

The Danlag Ancestral Domain Claim in Tampakan, South Cotabato

B. R. RODIL

Abstract


The main finding of this research is that the Bla-ans of Danlag have a rightful claim to Danlag Ilong Barawa as their ancestral domain. The genealogies of their principal families prove beyond doubt an uninterrupted occupancy of eight generations. Or, computed against an average of thirty years per generation, a total of at least 240 years.

In addition, their folklore of creation, the names of the main characters therein, the Bla-an names of sacred places, bulol (mountains), gundok (hunting grounds) and e-el (rivers, creeks, springs and waterfalls) and other geographic and human features — all indicate a convincing Bla-an presence through a long period of time.

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Special thanks go to the members of the Danlag Tribal Council: Dalina Guisan, Tribal Chieftain; Nena Guisan, Assistant Tribal Chieftain; Mely Dataw, Treasurer; Cristina Tokaydo, Secretary; Lino Tokaydo, Tribal Liaison Officer; and Council Members Lawon Tokaydo, Gansing Guisan, Francino Tokaydo, Menis Dalinubang, Snooky Lako and Dayaw Edi.

 B. R. RODIL is a Historian and Professor of History, Department of History, College of Arts and Social Sciences, MSU-Iligan Institute of Technology. A major part of his interest, mostly in the area of research and advocacy, is the welfare of the various Lumad communities of Mindanao.

Part 1 Introduction

This work documents the traditional evidences for the Ancestral Domain Claim of the Bla-ans of Danlag, Tampakan, South Cotabato, and is done in accordance with the Department of Energy and Natural Resources (DENR) DAO 2 guidelines. As part of its commitment to assist the indigenous communities located within its mining exploration area, Western Mining Corporation (WMC) (Philippines), Inc. has given the project its full material and moral support.

During the field work period, April 2 - 12, 1996, a total of 28 respondents (26 Bla-an and two Bisaya from Danlag and Pula Bato mainly) were interviewed for this research.

This report shall, in essence, reflect the guidelines set by DENR-DAO 2. The actual flow of the story will revolve around the issue of legitimacy of the Bla-an traditional claim over the Danlag Ancestral Domain. Or the historical association of the Bla-ans to Danlag.

Danlag at Present

Danlag is one of 13 barangays in the municipality of Tampakan, South Cotabato. Except for some small portions of land, its terrain is generally mountainous. Its Bla-an population is concentrated in Purok Kawayan, 18 households, and in Sitio Talfuk, another 18 households for a total of 36 households. In Bla-an custom these two constitute the *Bong Banua* (Big Settlement) of Danlag, divided into the two smaller banwas of Purok Kawayan and Talfuk.

Danlag Tribal Leadership

Bla-an tribal affairs are presently handled by the Danlag Bla-an Tribal Council, formed in September 1995. This is headed by Dalina Guisan, a 26 year-old woman and daughter of Datu Mangge, the first Bong Fulong (Big Leader) of Danlag. Her deputy is another lady named Nena Guisan, the Secretary is Cristina Tokaydo, and the Treasurer is Mely Dataw. The fifth woman in the Council is Snooky Lako, one of six Council Members. This is the first time in the history of the Bla-an people that their tribal affairs are administered by women leaders.

Purok Kawayan is a cluster of homes located along the road north of Pula Bato. Sitio Talfuk is another cluster of homes nestled on the ridge of a mountain, twenty minutes from Danlag towards the southeast of Purok Kawayan, overlooking a neighboring ridge to its northeast where the original Danlag Bla-an community used to be.

Part 2
Who Are the Bla-an People?
The Story of Their Origin

The Bla-ans of Danlag identify themselves with the rest of the Bla-ans who have traditionally occupied lands now located within municipalities in the five provinces of South Cotabato, Sultan Kudarat, Maguindanao, Cotabato and Davao del Sur. [See Attachment A. Bla-an Population by Mother Tongue, 1990 Census.]

The Name Bla-an

Bla-an. This is how all Bla-ans call themselves. It is a two-syllabic name, with accent on the second syllable. Not the three-syllabic Bilaan as other people in the Philippines refer to them. Not Bilan or Bilanes as the Spaniards called them. Not Bulu-an, or Bul-u-an, or Buluanes or Bil-an as American documents have consistently and erroneously recorded — a slip which has been carelessly echoed and re-echoed by modern day writers, both Filipino and foreign.

According to the Bla-an respondents in Danlag, it was Almabet, their creator, who gave them that name. They are deeply aware that Almabet also created the other ethnic groups around them which were also given their respective names. These are, in their words, the Tabali (T'boli), the Klagan (Kalagan), the Teduray, the Ubo (Manobo), the Mandaya, the Alhawan (Maguindanao Muslim), Mandaya, and Matigsalug. However, they are different from the Bla-ans and their languages are not mutually intelligible.²

Among themselves, the Bla-ans identify each other by their place of residence. Geographically, they have distinctions like *To Lagod* for those inhabiting the highland regions, and *To Kalon* for those occupying the plains. Those from Davao were also known as *To Dabew* or *Bla-an Dabew*.³

And who is Almabet?

Who is Almabet? A Version of Creation

Almabet was a *Dwata*, according to Lawon Tokayda, 68, former *Bang Pulong* (tribal chieftain) of Danlag, and now a member of the Danlag Tribal Council, and the other respondents with him.⁴ Almabet created eight people, first the Bla-an, then the others, namely, Tabali (T'boli), Ubo (Manobo), Alhawan (Maguindanao Muslim), Teduray, Klagan, Matigsalug, and Mandaya. And he called them by these names. They would later be the ancestors of ethnic groups of the same names.⁵

Feeling fulfilled that he had done a good job at creation, Almabet ascended into the ninth heaven. He left behind lands for the people he created. There was land, there was the sky,⁶

He told them, "I go up to heaven, while I leave you here on earth." Then he instructed the Bla-ans and the others to plant *sagbog* (banana), *gabi* (yam), *ubo* (sugar cane), *balanghoy* (cassava), *palay* (rice), and *mais* (corn).⁷

Lands were assigned to them. *Kolon Nadal* (now Koronadal) was given to the Bla-an. Almabet ascended from *Melbel* (now Marbel). From here they (Bla-ans) went to *Kolon Bia-o* (now Columbio), to Buluan which they partly share with the Alnawen (Maguindanao Muslim), to other parts of the present South Cotabato, and to Datal Pitak in Matanao in the present Davao del Sur. The Tabali went to Lake Sebu. The rest went to their respective places. They have no details on how the others spread out.⁸

But how did Almabet create the people? Three of them created man. Almabet, Fiu We and Sa We. Sa We created man in a manner that many parts were not in their normal state. The nose, for instance, was inverted. The sexual organs were at the knees, the male genitals on the right knee, and the female on the left. It was Almabet who set things right.⁹

Other Versions of Creation

Sumangay Landayong, mother of Dalina Guisan, and Faliay Mayo, wife of Lawon, have their own versions of the story.¹⁰

They claim to have heard this from their fathers. According to them, first there were Fiu We and Sa We. Almabet was the brother-in-law of the two. Almabet's wife was Bai Fan We. And they had a daughter named La Sagum.¹¹

There was this contest between Almabet and his brother-in-law whose sister was Almabet's wife. Almabet told Akul that whoever hits the center of the *blugal sda* (hair strand of a pig's mane standing erect) goes up to heaven. Akul took the first turn.¹²

Akul allegedly leaned on a *mbuko*, a kind of banana, the leaves of which were red and the fruit purple, and planted his foot on a newly planted coconut tree. It took him so long to take his aim that the coconut bore fruit by the time he released his arrow. He merely grazed the strand. Almabet hit his target right at the center. So, Akul retired to the forest of Bulol Lumot, while Almabet ascended to heaven.¹³

Fiu We and Sa We contributed to the creation of the human race. Sa We said that they should make man with a skin as hard as stone so that in time of war no one would get hurt. Fiu We said that he preferred the natural skin that we have now.¹⁴

Sa We wanted an inverted nose, the male genitals on the inside of the right knee and the female on the inside of the left. Fiu We preferred a normal nose, because he said that when it rained, we cannot put a cover on the nose to keep the water away the way we insert banana leaves on the orifice of the *kabung*, the bamboo water container, to keep the water in.¹⁵

It is said that Fiu We took a piece of clay, molded a human form and put parts exactly where they ought to be. And it was in this manner that the good Bla-an was made.¹⁶

Sa We for his part wanted to create disorder and chaos. The stone-like skin was meant to protect his creation when they must war against each other.¹⁷

Faliay and Sumangay also provided additional details about La Sagum. La Sagum went home to the forest of Tan Fed at Marfed Bulol. She reportedly had an aircraft which landed at Tan Fed. But no one can see the craft, only those who have knowledge of the spirits. The name *Marfed* describes the appearance of the trees which seem to have been slashed by a fast-flying aircraft. It was because of her that many places in Danlag and nearby were so named. Pula Bato river, or *Fule Bato* in Bla-an, acquired the name because

La Sagum allegedly washed her *languay fute* (red skirt) at the river and the water turned red, leaving the reddish color on the stones. She also washed her *languay lakay* (white languay) at Bukay River and that was how Ba Bukay got its name.¹⁸

Another Version

Lawon Tokayde also gave a slightly different version of the creation story from the first one he narrated. He said the creator of the Bla-an is the Dwata. After he did so, he felt that he had fulfilled his mission and he left the Bla-ans on earth.¹⁹

This was his narration:

Listen carefully. This is what my father told me. This is not mine. In the creation of earth in the time of the first Bla-an, the first to be made was the heavens, then the water, then Bulol Afo (Mt. Apo) was put up, followed by Amuhung (Mt. Matutum), then Male Bato (a.k.a. Mt. Parker or Mt. Maughan), also Atunurek ang, Bulol Lumot so that the people will have a place to stay in. After he had created the Bla-ans he said that he was going back to heaven. I shall leave you the Bla-ans here on earth.

