfire between the government and insurgent forces operating in Mindanao.

Social Organization and Customs

Tiruray communities are organized in settlements of 5 to 20 families called *dengnon*. These are actually small dispersed hamlets, spread out over a large area. The basic residential unit is a nuclear family, composed of the parents, unmarried children, and married children who have not yet put up their own dwellings. Sometimes unmarried and dependent elders would form part of the household, which also include the many wives of the household head. The Tiruray word for family is *kureng*, which means "pot"; i.e., a family is deemed as a group of persons living together and eating from the

same pot.

The largest social unit is the *inged*, which usually comprises several settlements. The households belonging to the *inged* render mutual assistance among themselves in all swidden-related activities, as well as in all the community rituals. Ordinarily, almost all members of the *inged* are linked to one another either by blood or through marriage ties.

In earlier times, members of a neighborhood shared a single large house. This seems to have been the rule in a period of political instability, on account of tribal wars. Starting from the American occupation, with the territory more or less pacified through military control, Tiruray families started living in individual houses. The term *setifon*, which means “of one house,” is still used to refer to all members of one neighborhood. The one large house in the *inged* is where the *kefeduwan* normally stays. A strict code of responsibility for feeding and provisioning the household is followed by the head of the *kureng*, whether he is monogynous or polygynous. All property, money, and crops are jointly owned by the household, with the wife seeing to it that economic tasks, responsibilities, and rights are properly adhered to within the *kureng*. A polygamous marriage can be allowed only if the first wife gives her consent. Furthermore, the senior wife becomes the “first among equals,” acting as chief spokesperson for all the other wives with regard to their rights and duties within the household.

In Tiruray society, marriage takes place when the man’s relatives have succeeded in accumulating the bride-price. Consisting of animals, valuables, and other articles, the bride-price, called *tamuk*, is delivered to the parents of the bride. During marriage, relatives of the groom are called upon to contribute their share of items making up the bride-price. The *kefeduwan* and their family are enjoined to assist in performing the marriage rites. The role of the bride’s relatives is to help in the determination and distribution of the bride-price. When a person dies, relatives are summoned to share among themselves the costs of the funeral rites.

The kinship terminology follows the generational structure and is reckoned bilaterally from the father’s and mother’s lineage. The kinship terms used are *eboh*, father; *ideng*, mother; *ofo*, older sibling; *tuwarey*, younger sibling; and *eya*, child. After marriage, brothers are likely to combine or join their families together into one household. The same practice holds true for sisters who get married. In the old days, child marriages were common.

Inside the *kureng*, the closest relationship possible is that between husband and wife. Their children will eventually grow up, have their own spouses, and set up their own *kureng*. So long as their marriage lasts, they will live permanently together in the same “pot.” The closeness of man and woman in marriage is partly explained by the division of labor between men’s work and women’s work in the Tiruray swidden. It becomes very necessary that “every farmer has an active wife and that each adult and active woman be wedded to a working husband” (Schlegel 1970:19). This is why

selamfa, “elopement with a married person,” is considered a grave transgression against Tiruray society: the very fabric holding it together is threatened.

It is acceptable to have a *duwoy*, a “co-wife,” which could be more than one. There are several reasons for a polygynous relationship. The most common is the death of a relative who leaves behind a widow. The man is allowed to accept the widow into his kureng. Or, a man may desire to add on to his social prestige, and increase his sexual satisfaction, by taking in an additional wife, particularly a young woman. Another acceptable reason is the need to sire children, if his first wife cannot bear him any. The one condition is that the *tafay bawag*, the senior or first wife, must give her consent. While she can always prevent her *bawag* (husband) from marrying another wife or any number of wives, in practice it is the woman who often suggests that her man take in a *duwoy*, because of the perceived advantage in the arrangement: she will have another person to share the burden of so much work in the house and in the *swidden*. The *tafay bawag* exercises clear authority over the other wives. She assigns to them a share of the work in her husband’s fields. Everything that they produce is owned communally. The first wife sees to it that all of the *duwoys*’ pots receive an equitable share of the food. The sleeping arrangement is discussed and well-planned, the husband going “from wife to wife in rotation,” as arranged by the *tafay bawag*. So long as the more senior wives do not object, “the husband may sleep most of the time with a young, vigorous wife.”

