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## **The Customs of the Tiruray People Translated and Annotated by Stuart Schlegel**

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# Texts and Documents

## *The Customs of the Tiruray People*

JOSE TENORIO (SIGAYAN)

Translated and Annotated by

STUART A. SCHLEGEL

### INTRODUCTION

Written by a member of the Tiruray tribe, *Costumbres de los Indios Tirurayes* was a product of the Spanish Jesuit mission in Tamantaka, near Cotabato City, in southwestern Mindanao.

Since their first unsuccessful campaign under Figueroa against the Maguindanao in 1578, Spanish relations with the Moslems of Cotabato had consisted of centuries of ephemeral treaties and mutual hostilities. The Jesuits had a small mission of two padres in Cotabato in 1748, but they had to evacuate after a mere six months. Only in the middle of the 19th century, when the Spaniards brought steam-powered gunboats to bear, were conditions in Cotabato sufficiently stable for the Jesuits to return. In 1859 they were invited to resume missionary work in Mindanao, and in 1862 a mission was opened in Tamantaka concerned both with conversion of the Moslem Maguindanao of the lowlands and the pagan Tiruray of the low mountains of the Cotabato Cordillera, running south from Cotabato City along the coast of the Celebes Sea.

One of the Jesuits at Tamantaka, Padre Guerrico Bennasar, took the work among the Tiruray as his own. A French visitor to the mission in 1866 wrote:

We were welcomed at Tamontaca by Father Guerrico, a Jesuit. He had established near the fort a mission for the Tirurays, a tribe of the hinterland with a primitive culture. . . . The father

taught them Christian doctrine, and how to read and write and even to sing... Father Guerrico knows Tiruray thoroughly, and has written a grammar and dictionary of the language. The education of his beloved Tirurays is the one obsession of his life.<sup>1</sup>

Sigayan—or José Tenorio, as he was named at baptism—was a member of the first Tiruray family to accept baptism at the Tamantaka missions; this occurred in 1863, a year after the padres had arrived. Some nine years later, in 1872, he wrote, at Padre Bennasar's request, the little volume which is here translated.

*Costumbres* was written by Sigayan in his native Tiruray dialect, and sets forth what is, in all probability, the earliest "ethnography" of his own tribal customs to be written by a Filipino. In 1892, Padre Bennasar published Sigayan's treatise at the Tipografia "Amigos del Pais" in Manila, in a diglot edition, accompanying the Tiruray text with a rather free translation into Spanish and several footnotes. The present translation is made from the Tiruray text, and adheres very closely to it. In consequence, a certain price has been paid in prose style. For, as a French wag has stated, "Translations are like women; those which are beautiful are not true, and those which are true are not beautiful!"

A note is in order on the orthography I have used in setting forth Tiruray words. I have employed a "normalized" orthography, similar to that of the (Philippine) Institute of National Language and first suggested by Miss Ursula Post of the Summer Institute of Linguistics.<sup>2</sup> It differs from phonemic writing in the following ways:

- a) A glottal stop in initial and intervocalic position is not written;
- b) A glottal stop is written as a grave accent (à) over the preceding vowel;
- c) The velar nasal is written *ng*;
- d) Initial letters of proper names are capitalized, and proper names are not italicized.

Wherever it has seemed useful, for textual considerations or for elaboration of context, I have added footnotes. My own knowledge of the Tiruray language and culture derives from two periods of

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<sup>1</sup> Ferdinand-Philippe-Marie d'Orleans, duc d'Alençon, Luçon et Mindanao (Paris: Michel Lévy, 1870), pp. 202-203; quoted in H. de la Costa, S.J., *Readings in Philippine History* (Bookmark: Manila, Cebu, Makati, 1965), pp. 200-201.

<sup>2</sup> Ursula Post, "Suggested Orthography for Tiruray." Unpublished mimeographed Typescript. n.d.

extended residence among this people: from 1960 to 1963, when I was Principal of St. Francis High School in Upi, Cotabato, and from 1965-1967, when I carried out anthropological field research on Tiruray law and subsistence patterns.

Three Tiruray men were of invaluable assistance in the preparation of the translation: Mamerto Martin, Aliman Francisco, and the late Ansu Tenorio. Without their aid, I would certainly have floundered. Funds for the field research were provided by generous grants from the Foreign Area Fellowship Program and the Department of Anthropology of the University of Chicago.

STUART A. SCHLEGEL

Santa Cruz, California  
September, 1969

## I. CONCERNING TIRURAY HOUSES AND FOOD.

### 1.

The Tiruray people—if you wish to know where they come from—live in the area between Tamontaka<sup>1</sup> and the land of the Dulangan,<sup>2</sup> which I will not mention again, for the Dulangan are a different tribe. I refer only to the Tiruray people. Their land reaches beyond the smaller branch of the Tran River to the sea coast<sup>3</sup> and as far as the *memilagé*.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Tamontaka is the place, just north of Awang, across the Tamontaka River, where the Jesuit mission was established and where the Tiruray "reduction" was attempted.

<sup>2</sup> *Dulangan* was the Tiruray term for the Cotabato Manobo, the tribe occupying the Cotabato Cordillera to the south of the Tiruray area. The term is derived from the name of a Manobo culture hero and its use by Tiruray is considered pejorative and is deeply resented.

<sup>3</sup> Although in recent times Tiruray have scattered somewhat more broadly, the traditional Tiruray homeland was in the northern part of the Cotabato Cordillera, bounded on the west by the Celebes Sea, on the north and northeast by the end of the mountains, on the southeast by the Maganoy River, and on the south by the lower Tran Grande River where, before rising sharply southward, it winds almost due West to the sea. The 1960 Census reported 26,344 Tiruray native speakers.

<sup>4</sup> The term, *memilagé*, refers to a group of people who today are more often called *balég* and who live in the boundary area between Cotabato Manobo and Tiruray. The *memilagé* are Manobo who have

## 2.

I must explain to you that the Tiruray do not stay permanently in a single place, nor do they group their houses together to form a village where they could stay permanently. You will never find any such thing as that among them. They are scattered all over their homeland area. It is like a village to them, wherever a father, mother and children, along with their close relatives, have their own piece of land which they name after some nearby water.<sup>5</sup>

## 3.

Now, I will inform you that the largest number of houses they will build close together is ten houses, five, two, or perhaps three houses close together. That is frankly how they are. They most of all prefer a single house all by itself. That one house would already be a village to them!

## 4.

Their houses are poor—in fact laughable. Just consider their posts. There is lots of timber in their place in the mountains, yet with all that wood they get posts that are only the size of a man's arm. They do not get bigger ones—the size of a man's thigh—for their posts. Only a few have good-sized posts for their houses. It is as though their houses were little field huts. Why, in fact, that is all they are: little field huts! No, not even field huts! They are the nests of doves!<sup>6</sup> Consider the way they stick the posts into the ground. It is not firmly, but as though they do not have bones to really dig in the ground.<sup>7</sup> So they stick their posts a few inches into the soil. Thus, if there is a wind they must put supports on the house or it will fall down. Consider the beams of their houses, adopted Tiruray culture, but who speak the Tiruray vernacular with a marked accent.

<sup>5</sup> Tiruray settlements are characteristically named after some near-by river, creek, or spring.

<sup>6</sup> *Marafati*: a type of pigeon (*Columbia livia*?).

<sup>7</sup> "Do not have bones" is a Tiruray expression meaning "do not have enough strength."

which are all of soft wood—for that is what they get for beams. Anyone going up into one of their houses would think that it is about to fall down.<sup>8</sup> The flooring of the house is made of tree bark; very few use bamboo. There is no wall. Some few people put walls of bark, but others merely hang several fronds of rattan. It is just luck that they survive with such a house—one with no walls and the wind free to pass through!<sup>9</sup> The roof too is of rattan fronds; very few make use of grass thatch<sup>10</sup> roofing.

## 5.

Now, with regard to cooking, this is done in the house on a stove near the doorway. Their gangway is a log, cut with notches for steps, although there are a few who make ladders with rungs.

## 6.

For cooking, they use only a covered earthen pot,<sup>11</sup> nothing else. They have neither frying pans nor kettles.<sup>12</sup> Their ladle—a coconut shell! They have neither spoons nor forks, and most people eat off leaves, for few have plates. They use coconut shells for bowls.

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<sup>8</sup> The Tiruray sentence ends with the obscure expression *i na bingbing so*. *Bingbing* means to carry something with a handle, but neither I nor any of my Tiruray friends were able to guess its meaning here. Padre Bennasar renders the phrase, in his Spanish translation, as *por lo mucho que se mueven*, 'for they move so much.' Perhaps a contemporary idiom, now unknown, is involved.

<sup>9</sup> The lack of walling is defensive, so that the occupants can easily look out and shoot arrows, should raiders attack them.

<sup>10</sup> *Keroon*: the ubiquitous tropical grasses *Imperata cylindrica* (Linn.) and *I. exaltata* Brong. The Tiruray setting, of course, is the forest—rich with rattan—not the grassy lowlands.

<sup>11</sup> *Kureng*: 'pot;' the *kureng* of today is of iron, but the word traditionally referred to clay pots obtained from Maguindanao traders. The Tiruray themselves do not manufacture pottery.

<sup>12</sup> *Kaldero*: 'large kettle,' from the Spanish *caldero*.

## 7.

These people are poor; they have no personal property. Each woman has just one sarong,<sup>13</sup> and the only clothes she has is what you see her wearing. So too with the men; all that they own are the clothes actually on their bodies. There are only a few among them who possess extra clothing. This is because they do not know how to weave. Tiruray are not like the Maguindanao, whose women can weave. The Tiruray are ignorant! There are a few among them who know the art of weaving—but not many.

## 8.

Now, with regard to food, Tiruray eat rice, yams,<sup>14</sup> taro, corn, bananas, and a wide variety of other plants as well as the fruit of trees.

## II. CONCERNING THEIR BELIEFS, THEIR RELIGION, AND BELIYAN.<sup>15</sup>

## 9.

Now, when these people, who live in the forests—they are like monkeys, if you ask me—when they themselves pray, they are not like the Maguindanao who have their *pandita*<sup>16</sup> and who have forms for their prayers. The Tiruray people can (from their ignorance) adjust in everything they do, except praying to Tulus.<sup>17</sup> But, still, they too know that—according to them—they have a single Tulus, whose place they say is

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<sup>13</sup> The Tiruray sarong (*emut*) is a loop of cloth which serves both as skirt and blanket.

<sup>14</sup> *Ubi*: 'sweet potato' (*Ipomea batatas*, Linn.)

<sup>15</sup> *Beliyan*: the Tiruray religious leader. The Tiruray cosmos is populated by many spirit-people, and it is the special charisma of *beliyan* that they can see and speak with them. To the ordinary person, the spirits are invisible.

<sup>16</sup> The *pandita*, in Maguindanao social organization, is a man, well versed in the Koran, who serves as religious advisor to the district chief.

<sup>17</sup> Tulus, in Tiruray cosmology, is the creator and most powerful of all the spirits; Padre Bennasar throughout translates Tulus as God (*Dios*).

only in heaven. They do not realize that God's habitation is everywhere around here.<sup>18</sup> Now, these people also pray to Tulus, and they have among them their *beliyan*. If you were to ask what a *beliyan* is, they would say it is like the Maguindanao *pandita*. But there is a difference, because the Maguindanao have their scriptures; the Tiruray have none. (The Tiruray have never known anything about writing.) The one called a *beliyan* by the Tiruray is shameful and laughable. They say he has dreams; he sees Tulus and he talks to him.

## 10.

Now, in such a case, what the *beliyan* does is go around calling the people to assemble. He makes a *tenines*<sup>19</sup> in a place where the people can gather together. Here is what they do there: the *beliyan* tells the people that he has seen Tulus and that, whenever he ate, Tulus ate with him from a single dish. And all the Tiruray around believe him.

## 11.

Here are some other things that the *beliyan* does. He dances, with a wooden kris in his right hand and with small jingle bells and a decorated wooden shield.<sup>20</sup> When he is finished dancing he has the men dance—and the women—for that, they say, is their only worship of Tulus and their manner of praying.

<sup>18</sup> The Tiruray is unclear: "They do not realize that the *lakaliya* of God is everywhere around here." I have been unable to locate any Tiruray familiar with the term, *lakaliya*. It may be a corruption of the Spanish *localidad*. My rendering of "habitation" is from the Spanish version of Bennasar: *que habite en toda la redondez de la tierra*.

<sup>19</sup> A *tenines* is a small house where the *beliyan* keeps his paraphernalia and where ritual rice is stored. In a footnote to his Spanish text, Bennasar misleadingly identifies the *tenines* as a chapel.

<sup>20</sup> Bennasar's translation specified that the small bells are tied to the *beliyan's* legs and attached to his kris; he describes his shield as decorated with plumes. These details are all accurate, although absent from the Tiruray text. Bennasar had doubtless witnessed such dancing.



## 12.

Then, the *beliyan* tells the people that they will actually go to the place of Tulus for, according to him, that is what Tulus has said. Therefore some of the Tiruray who are listening believe and, believing it to be true, are happy.