Before he left, he designated a place for the Tabali; another place for the Alnawen; another for the Taraya (Taduray), and still another for the Klagan, and so on. He also set aside a place for the Bla-an.

To discover the place designated for the Bla-ans, the Dwata said watch for the names of rivers: E-el Bukay, E-el Fule Bato. Be on the look out for Amuhung because that will be the first bulol with a name. Dwata will put a busaw to occupy its top. And with him will also be Datu Ulo E-el who shall be in charge of the rivers.

The place designated for the Tabali is the west side of Lake Sebu; the Alnawens were put along the coasts; the Klagans in Davao and in Malungon. The Ubo, too, were made to inhabit Davao. The Bla-ans were placed in Melbel in between these places, Davao and the Tabali. "Observe Bukay E-el, watch Fule Bato because you will never know when Dwata will come back down to earth."²⁰

Still Another Version

During the contest between Alnabet and Akul, they both stood at Bulol Afo. Akul was the first to shoot his arrow. It took him so long to take his shot that vines had actually crept all over his bow and arrow. The young coconut upon which he rested his foot had already borne fruit by the time he released his arrow. But he only grazed his target. Alnabet, however, hit the bull's eye.²¹

So, Akul told Alnabet, his brother-in-law, to go on home to heaven. He himself had to be on his way to Bulol Lumot.²²

For his part, Alnabet advised Akul to take everything with him, his dog, his mat, his jewelry, his *sung* (wooden mortar; *lusong* in Bisaya and Tagalog) for pounding rice, everything to his home in Bulol Lumot.²³

Alnabet accompanied Akul to Bulol Lumot. What Akul did not know was that there was a house beneath the cliff which was invisible to him. Alnabet said to Akul that he

would throw his chicken down the cliff and it would alight on his house. Akul realized it was true when the chicken crowed from below. On their way down the side of the cliff, Akul lost his grip and he fell to where his house was. Contrary to his fears, he was perfectly safe. Sgumum, Akul's wife, was already there. Seeing that Akul was settled in his home, Almabet bade goodbye. He ascended to heaven from Fikung, the waterfall, at Bulol Asam on the Pula Bato side. Almabet left his wife Bai Fan We at Fikung as he proceeded to the seventh heaven.²²

The versions of creation may differ in some details, depending on the respondent. Sometimes, as in the case of Lawon Tokaydo, one respondent may have several versions. But this is nothing unusual in folklore anywhere in the world. There are other versions where the Dwata also created Bisayans and Americans, after the Bla-an, that is.

What is important is that the story of creation is very much alive and fluid among the folklore carriers and the stories themselves possess a certain degree of consistency. This is essential in a people's sense of identity and collective consciousness.

Part 3

The Bla-an Bong Banwu of Danlag

This section will cover three very important sets of data. One is about the history of occupancy of the Bla-ans of Danlag. The other will focus on the customary law for their claim over the domain called the *Banwu*. And the third on the external boundaries of the Banwu.

The Bla-ans of Danlag

The Bla-an word *danlag* describes the act of searching for an area for a clearing. The present Danlag was where the Bla-ans of Pula Bato often looked for a place for a clearing.

Danlag used to be a *gumlok*, a communal hunting ground for the Bla-ans of Pula Bato which earlier also included Danlag in its political jurisdiction. But even after Danlag became a *banwu*, open for settlement, the *gumlok* continued to be a shared resource area for the Danlag-Pula Bato Bla-ans. It must be stressed at this point that such sharing is restricted to said communities. The Bong Mal Bla-ans, for example, did not enjoy the same privilege. They had their own. Trespassing was always cause for violent encounters. But, for some time until the recent past, the present Danlag *banwu* did not exist here.

Danlag became a Banwu with the entry of Datu Mangge into the picture. He was the first Bong Fulong of Danlag Bong Banwu, and it was Lawon Tokaydo who took over from him. Banwu in the Bla-an definition includes people, land, rivers and creeks, and hunting grounds, and other geographic and human features.²³

Two leaders opened the present Danlag for settlement, Datu Mangge of Lam-alis (who can also trace his origin to Datal Pitak in Matan-aw, Davao del Sur) and Datu Salibet of Pula Bato. They are the acknowledged *namandak* (pioneer settlers) there, so are their descendants down to the eighth or the present generation. Datu Mangge is credited with having opened the old Danlag at the top of the mountain, slightly below northeast of Talfuk and

east of the present Purok Kawayan. Datu Salibet, the eldest brother of Malayon Lambun who later became popular as Tokaydo (the father of Lawon Tokaydo) cleared Talfuk. He is the father of Dalimbang Datew who is presently the Fulong of Talfuk.²⁶

In search of a new place to cultivate, it was Datu Mangge who initiated the Bla-an occupancy of old Danlag. There were no occupants here then. Later, he was followed by his relatives.²⁷

Mangge himself was the son of Samling of Lamalis Bong Banwa, now part of the municipality of Columbio in the province of Sultan Kudarat. Before Danlag when he was still single, Mangge had lived in Pula Bato. So did Lawon and the rest of the Tokaydo saflanck (clan). It was in Pula Bato that Mangge and the old Tokaydo had a *dyandi* (peace pact) with Cesar Ureta much later. The old Tokaydo died on July 5, 1994.²⁸

Mangge had three wives. Two of whom, Mane and Malison, were both daughters of Salibet. The story goes that Salibet did owe Mangge plenty in their *kasfala* and was unable to pay. *Kasfala* was the system of socio-commercial transaction whereby a person may borrow some *kalyak* (movable properties like horses, carabao, gongs, bladed weapons, jewelries) from another, with a promise to pay within a specified time. Some *kalyak* items were loaned with interest. The young Mangge also happened to be attracted to Mane, Dan Salibet's second eldest daughter. As it came to pass, Mane's marriage to Mangge was, as it were, part of a debt settlement. Consequently, Mangge paid less for the *wonggod* (bride price) because of this.²⁹

The third wife is Sumangay Landayong, from Bulol Gulamwag. Bulol Gulamwag is part of the present Danlag. When Datu Salibet was old and dying, he named Mangge as his heir to Danlag.³⁰

The present Tribal Chieftain of the Danlag Tribal Council is Dalina Guisan, 26. Dalina was the third of Mangge's four children with Sumangay. Kidley, the fourth and youngest, was six or seven months in Sumangay's womb when Mangge died. From Dalina's calculation, Mangge died sometime in the early 1970s, probably 1973. Lawon, 68, claims that if Mangge were alive today, they would be of the same age. But why does she carry the surname Guisan? When Sumangay remarried, she did so to Gansug Guisan. Dalina adopted his name, a common practice among the Bla-ans.³¹

Mangge died in Datal Firak Bong Banwa (in Matan-aw, Davao del Sur).³² The story was that he did the *awlo* (no English equivalent). This meant living with a relative who was indebted to him until such time that he was properly paid, an intention that was announced. This was an accepted Bla-an practice as a means to recover one's *kalyak* which his relative owes him. What was Mangge demanding as payment? Ten horses and ten gongs. It was there, in Datal Firak, that illness overtook him. He vomited blood and died. The Bla-ans believed that this was made possible through witchcraft. He is a relative of Datu Dumalaw Lasib of Datal Firak. Lawon said they might also be relatives. Mangge was buried near the house where he died. At the time of his death he was the Bong Fulong of Danlag. It was Lawon Tokaydo who took over from him.³³

Sumangay did not return right away to old Danlag. First, she and a good number of relatives stayed at Lam Nange near Talfuk, among the family of Dalimbang Datew for two years. The Datews were among the pioneers of old Danlag.³⁴

Asked how long he has lived in the present Danlag (Purok Kawayan), Lawon Tokaydo replied more than 20 years. It was the incumbent Barangay Chairman Jonathan "Boy"

Cousad, a Bisaya, he said, who encouraged them to relocate themselves from old Danlag which had become in recent years predominantly Bisaya. A good number of relatives moved with him.³⁵

Danlag, an Ancestral Inheritance

Genealogy is one excellent traditional — also universal — way of establishing the Danlag Bla-ans' claim over Danlag Bong Banwu as ancestral domain. Although Datu Mangge's role in the opening and establishment of Danlag as Banwu is acknowledged by all, the genealogy of the tumandok or the locals is not traced through him. Mangge's claim to Danlag is principally through marriage to Mane and Malinon, daughters of Salibet and through inheritance from Salibet. Also to Sumangay Landayong, a native of Butol Gulamwag in Danlag, whose grandfather is Masalyo. It is they who have prior claim. The major families in Danlag are the Salibets, the Tokaydos, and the Masalyos. The Tokaydos and the Salibets trace their common ancestry from Lim, Karek, Bungaw, Tarrbon, then Salibet and Tokaydo. The Masalyos go through the same line but branch out from Karek. But just the same, they easily bring themselves to the present generation. [See the two attached charts: (1) Tokaydo & Salibet Genealogies, and (2) Masalyo Genealogies]

Role of Customary Law in Defining Ownership of Domain

What particular aspects of Bla-an custom law support the Bla-an claim to Danlag as ancestral domain? This is really the issue of defining who owns the territory.