Socialization for the children starts at an early age. They are suckled by their mother up to the age of two or three, or for as long as no new baby has arrived. But once they are able to walk, they are allowed to play around the village, without any supervision from the elders. When they reach the age of six, they become little helpers in the *swidden* fields. Boys are assigned the tasks of gathering firewood, tending the farm animals, hunting wild birds with their little blowguns, guarding the fields from marauding monkeys, and the like. The girls, on the other hand, help in pounding the rice, weaving rattan baskets, fetching water, and washing clothes. In working, the Tiruray children learn all there is to know about surviving in their society, so that “by the time they are adolescents, they do the same work as their parents, and... have absorbed the skills they need to function as Tiruray adults” (Schlegel 1970:21). **Religious Beliefs and Practices**

According to the Tiruray, the world was created by the female deity Minaden, who had a brother named Tulus, also called Meketefu and Sualla. Tulus is the chief of all good spirits who bestow gifts and favors upon human beings. He goes around with a retinue of messengers called *telaki*. Tulus is said to have rectified some errors in the first creation of the world and of human beings.

In the complex cosmogony of the Tiruray, *tiyawan* can exist between human beings and the spirits of the unseen world. The universe, according to the Tiruray, is the abode of various types of *etew* or people. There are visible ones, the *ke-ilawan* (human beings), and invisible ones, the *meginalew* (spirits). The latter may be seen, but only by those in this world possessing special powers or charisma. It

is believed that the spirits live in tribes and perform tasks in the other world, much as they did on earth.

While good spirits abound in the world, there are also bad spirits who are called *busaw*. They live mostly in caves and feed on the *remoger* (soul) of any hapless human being who falls into their trap. At all times, the Tiruray young and old are aware that the busaw must be avoided, and this can be successfully done if one possesses charms and amulets. With the good spirits, it is always necessary and beneficial to maintain lines of communication. But the ordinary human being cannot do this, and so the Tiruray must rely on the *beliyan* or religious leader.

The *beliyan* has the power to see and communicate with the spirits. If a person falls ill, and the spirits need to be supplicated, the *beliyan* conducts a spiritual *tiyawan* with them. Human illness, in so far as the Tiruray is concerned, is the consequence of an “altercation,” a misunderstanding between people and the unseen spirits and these formal negotiations are needed to restore the person’s health and harmonious relationship with the spirits. In effect, therefore, the *beliyan* as a mediator between spirits and human beings is a specially gifted and powerful *kefeduwan*

In an account written in the late 19th century by Sigayan (the first Christianized Tiruray, christened Jose Tenorio), the *beliyan* was described as a person who could talk directly to Tulus and even share a meal with him. The *beliyan* would gather people in a *tenines*, a small house where the shaman stored the ritual rice, and tell them about his/her communications with Tulus. The *beliyan* would dance with a wooden kris in the right hand, small jingling bells hanging from the wrists, and a decorated wooden shield held by the other hand. The shaman made the men and women dance, for that was the only way the people could worship Tulus. The *beliyan* also prepared the ritual offerings to Tulus, and played the *togo*, a small drum, for the supreme being. The same account avers that the Tiruray believed in heaven, a place where they go after death. There was also a hell-like place called *naraka*, but this was for the Maguindanao, “because their god is a different one” (Tenorio 1970:372).

The ancient belief in Tulus and other cosmological beings has remained. And so has the belief in the efficacy of charms and omens. These are particularly relevant in the hunting activities of the Tiruray, whose basic charm or talisman is the *ungit*. This is fashioned from several kinds of “mystically powerful leaves and grasses, wrapped in cloth and bound with vine lashing” (Schlegel 1979:235). This is handed down from father to son, and down the line. The kinds of plants that make up the charm are strictly kept between father and son, as revealing these to just anybody will cause the charm to lose its potency. The hunter carries the *ungit* on his body, and rubs it all over his dog and horse. The *ungit* is believed efficacious not only in snaring or catching game, but also in attracting women sexually. If so used, however, “it loses its power as a hunting charm.”