## 13.

Now, here are the other things they do. The *beliyan* cooks food for Tulus, who, according to their belief, will eat it. And they set out a betel quid, which they say he will also chew. They bring it to the *fesayawan*<sup>21</sup> and place it in a *rangà*.<sup>22</sup>

## 14.

Playing the *togò*<sup>23</sup> is another activity of the *beliyan*; he has the people play the *togò*. If it is played, he says, Tulus can hear it. If they play on two gongs,<sup>24</sup> according to him, Tulus will answer.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>21</sup> *Fesayawan*: a well cleaned clearing in front of a Tiruray house, where dancing and ceremonies are performed.

<sup>22</sup> *Rangà*: literally 'a chicken nest.' A *rangà* is made by making several short splits at the end of a length of bamboo, and tying them to funnel shape with rattan. A smaller version is used as the perch on which offerings are placed for Tulus or other spirits.

<sup>23</sup> The *togò belotoken* is an eight-string bamboo zither, played by two persons, usually two women. The *togò tefuken* is a small drum, made of deer hide stretched over large bamboo, which is accompanied with gongs. The Tiruray text does not specify which type of *togò* is referred to, and either is possible in the context. Bennasar's Spanish reads *tocar el tambor*, 'play the drum,' so the reference is presumably to the *togò tefuken*.

<sup>24</sup> Normally, Tiruray play gongs in an ensemble of five. Here the term used is *sesimfal*, which refers to a style of playing in which one person plays two gongs.

<sup>25</sup> It is not clear what constitutes Tulus' answer. I have asked many Tiruray about this passage, but none has ever heard of such a belief. The usual guess is that the answer must have been by rain, or a rainbow, or perhaps a beautifully colored sky. Bennasar's Spanish rendition says that God answers by playing another (*Dios contesta tocando otro*). This may have been the claim made by Tenorio's *beliyan*.

III. CONCERNING THEIR DIVINITIES AND  
SUPERNATURAL BEINGS.

## 15.

Now I will tell you what these Tiruray say. It is that they are all able to go to heaven. They also know that there is a *narakâ*<sup>26</sup> but they claim that none of the Tiruray go there not even one. The Tiruray say that the Maguindanao are the ones that go to *narakâ*, because their god is a different one.

## 16.

They know about the existence of Damangias,<sup>27</sup> but they say that he is far removed from them. Who is it that they call Damangias? He is a fellow who, in the old days, would test the righteous people. There are, as well, those whom they call *saitan*. It is they who are said to cause sickness.

## 17.

Now, aside from Tulus, they say there is a man named Lagey Lengkuwos. He used to live on earth, when there were as yet no *beliyan*. He was always going to visit heaven and coming back again. Lagey Lengkuwos is said to have had a wife, whose name was Metiyatil Kenogon. Even though they never drew close together, still they had a child, whose name was Matelegu Ferendam. The child was male.

## 18.

Now, in other stories about them, it was not Metiyatil who gave birth, but rather her necklace, which was known

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<sup>26</sup> *Narakâ*: the Malay term, from Sanskrit, for 'hell' and used in this meaning by Philippine Moslems. The term is very uncommon in Tiruray, and is doubtless a borrowing from Maguindanao usage.

<sup>27</sup> Damangias is a person in Tiruray mythology who plays foolish tricks all the time. Bennasar generalizes the reference to *demonios*, 'demons.'

as Tafay Lalawan<sup>28</sup> and which was a family treasure of great sentimental value. They were suddenly astonished to hear a child crying for its mother.

## 19.

They claim it is Lagey Lengkuwos who will escort the Tiruray *beliyan* to heaven. They will be able to see him because he will have his body. He is not really a god, but they say he is a spirit. According to them, there once were lots of *beliyan*, both men and young women: Endilayag Belalà, Endilayag Kerakam, Lagey Bidek Keroon, Lagey Fegefaden, Lagey Lindib Lugatu, Lagey Titay Beliyan, Omolegu Ferendam, and yet many others.<sup>29</sup> I cannot mention them all, for there are so many. But I will mention the names of the women: Kenogon Enggulon, Bonggo Solò Delemon, Kenogon Sembuyaya, Kenogon Dayafan, Bonggo Matir Atir, Kenogon Enggerayur—there are so many of them that I cannot mention them all.

## 20.

All these various individuals are said to come to earth to visit the *beliyan* of the Tiruray, who are able to see them all and talk with them. Now what do you think of all the stories of the Tiruray people? Do you ridicule them? Might they possibly be true?

IV. CONCERNING A VARIETY OF SUPERSTITIONS  
AND CHARMS.

## 21.

I have still more to tell you concerning the foolish ways of the Tiruray, about their silly beliefs. (There is no way to escape Damangias!)<sup>30</sup> They have charms, which they call

<sup>28</sup> The name means 'ancient heirloom.'

<sup>29</sup> These are all persons named in the great Tiruray epic chant, the *berinarew*, and described as having gone up to heaven with Lagey Lengkuwos.

<sup>30</sup> Damangias is seen as the fountainhead of all foolishness.

*lambus*<sup>31</sup> or *agimat*,<sup>32</sup> which they tie around their waist or arm, or hang around their neck. Some people wear them hanging from their ears, passing below their jaw. Others wear them wound all around their body; others on their back; others wear them in their rings. When a tree seems strange to them, they will go and get a piece, and they say it has some significance. It is the same with stones, various kinds of grasses soil, rice, water, resin, oil, large sea shells and small ones, and flintstone. They get charcoal or ashes. Similarly, they get the *lateng* tree,<sup>33</sup> and they collect attractive grasses, the *begongoh* tree,<sup>34</sup> cats, fish, chickens, birds, snakes, the moon the stars, various bugs and the sap of trees.

## 22.

Now about all these Tiruray charms<sup>35</sup> I have been mentioning, I will just be very brief. The significance for them, they say, is that they are all "shields for the body." What are they calling "shields for the body"? The various things I mentioned—their charms—which they say keep sickness out of the body. That is why they get all those grasses.

## 23.

Now, with regard to the water, the use of that is *kebel*. What is *kebel*? Your skin gets thick and hard, and even if you have someone slash you with a bolo, the skin will not be penetrated. Another of their charms that I mentioned gives a cloak of invisibility. How is that? If you wish it so, your companion cannot see you. You put the leaf of a certain tree in your waist, so that you will not be visible.

<sup>31</sup> *Lambus*: any of several large sized charms, frequently worn around the waist in the manner of a belt.

<sup>32</sup> *Agimat*: 'talisman' or 'amulet'; also the general term for protective charms.

<sup>33</sup> *Lateng*: *Trema orientalis* (Linn).

<sup>34</sup> *Begongoh*: a medium sized forest tree of undetermined species.

<sup>35</sup> The term used is *ketusen*, the general term for any sort of herb that is used as a medicine or charm. Tenorio uses the term more generally throughout these sections to mean 'charm.'

## 24.

Another charm is their *falusud*. What is this that they call *falusud*? It changes a man's mind; if he did not previously like a certain woman, he will become attracted to her. Similarly a man can beguile the mind of a woman whom he loves but who did not care for him.

## 25.

I will now discuss what they get from the moon; it is the *faramanis*. What is it that they call the *faramanis*? It is a special beauty—a handsomeness of men and a beauty of women which others, looking at them, see as like the beauty of the full moon.

## 26.

How do they capture the beauty of the moon and stars? They utter a prayer. In addition, they put a little oil into a bowl and then put an egg in that. According to them, they must do this when the moon is full; all who have done it will then get their beauty. This procedure must be done at night when the moon is full and bright and when the sky is cloudless. If the moon should become covered with a cloud during the recitation of the prayer, they cannot receive the full beauty. Now, what good is it to catch the moonlight? These people are laughable! They maintain that it makes both men and women beautiful, and they say that, with their beauty so increased, they will love each other.

## 27.

Now, another one of their charms is a grass, which they use for *filiyos*. What is *filiyos*? It is a charm which prevents us from being hit when someone stabs at us. Or, if someone shoots, it will miss. They say that even if someone should knife us in the belly it would miss its mark—and the blade would be deflected to one side or the other of our body.

## 28.

Another of these charms is what they mean by *fekimoy*. What is it that they call *fekimoy*? They use the word in this way: should someone attempt to stab us, he cannot slash us as he is paralyzed in striking position. What I mean is that he cannot move, he cannot budge his arm and he cannot speak.

## 29.

Another one of the charms they use is *felungkang*.<sup>36</sup> What is it that they call *felungkang*? Here is the meaning. Even though someone may be extremely angry at you, if you have the *felungkang* his anger may not be turned on you. Even though he is very angry, the anger will be removed from him.

## 30.

Another charm is the *falimu*. What is the *falimu*? The meaning of that to them is that no person that sees you is ever unkind to you; everyone is always kind to you (if you have this charm).

## 31.

Now, another of their charms is *falulud tamuk*. What is it that they call *falulud tamuk*? They say that if we have the *falulud* we will collect all sorts of property and all sorts of *tamuk*.<sup>37</sup> All such things will come to us. They will be easy to find. Even if we do not find them, and even if we do not have means to get them, still they will come to us.

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<sup>36</sup> *Felungkang*, used by Tenorio, is the Maguindanao spelling; the general Tiruray word is *ferungkang*.

<sup>37</sup> *Tamuk*: a class of ceremonial exchange items used as brideprice and in the settlement of legal fines. *Tamuk* items include crises, spears, fancy fighting bolos, brass betel boxes of various sizes and shapes, necklaces of several varieties, Chinese porcelain jars and plates, horses, and carabao. See section 78 below.

## 32.

Another of their charms is the *ungit*<sup>38</sup> of the dog. What is the *ungit* of the dog? According to them it is a *dukah*<sup>39</sup>—the sap of a tree—which they burn and have their dogs smell. The dogs will then bite wild pigs and deer.

## 33.

Now, these are all the charms of the Tiruray—all these herbs and various other kinds of *agimat*. They believe in them all, and their prayers are effective. If not, they will utter a prayer facing Tulus, or cast some spell, so that they will be effective.

## 34.

Another charm is what they call a *bengat*.<sup>40</sup> What is a *bengat*? It is like a poison, a spell cast upon a field where you have planted. The stomach of anyone who steals from that field, should he eat what he stole, will burst.

## 35.

Now, the most terrible of their charms and prayers, which they say they believe and which they say is very effective, is what they call *lambus*. Various grasses, bones, and stones are wrapped and sewn into little cloth bags, and these are used for *ramut*. What is it that they call *ramut*? They say it is something that will kill anyone you hate, or that will make him sick. According to them, if someone says to his *lambus* or his *ramut*, "Go kill that person," that person, they say, will die.

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<sup>38</sup> *Ungit*: a charm employed in hunting or fishing.

<sup>39</sup> *Dukah*: any of several kinds of charms that are made using the sap of trees. Often their use involves burning the charm, thus releasing a sort of incense.

<sup>40</sup> The *bengat* of today are typically inscribed with a curse, written in Maguindanao; Tiruray say the *bengat* is not an indigenous Tiruray device, but has been borrowed from the local Moslems.

## 36.

Another of their charms is what they call the *bolbol*.<sup>41</sup> What is a *bolbol*? They are Tiruray whose bodies, they say, can fly when it is night time. Now, why do they set off to fly around in groups at night? What is their purpose in such night-flying? They say that they eat the bodies of their fellow men who have died. Moreover, if the *bolbol* hates someone he goes and spears him; the wound, however, is invisible. The person who was speared thinks that he is merely sick, but that is not correct. Someone who knows how to heal the sick will announce that he was stabbed by a *bolbol*.

One who knows how to heal can treat any sort of sickness. What are their medicines? Some herbs, which they apply to the painful spot on the sick person, or, similarly, some chewed betel quid. The really laughable thing is that, while he is touching the sick person, he is murmuring something.

## 37.

Now, they have still another superstitious custom. They place in front of their house four—or sometimes two—*rangà*, which they use to offer betel quid to Tulus in hopes that Tulus will return their kindness, and that, thereby, the various sicknesses will not come near them.

## 38.

They say that there is another charm of these people, which they know about and which they believe in; this is what they call *alamat*. What is it that they term *alamat*? It is something in their minds. There are, among them, people who can see the future and who know what will befall them. What will happen to them? Should they be about to die, they

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<sup>41</sup> "Another of their *ketusen*..." is the Tiruray text, a very curious statement as a *bolbol* is certainly not a *ketusen* (see footnote 35 supra). Bennasar translates it as *supersticiones ó tonterías*, 'superstitions or foolishnesses,' and apparently thought of *ketusen* as having this meaning as well.



will be aware of the fact. Whatever evil should be coming to them, they will know about it. So, whatever happens to them, they are forewarned. Also should someone hate them, they know the plans of their enemy. Being able to suspect that something will happen to them along their way, they will not set forth.

## 39.

Now, there is still another charm, which they call *sakabat*. What is that which they call *sakabat*? Even if someone is far away from those who would do him wrong, he can still hear about it—if he has a *sakabat*.