Malay is the Bla-an term and the equivalent for an extended family living in the same household. This includes the grandparents, the parents and the immediate children, even cousins, as long as they live in the same household. What we have here is the nucleus of a *suflanek* (clan).³⁶ How does this apply in the case of Danlag?

Danlag for Datu Mangge started as a grant through marriage. When he actually started in old Danlag, it was in search of a place for an *almigo* (clearing or swidden farm). There were no other occupants here yet. At this point or shortly thereafter, the *malay* was already in actual operation. Then he was followed by other relatives. In time, they had established a community or a *banwu*.³⁷

The concept of a *banwu*, as I said earlier, includes people, land, rivers and creeks, and hunting grounds, and other geographic and human features. This is the essence of ancestral domain.³⁸

It would seem that the nucleus of the people here are the members of the *malay* which may be expanded into a clan in several households. They would also emerge as the owners of the territory because it was from the acknowledged head of the clan that permission must be sought for the establishment of the *almigo*. Relatives or members of the clan need not seek permission because they are members of the clan. An outsider, however, had to have permission.³⁹

How about the matter of transfer of ownership or, more precisely, inheritance? The practice among the Bla-ans is no different from the others in many parts of the world. When the elders die, the immediate living relatives automatically assume ownership. If it was necessary to partition anything, it was done among family members. Also, any member of

the family or clan is entitled to cultivate any open space within the family claim. The element of communal jurisdiction is there.⁴⁰

What form of ownership is established? According to Dalina Guisan, incumbent Tribal Chieflain of Danlag:

"What they cultivate is theirs. But they can abandon this to move on to other sites. Still, they continue to own it. They can come back to it later. They can also dispose of it to another, could be to a Bla-an or to a Bisaya, provided proper permission is obtained. But such disposition is only for use. It must be returned after use."⁴¹

Clearly, the matter of opening an *almigo* did not establish ownership other than usufruct, especially with respect to outsiders. This will explain why Datu Mangge said yes to the first Bisayans who sought his permission to cultivate portions of old Danlag but with a proviso, provided, and this must be stressed, that they would return the land after use. But then when the Mangge family moved to Datal Firak and Mangge died there, this, according to our respondents, was also interpreted by the Bisayans as their opportunity to have their fields documented by government in their name. But this was not the only instance of land disposition. Lands mortgaged to Bisayans (*gi-prenda* or *gi-sanda* in Cebuano, two words and institutions which the Bla-ans have adopted into their culture) that went unredeemed were later registered in favor of the latter.⁴²

The testimony of Sumangay is important here. She said:

"When we returned to Danlag, their plants (trees included) were already big and we did not take back the land because we were afraid. From Lamalis, we moved to Datal Firak and stayed there for seven years. When my brother, the father of Musali, married here, that was when we returned. We brought him with us. But when we got here, the Bisayans had plenty of plants already."⁴³

Traditional Mode of Acquiring Jurisdiction over Land

In summary fashion, which we shall paraphrase, Lawen Tokaydo shared how the Bla-ans generally acquire jurisdiction over or secure entry into land and territory.⁴⁴

One way is by marriage. When a man married a girl from another locality, it is part of Bla-an custom for the husband to move residence to the place of the girl. That is the case of Datu Mangge.⁴⁵

Another way is through payment of debts. One such practice is the *milo*. *Milo* is a Bla-an institution whereby a person may demand payment for debts from his debtor by moving in into the household of said debtor. He will not leave the household until payment for the debt is satisfied, even if it took some time. He is also allowed to demand what he considered to be satisfactory payment. If, for instance, he points to the *almigo* or the swidden clearing, the owner shall be obligated to hand it over to him and himself move out to give way; he finds another place.⁴⁶

A third way is through *kasfala* or *kasbayon*, the customary exchange of goods that goes with settlement of conflicts and other social transactions. The traditional forms of exchange are domestic animals, which are normally *kalabaw* (carabao), or *kuda* (horse), or material

possessions (kalyak) like agong (gong), *kris* (the wavy double bladed weapon), *fais* (a long bladed weapon), *agas* (spear) or jewelries. No cash. But it has happened that a clearing could also become part of the arrangement.¹⁷

A fourth way, the more common one of acquiring rights over a piece of land because of the easy availability of land in the old days, is by clearing a portion of an unoccupied territory. Not only was this routine practiced every so many years to allow the soil to lay fallow, but clearings were also abandoned and new ones opened in times of *tasa* or bad luck, say, death in the family. This also explains, says Dalina Guisan, why Bla-an houses are not clustered into communities. Their houses are located beside their alnigo or clearing.¹⁸

A fifth way is through inheritance, an accepted custom among the Bla-ans, as pointed out earlier. Immediate living relatives are automatic heirs to the lands of deceased elders or ancestors. The concept of ancestral domain is rooted here, the continuity of ownership handed down from generation to generation without interruption. This same element of continuity of ownership was the essence of the *dyandi* (peace agreement) between Datu Mangge and Cesar Ureta, and Manduon Dok and also Cesar Ureta (See part 6. Conflict Resolution: *Dyandi*, Balnangol, Asha, and Sfarak). Its ultimate objective was to put a stop to the flow of control over lands from Bla-an hands to the Bisayans.¹⁹

Evidence of Open, Continuous, Exclusive and Notorious Occupancy

Under Philippine laws, when an inquiry is made on the legitimacy of one's claim over a piece of land, one is normally asked how long he has exercised OCEN over the property. Translated into the specific case of the Danlag Bla-ans, the question will be: Do the Bla-ans of Danlag have proof of OCEN or Open, Continuous, Exclusive and Notorious occupancy?

Or in simpler terms, how long have they lived here? Where exactly is this domain that they are talking about? Have there been other claimants to the land aside from themselves?

Redefining the Concept of Occupancy

There is a need to define in Bla-an terms what is meant by the word occupancy. In the sense of the Torrens system within which land ownership in the Philippines has been patterned, occupation is defined within very accurate measurements and terms of reference. However, among the Bla-ans, as with practically all other indigenous cultural communities, it really means continuous and exclusive jurisdiction over a certain domain. It is important to, firstly, determine the peripheral boundaries of this domain. This is "the *banwu*".

A *banwu* is a community. It is not only people, it also includes their alnigo (clearings), the *gunlok* (hunting grounds), the *bulol* (the mountains), the *e-el* (the rivers), and the sacred places, and other geographic and human features. Burial grounds are part of the latter. It has territorial boundaries.²⁰

Danlag Banwu's Traditional Boundaries

For the purposes of the application for the Certificate of Ancestral Domain Claim

(CADC), the territorial boundaries of Danlag Bong Banwu have recently been delineated.

The boundary survey between Danlag and Pula Bato started at Bulol Lang, then it proceeded up to Bulol Fungol Lang. From there it followed the ridge to Bulol Lam Lus, then from there went in a straight line to Bulol Kamfe Kilet. Another line was drawn between Bulol Fungol Lang and Bulol Law which connects to Bulol Lang. The next target point was Bulol Lam Kwa. From there the participants deliberated on how to get around the lands privately owned by Bisayan settlers. The last stage of the survey was from Bulol Gulamwag to Bulol Bong Alwa-an, then from there to Bulol Lam Knireng, Bulol Lam Tamles, Bulol Bato, Campo Castro, then Bulol Lango. Bulol Bong Alwa-an serves as a tri-boundary for Danlag, Lamalis and Salna-ong.²¹

What was the basis for this delineation? Who took part in the decision-making? It is important to define the process. In the account of the Bla-an interpreter who took active part in the boundary survey, he said:

"When we surveyed the boundaries of Shanken and Danlag, or Shanken and Pula Bato, we had with us four tribal council representatives from each of the three Bong Banwus, three tribal council representatives and one laborer. We also had witnesses. All of these people participated in the establishment of the pegs or boundary markers. Then these were recorded through the Global Positioning System (GPS). The interpreter and the GPS operator merely recorded the decisions and never took part in the process. In due time concrete monuments will take the place of the wooden pegs."²²

The basic framework of the tribal council representatives in determining their territorial boundaries were the acknowledged traditionally named border markers of the past, as handed down from their ancestors. At the same time, important consideration was given to the land claims of the principal families in each Bong Banwu. So, there exist, for instance, the Tokaydo, Salibet and Masalyo families in Danlag; the Sauuhay family in Shanken, the Malid family in Salna-ong, and the Dnk, Tokaydo and Manduon families in Pula Bato. Mountains, ridges and rivers are very significant territorial boundary markers.²³

Departure from Tradition, Reconciliation with Present Realities

Some departure from traditional territorial boundaries has been made in consideration of conflicts with present realities. At least three prominent cases have emerged so far. First, it did not seem right, for instance, to include within the traditional boundaries lands sold by Bla-ans to Bisayans. Second, some lands which had been mortgaged (a loose translation of the Bisayan *prenda* or Bla-an *sawda*) have not been redeemed. Finally, there is the unique case of Lawon Tokaydo who used to live in Pula Bato but is now a resident of Danlag as a result of his marriage with someone from Danlag. He wants his share of the Tokaydo traditional land in Pula Bato included in the Danlag CADC claim.²⁴

But how were the traditional territorial boundary markers determined? This is discussed in the next section. This has added significance if we associate it with the genealogy of at least the major families or those which have lived continuously from generation to generation in Danlag.