Omens rule the life of hunters, as they presage misfortune. A hunter will not proceed on a hunt if any of these occurs: he hears a person sneeze as he is about to set out; he hears the call of a small house lizard; he has a bad dream in which he gets wounded, falls, or dies. He will give up the hunt if the animal he intends to catch is seen while he is setting up the trap.

Rituals to establish good relations with the spirits accompany each significant stage of the Tiruray agricultural cycle. Four times within the year, all the households belonging to the inged participate in a community ritual feast known as *kanduli*. Feasting on food, particularly glutinous rice and hardboiled eggs, and ritual offerings to the spirits are the two characteristics of these annual celebrations. The preparations for the feast are generally done in the major settlement within the inged, which is also the focal point of all activities. In the preparation of the food, a significant ritual act is already performed: the exchange of portions of the glutinous rice among all the families. When it is time to consume the ritual food, a family would then be actually partaking some of the rice that has come from every other family in the whole neighborhood. The bonding of the community and of all individual members through the food exchange is implicit in the practice. The significance is further underscored by the fact that “in the course of the cultivation cycle, every family of the neighborhood had contributed its labor to each field on which the rice was grown, and it is the effect of these communal meals to give ritual expression to this interdependence” (Schlegel 1970:64-65).

The four *kanduli* rituals of the agricultural cycle are: *maras*, “marking festival” which is held on the night of the last full moon before the marking of swidden sites for the coming cycle; *retus kama’s*, “festival of the first fruits of the corn,” which is held on the night following the first corn harvest from a neighborhood swidden; *retus farey*, “festival of the first fruits of the rice,” which is celebrated on the night following the first harvest of rice from a swidden; and *matun tuda*, or “harvest festival,” which is held on the night of the first full moon when the rice harvest from all of the settlement’s swiddens has been collected.

The inged families prepare small bamboo tubes filled with glutinous rice, and this they will offer to the spirits at the ritual marking of the first swidden site. Men and women of the neighborhood congregate at a clearing, and they proceed in single file, as *gongs* are being played, to where the first swidden for the year will be marked for burning. Arriving at the site, they set up a small platform where they lay down the tubes of glutinous rice. Everyone listens attentively to the omen-call of the *lemugen* bird, which is believed to have the power to convey messages between human beings and the spirits. The first ritual marking is meant as a song of respect for the spirits of the forest, seeking permission to begin cutting down the trees. The owner of the field interprets the omen-call, and there are good signs and bad signs depending on the direction of the call. There are four good directions: *selat* (front), *fereneken* (45 degrees left), *lekas takes* (45 degrees right), and *rotor* (directly overhead). Any other direction is considered bad. The

ritual laying of the food and the wait for the omen-call is repeated around the four corners of the swidden until a good omen is heard.

Architecture and Community Planning

The *inged* is the largest Tiruray social unit, consisting of several families living in several *dengonan* or settlements, which are small dispersed hamlets with up to 20 houses each. In turn, several *inged* are widely scattered throughout the mountains and along the coast, about 20 kilometers from one another. Within a settlement, several Tiruray houses are usually clustered together within the clearing. In general, Tiruray settlements are located near water sources, and are given names derived from the prominent features of the physical surroundings, such as rivers, creeks, or springs.

The Tiruray house in the 19th century, as described by Sigayan (Tenorio 1970:366-368), seems to have been of flimsier construction than those built at present. It was no more than a “field hut,” with thin posts stuck a few inches into the ground, and easily brought down by the winds. The flooring of the house was made of tree bark, and only a few used bamboo. There was no wall, only hangings of bark or fronds of rattan. Schlegel notes that such design was necessary for defense: the occupants could see the enemy clearly when they raided, enabling the Tiruray to shoot their arrows.