## 40.

There is another superstition among these Tiruray, for knowing signs of their coming fate, whether it is to be good, and of what will happen to them. How do they foretell their fate? They see in the lines on the palm of someone's hand what will happen to that person—whether good will come or bad, whether he will get *tamuk* or not, whether he will be very poor or very rich, very foolish or very wise. Everything! They will know it from one's palm lines. Similarly, they say that they will know whether they are to die by sickness, or by stabbing, or by whatever other cause of death. They say that they are able to know everything by means of those lines.

## 41.

Moreover, beyond reading their palms, there is still another way of telling one's fortune. They measure their bodies.<sup>42</sup> From this, one learns about one's fate and about the character of one's companion, whether he is wise or foolhardy and what the future will bring to him.

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<sup>42</sup> I was unable to find anyone who knew of this custom or who could clarify what is involved in "measuring" someone's body.

## 42.

I have still to tell you of another way these Tiruray have of telling the future, a way in which they also place great faith. They consult and heed this whenever they are going anywhere and whenever they must undertake some task. Now, what is the name of that sign? Here, I will tell you. Someone sneezes. If he has a trip to make, he will not go. He will just rest. Because, it is said, if one insists on proceeding, he will have an accident or something bad will happen to him. It is the same if the house lizard<sup>43</sup> should sing. Or, if anything in the house should break when people are going somewhere, they will not proceed. They will not do anything.

Now, it is the same with the bird they call the *lemugen*,<sup>44</sup> when it calls. Even if they are already along the way and the bird calls from a bad direction, they will go back. They will not proceed. (As I say, they really believe it.) And, according to them, there is also a good call. In telling the omen, they will point to the direction whence comes the bird's call. Here! I will tell you about their pointing the direction. If it calls from behind them, that is, from a branch at their back, they will not proceed. Now, if the bird's call is right in front of them, the more they will not go on farther, for they say that the *lemugen* is stopping them. They name these calls the *rigara sunur*. Regarding the good ways, or their other ways of pointing the call of this bird—I will not go on and finish telling about these. They really understand meaning in the direction from which the sound comes.<sup>45</sup> This bird has another call, which they hear as telling the truth. They call this *gerung*. They say that if it makes this call when one

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<sup>43</sup> *Terektek*: a common house lizard, *Hemidactylus frenatus* (Duméril and Bibron).

<sup>44</sup> *Lemugen*: a medium sized forest bird, *Phapitreron leucotis* (Temminck).

<sup>45</sup> Tenorio's description of the good and bad directions for the *lemugen's* call does not jibe with general Tiruray custom, as I know it: the call is a good omen if it comes from directly ahead of the hearer, from forty-five degrees to the right or left of directly ahead, or from directly overhead; all other directions are understood as bad.

is doing something, it means that there would surely be some mishap were he to insist on continuing.

## 43.

I will stop here telling about all the omens of the Tiruray. They are so many; I will not finish them all. There are too many! There are more than what I have described. Do you suppose that you could even count all those that are not here yet? But, you will learn about the rest as you are able to be together with the people.

V. CONCERNING THEIR CLOTHES, WEAPONS,  
AND ADORNMENT.

## 44.

I am astonished at all the things that I am telling you about the Tiruray! Now I will inform you regarding the way these people dress. (They are very poor.) They have different styles of dress. The men have three different manners of dress. Those called downstream people<sup>46</sup> all imitate the dress of the Maguindanao—their trousers are long, the shirt style is that called *sinina* and *bagiyu bala*, which means just down to their waist. On their heads, they wear a bandana, tied so that the corner sticks up. Their hair is long, not cut. The hair of both men and women is the same—long. Around their waist, they wear an *angkul*. What is this that they call an *angkul*? It is some cloth that is red, or perhaps spotted. And they also attach a handkerchief to it. These are their charms that I was telling you about before, which they attach to their body. They put a handkerchief over their shoulder and secure another one to the bandana on their head.<sup>47</sup> Such are their clothes.

For beauty, they file their teeth and make them black by burning a coconut shell. While the shell is burning, they touch it to the blade of an old bolo and the soot which adheres

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<sup>46</sup> Awang people are also known as "downstream people." See footnote 50 below.

<sup>47</sup> Whatever this practice once was, it is unknown today.

to the bolo blade is what they call *fengileb*. Should their teeth break off, they put in wooden or brass "teeth."

## 45.

Now here is what they do to their face. They shave the hair on their forehead and their eyebrows, and this makes them feel stylish. As for their eyelashes, they trim the tips.<sup>48</sup> For other adornment, both men and women melt wax in oil and then apply it to their lips, so that they will seem soft. They also rub it on their eyebrows to give their eyes a tantalizing appearance when they look at someone.

## 46.

Here are their weapons: a kris, carried at one's side; a spear, held like a walking stick; a *fegoto*,<sup>49</sup> carried over one's shoulder; and a dagger, worn in one's waist. They also have a rounded shield, called a *taming*, and an elongated shield called a *kelung*.

## 47.

Now, as to the men from the mountains,<sup>50</sup> here is their manner of dress. They wear short trousers. I have never seen even one of them wearing long trousers like the downstream people—even though they are all equally Tiruray. The cut of their shirt is the same. These mountain people are careless in their dress. As long as they have covered their body, that is enough for them; they are quite unlike

<sup>48</sup> Their eyelashes are cut to a straight edge.

<sup>49</sup> *Fegoto*: a kind of wide-bladed kris.

<sup>50</sup> Awang Tiruray divide the tribe into three loose sub-groups: the *etew rotor*, 'upper people,' or mountain people, who are all who live in the interior among the hills; the *etew dawà*, 'downstream people'—also, called *etew inged* 'town people' and *etew awang* 'Awang people'—who live in the environs of the Pulangi River and its tributaries, at the northern foot of the mountains, including the Awang area; and *etew dogot*, 'seacoast people,' who live along the coast from the mouth of the Pulangi to the Tran Grande River. In addition, those who live along the Tran are often called *etew teran*, 'Tran people.' The Awang people tend to consider all the others as rude hicks.

the downstream people, who are very particular. They also wear a bandana on their head, but they lack clothing compared to the downstream people.

Their weapons are: kris, spear, and bow and arrow. The latter inflicts a terrible death, because they put poison on the arrows.

## 48.

Regarding the men from along the coast, their dress is like this: they wear G-string instead of trousers. Some wear trousers, but not many. Most wear the G-string. Their shirts have the same cut as those of the others, except that the coastal men have one different style: the shirt is sewn inside out. They too wear a bandana, but they fold it and tie it around their head, for, like women, they wear their long hair knotted into a bun. Moreover, they use *kensal*, as do the women. What is it that they refer to as *kensal*? This is pinching the facial skin so as to cause blood-blisters. It is another part of their beautification. What is this beautification? Something which will improve their body in their eyes, in order to enhance their public appearance. They wear anklets around their ankles, and some also wear them around their knees. These are, however, unlike the women's anklets, which are very loose. Men's anklets are quite tight around their ankles and knees.

## 49.

They have something else which they never forget when they go out. They always carry a small buri bag. If you inquire what they use that for, they use it to carry their betel chewing needs,<sup>51</sup> for these people all chew betel.

## 50.

Their weapons are as follows: a *benongen* (which is like a *fegoto*, only a bit smaller) and a spear. Moreover, they all

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<sup>51</sup> Areca nut, betel leaf, tobacco leaf, lime. The "downstream people" also chew—as do all traditional Tiruray—but they use brass betel boxes, which they keep in the house or carry in a pocket.

have a bow and arrow, even the children. The arrows are dipped in *kemendag*. Now, what is this *kemendag*? It is the poisonous sap of a tree. If even a little should enter a wound, it causes death. They say it is used for fighting.

I will turn again to telling how the Tiruray women dress. They wear a sarong which they speak of as their *emut*. It is woven of, and sewn with, abaca fibres. Their blouse has the same general cut as the men's, except that the women's blouse is form-fitting, whereas the men's is quite loose. Therefore, their breasts can easily be recognized (for the blouse is so tight) and the bulging is very clear.

### 51.

Now, the other women's things: both wrists sport bracelets<sup>52</sup> and every finger is full of rings. They also wear a brass and cord belt, decorated with small jingle bells, and there are bells on their wrists. On their ankles they wear brass anklet rings. Around their neck, they wear various necklaces of glass beads and colored crystals, and the *kemagi*, which is a necklace of gold. The edges of their ears are lined with little holes, in which they wear wire earrings, suspending small shell ornaments. In each ear lobe they have a large hole—you could put your big toe through it. In those holes, they wear large earrings, connected by a decoration which passes underneath the chin.

### 52.

With regard to their other beautifications of the body, they cut their hair to short bangs at the forehead, which they press to make decorative blood blisters. They shave the edges of their eyebrows to thin them, and they cut straight their eyelashes.

### 53.

Here is the way these people fix their hair. They wash their hair with grated coconut, and use a comb made of bam-

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<sup>52</sup> *Rinti*: a series of brass bracelets of increasing size, that extend from the wrist to about 20 cm. up the arm.

boo.<sup>53</sup> Women's combs are differently decorated, and they wear them in their hair.

## 54.

Regarding their women, you will never see even a single one among them without a knife. Every woman will have a knife if she is going somewhere. Also, every Tiruray woman has a small basket, which she takes whenever she goes out.

## 55.

Now, there is something I forgot to tell you about the people from along the coast. Their men—all of them—enlarge the holes in their ears and wear large pendular ear hangings.<sup>54</sup>

## 56.

All Tiruray women and some of the men wear *sayaf*.<sup>55</sup> Should you ask what the *sayaf* are made of, it is buri.

## 57.

There are some things I forgot about the Tiruray women's way of wearing their sarongs. They have *saket*. They take a tuck in the upper edge of the sarong, and place it there around their waist. If you ask me what it is that they call the *saket*, it is the roots of the grass named *buruk*.<sup>56</sup> Now, if you further inquire why they do that, it has no significance. They merely do it so that when one sees them they seem attractive, with broadened hips and a small waist, as well as a pleasant odor.

I will also tell you, regarding these women, that it is there in their *saket* that they place their charms—their

<sup>53</sup> Tenorio specifies the bamboo variety as *belotokan*, *Bambusa spinosa* Roxb.

<sup>54</sup> This custom has entirely died out today, but Bennasar comments in a footnote that anyone who has contact with Tiruray will soon notice the effeminate character of the coastal men and their desire to wear female jewelry.

<sup>55</sup> *Sayaf*: a shallow conical sun hat.

<sup>56</sup> *Buruk*: 'vetiver' *Andropogon zizanioides* (Linn.).

*lambus*—and the men do the same thing. They also use them as bracelets and necklaces.

I forgot to mention something about both men and women. They have charms which they eat, which are a whole different set from the others.<sup>57</sup>

## VI. CONCERNING KILLINGS AND THE CAUSES THAT MOTIVATE THEM.

### 58.

Now, I have already told my readers about the weapons of the Tiruray. I will now relate whether they are brave or cowardly, and I will tell about their way of fighting. Their customary way of fighting is *lemifut*.<sup>58</sup> What is this that they call *lemifut*? Or, rather, why is it that they *lemifut*? Is it perhaps that there is a long-standing grudge? No! *Kengasa ro fo!*<sup>59</sup>

When they see somebody having many belongings or lots of *tamuk*, or if they arrive at his house and he has no companions—even if there are many there, but they feel them to be weak—they will murder in order to get that *tamuk*.<sup>60</sup> If there are lots of other belongings, the more the murderers are delighted.

### 59.

Now, I will tell you, the reader of this writing about the Tiruray, that among themselves Tiruray seldom truly *lemifut*.

<sup>57</sup> There is a great variety of such charms, which includes ones believed to be contraceptives, abortants, aphrodisiacs, and so forth.

<sup>58</sup> *Lemifut* means 'to murder'—often by going in a group against a single individual or else by killing from ambush. *Lemifut* contrasts sharply with killing in revenge of one's honor.

<sup>59</sup> *Kengasa ro fo!* 'It is their portent of death!' The phrase seems to make no sense here. Bennasar's Spanish translation says *por pura malicia*, 'for pure malice,' which makes sense in the context, but bears no resemblance to the Tiruray phrase.

<sup>60</sup> What Tenorio says here—if he means Tiruray—is simply not the case. It is not clear, however, in the text what he means. Later on, he refers such behavior to the Maguindanao, and it seems most likely that he is already speaking of them in this paragraph. Apparently Bennasar raised the same question, as the following section greatly clarifies the situation.



Seldom only, for it is not their true custom to murder among themselves, except that they will fight each other if someone has done them an offence. When they really go in for killing is when troublesome Maguindanao come up to the Tiruray areas. If Tiruray see them, and if they have *tamuk*, they are apt to die—for they will murder them; besides, they hate them.

Now, why do they hate them so? Because some Maguindanao are going too far in their behavior towards Tiruray. So, what is this going too far which the Maguindanao do among Tiruray? Listen, I will tell you. They demand tribute. They give the Tiruray a large bag and make them fill it with rice,<sup>61</sup> or they will mark someone's ricefield and demand of the Tiruray all that is within their marks. When they have rice, or anything, in the mountains of the Tiruray, they make them carry it down to the Maguindanao's home place.<sup>62</sup>

60.