Genealogy as a Time Marker

The eight generations established in the genealogical charts of the Tokaydo, Salibet and Masalyo families are the most convincing time marker. It shows that the Bla-ans of Danlag have been here without interruption for at least 240 years.

With this, occupancy since time immemorial is now concretely defined as two hundred and forty years.

Part 4

Bla-an Identification with Their Physical Environment

What are the traditional territorial boundary markers of the Bla-ans by which they are able to determine the boundaries of their Bong Banwu? Many of the territorial boundary markers are mountains. In some instances, there are also rivers and creeks, hunting grounds and sacred places. What this suggests is that they have clearly identified localities in their Bong Banwu many of which are boundary markers.

This section discusses sacred places, *bulol* (mountains), *gumluk* (hunting grounds), and *e-el* (rivers, creek, springs, and falls).

This section also attempts to accentuate the connections between Bla-an folklore and their territorial boundary markers. Names of places of importance in the Bong Banwu are not just names, there are detailed stories behind them. These stories tell us that occupancy of the land takes on a new meaning.

Role of Folkloric Characters

The principal characters in Bla-an folklore occupy revered niches in the psyche of the Bla-ans. Alnabet is the Dwata who created the Bla-ans and the other neighboring ethnic groups, the Tabali (T'holi), Ubo (Manobo), Alnawen (Magundanao Muslim), Teduray, Klagan, Matigsalug, Mandaya. It was he who created the earth and the heavens.

The character of La Sagum may vary from one version of the creation story to another, but the Bla-an associations of her with certain places of importance in the Bla-an world are constant. Their roles appear in the stories associated with the *bulol*, the *gumluk*, the *e-el*, and other sacred places. There were also the characters Akul and Almogut.

Sacred Places

There are three kinds of sacred places in Bla-an culture — *nafe* or that which is respected; *dansu-an* or that where sacrifice is offered; and *dansu-an bulol* or a mountain where a ritual is performed.²⁵

Bulol Sol-itan is one good example of a *nafe*. It is the mountain where Bla-ans, even from far away places, get their whetstone. Before one does this, one makes an offering at the mountain side. First, one constructs a *sabak*, a bamboo pole where the top end is woven into some kind of a repository or the place upon which will be placed all the offerings. Offerings may vary, a *kiling-kiling* or a small bell, a *tlayong*, or a *sgulong*, or a *singsing*

(ring), a little food, or also a little money. One could also offer a chicken. The offerings are usually left behind. When the offering is made, these lines are recited: "Be not surprised that all people look for you. You are our life when we open our clearings."⁵⁹

Bulol Flabak is another example of a uafe, and is said to be inhabited by a busaw (a supernatural being which among the Bla-ans plays the dual role of guardian and punisher; no clear English equivalent). When one makes an offering, one recites these words: "Be not surprised at our frequent appearance at your place. Be not surprised because you are the mountain of our ancestors."⁶⁰

Bulol Klurang is a known habitat of the busaw, so is Bulol Sufe and Bulol Kleb. Bulol Kleb is also a known hunting ground and Bla-ans make an offering before they enter the forest to catch birds, including, surprisingly, the *almugan* (the omen pigeon), but they do not construct a *sahak* anymore, they just drop some coins into a hole there.⁶¹

Bulol Lamius, in Pula Bato, is where Salibey (a.k.a. Timbey), sister of Gamdulau and Manggon, was supposed to have been brought by the busaw and then pushed over the cliff. Her image is believed to have been clearly etched on the stone wall of the cliff. This is also accepted by the Bla-ans of Darlag.⁶²

It is part of Bla-an folklore that Akul purposely put an *almugan* at Bulol Atdo Almugan to warn all concerned about whether or not they should proceed with their intended activity or travel. An *almugan* sound described to be *shnen* was one sure sign not to proceed. If the sound came from any part of either left or right side in front or at the back, it was another sure indication not to proceed even if this was the act of wearing one's clothes.⁶³

But when does one proceed? When the bird does not make a sound, or makes its normal sound not described as *shnen*. It is also appropriate to proceed if one is well on his way already, say, in a journey.⁶⁴

Other mountains known to be sacred include Bulol Lam Kwa, Bulol Lam Baloy, and Bulol Lam-ahis.⁶⁵

The most sacred of all mountains are those believed to be the mountains of the ancestors, created by no less than Almahet himself. Such is the category of Bulol Afo (Mt. Apo), Arnatung (Mt. Matunum), Bulol Lumot, and Male Bato (Mt. Parker or Mt. Maughan). Arnatung and Bulol Lumot in particular are acknowledged to be the *pusod* (more literally, navel) of the earth.⁶⁶

Others also in the revered category include Sna-al Luma in T'boli land, Atdo Almugan, and Landayaw. These were also believed to have been made by Almahet before he ascended to heaven.⁶⁷

Salel and Blatik were Bla-an ancestors famous for their industry. When they ascended into heaven, they left behind their whetstones at Bulol Sol-ibar. Blatik had become the Blatik Fali, the heavenly star that marks the correct time for planting.⁶⁸

Bulol (Mountains)

During the study, the Bla-an respondents of Darlag had no difficulty enumerating the names of the different mountains within their Bong Banwa: Bulol Arngo-u, Bulol Amyasung, Bulol Atmurok, Bulol Bantung, Male Bato, Bulol Batu (shared with Salna-ong), Bulol Bong Alwa-an (shared with Salna-ong), Bulol Bong Antem, Bulol Ike, Bulol Kamfe Kilet (shared with Pula Bato), Bulol Kleb (shared with Sbanken), Bulol Klurang, Bulol Kumbag, Bulol

Lahak, Bulok Lam Kwa, Bulol Lam Lus (shared with Pula Bato), Bulol Lam Malbong, Bulol Lam Nibung, Bulol Landayao, Bulol Lang (shared with Pula Bato), Bulol Lumot, Bulol Mala, and Bulol Safang.⁶⁶

Gumlok or Gume-uten (Hunting Grounds)

The known hunting grounds of the Bla-ans of Danlag and these are also shared with the Bla-ans of Pula Bato are: Bong Alwa-an, Lahak, Tukay Safang, Lam Tamles, Bong Antem, Kamfe Kilet, Flabak, Tukay Antem, Atdo Almugan, and Fatal Sali. Others are Ulo Fikong, Miasong, Asfang, Angu-o, Lam Malbang, Kambu and Lam Kwa. Also included here are the rivers where they catch their fish: Ba Taitan, Ba Dalil, Ba Fikong, Ba Bukay, and other minor streams.⁶⁷

Following are some stories on the gumlok that go with the names.⁶⁸

Tukay Antem is the mountain that is smaller than Bong Antem, and the portion that shows the appearance of having been burnt is also smaller. The reason for the burning was because this was necessary to drive the wild pigs towards the desired location where they could easily be cornered.⁶⁹

Bantung is the name of the species of bamboo that is used for walls of houses.⁷⁰

Kambo refers to the spring whose water bubbles. Kambo describes the bubbles of the water.⁷¹

Asfang is the mountain where the Bla-ans place their traps like balatik for the wild boar.⁷²

Miasong is where the Bla-ans used to pound their first rice harvest. The pounding ceremony was a feast actually, when the musical pounding was accompanied by dancing.⁷³

Lam Kwa is this place had plenty of kwa, a kind of vine.⁷⁴

Bong E-et was both river and hunting ground.⁷⁵

Saket means burnt. It is the story of eight households in the forest in Pula Bato that were burned and the people inside were never buried.⁷⁶

E-el (Rivers, Creeks, Springs, Waterfalls)

The rivers in Danlag are not so many but each has a story to tell.⁷⁷

Bukay is believed named by La Sagum herself before she ascended into heaven. She was supposed to have washed her lanabu, a tube-like garment, that was tinted with white.⁷⁸

Fitem means the stone is black. La Sagum is believed to have washed her woven black langganay (skirt) here.⁷⁹

Bila is the name given by La Sagum to this river because its banks grew bila in abundance. Bila belongs to the family of yam, has broad leaves and is known as badyang among the Bisayans.⁸⁰

Gumtal Lagan is also a name given by La Sagum to this river which used to have white honey bees. La Sagum got her honey from here before she ascended to heaven.⁸¹