In recent years, the Tiruray traditional house has been more steadily built, though still small, measuring some 3 x 5 meters. Wood and bamboo are the main construction materials for the body, and grass is used for the roof. Five or six main posts or *liley*, made of round hardwood hold up the structure. Roundwood pole studs or *feher*, about a dozen or more, surround the house. To these are attached the four roundwood pole beams called *serinan*, which, with the main posts, define the rectangular shape of the Tiruray house. The studs are fixed on four large bamboo lengths serving as base or *sara feher*. A short distance above the ground, two roundwood girders called *fadal*, one on each length of the house, serve to connect the posts as well as support the series of roundwood floor joists called *bekenal*. An interesting feature is a door or *tenuwe* made of bamboo frame, which is hinged at the bottom and thus folds out to the ground when opened. On another side of the house is another opening to which a notched log ladder or *gadan* leads up. The walling or *diding* goes around the house, and is made of cracked bamboo, which is also the material for the flooring or *saag*. Roundwood pole trusses or *salagunting* start from the beams and end just below the ridge roll or *luntud*. Roundwood rafters called *kesew* and purlins called *berewar atef* make up the framework of the roof. To these are attached the grass roofing or *atef*. Finally, along the center purlin known as *titay berungan* on the roof ridge, there are usually roof ornaments of a religious nature. These are called *fakang*, *salag buwen*, and *kula-kula*. In certain settlements, especially the acculturated ones, the traditional

ramp

window-doors, which are hinged, are giving way to western-style swingtype doors, while the notched log ladders have been replaced by the lowland-type pole step ladder. Also, the religious ornamentation has been completely eliminated from the roofs.

Another structure put up by the Tiruray is the *kayab* (small guard hut), built above the swidden field once the swidden is fully planted to the first crops. From the *kayab* one may have a complete commanding view of the plants. The *kayab* is used as sleeping quarters, and also as a shelter from the hot sun. The swidden hut is about 2 x 2 meters, supported by at least four low stilts or posts, and has walls and a roof made of rattan. The wood used for the *kayab* is gathered from the forest, or set aside when the clearing was made. The bark of the *menurer* tree serves as flooring. Rattan vines are used to lash together the entire structure.

Visual Arts and Crafts

Early Tiruray costumes, including the weaponry which formed part of their accoutrements, differed according to the place of habitation. Thus, men of the “downstream people” who lived near the towns and the Maguindanao population wore long trousers and waist-length shirts. Their weapons consisted of a kris carried at the side, a spear held like a walking stick, a *fegoto* (wide-bladed kris) slung over the shoulder, a dagger tucked at the waist, and either a round shield called *taming* or an elongated one called *kelung*. Those who lived along the coast wore G-strings and shirts. Their weaponry consisted of *benongen*, a blade similar to the kris but smaller than the *fegoto*; a spear, a bow and a quiver of arrows (which even children carried around). These arrows were tipped with *kemendag*, the poisonous sap of a certain tree. The men from the mountains wore short trousers and the same cut of shirt as the other groups, although they tended to have less body covering despite their mountain residence. Their weapons consisted of the kris, spear, bows, and arrows.

Tiruray women, in general, wore a sarong called *emut*, made from abaca fiber. They wore shirts like the men, which was nearly of the same general cut, except that the women’s blouse was form fitting, while the men’s shirt hung more loosely. Since Tiruray women never developed the art of weaving cloth, their dress material came from outside sources. The women also wore *rinti*, a series of brass bracelets of different sizes, extending from the wrist and up the forearm; a brass cord and belt decorated with small jingling bells which they wore around the wrists; brass anklet rings, necklaces of glass beads and colored crystals; and the *kemagi*, a necklace made of gold. They also sported wire earrings from which hung small shell ornaments. The Tiruray women were never without a knife and a small basket which they carried wherever they went.

Both men and women wore the *sayaf*, a shallow conical hat made from buri, worn

as a protection against the heat of the sun (Schlegel 1970).

These costumes and weaponry of the late 19th century were worn by nonacculturated Tiruray. However, the downstream people of the same period were already dressed in the manner of the Maguindanao, who were the nearest source of acculturating influences. In recent times these acculturated Tiruray have adopted “modern” ways of dress, while the Tiruray of the interior may still wear the kind of dress their forebears did, but without the panoply of weapons which used to be a normal part of their habiliments.

The Tiruray have not developed the arts of traditional cloth weaving, metalcraft, and pottery, but have excelled in basketry. They are, in fact, one of the most accomplished basket weaving groups among the country’s cultural communities. In recent times, many traditional patterns and designs in Tiruray basketry have incorporated “contemporary” adaptations, and even borrowings from other ethnic styles, because of the market. Nevertheless, even in “modern” designs, the Tiruray’s skill in traditional basketry shows, as evidenced by the evenness of execution and the symmetry of shapes. Before being split for weaving, the bamboo material is first smoked black. These blackened strips of bamboo are then combined with unsmoked, uncolored strips of natural bamboo in a weave pattern that can have multiple variations.