Now, about other things they do to the Tiruray: if they see them—or, if the Tiruray let the Maguindanao see them—eating pork, they impose a fine. Those Tiruray are afraid of the Maguindanao, and if they fine them, they give it. They give *tamuk*, just for eating pork, if they are seen by Maguindanao.

Why is it that they are afraid of the Maguindanao? Are they so few in number perhaps? How few are they? Are the Tiruray people not numerous? Or, are they just afraid of the Maguindanao? Are they not men? No. It is not that they are not numerous; they are quite plentiful. And it is not that they are afraid, and they say that they are manly. Well, what can the Tiruray people do? As I told you before,

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<sup>61</sup> Farey: 'paddy rice, not yet threshed.'

<sup>62</sup> This sort of Maguindanao behavior was less common in the Awang area than in the more isolated mountain and coastal settlements of Tiruray. Manobo, and Bilaan. Bennasar attributed this to mission influence, but it was also doubtless due, at least in part, to longstanding relations between Awang Tiruray and the Maguindanao of the Cotabato City area.

in the mountains their houses are not grouped but separated, far from each other. The men are in twos, or threes. So, when the Maguindanao arrive, they see the two men, and even if the two are full of anger, they cannot resist. The Maguindanao number five or ten. Can they resist? No. Whatever the Maguindanao want, they will just go along with them. So, wicked Maguindanao, seeing the Tiruray are not in force, but are merely a single isolated household, assume they will offer no resistance. They seize them, enslave them, and sell them. That is why Tiruray abhor them. Their treating them so badly contributes to the Tiruray's killing of the Maguindanao. It is, at least, part of it. But there is still another cause of the Tiruray's killing them treacherously: their *tamuk*!

## 61.

Now, I will go on telling you the Tiruray customs in fighting—or whether they are brave or cowardly. I will tell you, therefore, that they are not cowardly, nor are they brave—they are in between cowardice and valor. They are a prudent people.

## 62.

Now, the way they kill, if there is someone with whom they are angry or against whom they have a grudge, is this: they go after revenge. What is their revenge? When it is still daytime, they set out hiking to the place of the one they hate. Then, when they are at the place of the one they hate, and it is night, they come out. They go to shoot their bows and arrows or they may spear him as he sleeps. The revengers hide and do not want to be seen, for they do their killing by stealth. Once they have killed, they move away a bit—but they do not proceed to run home. They stay near the place of the one they have stabbed, in order to make sure from the sounds in the house whether the man died or not. When they hear someone shout out, "Who stabbed?" they, still being close by, will reply, "We did; we came to settle the *tamuk* of our friend, because we did not

receive what we were entitled to."<sup>63</sup> (That is the boastful reply of the revengers.) So, then the killers go home, for they are satisfied.

When they are on their way home, already far from the scene of their revenge, they sing their *kerensiyow*. Now, what is this that they refer to as *kerensiyow*? They sing for their victim, so that Moferow<sup>64</sup> will open his window and look down to earth, so that he will open his door and allow the soul of that fellow to enter there. For that is the destination of stabbed persons. The purpose, they say, of their singing is to send the spirit of that person they stabbed to the right place, to the place of departed souls. Also, they say, the other significance of their singing is this: even if they have stabbed someone, they have no fault so long as they send his soul to the proper place. Their fault for what they have done is no more. It is already removed by their singing of that *kerensiyow*.<sup>65</sup>

### 63.

Now, since I have told you already about the customs of these people when they kill, I will tell you also the causes of their fighting each other: stabbing, using sorcery, killing one's wife for adultery, stealing, parental interfering when children quarrel, teasing which goes too far, mockery, and farm work.

### 64.

That is sufficient for me to tell you about the bravery of the Tiruray. Here I will tell my reader of another custom

<sup>63</sup> The reference to *tamuk* implies that the revenge killing here related is in connection with a brideprice violation, in which *tamuk* should have been, but was not, returned.

<sup>64</sup> Moferow is another name of the *segoyong sefebenal*, the spirit in Tiruray cosmology who presides over the place of souls who died a violent death.

<sup>65</sup> The fault here referred to is the fault of the killers in the eyes of Tulus; this does not mean that they are not still legally responsible for their killing.

of this people. It is very different and frightening; it is not good to imitate it. Also, I think that no Christian person would do it. Why? What is this custom? Do you think it is a good one? It is frightening; even if you only hear about it, it is painful to hear. How much more so, if you see it! What is it then?

They go to inform someone that they intend to drink a poison, which they call *tebeli* (it is a vine).<sup>66</sup> They commit suicide, in order to die. Sometimes, they jump into deep water. They cut their own throats, or, in various ways, they commit suicide that they might die.

Now, among the Tiruray, those that you always hear about committing suicide are the maidens and young men. Few married people kill themselves. You may ask me, why should the maidens and young men commit suicide? If one addresses them with obscenities, or should their name come out in scandal, they will really kill themselves if they cannot proceed at once to marry, for they are deeply humiliated by such things if they are still young and unmarried. They do not wish to talk about them.

Long ago, when the Tiruray were still unchanged, one who was still a maiden did not want to go near any man,<sup>67</sup> but it was the same for a young man. Do you think he would approach close to a maiden? But now, no more! The Tiruray have changed. Before their customs changed, the maidens could only be near a man if they were already married. And so with a young man; he could only draw near to a woman if they were married. Not the Tiruray of today; even those who are still small are already acquainted with evil.

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<sup>66</sup> *Tebeli*: a poisonous plant, *Derris elliptica* (Roxb.). The statement is curious, as in Tiruray custom those intending to kill themselves never tell anyone beforehand. Perhaps the text is in error, and should have read that "They *never* go to inform anyone that..." but Bennasar translates the text as it is given.

<sup>67</sup> The word used for "man" here is *senangkadan*, possibly an old Awang word for bachelor or possibly a euphemism for penis

## VII. CONCERNING THEIR MARRIAGES.

## 65.

I will also tell you about the customs and arrangements regarding Tiruray marriage. The Tiruray customs are as follows.

If you have a son, and if you feel that you have ample *tamuk*, you go to arrange a marriage; that is, you go to the house of a man who has a maiden and the two of you discuss the matter. This is because they do not want their daughter to marry a man who has no *tamuk*. If you should ask me what the *tamuk* is for, it is used for the brideprice. If we were to compare it to buying and selling, it is what the man is using to buy the woman. But it is not really buying; the woman does not become their slave.

Once they are married, the couple stays with the elders of the man.

What I can say is that they have a very different way of marrying. Here is how the young man marries a maiden. The boy's father is the one who finds a girl for his son. (Among the Tiruray, that is the custom.) However, the man and the woman do not know that they are to be married. If they do not guard them carefully, when their names have not yet been announced as about to wed, they will commit suicide from shame.<sup>65</sup> So, only their parents discuss their plans; the girl and the boy do not suspect a thing. They will only learn about it when they are officially informed. Such is their custom regarding marriage.

Even should the boy not like the girl, they may still be married, for they will be forced to do so by their elders. In Tiruray custom, very few actually court each other.

Now, if there is no way to win the couple's hearts to each other—if they really do not care for each other—they

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<sup>65</sup> The text of this sentence is obscure. Presumably the implication is that the couple would be mortally ashamed if they were to learn of the plans for their marriage prior to the official announcement of the night before.

will substitute a close relative of the same generation for the one who cannot come to care. If both the man and the woman do not give in and care, both are replaced. Their custom in marrying is very hard! If it is the man who does not care for his wife, the truth is that he must simply surrender his brideprice; he cannot get it back anymore. In such a situation, it is not the girl who does not care; it is the fault of the man. So, if there is no close relative of his to be set forth in his place as husband to the woman, the brideprice will be forfeited.

## 66.

I will now return to what I was telling you earlier about their being informed that they are to be married. By custom, the man and the woman are always informed after it is dark, never in the daytime. They announce it to the man in the house of his *kefeduwan*.<sup>69</sup> If the bachelor who is to be married should ask why many people are gathered, they will tell him that it is for some other reason. The various *kefeduwan* present will be formally discussing many things, supposedly other than the wedding. The time when the fellow wakes up to what is happening is when one *kefeduwan* says, "You, Sigayan; they have found a girl for you, a woman of Kapiton. The name of that girl is Ambug."<sup>70</sup> So I—having been told that I am about to marry—would begin to struggle. If no one holds me, I might strike someone, as I have been put to such shame (as they see it). But, it does not last long—not even long enough for someone to cook a shrimp!<sup>71</sup>

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<sup>69</sup> The *kefeduwan* is the Tiruray legal authority. This is one of the tribe's two principal leadership roles, the other being the *beliyan*, the religious leader.

<sup>70</sup> Sigayan is the Tiruray name of the author, José Tenorio being his Christian baptismal name. The woman, Ambug, of the village of Kapiton, which he uses in his example is said by Bennasar in a footnote to have been a real person, but, curiously, not Tenorio's wife.

<sup>71</sup> This is one of many such common Tiruray expressions signifying a certain period of time.

## 67.

The struggling was, really, just to observe the customs, for I liked that girl from the village. My reason in doing it was that I was all alone in being mentioned among all the people present. As soon as I got tired, I stopped. After all—imagine—there are sometimes five and sometimes seven men holding you! When I stopped struggling, I was in tears so they blew ginger into my ear. My anger came to an end while I was struggling, for I was securely bound and it was just too difficult to go on straining. While I was crying, they shouted at me, in the traditional way of such times.<sup>72</sup> One of the women shouts out, then everyone joins in and shouts along with her. (That is the way of the Tiruray wedding customs.)

## 68.

Now, as for the woman to whom they will marry me, they formally announce our names to her the same night. Should my reader ask me what women customarily do when they receive the announcement, they also cry, for they are ashamed that it was spoken out among so many people that they were to be married.

## 69.

I will now return to telling you about the man, and what happens once the announcement is finished. (It is usually night time when this occurs.) The following morning, the groom's kindred goes with him to the place of the girl. The groom, ever since his name was announced, has not been happy, and he keeps his head shrouded within his *emut*.<sup>73</sup> Never will he open it to permit his face to be seen. You would

<sup>72</sup> At several points in the marriage ceremonies, a traditional cry of "*u u fri*" is given. See sections 69 and 74 below.

<sup>73</sup> The *emut* is the sarong. Women use the *emut* as a skirt, and both men and women use it as their blanket at night. In the cool of the early morning, both men and women will drape the *emut* up over their heads for warmth, and this is the way the groom is described as wearing it here.

have to force him, to see his face, even when he is being dressed. They cannot get him to dress himself—that is the work of the other young men. Once they start to go, they have to drag the groom along—like a *wahwah*<sup>74</sup> with a broken leg! Not really wanting to go, he walks along very slowly. What several fellows do is to walk along with him, side by side, surrounding him.

Along the way, they play gongs until they reach the place of the girl's kindred. Also, all along the way, they continue to utter the traditional wedding shout to the groom. As I was saying before, when one so shouts to the groom, others also join in the shouting—and this is what they do, right up to the place of the girl's side.

Now, here is what they do with the groom when they are drawing near to their destination. They place a *dudum*<sup>75</sup> over him, made of a length of cloth. And all the many people in the group help the groom to take cover inside.

#### 70.

It is mid-afternoon when they come to the settlement of the girl's people. Now, once they have arrived there, do you suppose that they can immediately enter? Not yet, for at the boundary of the clearing there will be an *alang*—a barrier made of wooden posts stuck in at both sides of the trail with something tied across them. If a kris or a *fegoto* is not set there, the groom may not proceed. Only when there is a kris, for them to use in cutting the fence of the girl's kindred, then may they proceed.<sup>76</sup>

Then, they are all grouped there in the clearing. They do not immediately go up into the house.

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<sup>74</sup> *Wahwah*: a kind of bird, *Pitta* sp. (*steeri*?).

<sup>75</sup> *Dudum*: cloth canopy held up at the four corners by poles.

<sup>76</sup> The kris, or some other suitable item of *tamuk*, must be given at this point by the groom's kindred to the bride's side. It is called "the *alang*" and is part of the agreed upon brideprice. It is said, ritually, to be "for them to use in cutting the fence."



Now, I will return to the way in which the man's side arrives at the place of the girl. What is that *alang* at their settlement? It is one way by which they are already asking for brideprice from the man's side. That, at their meeting, is the first one to be given.

## 71.

I will now proceed with the account of the man's kindred being there in the clearing. Why is it that they do not immediately go up into the house? Because it is their custom that the bride's side will first bring the betel to chew, and, as some might be thirsty, they will also bring water to the clearing.

Why, moreover, should they tarry? Because they have something to do. They are first going to dance. The owner of the house—one of the girl's kindred—will perform the *keilawan* dance.<sup>77</sup> The men dance first, to the music of the *togò*,<sup>78</sup> holding a drawn *fegoto* in their right hand, and in their left hand they carry a decorated shield. As to their dress while dancing, they wear a sarong — not in the fashion of women, but rather *simful*.<sup>79</sup> Handkerchiefs are tied around both biceps, and another handkerchief is fastened around their sarong like a belt.