Almeg. Bla-ans gave this name themselves in reference to the *lameg* (rice wrapped and cooked in banana leaves) made from corn and *pilit* (sticky rice).⁸²

La Buga is so named because only buga is the species of tree that grows along this river in Taltuk.⁸³

Lumet is also so named because along the banks grow the lumet tree, gimet in Bisaya which has round fruits the birds like so much.⁵¹

Mlelel E-el is another name of a river found in Campo Tres given by La Sagum. It was here that she washed her *klutay laflam*, a yellow clothing.⁵²

Flawan is so called because it is here that frogs or *danfak* assemble.⁵³

E-el Amgu-o has plenty of pine trees along its banks.⁵⁴

Altayan river [See Fig. 9] is named after its counterpart, Eliayan, in Marbel. It joins with Pula Bato, Ba Bukay, and Fitem rivers.⁵⁵

Bong E-et is so named because during the flowering season of the Alwa-an (mahogany) so many e-et (no clear English equivalent) make their appearance which become homes for the honey bees. Also, this was where the Bla-ans would await birds that alight for a drink.⁵⁶

Alba Tuna is so called because in times of heavy downpour, the banks would always erode. It is also called Nabol.⁵⁷

E-el Takul is named because along its banks were plenty of takul, the tree whose sap is used by the Bla-ans to make gum for their bird traps.⁵⁸

S'bang Fna-it, the river that had plenty of fainan, a local variety of fresh water fish.⁵⁹

E-el Nama because its banks had trees whose fruits were used for nama (betel nut chewing).⁶⁰

Fikong means waterfalls. Fikong has plenty of waterfalls.⁶¹

Lam Knireng grew knireng trees in abundance along its banks just like Bulol Knireng. It joins with E-el Fitem.⁶²

Blangas is rambutan fruit tree. Its banks had plenty of this, but they are gone now.⁶³

Implications upon the Concept of Occupancy

The names of sacred places, mountains, hunting grounds, rivers, creeks and waterfalls and the stories that go with them, reveal an intimacy between the Bla-an inhabitants of the place and their physical environment.

These places have also acquired a depth of significance in their folklore, something that does not normally happen as a result of brief occupancy. It is important to stress the association of La Sagum with these stories. La Sagum was and still is a major character in creation stories of the Bla-an people.

Therefore, the Bla-an concept of occupancy of their Danlag Bong Banwa includes actual physical habitation, actual maintenance of almago (swidden farms), reverential use of sacred places, regular tapping of the resources of the Bulol (mountains) and the E-el (rivers, creeks and waterfalls).

Danlag is their world, this is their ancestral domain.

Part 5
The Role of the Bong To, Bong Fulong and Datu
in Bla-an Social Structure

The social structure among the Bla-ans in general is a simple one. In their history, it seems that they have never had any experience with centralized social organization at the local level. It has always been at the Banwu or Bong Banwu level, a community composed basically of close relations, either by blood or by marriage, not much different from the barangays of old. And each Bong Banwu was autonomous.

A Glimpse at History

When Fay Cooper-Cole did his research among the Bla-ans of Davao early in the first decade of the twentieth century, it was this banwu phenomenon that he saw among the Bla-ans of what is now Davao del Sur. He published his findings in his pioneering work entitled *The Wild Tribes of the Davao District* in 1913. He said in part then:

There seems never to have been a time when this tribe was organized under a single leader as was the case with the Bagobo. Each district is so isolated from the others and the population so scattering that any such development has been barred, and hence the people of each river valley or highland plain have their local ruler.⁹⁷

Leadership in Danlag

In Danlag, the acknowledged leader is the *Bong To*, or the *Bong Fulong*. He can also be *Datu* or *Bong Lebe*. There is no hierarchy. From what we have been informed, the situation is essentially the same in the other Bong Banwus of Bong Mal, Salna-ong, S'bangken, and Pula Bato.

When the Bla-an community in old Danlag started, it was definitely led by Datu Mangge. The one in Talfuk was headed by Salibet. There was no complex web of social structure, just the leader and the people. But if Danlag was given as a gift to Mangge by his father-in-law, this means that his father-in-law was already exercising some jurisdiction over the area. Danlag was shared hunting ground for what would become the Pula Bato and Danlag Bla-an communities.

Bong To, Bong Fulong or Datu

Lawon says the acknowledged leader of the Bong Banwu is the Bong To (big man) or the Bong Fulong (big knowledgeable leader). The two are interchangeable. Datu (wealthy), however, is distinguished from Bong To or Bong Fulong, in that the Datu need not be a Bong To or a Bong Fulong. But if one is Bong To he is usually also a Bong Fulong and a Datu.⁹⁸

Key Role in Settlement of Conflicts

Lawon further narrates that one key role of the Bong To or Bong Fulong was the settlement of conflicts. As such it is a vital part of his obligation as Bong To or Bong Fulong to provide the necessary goods required for settlement of conflict.

An aggrieved party usually makes certain demands. Take Datu Mangge, for instance, he had plenty of kalyak (movable properties). But in a situation where the demand of an aggrieved party is not available from his properties, it is his obligation as Bong Fulong/Bong To/Datu to find ways and means to procure what is demanded.¹¹⁹

Bong To in Five Bong Banwas

To put Danlag in perspective, it is important to examine who has been the Bong To/Bong Fulong/Datu in the five Bong Banwas of Danlag, Salmaung, Bong Mal, S'bangken and Pula Bato since the Second World War. Lawon recalls that in Pula Bato, it was Mandu-on and Tokaydo (Malayon Tambun); in Danlag it was Mangge and Dalew (in Talfuk it was Dalew); in S'bangken it was Fuli, then Tamauan, son of Fuli; in Bong Mal it was Cafeon, and in Salmaung, it was Malid.¹²⁰

Before Tokaydo and Mandu-on in Pula Bato, it was Tambun. It was Bey before Mangge in Danlag. Bey and Tambun were contemporaries; Salibet, too, in Talfuk. The role of Bey in Danlag is conflicting and no clarification has been made by Lawon.¹²¹

What about the present? Is Lawon the present Bong To of Danlag? Lawon's reply was slightly evasive: "If I did not squander my kalyak, I would be a Datu now." And who is the present Bong To of Pula Bato? He is quick to say it is Cesar Mandu-on.¹²²

Tribal Council, New Phenomenon

The formal Tribal Council is a first in Bta an history, established with intervention from and accredited by the Office of the Southern Cultural Communities (OSCC). It coincided also with the Community Relations Program of Western Mining Corporation.

First to be organized by election was the Pula Bato Tribal Council, on September 26, 1995. This was followed by Danlag not long after.

Another first is the assumption into power of three women among the officials of the Danlag Tribal Council — Dalina Guisan Nena Guisan, and Cristina Tokaydo, Tribal Chieftain and Vice Tribal Chieftain, and Secretary, respectively.¹²³

The Matter of Succession to Leadership

Who succeeds to the position of Bong Fulong? "It is not elective," said Sumangay and Faliay. "Basically," they added, "it is the person's desire, a personal choice, depending on his ability to imitate the good qualities of a Bong Fulong."¹²⁴

But does one's father have to be a Fulong for one to succeed to the position? They said: "It really depends. If you can imitate your father, okay. Otherwise, no. It does not follow."¹²⁵

Qualities of a Bong Fulong

Of her father, Dalina said: "My father Datu Mangge was Bong Fulong. He was also Bong Lebe but he was not that daring."¹⁰⁶

But Lawon who took over from Datu Mangge was Bong Fulong, Datu and Bong Lebe at the same time. Bong Lebe was a warrior.¹⁰⁷ He was one good example of a leader possessing the combinations of Bong Lebe, Datu and Bong Fulong. He and Mangge were good at settling conflicts. They had sufficient kalyak which they used liberally to provide satisfaction in the settlement of conflicts; they were quick to intervene when fighting took place.¹⁰⁸

What happens when somebody is killed in the community? *Abnalas* or *males* (revenge) easily follows. But where the Fulong was quick to intervene and gives away, say a horse or goods to make up for the crime in behalf of the perpetrator, then no revenge takes place. As settler of conflicts he is also called *akmukom* (or judge).¹⁰⁹

What does Fulong mean? Knowledgeable. It means that he knows how to distinguish between what is good and what is bad. It means he is good at resolving conflicts.¹¹⁰

What about Datu? It means he is wealthy. He has plenty of kalyak or properties like kuda (horses), kalabaw (carabao), agong (gong), traditional jewelries like *knagi* (gold from which beads are hung). The wife of the Datu is called Bai, meaning also that she has plenty of kolintas (necklaces), ilayong, kiling-kiling, singkil (leglets). A Datu wears slo-an, colorful rings made from nito, a colorful local vine wound into a continuous spiral) worn in the legs. A Fulong can be a Dani and most Datus were Fulongs, too.¹¹¹

Bong Lebe

The Bong Lebe was a Bla-an warrior, respected and feared among his people. Lawon Tokaydo was a Bong Lebe in his younger days. He said he started his career when he was about 15 or 16 years old, before he was even married. He wore the distinctive protective garment of the Bong Lebe called *anit*. This is the thick woven blouse specially woven for him by women. The front are kept together with a combination of abaca strings and buttons made from bago, a kind of tree in the forest. The sleeves reach down to the elbows. To protect his head, he also wears a cloak of the same material. His clothes underneath the *anit* are usually black to make him near invisible at night. His equipments included the *fais* (Bla-an sword), the *agas* (spear) and the *klung* (a four-foot shield). These were the distinctive get up of a Bong Lebe in those days.¹¹²