In the 1960s, traditional carrying baskets with or without covers were “developed for sale to a tourist market,” and some Bontoc baskets were even brought to the Tiruray basket makers by the Episcopalians. As a result, some features of Bontoc basketry were adopted by the Tiruray, such as a bamboo foot in the carrying basket, and fitting covers on small boxes with split nito braids, which served as both stopper and finishing edge (Lane 1986:187). Other types of baskets developed by the Tiruray through this process of adoption were nested boxes, open baskets with square rigid foot rims, nested sets of open basket planters, and trays. A nested set of open basket planters may have 12 pieces in all, ranging from the largest with a height of 40 centimeters to the smallest with a height of 22 centimeters. No mold is used, and yet the proportions are remarkably exact, each basket snugly fitting into the next larger one.

Another complicated piece of basketry is the coined storage jar, which uses various shades of nito. The variation in shades results in a subtle pattern, even without a consistent design. The handle is made from a length of split rattan bound with nito strips in alternating shades of natural brown and dark brown.

As Lane observed, developments in Tiruray basketry have been a function of the economic situation. More and more Tiruray turned to making baskets, not for any domestic use, but for the tourist and export market. Basketry, formerly a household art, has become a source of cash income. Demand was high for the Tiruray baskets in the late 1960s and 1970s.

All iron tools used by the Tiruray have been procured through trade with the Maguindanao. In recent years, however, a few Tiruray have been learning the art of blacksmithing from their Maguindanao neighbors, and one of them, according to Schlegel, even fashioned the Tiruray's first bellows forge needed to turn out rudimentary iron blades.

Literary Arts

Tiruray literature includes myths, legends, and animal stories.

The creation myth centers around a female deity called Minaden, who shaped the world and the first creatures living on it. She fashioned human beings from mud. Having done this, she placed the sun between the earth and the sky, and brought forth daylight. The skyworld is believed to be divided into eight layers, the topmost layer occupied by Tulus, who was Minaden's brother. Tulus was also known by other names, such as Meketefu (the "unapproachable") and Sualla. The first two human beings created by Minaden began to grow, but after some time, they had not yet begotten any offspring. Meketefu came down from the skyworld, and saw that the male reproductive organ was as small as a tiny red pepper, and that of the female was as big as a snail shell. Furthermore, their noses were upside down, and whenever it rained, they caught water, making the two human beings sick. Meketefu decided to create his own clay figures of a man and a woman. Using an old bolo, he struck the female figure, wounding her where the legs joined together. As he did so, the handle of his bolo flew off and stuck to the middle part of the male clay figure. He also turned their noses right side up, so they would not take in rainwater. Soon after, the two creatures were able to bring forth a child into the world. But no food was available to nourish themselves and the child, who eventually died. But the world had no soil, and the child could not be buried. And so the father begged the god Meketefu to give them soil. Much later, various types of vegetation sprouted from the plot of earth where the child was buried. One part of the plot gave forth plants and lime for chewing. The child's umbilical came out as a rice stalk. Its intestines were transformed into sweet potatoes. The head became the taro tuber. The hands turned into bananas, the nails into areca nuts, the teeth into corn, the brains into lime, the bones into cassava, and the ears into betel leaf (Patanne 1977:256 and Wood 1957:15-16). The Tiruray have culture heroes in their mythology, such as Lagey Lengkuwos, the mightiest of them all. It is said that he could talk while still in the womb of his mother. It was he who recreated the earth, because the one originally made by Minaden was all forests and rocks, a barren world. In Sigayan's account, women epic chanters told stories about Lagey Lengkuwos, Metiyatil Kenogon, Bidek, and Bonggo, who were described as among the first people on earth, who were not gods but were followed and trusted by the earliest

Tiruray in the same way that they trusted Tulus himself. These epic heroes now inhabit the realm of the spirits.