## 72.

Now, when the bride's side has finished dancing, the men of the groom's kindred dance—in the same manner as the others had. When they are through, the women have their turn. They too dance to the music of the *togò*, played along

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<sup>77</sup> Literally, the 'human' dance, the *keilawan* is a kind of war dance. In a footnote, Bennasar states that it was popularly known as the "Moro-Moro dance."

<sup>78</sup> The *togò tefuken*; see footnote 23 *supra*.

<sup>79</sup> At least as the word is used today, *simful* is not quite appropriate here. *Simful* means that the *emut* is wrapped G-string style around a man's waist. In dancing it is not worn this way, but rather sarong style over the trousers and extending down only to the knees. This is termed *metawih*, not *simful*.

with a pair of gongs to the melody known as "Tebagen."<sup>80</sup> You will really enjoy their performance—the *togò*, the gongs, and especially the sound of the women's movements with their ankle rings and little bells.

## 73.

As to their dress for dancing, they wear a colorful, folded sarong crosswise over one shoulder, and, on each shoulder, a handkerchief.

Now, when their dancing is finished late that afternoon, the man's group prepares to go up into the house. Throughout the dancing, the groom had remained under his canopy. The woman's side cannot look at him. They can only see him in the morning, when the wedding ritual occurs. Up to that moment, they cannot.

## 74.

I will now go on with what they do when they are about to go up to the house. They shout the traditional wedding cry to the groom. Then, the owner of the house also shouts it to their bride.<sup>81</sup> They give the shout twice to each of them.

Once this is all finished, they go into the house. Those of the woman's side—*kefeduwan*—say, "Come up." "Good" reply those of the man's side. So everyone is now actually up in the house.

What do they all do, once they are there? Nothing yet. They merely rest a bit, while the groom is enclosed in a little room.<sup>82</sup> Do you suppose you can look at him yet? You cannot! It is the same in the case of the bride. You cannot see her, for they have her in the *sibey*.<sup>83</sup>

<sup>80</sup> For "*Tebagen*," instead of the customary five gongs being played by five persons, a single individual plays on two.

<sup>81</sup> The bride is at this time secluded in a special room, called a *sibey*, set aside within the house for this purpose.

<sup>82</sup> Usually this is rigged on the spot by hanging several *emut*, so as to hide the groom from sight.

<sup>83</sup> See footnote 81 *supra*.

## 75.

At this point, I will tell anyone reading what I have written here that I am not now going on with the activities of those who have gone up into the house. At this point, I will go back and relate what the girl's kindred does when their daughter's hand has been asked in marriage.

Assuming that they consent to the marriage, they first construct a huge house, big enough to hold two hundred persons when the wedding takes place. Once that is finished, they hurry their preparations.

When they have finished the house, they prepare the things needed for cooking—rice, coconut, salt, and spices. All of this they will cook to give to the man's side. With regard to their preparation of food, if, for instance, the wedding is to be tomorrow, they would cook now—all through the night. Suppose you ask them where they plan to put the food, knowing that they lack plates. Or, even if they have enough plates, still it is their custom to wrap the rice in banana leaves and put the bundles into baskets. They fill the baskets up with wrapped, cooked rice — numbering as many as more than one hundred. They also ready their *singa*.<sup>84</sup>

I mentioned that there are numerous baskets of bundled rice. They make an equal number of bamboo tubes filled with chicken broth. To prepare the chicken, they cook it whole in pots. Do you think that they first cut up the chicken? No. It would not be proper to cut it into smaller pieces, as the man's kindred might think that the woman's side did not cook the entire chicken. The correct package is one whole chicken with each basket of rice. Because of this, it is the custom that if one of the chicken's wings is missing from the basket, the woman's side must give the man's side one kris. It is the same with the chicken's neck, if it is missing the woman's kindred must surrender one spear.

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<sup>84</sup> *Singa* are large earthen pots, in which the viands are cooked, usually chicken.

## 76.

Now I will go on with what I was telling you before, concerning the groom's going up into the house. After they have rested a while, here is what they do. The *kefeduwan* of the man's side will get all the baskets prepared by the girl's side. All in the groom's party are given baskets, one by one. These are the persons who help in giving the brideprice.

After they have finished eating, they all spend the night there in the house. They wait for the morning when they will wed the couple. All through the night, here is what they do: the *kefeduwan* talk together in *tiyawan*.<sup>85</sup> Some of the young men also converse with each other, by means of singing alternatively, one after the other. What are they singing about? Is it addressed to Tulus? No, their singing does not concern Tulus. They are merely competing with each other in telling stories with hidden meanings. They are singing about all sorts of good things—or it may indeed turn to bad things. Anything they have heard may be put into the songs, and the one who knows this skill will be able to understand the message of the other singer, whether it is good or bad. It may be just this which some fellows come for—to seek out those who know how to do such singing. When one who knows how hears another sing, he answers it; for he knows what it means.

Now, I will tell anyone reading this, in case he is wondering, why it is the custom of these people, when they talk about things, to do it by this sort of antiphonal singing. It is because the singers are happy when many listen to them. Not everyone knows how to do it.

## 77.

We will now leave the subject of such singing; that is their custom and that is what they do all the whole night at weddings. Moreover, even if it is not a wedding, if those

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<sup>85</sup> *Tiyawan* are formal discussions between *kefeduwan*, conducted in a highly metaphorical and round-about rhetoric.

who know how to sing this way meet each other in their houses, they sing together.

## 78.

So, when daybreak has come, all those who went to eat chicken<sup>86</sup> give their *tamuk* to their *kefeduwan* to be given, for on this day it is turned over to the woman's kindred. When everyone who went to eat chicken has put down his contribution, that is the moment when it is given over.<sup>87</sup>

They say that if the girl is beautiful, they will give four hundred plates plus five other pieces of *tamuk* as the bride-price. Now, they say that when the girl is homely, or has an ugly appearance, the brideprice is diminished from the homely down to the ugly. From four items according to them, to three, to two, to just one as the brideprice for those!<sup>88</sup>

What are the items that these people give? Pay heed, I will tell you: plates, handkerchiefs, bandanas, blouses, trousers, waistbands, brass anklets, brass bracelets, brass betel boxes, sarongs, spears, krises, gongs, bead necklaces, horses, gold necklaces, carabao—all of these things are given as bride-price.

Now, when they have finished giving the brideprice, it is time for the actual wedding ceremony. What is the appearance of their wedding ritual? The mother of the bride prepares a betel quid and hands it to her daughter, asking her

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<sup>86</sup> That is, the man's side.

<sup>87</sup> The brideprice is given in several installments, the first being at an important *tiyawan* between the two kindreds, when the total amount to be given is agreed upon. What is not given at that time is supposed to be given in the context of another *tiyawan* the morning of the wedding ritual, although frequently some unpaid balance is allowed to stand on past the wedding.

<sup>88</sup> Beauty is not the only, or even the main, consideration in bride selection or brideprice negotiations. Much more important are matters of good health and a pleasant, industrious personality. Perhaps the most significant factor of all is the desirability of the girl's kindred as in-laws.

to give it to her groom. Then when they have finished chewing, the elders bump the couple's heads together. This is how Tiruray marry.<sup>89</sup>

Now, regarding their chewed quids, do you suppose that they will throw them away? No. They keep them until they die.<sup>90</sup>

That completes the wedding customs of the Tiruray.

#### VIII. CONCERNING ANNIVERSARIES OF WEDDING AND BIRTHS.

##### 79.

Now, I wish to tell my reader about another Tiruray custom with regard to those who are already married. When they have been married a year, or when a child is born, there is something which will be done concerning them. They will have a feast called *sefeinem*.<sup>91</sup> The feast is given by the woman's side to the groom.

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<sup>89</sup> The description of the wedding ceremony is given here in considerably abbreviated form. After the bride has been brought from the *sibey*, and the groom has been led to her side, both are seated on a pillow. A *kefeduwan* from each party then comes and stands in front of the couple—the *kefeduwan* of the man's side in front of the bride and the *kefeduwan* from the bride's side in front of the groom. As this takes place, the mother of each prepares a betel quid and passes it on to the new child-in-law. The couple chew for a few moments, then place the chewed quids on a handkerchief. The two *kefeduwan* then move behind the couple and, while giving a speech of advice, comb the hair of their new in-law. A single plate is then brought in, containing some rice and a hard-boiled egg cut in two. The couple eat a bit of the rice and the egg, and the wedding ritual is complete. Henceforth, they are married. Old folks from Awang all concur that the mother does not, by custom, give the betel quid to her child, as Tenorio describes it. They do agree, however, that the bumping of heads, which is not done today, was indeed once part of the Awang customs.

<sup>90</sup> The chewed quids are hardly kept; they are, by custom, wrapped in a banana leaf and hung from the rafters of the house where the wedding took place. The handkerchief in which they were placed is what is kept as a treasured memento of the ceremony.

<sup>91</sup> The name of the feast is literally "let them drink together." An Awang Tiruray custom, influenced by Maguindanao culture, it is virtually unknown among Tiruray other than the "downstream people."

What is drunk? They call it *gimas*, and it is made from corn; it is to them a proper hard drink. It is really strong, and it makes one dizzy. They put it in a large jar, which they call a *biang*. It has handles, so when it is hoisted it can be held there.

Now, the *sefeinem* is just like the wedding feast. There is no difference. Of course, they do not do the wedding ceremony itself over again, but otherwise the two are just the same with regard to customs. The man's side will again give *tamuk*, as was agreed upon at the wedding feast. It is as though their *tamuk* were payment for the rice and chicken they eat! All remaining brideprice must be given at this time.

### 80.

There is another custom among these people that has to do with marriage. I will tell you about it.

If a young man and a maiden to whom he is betrothed should become lovers, they will run away together. Neither their elders nor anyone else will know about it—only the couple. Their elders will only find out when someone says, "The lad, Sigayan, and the maiden, Ambug, the daughter of Mosulatan, have eloped."<sup>92</sup> Now, everyone will assume that they were probably lovers. They might report, "They ran to the *kefeduwan*, Bandara." In such a case, this Bandara, to whom they ran when they eloped, cannot turn them away. They become like his own children, and, having *tamuk*, he goes to their aid.<sup>93</sup>

none of whom traditionally drink any alcoholic beverage. Although as the name suggests, drinking plays a role in the ceremonial, the *sefeinem* is structurally quite comparable to the wedding feast described above, in that the woman's side feeds the husband's relatives, and the man's side gives brideprice. Properly, in Tiruray custom, the entire brideprice should be completed at the wedding feast, prior to the ceremony itself. However, in most cases, the *kefeduwan* in attendance permit the wedding to proceed, even though some unpaid balance remains. The giving of the last of this outstanding balance is the occasion among Awang Tiruray for the *sefeinem*.

<sup>92</sup> This is again only an example, and not an actual case.

<sup>93</sup> The runaways would actually only go to Bandara if he were a kinsman of one or the other.

## 81.

These people have still another custom with regard to getting married. It is a bad custom, and I am ashamed to repeat what it is. This is also a way of running off, like the one I have just described to you, but there is a difference. Even though some maiden among them is not the lover of any young man, should some people meet her who have a young male relative, they may kidnap the girl for their young man. Although the girl will object, they will force her to go. Now, if the young woman refuses to walk, and if the kidnappers are many and can do it, they will drag her. And they will indeed be many, for it was their plan to take that with them. This is because many people have tried to arrange an engagement with her, but her menfolk never permit it. Even when those going to make the arrangements have plenty of *tamuk*, still they will not give her up.

## 82.

Now, therefore, what some Tiruray do who want her is wait for her somewhere. They will watch her pass by, waiting for her patiently by the place where people get water, or at some other place where those who want her have observed that she frequently goes.

Once they have hold of her—I have already said—they will carry her, not letting her walk. They pay no attention to her shouts. She grabs a hold of trees, because she does not want to go with them, but one of the abductors follows along behind chopping the trees off with a kris.

Let us turn now to consider the relatives or parents of the maiden. Once they know what has happened to their young woman, they will run after her fully armed. Now, they say in their hearts that they must be ready, for if they catch them, they will kill the maiden. In their minds, it is not the kidnappers who are at fault; they are angry at their young woman for going with them. Actually, she was forced and did not do it intentionally, but that is the thinking of the brothers and elders of the woman. So they run after her



to kill her, for they say they were put to shame by her wanting to go along with what they understand to have been an elopement. (That is what the parents of the girl say.) If one really wishes to marry, and they feel it is like that, it is a very wicked girl who wants to go along.<sup>94</sup>

## 83.

That is what they will say, if they are able to overtake them. Those, therefore, who abducted the maiden will be well prepared with *tamuk*. Then, even if they are chased, they have some to leave along the way, so the pursuers will not continue chasing them. What is this that they leave along their trail? Why should the chase after the maiden not go on? Because the first thing that they will come to is a naked spear stuck into the path. Now, suppose those chasing do not take that spear, but just leave it and continue their pursuit? They will then find a kris placed on the path. Do you think they will accept that? No! So they then come to a stack of one hundred plates, but again they pass it by. They come to a large Chinese jar, but still they proceed. So they come across a gong, with its hammer, laid upon the trail. Again they keep on going. Then they come to a bead necklace hanging along the path, but they pay it no heed. They just continue chasing, and come to a gold necklace of *furo teresang* type.<sup>95</sup> Still they continue running after the young woman. They have just not been convinced by all the *tamuk* which the kidnappers have strewn in their path. They soon come to a horse tied along the road, and an *emut* hanging nearby, and a special *emut*, and a brass belt, and a large brass betel box, complete with all its various parts, but these people pay no attention to any of these things, for they pity their young woman.<sup>96</sup> They continue the chase, and reach a cara-

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<sup>94</sup> The text of this last sentence is quite unclear.