After he killed his 42nd and 43rd victims, his uncle and cousin, he surrendered to the government authorities and was imprisoned for 12 years (1957-1969) in Iwahig Penal Colony in Palawan. He served as Bong Fulong of Danlag after his release; he also ceased to be Bong Lebe.¹¹³

Famous Bong Lebe among the Bla-ans

In Bla-an history, several names stood out as outstanding Bong Lebe. The story goes back a long way. According to Sumangay, the first known Bong Lebe were Sumali, Bong Akul, Bong Saliwok, Bong Masalyo, Bong Daleg and Dumalaw Lasib. Sumali was from Bong Mal; Akul lived in Kalon Tlangan, now part of Barrio Siete of Marbel, Koronadal,

South Cotabato. Bong Masalyo was from Gusadlo in Bong Alwa-an and the grandfather of Sumangay. Daleg and Dumalaw were from Datal Fitak. They were contemporaries.¹⁴

In Pula Bato, the famous names were those of Karek, Salibet, Tokaydo (Malayon Tambon), Mangge, Lawon and Lutang. A younger brother of Lawon, Lutang was the last of the Bong Lebe.¹⁵

Akul, Bong Saliwak and Masalyo died shortly after the Second World War. Karek died in the time of President Garcia (1957-61), followed by Sumali and Taban of Bulol Mala in the time of President Macapagal (1961-65). Mangge of Danlag, Cafeon of Bong Mal and Lanwangay died in the time of President Marcos (1965-86). Tokaydo and Lutang passed away in the time of President Aquino (1987-92). Bong Senaren, brother-in-law of Taban, was from Kalotmane or what is Liberty today. After him, there was no more Bong Lebe in Liberty.¹⁶

Some Stories about Bong Lebe

Bong Masalyo who lived in Bong Alwa-an or more specifically in Gusadlo, was noted as *akmura ulo*, meaning whenever he killed someone, he would bring the heads of his victim home and hang them on his fence.

Daleg of Datal Fitak, Matan-aw, Davao del Sur, was armed only with a fais.

Taban of Bulol Mala, also known as Busaw Anneng, acquired his alias because during fights with his enemies his body and eyes would reportedly fire up like a busaw. He was also very agile and brave. He lost one eye when he was hit by Farang with an arrow. He was the brother-in-law of Lawon Tokaydo and Gansing Guisau.

Only one Bong Lebe was known to possess special abilities. Dumalaw Lasib of Datal Fitak in Matan-aw, now a municipality of Davao del Sur, was reported to have the power of invisibility. Also, he could not be hit if shot. He was also known to have fought a busaw. He was the uncle of Mangge and an uncle of Dalina Guison. Dumalaw's contemporary was Daleg. They are both from Datal Fitak. Dumalaw is still alive today and reportedly refuses to allow outsiders to enter into his territory.

But among the Bong Lebe, only Lutang was able to own a 12-gauge shotgun, and later, when he became a CHDF during martial law days, he also acquired a Garand rifle.

Views from a Bong Lebe

Lawon claimed that in his time he was acknowledged Bong Lebe in Pula Bato and as far as Liberty and Lam Fitak. But when he became Bong Fulong in Danlag, he stopped being Bong Lebe.¹⁷

Asked how it felt to be a Bong Lebe, he said: "You cannot live with the others. People are afraid of you. You stay in the forest, away from people, constantly alert."¹⁸

What about relatives? Even they were suspect, he said. They might bring soldiers with them and have you arrested.¹⁹

Part 6
Conflict Resolution:
Dyandi, Balnangol, Ashak, And Sfakat

This section discusses the various forms of conflict resolution among the Bla-ans. Even if some cases did not happen within the confines of Danlag, they are included here because of their universal application among the Bla-ans. The various forms of conflict resolution are *Dyandi*, *Balnangol*, *Ashak* and *Sfakat*.

Essence of Dyandi

There are three forms of dyandi narrated here: (a) the peace accord entered into after a bloody conflict; (b) the pact intended to prevent conflict; and (c) the agreement to maintain fraternal relations.

These are described as systems of conflict resolution because the immediate end is to resolve conflict if there is one, or to prevent one if one is foreseen, and the ultimate goal is to maintain fraternal relations.

The parties in the dyandi become blood brothers. These include the direct participants and their respective relatives. They call each other dyandi. This is regarded as the highest form of reconciliation because the parties become blood relatives and the effect is meant to be permanent.

Balnangol

Balnangol is a minor dyandi between a man and a woman who are not relatives. For example, if a man killed the brother of a woman, part of the reconciliation ceremony is for the man-killer who wishes to make up for the killing, to cook food for and offer the same to the woman. His reason is because he has killed her brother and would like to make up for it. This was also his assurance to the hasaw that he means well. If the woman accepts, which she usually does, then they become blood relatives.¹²²

Sfakat

Sfakat means friend. This ceremony is designed to restore broken relationships and preserve good relationships between men or between women among the Bla-ans who are not relatives. It can also be resorted to in order to enter into a promise, even without any conflict, to maintain good relationships. In a sense this is also a minor form of dyandi. It calls for an intermediary or a facilitator who would bring the two parties together. The Boug Fulong may also be involved but only for the purpose of giving advise to the participants. Since it is their personal choice to make things well between them, the act of coming together also signifies their willingness to admit their faults and accept their responsibility in the conflict. The unique and closing portion of the agreement is the *stolok sa-on* or the exchange of clothing in public between the two parties. In the presence of all, the parties would take off their clothing and exchange them and put them on. To avoid public embar-

rasment, participants would usually have another layer of clothes underneath.¹²¹

While there is an exchange of goods in dyandi, the same is not demanded here because it is the choice of both parties to resolve their differences. Neither is it necessary to invoke the *husaw*. The conflict is minor and is only between the two of them and does not involve the whole community. Only the exchange of clothing is required which signifies reconciliation and acceptance of one another.¹²²

Ashak

Ashak is conflict settlement only among relatives or among members of a family or a clan. The ashak is the act of approaching the relative with whom one is in conflict for the purpose of asking forgiveness and seeking reconciliation. The person doing the act is called an *amyak*.¹²³

The amyak would usually not announce when he would pay the other party a visit. He would bring with him some small items, food or a token, to symbolize his intentions. If the token is accepted and reciprocated, and they usually are, then that is the beginning of a new stage of fraternal relationship. Even a token is not required. What is important is the act of reaching out. Just as there is no need for a facilitator, neither is it necessary to have witnesses.¹²⁴

The ashak is significant in Bla-an society because Bla-ans have close family ties and conflicts, no matter how minor, could be sources of pain for all concerned. Which is why every successful reconciliation is a joyous occasion for the whole clan.¹²⁵

Cases of Dyandi

What follows are six cases of dyandi. Each has its own characteristic features. Two cases are Bla-an to Bla-an, two are Bla-an to Bisaya, and two with the Muslim. There are no examples of Dyandi with other ethnic groups.

They are presented here case by case.

*Case No. 1. Dyandi: Bong Fulong with Bong Fulong.*¹²⁶

The parties were Lawon Tokaydo of Danlag and Turon Cafeon of Bong Mal. Outil Dumangin from Albagan, part of Lampitak, was the *sandyandi*, or the intermediary. The dyandi site was Pula Bato, Cesar Ureta, a Bisayan resident of Pula Bato, helped make the occasion congenial by butchering a pig and preparing plenty of food.

The story was that Turon's people ambushed with guns some people of Lawon who were gathering *lu-as* (rattan) in Lam'lamles at Campo 4, traditionally known as Ulo Bukay. Lawon said he was not personally involved. Neither was Turon. So, when they met, they both expressed their desire to have a dyandi. The dyandi happened in President Marcos' time.

The motive for the ambush was not clear. Apparently it was done to prove manhood and bravery. The perpetrators were Bong Lebe or warners.

Three were killed on each side. It was Turon's group that did it first.

What about compensation? Turon's group gave one *kuda* (horse), and Lawon's pro-

vided one *kalabew* (carabao). Were the prices of *kalabew* and *kuda* the same? Lawon said the *kalabew* was more expensive, so they added three agongs the make the values equal.

During the ritual, Turon said invocation to the Busaw was: "If my blood brother Turon would violate the Dyandi, O Busaw of Amtutung, Busaw of Afo, if Turon will go to my brother-in-law (Ontik Dumangin) to kill him, let him (Ontik) not be there, let him (Turon) die along the way."

Why Amtutung and Afo? Amtutung is where the most terrifying Busaw lives. Afo provides the balance for Amtutung. Another Busaw also inhabits Bulol Afo. The Busaw has no clear equivalent in English but it is believed to be a supernatural being that has an all-encompassing presence in the Bla-an belief system. It is perceived as both guardian and punisher. It is called upon during the dyandi to stand witness to an oath, and to sanction any violation of such oath.