Another myth of the second creation is attached to the life of Lagey Lengkuwos. According to this myth, people during the days of Lagey Lengkuwos were undergoing hardships with their farming. They did not yet have the right knowledge of farming, which meant knowing when the winds would be right for burning; when the rains would come and signal the start of planting; how to tell good and bad omens that could spell the difference between success and failure in swidden agriculture. It is said that Lagey Lengkuwos who was the leader of all human beings in the world, was only too aware of the people's predicament. Near his place, there was a settlement where six farmers lived. They had a pet bird, a forest dove known as the lemugen. The time came for Lagey Lengkuwos to lead his people to the celestial abode of Tulus, since their stay in the world was finished. But Lagey Lengkuwos, who indeed wanted a second creation of human beings in the world to clear the forests did not want the next people to have such a difficult time farming. He asked two things of the six farmers: that they leave their pet bird lemugen behind, so that it could give the necessary bird omen-calls for the next humanity of swidden farmers; and that they live in the sky as constellations forever or for as long as there is a world peopled by swidden farmers. Since then, the lemugen bird has been giving omens to the farmers to let them know what to do and what not to do, while the six constellations have appeared regularly to signify seasonal changes, and to familiarize the people with the agricultural cycle of burning, planting, harvesting, and letting the land lie fallow.

The legend of "How Rice and Corn Came To Us" explains that in older times the Tiruray, represented by Kenogolagey and his wife Kenogen, ate only camote and cassava. One day, an old man visits them and tells them of a better food, the rice and corn, that can only be gotten from the castle of a fierce giant in the middle of the sea. Upon the advise of the old man, Kenogolagey sends his two friends, the cat and his dog, to get the food. The two agree, swim for two days in the sea, and finally discover the rice and the corn lying in two heaps beside the giant's legs. As the giant sleeps, the cat takes rice grains into its mouth and the dog a pair of corn ears. Swimming back to shore, the dog drops his corn ears into the bottom of the sea, and the cat, unable to help him because it had rice grains in its mouth, delivers the grains on the shore, and dives back for the ears of corn. The dog takes the rice grains and heads for home, claiming glory for itself. The cat survives, finds its way home with the ears of corn. The cat reveals the truth about the dog, the dog jumps at the cat to tear it apart, but the cat nimbly runs away. Although the adventure brought rice and corn to the Tiruray, it also caused the permanent enmity between dogs and cats.

Like the *pilandok* or mouse deer, the turtle in Tiruray tales is a wily and naughty character. In "The Turtle and the Monkeys," the turtle meets up with the cock who is proud that he no longer has to hunt because he has found a pile of grains somewhere. The turtle, envious at this, tells the cock that he has red eyes, a sickness which could lead to death. Frightened, the cock follows the turtle's prescription. He goes to fetch the sap of the *tegef* and puts this on his eyes. The

sap hardens and the cock, in panic runs and falls, and ends up with his head in the hole on the ground. The crab which lives in the hole eats the fragrant sap on the cock's eyes, allowing it to go free to exact vengeance on the turtle. Meanwhile, the turtle playfully swings at the tip of a rattan leaf. He persuades the monkey to do the same, but the latter, who is heavier, falls over the cliff and dies. The turtle promptly collects the brains, ears, and heart of the monkey. Later, another monkey, Dakel-ubal, who is busy planting palay in his kaingin, asks the Turtle for some betel chew. The monkey obliges, passing off the remains of the dead monkey as the betel chew ingredient. Dakel-Ubal recognizes the monkey remains, calls on all the monkeys and sentences the Turtle to drowning. In the water, the Turtle laughs at the monkey's ignorance. Angry, the monkeys ask the creature Ino-Trigo to sip all the water of the river into his belly. The creature does so, and the turtle is revealed hiding beneath some dead branches. Seeing his enemy, the cock swoops down on the turtle to peck out his eyes. The cock misses and slashes instead the stomach of Ino-Trigo. The stomach bursts, and all the water rushes back into the river, drowning the cock and all the monkeys.

Performing Arts

Among the many Mindanao Lumad groups, the *agung*— a suspended bossed gong with a wide rim—is the most widely distributed brass instrument, and the most developed agung ensembles are those of the Tiruray and the Bagobo (Maceda 1980: 643).

The Tiruray *kelo-agung* or *kalatong* ensemble is composed of five shallow-bossed gongs in graduated sizes. These gongs, which have very delicate sounds, are played by five men or women. The smallest of the gongs, called a *segarun*, leads off with a steady beat, and the four others join in with their own rhythms.