<sup>95</sup> Bennasar notes at this point that there are three types of gold necklace, classified according to their gold content, of which the *furo teresang* (literally 'red sun') is of pure gold and the most valuable.

<sup>96</sup> Their anger toward the girl was based on their belief that she had gone freely with the kidnappers; the anger turned to pity when

bao tied at the side of the road. Now they have had enough; they do not go on chasing their maiden any more. They go home and inquire around about them, for they cannot disapprove of this man who has so much *tamuk* to leave along the way. The man would be dead who still does not agree.<sup>97</sup> Even if they did kidnap her, they can say, "Why do they not respect us?" and, "Is that not *tamuk* that we left for them along the way?" Then the ones who got the girl could say, "Take your maiden if you do not want the marriage, but you can just return all that *tamuk* doubled!"<sup>98</sup>

## IX. CONCERNING OTHER WAYS OF SEEKING A SPOUSE.

### 84.

Now, these people have still another marriage custom, which is funny, shameful and irritating. I will tell my reader about it. What is their other marriage custom? It is really strange.

If a young man sees a young girl who is attractive in appearance, well off, industrious, and talented, then he may want her and may go to her house, where he asks to marry her. Now, he is not alone in going to propose the marriage; he takes along some of his close kinsmen. These companions are the ones who speak out first. They say, "We have come here to your place in order to extend the size of your house." (So say those who went there to make the marriage, those who accompanied the young man.) "Here is the meaning of our coming here with our friend; he has come to marry your young lady. We brought with us *tamuk* for brideprice."

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they saw all the *tamuk*, all the cut trees, and realized that she had been forcibly abducted.

<sup>97</sup> The sentence is not to be taken literally as Bennasar did (...y si no consintieran, en este trance, alguno de ellos lo pagaría con la vida); it is an idiomatic Tiruray expression with the idea of "How stupid can you be!"

<sup>98</sup> Their point would be that under the circumstances of their generous offerings of *tamuk*, refusal to agree constituted an insult worth a fine.

The parents of the girl do not reply; they are just silent, as are those who came with the suitor. That is the extent of what they reply: they are silent! Now, the answer of the girl's parents to such a suitor is to draw a kris and to try to frighten him by stabbing all around the place where the young man is sitting. If he is easily scared, he will run away. You might think that they would be likely to hit him and kill him, but no, they are just frightening him—and that is really the custom of all Tiruray. Everywhere around where the young suitor was sitting is cut to pieces, even the roof near his head.

This will only come to an end when a leader of the household, or one of the *kefeduwan*, will tell the one slashing so angrily to stop, that he has done it enough. Otherwise would they just not stop?

Now, when this custom is all finished, what they do is have a *tiyawan*.<sup>99</sup> At this point, the girl's family will tell those who came with the young man whether or not they consent to the marriage. If they do, the brideprice will be given and the couple wedded that very afternoon.

If the parents of the girl do not want it, things become very difficult. How could it be otherwise, since the suitor has offered a substantial brideprice. If they really are determined to reject him, and do not double the *tamuk* he offered, it becomes very hard indeed. Oh yes, they will return to their home. But the truth is that someone may be missing!<sup>100</sup> Were the disappointed suitors to stab someone under those circumstances, the girl's side would have no recourse, for it would be outside their rights.

If you ask what gives the young man's side the right to take revenge, they would say, "This is our right: the way

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<sup>99</sup> See footnote 85 supra.

<sup>100</sup> This manner of proposing a marriage, called *falunsud*, is a bizarre but recognized option in Tiruray custom. The girl's kindred is not free to simply reject the suit out of hand; if they do not want to accept, they must either give *tamuk* to the young man's party to cover the insult or face the possibility of revenge.

we were treated when we went to marry! These people have scorned our *tamuk* and, besides, they have considered us as nothing at all, as so many idiots!" Those on the woman's side may indeed not be afraid, but those who went to propose marriage, even should they be cowardly by nature, would just forget their cowardice because of having been put to shame.

## 85.

Now, having told my reader this people's custom when they marry—that of the young men's going to openly press their suit—I will also say that there is also such a custom for women.

## 86.

A maiden among them may desire some young man. Even if the fellow has less love for her than so much urine, if the young girl is full of desire for him she may forget about her pride. Even though by nature maidens are very shy and customarily only marry when the elders arrange it properly, one may be unable to wait! She goes, therefore, to ask openly for the boy she loves, taking with her a bundle of *tebeli*.<sup>101</sup> If he refuses, she can commit suicide right there in his house.

Just as in the case of the young man's going openly, if the marriage is refused, *tamuk* must be given. If there were no *tamuk*, and if the boy really refused, the girl would surely kill herself.

Actually, that will never happen, because if he really feels that way, his elders will put forth another young man for the girl.

## X. CONTINUING ABOUT MARRIAGES.

## 87.

Now, since I have already told my reader about some Tiruray marriage customs, I will mention another way of marrying. It is very shameful to relate, for it is another bad

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<sup>101</sup> See section 64 *supra*.

custom of the sort Christian people would never have. Nevertheless, Christian Tiruray, in spite of the Fathers being here from the year 1862 to the year 1872, still follow their old customs.

Now, if the person who reads my writing should ask what this custom is, it is this: if a Tiruray couple are really faithful to each other, when God claims one of them, when one dies—especially when the wife dies first, and has living female relatives—one of them may marry her husband.<sup>102</sup> This is true even if she is still a little girl. She still becomes the widower's wife, and he must raise her from her childhood, if that is the only way. Even if the deceased wife's relatives do not personally wish it, the man's side would not permit them to reject the substitution, for they would take blood revenge.<sup>103</sup> If the woman who died has no appropriate relatives, then one half of the brideprice must be returned to the man's side. Likewise, if the husband died, and if he has an appropriate relative, the latter may marry his widow.

Why is it that they have such a custom? Because they are seeking to keep their brideprice alive. In this custom of theirs, although the brideprice was given long ago, still generation after generation they will chase after it. I think they would go on doing so right up to the end of the world. It is their custom, derived from the ancestors, to provide replacement spouses. So long as some relatives are still alive, they will always continue to do just that.

## 88.

The Tiruray have still another abhorrent and shameful custom. Even bad Christians would not do such a thing, and

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<sup>102</sup> The replacement spouse must be of the same structural generation as the deceased person, even though her age may be quite different.

<sup>103</sup> That is, they would take revenge if the wife's kindred did not provide a replacement spouse and still retained the brideprice. If they returned all the brideprice or some properly negotiated portion, which need not necessarily be one half, there would, of course, be no question of revenge.

yet there are Tiruray Christians right now who nevertheless still practice it. What is the custom? All right! Here it is. Tiruray have—that is, the men only have—two, three, four, five, six, seven, eight, nine, or ten wives; if he is a good man, and could afford it, he might even have more than that. This is a worthy custom to them, one which earns praise.<sup>104</sup>

## 89

I have some more to tell the person reading this, of another Tiruray custom which is frightening and quite beyond the pale. Christians would not do it. Well, what is it? All right! Here it is. They will elope together, even if both are married, or if the man is single but the woman is married, or vice versa. They call this *selamfà*. They do not fear this custom, even though it is terrible. If no one will give the elopers sanctuary, they will both be killed and placed face to face on top of each other in a single grave.

## 90.

Now, the Tiruray have another custom. If one sees that his wife is in love with some other man, he will really watch them, for if he is able to catch them both somewhere, he will stab them.

## 91.

If the man is in love with another woman, and if his wife sees them, they will separate. Then it is only if the man gives more *tamuk* that they will not be divorced.

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<sup>104</sup> Bennasar notes that this assertion puzzles him, as it is certain that the Tiruray do not permit polygyny and would seriously censure anyone who attempted it. It would seem clear that he was simply misinformed about the true situation. Polygyny, while never widespread, has always been practiced and respected. The younger Bandara, an important Awang *kefeduwan* of the time, had five wives. Bennasar states that, when there is a second woman, she is not called a wife, but rather a concubine. This is also a mistaken understanding of the situation. The term in question is *duwoy*, which means 'co-wife' and does not suggest a concubine of lower status.

## 92.

Suppose a married woman is being loved by another man, whom she does not love. If he touches her, he will be legally at fault and will be fined *tamuk*, for she will report him.

## 93.

Now, the Tiruray have still another custom. If a young man touches a young maiden, the two will certainly have to marry, for among these people the young women do not want to be played around with. They are virtuous. They can only be with a man if he already belongs to them. That is why if a young man touches a girl, they must marry. Their custom is a good one.

## XI. CONCERNING BIRTHS.

## 94.

Since I have already told my reader about Tiruray marriage customs, I will go on and tell about when they have children, and also about when they are still pregnant, and about what their customs are when they give birth.

## 95.

By custom, when they are pregnant, it is bad to eat shrimp. For they say one will die in childbirth, because the child, in coming out, will imitate the shrimp in the water and will go backwards.

Similarly, in the case of a chicken's egg taken from inside a butchered hen, the pregnant woman cannot eat it. For the pregnant woman will be like that chicken whose egg was inside; it might be that she will be like that chicken and her child will not come out.<sup>105</sup>

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<sup>105</sup> The custom of not eating eggs taken from a butchered hen is followed by all men and women of childbearing age, and not just by pregnant women.

## 96.

Regarding their customs at the time of childbirth, they go inside of a mosquito net. Some of the women who are helping the one giving birth are inside the net. There are some men—two, three, or four—and a midwife who stays near the feet of the parturient woman. I do not know what all she does, but she is the one who receives the baby.

If the woman is having a hard time delivering, they chew something and rub it on her stomach. I do not know what it is, perhaps some herb.<sup>106</sup>

Once the baby is out, they cut the umbilical cord and put it with the placenta into a basket, which they take to a *nunuk*<sup>107</sup> tree and hang on one of its branches. They do not throw them away, nor bury them.

The child is bathed at once.

Now, as to their helpers, they give them *tamuk* as payment for their fatigue.

## 97.

I will also tell my reader of another custom of bad Tiruray women. If they feel that there is a child in their belly, they kill it by pressing, or else they drink a potion to prevent the child from developing.<sup>108</sup> This is also done when there is no fixed father.<sup>109</sup> Likewise, those who just do not want to have a child; they drink medicine. Those who drink a potion really do not have a baby.

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<sup>106</sup> The particular herb used is chewed along with the betel quid, and the whole quid is then rubbed on the woman's stomach.

<sup>107</sup> *Nunuk*: 'strangler fig', *Ficus benjamina* Linn.

<sup>108</sup> A herb, believed to act as a contraceptive by preventing the baby from forming in the womb of the mother.

<sup>109</sup> If the mother had only slept with one man, she could accuse him through Tiruray legal procedures. What is implied here is that she had been sleeping with several men.



## 98.

Since I am telling the person reading this all about the customs of the Tiruray regarding births, I will go on now and tell about newly born children.

On the seventh night, they shave their hair. They leave a little hair on the top of the head, a little on the cowlick, and a little above each ear. The reason, they say, for leaving those patches of hair unshaved is so that there is a place for the child's soul to stay.<sup>110</sup>

## 99.

Here is another of their customs having to do with babies. Every day they bathe the baby four times. Even if it is still pink,<sup>111</sup> and even if the sun is hot at noonday, they will bathe the child. They claim that it is a good habit to bathe it, in order to cool off the sweat and heat of the body.

That is also the custom of some older people. Even if it is noontime, once they feel the heat in their bodies, they immediately cool off by going to the river. Even more, if they are perspiring, they will not feel well unless they can take a bath.<sup>112</sup>

I will return to the things they do to the baby. They do not have the custom of dressing little babies. If the baby is still very small, they merely wrap it with cloth. Now when they have already grown a bit bigger, they will feel the need to cover up,<sup>113</sup> for they know what is proper, and they already feel embarrassment.

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<sup>110</sup> The belief is that if all one's hair should be cut, his soul would escape through the bare scalp. The patches are left as tokens of a full head of hair.

<sup>111</sup> That is, newly born.

<sup>112</sup> Tenorio is not very admiring of self-indulgent people who jump into the river at noontime. Tiruray believe that the river belongs to the spirits at noontime and that humans should stay away.

<sup>113</sup> Literally, "they will feel the need to cover their little ones." This refers to the practice of older children covering their genitals with the palm of their hand.