Lawon's invocation: *I call on the Busaw of Amtutung and Afo, if Turon Cafeon violates the terms of Dyandi, to eat his heart.*

A piece of fresh lu-as and a piece of rock were used during the ritual. Both parties would sit on either end of the lu-as. At a certain point during the ritual, each party would cut his end of the lu-as with one blow, saying that if he violated the Dyandi, let his person be cut in the same way. With respect to the piece of rock, the words recited were somewhat, as follows: "O powerful rock, if _ violates his words, I shall lay you on top of his grave."

After the Dyandi, the matter was considered settled, both sides are equally satisfied. No more killings happened. As a matter of custom, one does no ill to one's Dyandi. There is also the fear of the sanctions of the Busaw.

*Case No. 2. Dyandi: Bla-an with Bla-an.*¹²⁷

There is the dyandi between Ontik Dumangin and Lafayan. Their conflict involved the death of several people. Using powerful guns like Armalite and Garand rifles, both sides killed several people in a number of gunbattles in Amti-o, part of Malandag in the town of Malungon. This event also happened during the period of martial law.

When they had their dyandi, they also called on the Busaw of Amtutung and the Busaw of Bulol Afo. And for compensation they gave each other *kalabew* and other items.

Both parties sat on the rock. While they feet were joined together, the both recited: "O Busaw, watch us. You will surely see when we violate the dyandi. When this happens I shall put this lu-as into his coffin when he dies."

What do they do with the lu-as? It is two arms length, and about the size of a thumb. It is placed between them, each sat on either end. Towards the end of the ritual, each would cut with one stroke about six inches of his end of the lu-as, and then they would recite together: "I shall slice his life in this manner should he violate our dyandi."

A variation in the words: "The Busaw shall slice his life the way I slice this lu-as."

*Case No. 3. Dyandi: Bla-an with the Bisaya.*¹²⁸

The participants in this case were Lawon Tokaydo and Cesar Ureta, then, Mandu-oo Dok and Cesar Ureta, respectively, in Pula Bato.

According to Lawon, in those days, Ureta was acquiring lands from the Bla-ans. "From

me," he said, "he got an eight-hectare lot. It was Ureta who sought to have a dyandi with us, Mandu-on and myself, in two separate ceremonies."

The purpose of the dyandi was to put a stop to Bisayans taking lands away from the Bla-ans.

Lawon described the procedure: "We sat on the rock. I cut my end of the lu-as and I recited this oath: 'O Busaw of Ardufung, O Busaw of Afo, if he repeats what he has done, I shall slice his soul the way I cut this lu-as.'" He sliced the lu-as right at the middle.

Ureta did not cut his end of the lu-as; he was not expected to. Lawon's explanation was: "It was us who wanted him to stop what he was doing. We considered this as an act that violated our rights. We the Bla-ans have done nothing wrong against him."

Things went right since that dyandi.

Case No. 4. Dyandi: Bla-an with Muslim.¹²⁹

Datu Mangge had a dyandi with Datu Samad of Columbio because Datu Samad trespassed into the land of Datu Mangge. This happened in the time of President Marcos.

Case No. 5. Another Dyandi with the Muslim.¹³⁰

This was the story of Faliay Mayo. Her father, Almakay Mayo, had dyandi with an Alhawan (Maguindanao Muslim) Datu Bakungey and Tinga in Lam Lutay (in Kolon Bla-an a.k.a. Columbio). Datu Bakungey had married a Bla-an, Diola, the sister of her father. Datu Bakungey is from Tada-an in Kolon Biao and Tinga was their in-law. The wives of Tinga were Deng, Bagong and Sayam. The three of them were nieces of her father.

Why did the Bla-ans have a dyandi with the Alhawan? Faliay said that it was because of their intermarriages with the Alhawan. When she was still young, there were a number of Bla-an men who married Alhawan women. There were no conflicts. Bla-ans had no problem living among the Alhawan.

Her father had plenty of horses. Bakungey gave him horses, several bo-os (betel nut container), kalabaw and others. Her father in turn gave him rice, horses, and others.

Sumangay Landayong interrupted and added that Bakungey had dyandi so that they (the Alhawan) could go to the place of the Bla-ans, and so that they would feel safe going to the mountains among the Bla-ans.

Case No. 6. Dyandi: Datu Mangge with the Bisaya.¹³¹

Cesar Ureta allegedly continued to acquire more lands from the Bla-ans. There was a 20-hectare land in old Danlag which he bought for 300.00 pesos from Mandu-on Dok. Some Bla-ans felt that they still had a claim over the land because of the small amount given for it and were not exactly quiet about it.

Feeling more insecure because of the atmosphere of discontent among the Bla-ans, it was Ureta himself who sought the dyandi to settle the issue. After the dyandi, the matter was considered closed. But there was an agreement that he, Ureta, would not touch any other Bla-an land.

Lawon and Sumangay viewed the Dyandi as an opportunity to resolve a brewing con-

flict with Ureta. Why the Bla-ans agreed to do it with Ureta was because he was perceived as powerful, brave and wealthy. The dyandi calls upon the Busaw of Amtutung and Afo to stand witness and requires an exchange of goods which Ureta could afford.

Dyandi and Marriage

Aside from the spirit of brotherhood and peace with one's dyandi, the agreement also has its fringe benefits especially to those who wish to marry their dyandi. The *sunggod* or bride price can be lessened in consideration of the dyandi.¹³²

Faliay cites also the case of Cesar Ureta who, she said, wanted to marry Kabi-ay, the sister-in-law of Tari Lasib in Lam-alis. Ureta wanted to be able to travel to Lam-alis in peace but he was not sure of his safety. So, he had a dyandi with Tari Lasib. Now that they were blood brothers, Tari accepted him and Ureta was able to marry Kabi-ay.¹³³

Part 7

Marriage, Divorce, Land Lost, Land Gained

The marriage institution among the Bla-ans is basically a parental transaction. The sons and daughters who are the subject of transaction, have no choice but to obey their parents. Marriage proposals normally emanate from the parents of the groom.

Marriage the Normal Way

There are three stages followed in the normal search for a marriage partner. First, the parents of the groom look for a prospective bride. There is no clear age range here. Sometimes, children in their fetal state are already the subject of a marriage proposal, subject to fulfillment depending on whether the children would be of the opposite sex. The transaction becomes automatically nullified if they are of the same sex.¹³⁴

Should they be of the opposite sex, a time will come when one family will inquire about the *tanda* or sign that would tell whether the arrangement was to be pursued or not. The *tanda* signals the start of the giving of the *sunggod* or bride price. While the children are still small, they would have this *sluluk-eban* or the exchange of *malong* (tube-like garment), which symbolize the unification of the two children.¹³⁵

As soon as the children have grown, the second stage of the marriage arrangement called *alminti* begins. At this point the price of the desired *sunggod* would be revealed, and they may in fact already begin the actual exchange.¹³⁶

Next to the *alminti* is the third stage, the *mao mulo* or the marriage proper. Here the real exchanges of the *sunggod* begin. Whatever is demanded by the bride's party is complied with by the groom's party. The more expensive *sunggod* were on top of the list like kalabew (carabaos), kuda (horses), and expensive kalyak (movable properties). The bride's party also gives but this is usually less in value than the groom's. The principle was for them to receive more and give less.¹³⁷

In times when some *sunggod* has not been delivered yet, an agreement would be reached

on the specific date. This setting of the date is called *nikat-butang*. If no *sunggod* arrives on the given date, another *kasfala* process begins. The whole process of providing, and giving and receiving *sunggod* is called *kasfala*.¹³¹

In instances when a family cannot afford to deliver, the *Datu* or *Bong Fulong's* assistance is solicited or he himself would voluntarily intervene, either by providing the material requirements or by facilitating the bargaining process. But it is all up to the *Bong Fulong*.¹³²

During the formal marriage ceremony, the bride wears a *tabi* or *malong*, the *sudsud* (comb), and so on. The groom in turn wraps a *tubaw* (headpiece) on his head, hangs a *fais* (bladed weapon) on his waist, puts on a pair of pants made of *tabi* or *tinatak*, and hangs a *malong* on his shoulders.¹³³

Mafas - Marriage the Unusual Way

In instances when the man is so desirous of a woman, he will force his way to obtain her. *Mafas* is one such way. He would touch the woman, say, on the breast, with the intent to embarrass her in public so that she would not refuse to marry him during the conflict settlement. Refusal to marry on the part of the girl is a rare occurrence in *Bla-an* custom.¹³⁴

The man would naturally be brought to the *Bong Fulong*, and, pleading guilty, meted the appropriate fines. The fines would become part of the *sunggod* if the girl agrees to marry him. If not, then they are collected by the aggrieved party.¹³⁵

There is additional problem when the woman is married, it is either agreed or it becomes a bloodbath. The husband sees to that.¹³⁶

Among the *Bla-ans* there what is called *afgat*, when the husband issues a challenge to the transgressor. The challenge is for the latter to hide in the forest for a given period. If he will not be found, then he can have the woman. If he is found, there would be a fight and the victor will have the woman. If the transgressor wins, he will have the woman and be exempted from the fine.¹³⁷

Astangal or Elopement

Instances of *astangal* usually involve married individuals, either one or both of them. The situation becomes more complex if both of them are married. If the woman is married, there is the issue of whether her *sunggod* would be returned to her husband. If this is not returned, then fighting ensues.¹³⁸

Proper settlement involves with whom the children will live. Usually, if it was the girl who eloped, she would get the boys as a form of punishment, the projection being that in the future she and her new partner will have to pay for the *sunggod* of the boys. The abandoned husband will get the girls because he is bound to gain in the future when the girls would be receiving their own *sunggod* at their own marriages.¹³⁹

Should there be any bloodbath, then the *Bong Fulong* is brought in and a *dyandi* follows.