The kelo-agung is used in various occasions, such as agricultural rituals, weddings, community gatherings, victory celebrations, curing rites, rituals for the dead, and the entertainment of visitors. The musical pieces played on the kelo-agung include *antibay*, *fol moto*, *liwan/kanrewan*, *turambes*, and *tunggol bandera*.

There are several other musical instruments used by the Tiruray in everyday and ritualistic occasions.

The *kubing* is a jew's harp made from a special variety of bamboo. The idiophone is known by this name in several Muslim and Lumad groups in the south. Among the Tiruray, the kubing is used for courting as well as for entertainment.

The *togo* is a five-stringed bamboo tube zither, which may play the same pieces heard on the gong ensemble. It is a solo instrument, but several zithers are often played all at once. This chordophone is played by two women. One of them holds one end of the bamboo tube as she plays a melody on three strings. The

other woman holds the other end, and plays a drone on the two other strings. This instrument is important because it can substitute for the kelo-agung. It shares a similar function and may be heard during the same occasions when the kelo-agung is played. In addition, the logo accompanies songs and dances.

The *fegerong* is a two-stringed lute with 5 to 11 frets. This instrument is used for courtship and entertainment. Part of the repertoire of the fegerong are the musical pieces *laminggang* and *makigidawgidaw*.

The two bamboo flutes of the Tiruray are the *falendag* and *suling*. Both have three fingerholes and a thumbhole. The falendag is the lip-valley or deepnotched bamboo flute. Its construction makes possible lip control of the air flowing into the tube, allowing for a degree of tonal control and sensitivity not possible with flutes of similar dimension but differently-shaped blowing holes, such as the *suling* or short ring flute. The *suling* is also called by this name among the Maguindanao, Manobo, Bukidnon, Tausug, and the Palawan. It is a duct flute, the sound of which is produced by adjusting the ring on the mouthpiece in relation to the blowing hole. The pitch of the *suling* has a higher range than the falendag's and can similarly express specific emotions, such as the sobbing of a girl who has just been told by her parents that she is about to be married.

The Tiruray have a wide range of songs for various occasions. The *balikata* is a song with improvised text, sung to traditional melodies; it could be a melodic pattern used for debates, pleading of cases, plain conversation, or it could be a very specific song about the singer's experience with the field researcher's tape recorder. The *balikata bae* is a common lullaby, in which the mother tells the child to sleep soundly, and grow up as strong as the rattan vine. The *lendugan* is a love song, a poetic description about the beauty of courtship, comparing it to flowers; it also refers to a type of melody or a certain mode, such as a lullaby or cradle song. Some *lendugan* also describe the lifeways of the Tiruray. The *binuaya* is a narrative song that tell stories of great events in the distant past. The *siasid* is a prayer-song invoking the blessings of the god Lagey Lengkuwos, and the nature spirits Serong and Remoger. The *foto moto* is a teasing song performed during weddings. The *meka meka* is a song of loyalty sung by a wife to her husband. The melodies of songs like *foto moto* and *meka meka* are often rendered on the kelo-agung and other instruments. One of the more notable Tiruray dances is the *mag-asik*, literally, "to sow seeds,"

performed by girls in Nuro, Cotabato. The dance begins with a large piece of bright-colored cloth or material placed on the ground or on the middle of the floor. The women go around this cloth with small, heavy steps, their arms and hands moving about in graceful fashion. The dancers wear tight long-sleeved blouses of shiny material, in various colors, and a peplum along the waist. Tiruray women favor bright red, yellow, blue, orange, purple, and black. They wear a *patadyong* as a skirt which goes all the way down to their anklets. They may also wear a necklace made of gold, beads, or old silver coins, which goes all the way around the neck and reaches down to the waist. The rich wear metal belts about 15

centimeters wide. The sarong hangs on the left shoulders of the dancers, and only their lower lips are painted.

Two other types of Tiruray dance are: the *kefesayaw teilawan*, in which the dancers imitate bird movements; and the *tingle*, a war dance, in which two rival suitors fight for the affections of a maiden. Both dances are performed during wedding celebrations and other festivities. • E.B. Maranan/Reviewed by S. K. Tan.

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