## 100.

Now, regarding naming their babies, when they are still tiny, girls are called "new girl" and boys are called "new boy." This is not yet a real name, but is just their way of calling babies when they are still small. Once they are big, their names will be changed.<sup>114</sup> They are not named after the Saints in heaven; they just get their names from the world. Look, it is like this. One of their names is Sigayan, which means "that on which falls the radiance of the sun."

## 101.

I will tell you something else they do with their babies—they lay them down, or they put them to sleep, in a cradle made of a sarong suspended from the rafters. It moves softly up and down and sways back and forth, and into it they place the baby.

## 102.

Having told you already what these people do with their babies, I will go on and say that they observe certain customs when they eat. They will mention the names of babies who are sleeping while their parents eat. They say, "Let's eat, Sigayan; there is plenty for you." The reason for doing this—as they tell it—is so that the soul of the sleeping child will not steal food from a *saitan*<sup>115</sup> which, if he were to eat it, would make him sick.

## XII. CONCERNING WHAT THEY DO WITH THE SICK AND THE DEAD.

## 103.

Now, I will go on to tell my reader about when there are sick among these people. They have the custom, when they are tending or curing sick people, of putting *uwar* (a

<sup>114</sup> There is no set time for giving the new name, and no ritual is involved. Usually, the name is given when the child is about a year old, but in many cases the original name sticks and the person is called "new boy" or "new girl" for life.

<sup>115</sup> See section 16 *supra*.

sort of rattan)<sup>116</sup> around the house. They use this to frighten the *bolbol*,<sup>117</sup> for it is the nemesis of the *bolbol*. *Uwar* is magical; it becomes a snake<sup>118</sup> and frightens the *bolbol*. As I mentioned a bit earlier, the *bolbol* are cannibalistic. They are people themselves but they eat people; they eat the livers of sick persons. Now, some people can see *bolbol*, for they are said to be *bolbol* too. These guard the sick, holding a kris. Then, when they see a *bolbol* below coming close, they draw their kris from its scabbard and stab him — to kill him for he is a cannibal.

Even me, I have seen how they do it. When my mother was sick, there was a person, a Tiruray, watching her at night and using my kris. (I had shined it up, so there was no rust.) I got it, and we inspected the blade first, in case you think he lied. He went down from the house, and not long afterwards came back up. While he was down, we heard a sound—for he had stabbed a *bolbol*. The house was destroyed, for the *bolbol* crashed against it, moving as though he were a large carabao. There was a sound like groaning down there. Then the person came up into the house, deeply disturbed and holding that unsheathed kris, which was flowing with blood. His body was also stained with blood. When I saw the blood dripping, I was afraid and I believed it.

#### 104.

Now my reader should not imitate me in believing the foolishness of the Tiruray. The Christians say there is no truth to it, and it will just be a sin before Tulus. These people, believing such superstitions, see the *bolbol* because of the work of Damangias.<sup>119</sup>

Now, about their medicine for sick people, they use various herbs, and in treatment they chew them and rub them on. Some things are really laughable! One Tiruray curer touches

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<sup>116</sup> *Uwar*: *Flagellaria indica* Linn.

<sup>117</sup> See section 36 supra.

<sup>118</sup> Snake: *urar*.

<sup>119</sup> See footnote 27 supra.

the sick and, they say, gives a prayer by just moving his lips. They say that he is praying to 'Tulus, that he should cure the sick fellow.

## 105.

Now, as I am telling the customs of these people when they are sick, I will go on to describe what happens when there is a dead person among them. When someone dies, their custom is to weep and be very sad. After that, they will go into mourning for the dead individual.

## 106.

The custom when somebody dies is this: the moment he loses his breath, they bathe the body or at least wash his face. Then they immediately place a mirror near his head, for otherwise the *bolbol* would approach. (As I said before, they will eat the dead.) The reason is that when the *bolbol* sees the dead person, he sees two faces but only a single body. They say this will frighten him, and that is the purpose of the mirror.<sup>120</sup>

## 107.

Now, there is a kris. If the dead is a grown male, they place a kris by his side. The purpose of that, they say, is that it is something of his. Even though he is dead, they can still see him when they see that kris.<sup>121</sup>

They put all the belongings of the deceased into his grave. They also put with him his spears, sarongs, trousers, shirts, bandanas, cloth belts, and his brass betel boxes of various sizes, along with all their contents.<sup>122</sup>

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<sup>120</sup> The custom of placing a mirror by the body's head is Tiruray, but not the washing of the body. By all reports, even from Awang Tiruray, washing the deceased is a Maguindanao custom.

<sup>121</sup> The kris is a sort of memorial heirloom, retained as a keepsake of the dead person. When the deceased is a grown woman, a gold necklace is used instead.

<sup>122</sup> This statement is puzzling as it goes directly against traditional Tiruray custom. The clothes are indeed buried with the body, but never any items of *tamuk*, such as spears or betel boxes.

## 108.

When morning comes, they wrap his body in a mat, tying him up as one would a bundle of rattan. The sleeping sarong of the dead person is wrapped around his body, with his mat bound on outside of that. This is the way the dead are buried. Very few are placed in a coffin at death. They do not have the custom of using coffins.

109.<sup>123</sup>

Now, that morning, while the body is still in the house, they cook a large meal butchering chickens so that the people guarding will have a viand. When it is time to eat, when the food is ready, they never say to each other, "Come and eat," for to invite someone to eat food prepared on behalf of a dead man is considered very bad. The dead person may imitate them, and invite the living to die! (That is what they are trying to evade; hence their custom.) Thus, when they eat food prepared in the presence of a corpse, everyone in the house merely goes and begins eating without verbal invitation.

## 110.

Once the various customs regarding the dead person are concluded, they will take the body to the grave. For a litter, they use two poles with cross-bars where the body is tied, the size is measured so as to be just wide enough for the back of the deceased. Two persons carry the body.

By custom, the grave is dug very deep. Now, once they are already covering up the body, everyone who went along with the burial party helps in covering the grave—even if with only a single handful of dirt. The meaning to them of this custom is that they too will all die, and when someone dies, he should be buried.

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<sup>123</sup> In Bennasar's version, an error in numbering begins here. Henceforth, the corresponding text in that version is numbered two less than in the present text.

## 111.

When they have finished burying the body, they trace a mark around the grave with the back of a bolo. The significance of this is that if there is a *fagad*<sup>124</sup> who has come to eat the body, he will not be able to see it, for it will be magically shrouded in darkness.

## 112.

They also erect a *feliyad*<sup>125</sup> made of dried grass—similar to the one used in hunting pigs—near the grave. They say that if a *fagad* comes to eat the body, he will not come near.

## 113.

Now, that completes the description of graveside customs.

When they are going home from the grave, they have a custom that forbids treading on the heel of any companion. They do not want to step on anyone's heel, as it is considered to be a bad omen. Why? The point is that, should they accidentally step on someone's heel, while taking the body or while returning home, the dead will do the same thing. Every so often thereafter, someone will have to be buried—just because of walking on a companion's heel.<sup>126</sup>

## 114.

Now, here are their customs upon arrival back at the house from the gravesite and for the next seven days. When it is late evening, they maintain a fire where the dead person

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<sup>124</sup> The *fagad* are a tribe of giant spirits, one of many such tribes in Tiruray cosmology. The *fagad*, also known as *busaw*, are fond of eating human beings whom they are said to hunt in the forest. They live in caves and are greatly feared.

<sup>125</sup> The *feliyad* is a spring-spear trap, one of many devices used by Tiruray to hunt wild game in the forest. The *feliyad* erected by a gravesite is not a real, functional one, but is merely a representation made of dried grass.

<sup>126</sup> This custom again derives from the idea of sympathetic magic. Just as someone in the burial party followed his companion too closely, so deaths will follow closely one after another.

will pass. If my reader should ask the purpose of this fire which they place there, it is so that the soul of the dead person will not get lost but can find its way home. It is said that when the dead one sees the fire he will say, "This is my house and my relatives and my elders."

According to these people, the soul of the deceased will not go on to its final resting place for seven days. It will stay near its relatives and elders, which is the reason for their customs over the seven days.

Each time they eat, they wrap up a packet of rice, about the size of a man's thumb, along with some viand. The spirit of the dead eats this, according to them.<sup>127</sup> So, their customs are: fire and food wrapped in leaves. They hang packets of food from the outside wall of the house for seven days. Such are their customs.

#### 115.

When seven days have passed since the burial of the deceased, they no longer observe the custom of building the fire or of setting out food. They prepare a hearty meal to feed all those who have been gathered in the house, as well as others. That is their funeral feast; they go there to eat.

#### 116.

There is a laughable part of their customs in honor of the dead, which is embarrassing to relate. They prepare one roasted chicken and one pot of rice; two persons take these to the gravesite, and eat the food on top of the grave.<sup>128</sup> They do not put any salt on this food which they take to the gravesite. Those who took the food there eat it. They do not take

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<sup>127</sup> The general belief is not that the soul of the dead physically eats the food, but that it is shown respect and honor by being included in each meal.

<sup>128</sup> The number need not be limited to two; generally four to six of the dead individual's close male friends and relatives go to the gravesite just before dawn of the seventh day.

any water, and this is by custom. (I do not know why, nor do I know their reason for not eating salt.)<sup>129</sup>

## 117.

They have a different custom when babies die. If the baby has teeth already, they place a knife with its body so that, using the knife, the baby can cut the *nunuk* bark in order to suck.<sup>130</sup> If the dead child is still without teeth, they put a ring in its mouth to act as its teeth in tearing the bark of the *nunuk*.

Regarding the dead baby's mother, it is her custom to draw milk from her breast and place it in a reed tube for her child to drink.<sup>131</sup>

The custom is not to bury the babies who die, but to hang their bodies from the branches of the *nunuk*.

### XIII. CONCERNING CLEARING THE LAND AND CULTIVATION.

## 118.

Now that I have already told, here in my writing, all about the Tiruray customs, I will say that they have no other ones—except for their manner of working, their industriousness, and their way of making a living.

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<sup>129</sup> The salt would melt in the dampness of the early morning, and it is believed that as the salt melted so too would the relatives of the deceased "melt," i.e., die. With regard to not taking water to the gravesite, Tenorio is correct that this is the custom; I, too, do not know its meaning, nor could I find anyone who does.

<sup>130</sup> Infants who die while still nursing are not buried in the manner of adults; their bodies are placed in a *nunuk* tree (see footnote 107 supra). The *nunuk* is held, accordingly, in great awe and is seldom approached. It is believed that *siring*, a tribe of dwarf spirits, live in these trees, and care for the souls of deceased children. The *nunuk* has a white sap which resembles milk, and this is believed to be the nourishment of the child's soul.

<sup>131</sup> This is done for seven days only, until the final ceremonies, and is equivalent to the food put out for the soul of a deceased adult.



## 119.

When it is time to work toward the planting of rice, these people will make a swidden in the virgin forest. They do not choose second growth forest if possible, as the trees are too small. What they much prefer is the virgin forest, where the tree trunks measure ten arm spans.<sup>132</sup>

## 120.

What they do is to cut first the small growth in their plots under the big trees, then, when that is finished, they go through again and fell the large trees, using an axe about the size of the palm of one's hand. The large trees are not cut close to the ground; they erect a scaffold, upon which they stand while cutting.<sup>133</sup> The young men are the ones who do the felling.

## 121.

Now, once they have finished felling the big trees, they slash the branches of the trees that have been cut down, so that the twigs all lie and so that when they burn everything will be well dried and the fire will consume it all. When the slashed brushwood is well dried, they set fire to it and burn it. After the burning they pile and reburn the remaining twigs.

After they have finished burning the piles of unburned debris, that is the time they plant rice.<sup>134</sup> Their planting is

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<sup>132</sup> Tiruray farm the tropical rain forest by means of "swidden agriculture" or—as it is alternatively called—"shifting cultivation," in which they clear and burn a new plot (swidden) each year, leaving the previous year's swidden to fallow and return to forest. Secondary forest association replaces the original virgin forest, and, as Tenorio says, Tiruray prefer not to cut second growth, as it is far denser in underbrush than are the virgin stands, where the large trees form a dense canopy and prevent the growth of very thick surface flora. Some of the larger forest trees are immense, but they hardly reach the size of circumference cited by Tenorio.

<sup>133</sup> The scaffolding is needed because of the large buttresses on the huge forest trees.

<sup>134</sup> Generally, a crop of corn is planted first in widely separated rows, and then rice is planted along with a variety of other non-grains.

strange<sup>135</sup> for the men go ahead side by side poking holes, while the women follow with small baskets full of rice seed.

## 122.

When the rice they planted has begun to grow and has become quite grassy, the women weed the swidden. Men do not help with weeding the rice; it is done by the women.

## 123.

Now, when the end of the rice-growing season is near, they do not just immediately harvest. First they will burn a *dukah*<sup>136</sup> for its smoke, and cense one corner of the swidden. They bind one hill of rice, then get a single stalk out of the bound group and blow into it in the manner of a horn.

When this ritual is finished, they proceed to harvest. First, they set the rice to dry on the stalks. They do not gather the panicle bundles at once; they wait until they have a good number of them.

When the women go home, they take a little of the rice in their small basket, which they have filled up.<sup>137</sup>

They use their feet to shell the rice.<sup>138</sup>

In harvesting rice, they cut off the panicle well down on the stalk.

## 124.

Now, if they want to taste the new rice, they will first toast it in a skillet, pounding the rice once it is toasted. The women are the ones who pound the rice, for that is properly their task. You will never see even a single man

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<sup>135</sup>Tenorio probably means that the dibble system of swidden planting is strange in comparison to techniques used by lowland plow farmers.

<sup>136</sup>See footnote 39 supra.

<sup>137</sup>Harvesting of rice or corn is regularly done on a share basis, the harvester receiving a set share of what she has cut.

<sup>138</sup>Threshing is done on a large woven mat.

pounding rice or cooking food. Women are also the ones who work at the fire and go to get water. Even if it is quite far, it is the women who carry the basket full of bamboo tubes.<sup>139</sup> Likewise, they serve the meals and also keep in order all the things in the home.

When a married couple is hiking and they are carrying along something not overly heavy, it is the woman who will carry it. The husbands, you see, will not carry a thing. Suppose the woman is really feeling the weight of the load; do you suppose that he will relieve her? Not at all. Whether they are coming from far or near, it is only the woman who will feel the weight of their load.

#### 125.

Now, I will return to the subject of how they eat new rice. Some will toast it; some will boil it and then dry it. These people are really fond of eating newly harvested rice.

#### 126.

Their general custom is to eat twice a day. They normally do not eat early in the morning, but only—even if they have food—at noon and early evening.

As to what they eat, it is rice if there is any.<sup>140</sup> As a side dish, they always eat a vegetable, such as fruit from vines or the shoots of certain grasses. It is only rarely that they eat meat and fish, for they cannot afford it.<sup>141</sup> Thus they seldom have a very exciting side dish to the rice.

Now, it is not their custom to eat sweets after a meal.

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<sup>139</sup> Water is typically carried in a stoppered bamboo internode.

<sup>140</sup> Some starch staple forms the basis for a Tiruray meal, whenever possible. If no rice is available, corn is the second preference, followed by various other roots or tubers.

<sup>141</sup> Bennasar notes at this point, quite correctly, that one should not conclude that the Tiruray lack dexterity in hunting and fishing; they are actually extremely skillful in both.

They do not eat any other snacks, no matter how much they may wish something to chew on.<sup>142</sup>

## 127.

Now, it is their custom, when eating, to wash their hands first. Even if their hands are not dirty, they still wash them with water. That is their custom in eating; first they wash their hands.

## 128.

They offer no prayers in connection with meals. They just eat! It is as though they were so many bugs, as though they had no souls. They just grab the food straightaway. They do not remember—they do not even know—that their food is given them by Tulus.

## 129.

The customary way of eating is for the husband and the wife to eat together from a single plate.<sup>143</sup> Others may not join the couple in eating from their plate; it is the couple that is married to each other, and it would be bad manners. Even those who are siblings would look very bad to a stranger, should he see them eating from the same plate.

## 130.

The only ones who may eat from a single plate are those who are husband and wife. When Tiruray eat, they do so one by one, though all share the same food.

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<sup>142</sup> By snacks, Tenorio probably means Western style cakes or candies, such as he may have known in the home of Padre Bennasar. Tiruray do eat a variety of wild fruits and occasional cooked starches—such as the toasted new rice mentioned above—as between meals snacks.

<sup>143</sup> Tenorio says that they “eat together *sefelang*,” which means off a single plate or a single banana leaf. In Tiruray custom, everyone must have his own plate (or leaf) with the exception of married couples and small children. It is not the case that married couples will always eat this way, but that no other adults ever will.

## 131.

Now, while they are eating, should someone come up to their house, they will invite him to eat. If he wants to join, they will serve him. One who is thus invited to eat may do so if he wishes. If not, he simply says, "No, thank you." That is all that is required.

## 132.

If the first one to finish eating wants to stand up, he asks the others who are still eating, saying, "I will stand up now." Actually while others are eating, no one will stand up, for that is impolite as they see it. If people do stand up, and walk around the house while others are still eating, they will always ask permission. They will say, "Although you are still eating, we are getting up." Why is it that no one may rise while others are eating? Because it is not their custom to be bothered or disturbed while eating.

Now these people do not observe limits when they eat. Some are really greedy; even though they have had enough, they go on eating until every morsel has been consumed. They do not realize that eating too much is a sin to Tulus—as well as apt to make you sick!

## 133.

I will go on and tell about the customs of this people with regard to sleeping. Each family—husband, wife, and children—has a single mosquito net and a single mat. Young boys and young girls sleep together, right near their parents.

## 134.

Now, here is a custom I can tell you about, concerning their belief as to sleeping. When they dream while asleep, they believe their dream will come true. So, they will keep it in mind—especially if it was a frightening dream—and they will try hard to evade whatever the dream warned them about. You see the foolishness of the Tiruray!

When someone has a dream at night while asleep, he will tell about it the following morning. Everyone will listen, and when he is finished relating his dream, he will ask his companions, "What does that signify?" Someone who knows says that it means this or that—there will be a sickness, or good is coming, or bad luck. I will not continue about this; it is no good.

#### XIV. CONCERNING SONGS AND DREAMS.

##### 135.

Now, they have still another custom at night when they have overnight guests. They do not go to sleep right away, out of fondness for this custom. It is telling folk stories. Those women who know how to tell stories will chant the epic of Lagey Lengkuwos, Metiyatil Kenogon, Bidek, and Bonggo<sup>144</sup>—who were all among the first people on earth. They say they are all spirits now, though. The people put trust in them, just as they trust for good things from Tulus. But, actually, they are not really gods themselves. What the stories tell about is what happened to these people, when they were still on earth.

It is only the women who know about them; the men do not. Whoever does know about their ways will relate what happened to those first people, during the time they were still on earth.

The stories have been handed down from their forefathers.

##### 136.

Now, other folk tales are simply told in spoken words; they relate what went on among the first persons on earth, as well as stories about the world's first animals.

##### 137.

After that, the women chant and pose riddles; just fitting in the names of their companions!

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<sup>144</sup> See sections 17-19 *supra*.

## 138.

Now, I will tell my reader about their fishing and their hunting for viands. For catching birds, they use snares or sticky tree sap. They also set rat traps—these people eat rats! For catching wild pigs, they set impaling spikes and tension spring spear traps, they chase them with their bare hands, and they set log-fall traps. Another means of catching pigs is with dogs. Their dogs—even those with upright ears—are really ferocious toward wild pigs.

For fishing, they use their bare hands in the water, or they use spring-door fish traps—once a fish is inside it cannot get out—or various other woven basket traps. They use fishpoles, fishing spears, hooks secured to posts, long lines with large hooks, and, in the ocean, nets. Their best way of catching fish is by poisoning the water with *tebeli*,<sup>145</sup> *gasi*,<sup>146</sup> *sedan*,<sup>147</sup> and *rembuwayà*.<sup>148</sup>

## 139.

Now, I have still some more that I want to tell my reader. There is a custom among Tiruray, which they believe and which is true as far as they are concerned. It is this: they never laugh at anything an animal might do—and this is true of worms, in fact of any animate creature—for they will be *simbelowon*. What is this they call *simbelowon*? Their community will be treated very harshly; there will be heavy rain and strong winds, and the teeth of the lightning will bite! Now you see the silliness of the Tiruray! All these false notions—they cling to them in their customs. It is terrible.

## 140.

Similarly, it is not good to speak to animals; for they say you will also be *simbelowon*. No one, however, has ever

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<sup>145</sup> See footnote 66 supra.

<sup>146</sup> *Gasi*: *Croton tiglium* (Linn.)

<sup>147</sup> *Sedan*: *Lepisanthes schizolepis* Radlk.

<sup>148</sup> Species unknown.

experienced this aspect of their customs; they have just heard about it from the stories of the old folks. Once upon a time there were two persons—Kenogo Lagey and Kenogon by name—in a certain place. Kenogo Lagey went wild boar hunting with his dog. He caught a small pig, and then went home. But, his dog went ahead of him. When the dog arrived, Kenogon said to it, "Were you able to catch a pig?" The dog did not reply. Again Kenogon asked, "Were you able to catch a pig?" Three times she queried the dog. She just insisted on speaking to that dog, even though it was an animal and could not reply. I do not know how it was that it finally spoke. It answered the girl about its master, saying, "Yes, we got it, but"—this is how it said it—"you will never taste it; you will be punished severely."<sup>149</sup>

#### XV. CONCERNING THEIR LEADERS AND THEIR MODE OF SELF-GOVERNMENT.

##### 141.

Now, since I have been telling my reader all the various customs of the Tiruray, I will go on to tell whether these people are all of equal rank. They are all ordinary people—nobody looks back at them<sup>150</sup>—but they do have an elder brother, whose standing they respect and who respects the standing of all of them. They call him their *kefeduwan*.<sup>151</sup>

Should my reader ask whether all *kefeduwan* are the same, they are not. There are some higher standing. Here are their *gelal*: Amirefes and Bandara. Now, the meaning of their *gelal* is as follows.<sup>152</sup>

<sup>149</sup> This story is an often told folk tale, usually ending with the boy returning to find Kenogon dead, struck by lightning. The prohibition involved in *simbelowon* is against ridicule of any kind, whether directed toward animals or human beings.

<sup>150</sup> "Nobody looks back at them" is an idiomatic expression meaning no one exerts any special care over them.

<sup>151</sup> See footnote 69 supra.

<sup>152</sup> A *gelal* is a title, given by Maguindanao leaders to Tiruray leaders, in recognition of trade pact agreements. The last sentence of the paragraph is evidently a false start; Tenorio does not go on to tell the meaning of the *gelal*, but rather to describe the effectiveness of Amirefes and Bandara.



If there is a *tiyawan* that cannot be readily decided,<sup>153</sup> once these two *kefeduwan*, Amirefes and Bandara, are involved it will be quickly finished.

Among the various *kefeduwan*, one is Bandara. If Amirefes is not present, Bandara takes his place. Another of the *gelal* is Masalikamfù. The meaning of this is that he owns all the Tiruray.<sup>154</sup>

## 142.

These individuals that I have singled out—the Tiruray *kefeduwan*—have the highest standing among them. That is why I mentioned them one by one. They do not farm. Their work is just to settle the cases of their Tiruray companions. Nobody would refuse them by saying, "We do not like what you are asking," or, "We do not believe what you say."<sup>155</sup>

## 143.

Now, the other *kefeduwan* are lower in rank than those, and they receive their *gelal* from the three I mentioned.

## 144.

The titles of the ones given *gelal* of lower rank—all of whom are equal, each being the leader of one place—are Kafita Watà, Datu Watà, Datu Watà Magalin, Ulubalang, Urangkaya, Kafitan, and Datu sa Falaw.<sup>156</sup> Each of them is the leader of some certain place.

<sup>153</sup> See footnote 85 supra.

<sup>154</sup> What Tenorio means here is very unclear; perhaps the sense of "owns all the Tiruray" is that the Masalikamfu title belongs to some sort of military commander. Bennasar notes at this point that he suspects Masalikamfù to be a corruption of the Spanish *maestre de campo*, "a title with which the ancient Spaniards honored certain natives for their loyalty to our flag and for their assisting with their people in the conquest of these lands."

<sup>155</sup> Tiruray *kefeduwan* are not able to give indiscriminate or arbitrary orders; their position of respect is based solely upon their reputation for skill in settling disputes through *tiyawan*.

<sup>156</sup> The titles listed here by Tenorio are traditional and prominent Awang area *gelal*.

## 145.

Now, I will just bring an end here to my account of Tiruray customs. It seems to me that I have finished what I have to say. Perhaps I did not get to every single custom of the Tiruray; I may have missed just a few. But, in fact, I do not think there are any more at all.

## 146.

I repeat again to my reader that, in what I have written, all the customs of the Tiruray were brought out. Perhaps I should not admit that I am the one who wrote all this—for I am myself a Tiruray. But I will admit it, and I will never feel ashamed toward all those who see it. Never mind. I do not care. It is all right—but I do consider myself like a crow that will call out its own name.<sup>157</sup>

It is as though an outsider was the one to tell all our customs—but the one who told them all was himself a Tiruray.<sup>158</sup> Well, I could not do anything about it. I was the first person to become a Christian, in the year 1863, so I know something of the teachings of the Jesuit Fathers. Therefore, they asked me to put down all our customs in this manuscript, and I was happy to do it.

I have, therefore, related them in their entirety, so that anyone who reads this will know all the customs—the good ones and the bad ones too. And I say to you, in this regard, that whether or not they please you is to me a matter of complete indifference.

Amen. Jesus.

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<sup>157</sup> Tenorio is worried over whether he should put his name to his writing. In the Tiruray dialect, the crow is known by the onomatopoeic *uwah*.

<sup>158</sup> Here Tenorio is concerned about having told so many unfavorable customs along with the good ones.