Tubed Lagi: Marriage and Milo

It is part of *Bla-an adat* or customary law to involve relatives in the securing of *sunggod*.

But the *tubed lagi* seems to be typically Bla-an. Finding an equivalent in English is next to impossible. But the practice is this way. In the words of Lawon Tokaydo, if his only son wishes to marry, he (the father) could go to the relatives of his wife in other places and inform them of the forthcoming marriage of his son, and that he needs their assistance and announce that he would be doing the *milo*. The responsibility to provide the *sunggod* is now neatly shifted to the family of his wife. And because he was doing the *milo*, he would not leave until his demands are satisfied.¹⁴⁷

Divorce

Divorce among the Bla-ans is an accepted reality and is appropriately provided for in customary law. This can be a voluntary decision on the part of the married couple. In this case, no *sunggod* is returned. Where the wife leaves the husband, she has to return his *sunggod*. Where the wife is abducted by another man, then one form of settlement is for that other man to repay the husband's *sunggod*.¹⁴⁸

The guiding principle for the return of the *sunggod* is the issue of who is at fault. If the *sunggod* is not returned, then some killing is likely to happen. The consideration of the *sunggod* is fundamental in determining who should get what children. This is why it is considered a reward if the girls are given to the father; he takes their *sunggod* when it is their turn to get married. If the husband is at fault, not only will the wife demand for additional *sunggod*, but she will also get the girls. This can also be a device to discourage the husband from leaving, if the wife does not want to separate from the husband.¹⁴⁹

Sunggod and Loss of Bla-an Lands

Bla-ans in Dantag claim that, in times of economic difficulties, they would mortgage (*sanda*) their lands at a low price to the Bisaya so that they would have money for the *sunggod*. And since they could not redeem the mortgage, they would normally lose their lands by default. How explain this development?¹⁵⁰

In the beginning, they said, they were not selling their lands to the Bisaya, but with the introduction of money into their lives came also the concept of selling or making money from selling. *Kasfala* was transacted purely on the basis of exchange of material goods. But with money, they also learned to mortgage (*sanda*) and sell their lands.¹⁵¹

The selling of land did not happen right away. At first, they pawned (*sanda*) their *kalyak* (moveable properties), then they sold them. When they ran out of *kalyak*, they pawned their *kalabew* (carabaos) and *kuda* (horses). Then when their *kalabew* and *kuda* were gone, this was when they started to dispose of their lands, either through *sanda* or sale. Economic difficulties were the common reason for *kalyak* or animal or land disposition, and part of these economic difficulties, as has been noted earlier, is when they needed money for the *sunggod*.¹⁵²

Earlier, it is noted that lands were sometimes acquired through marriage. This time, land is lost also through the *sunggod* in marriage.

Part 8 Disposal of the Dead

Traditionally, the Bla-ans have several ways of disposing of their dead. Burial in the ground, hanging the corpse up on a tree, inserting the cadaver into the trunk of a tree, abandoning the body in the house where the person died and the house itself, or just abandoning the body where the person died. In each case, there is the element of respect and/or love for the departed. There is also the fear of the evil spirits that may have brought about the death of the beloved.¹⁵³

Ways of Disposing of the Dead

Burial to the Bla-ans simply wrapping the dead in a rolled mat, binding this with lu-as or rattan, and burying it.¹⁵⁴

In instances where the bereaved have no one to help out, the dead is merely left in the house where they died and the house and body are abandoned. Letting the body alone in the house is an expression of love. Death is always associated with *tasu* or bad luck/bad spirits which is why the living must move out.¹⁵⁵

Others are merely tied several feet up a tree. This happens when somebody is killed in a running battle in the forest and there was little time to look after the dead. But in instances when there is no material time, then the body is just left where it fell.¹⁵⁶

In cases where a coffin is prepared, what they do is cut the trunk of a sizeable *kieto* tree which is preferred because of its softness, then the inside is carved out, and the body is inserted into the opening. The burial follows.¹⁵⁷

Hide and Seek with the Bong Lebe

There is also a time when the family of the deceased would take pains to conceal the corpse from the *Bong Lebe*. Snatching the cadaver and hiding it in turn is one way by which the *Bong Lebe* is able to prove his self-worth. There are stories of the bereaved and the *Bong Lebe* being engaged in a tug of war over the corpse. In such instances, the story goes, one party may just end up with a portion of the body, and then the hide and seek goes on.¹⁵⁸

Known Burial Grounds

Although the Bla-ans do not have permanent burial grounds — because they in fact bury their dead anywhere, according to the respondents — they nonetheless have known burial grounds in the Danlag-Pula Bato area. These include Bulol Sol-ihan, Bulol Lang, Bulol Kleb, Bulol Lam Lus, Bulol Lam Kale, Bulol Lansed, Bulol Klutang, Bulol Lansiman, Bulol Astang, Miasong, Tukay, Bulol Law, Bulol Lam Kwa, Bulol Gulambeng, Bulol Gulamwag, Bulol Gumangkay, and Bulol Alfiras. These are shared burial sites for Danlag and Pula Bato Bla-ans.¹⁵⁹

Amelaw: Finding Company for the Soul of the Departed

When a member of a family dies, the love ones want someone to accompany their soul to heaven. So, the direct relatives, father, brothers, or even the mother, would seek to kill another person for the purpose. Done usually by the families of a Bong Lebe or a Dato, this practice is called amelaw. But other families may do it, too. When the decision is made, the dead would not be buried until someone has been killed. The condition of the corpse is immaterial; it may be in an advance state of decomposition. What is important is that someone must accompany his soul to heaven.¹⁰⁰

Malu: Parting Wish

When death comes upon one spouse in a married couple, a ritual called malu is done. The living spouse would express his wish prior to the burial. He would put a foot on the coffin or give the coffin a light kick. If it is his wish not to marry again, for example, he would express this right there. Here is a sample of a wish: "You are dead now, you are no longer here. I step on your coffin because you have little love for me, because you have left me." The ritual is an affirmation that death signals the end of a relationship.¹⁰¹

Part 9

Bla-an Practices in Farming and Healing

Farming and healing are two distinct activities and may not be so easy to connect. But among Bla-ans, both practices reveal a single worldview that is closely associated with how they see themselves in relation to nature and its resources. These allow us to look deeper into the psyche of the Bla-ans.

Farming Practices

When one opens a new clearing, the first step in the process is called *naba*, meaning surveying the area to be cleared. At this point the person responsible will call upon the *almagan* or the omen bird to make the appropriate sound to forewarn him regarding the prospects of good or bad harvest. He also invokes the assistance of Blatik Fali to look after him and his *almigo*.¹⁰² Blatik as noted earlier was one ancestor in Bla-an folklore who ascended into heaven with Salet. It is now called Blatik Fali, the heavenly star that marks the correct time for planting. [See part 4 above.]

The Bla-ans follow their own calendar for their farming activities.

Salet is the time to clear the *almigo*.¹⁰³

Lanfang is the time for burning.¹⁰⁴

Tubeng is the time for planting.¹⁰⁵

Fungol Eadke! is the time for weeding. Since this corresponds to the rainy season, it is no longer advisable to plant.¹⁰⁶

Dangan Kanto is harvest time. Before the actual harvesting, one does the ritual of *labay abnaban*. One bundles several stalks of rice, takes some grains from the bundle and mix them with the rice that is being cooked. The Bla-an belief is that this will increase the quantity of the rice that will subsequently be cooked as well as the rice that will be harvested. No one else is allowed to touch the bundle except the owner. Something ill is certain to afflict anyone else, like becoming blind, getting sick or experiencing a bloating of the stomach.¹⁶³

The next activity after harvesting is the building of a *fol* or a rice granary in the middle of the rice field. A wheel-like contraption is installed at the posts of the fol to keep the rats from climbing up.¹⁶⁴

Kanto Lani is next. This is the time for another clearing, adjacent to the previously cultivated area as much as possible. The idea is to allow the previous lot to lay fallow. Or one may decide to move to another area further away, which implies that one has to build another house, too. Lawon cites the case of Datu Mangge who moves from Danlag to Lamalis, yet, he retains ownership of his clearing in Danlag. And he may return to it as he pleases.¹⁶⁵

Simo Dita and Simo Di Tana (Healing Practices)

The Bla-ans believe that everything in nature, every tree, every rock, every river, and so on is owned and guarded by a spirit. Thus, when a Bla-an becomes sick, say, after coming home from his almita, the conclusion is that this was the working of the spirit which owned the log that he may have sat on, or the water where he took a dip in, as the case may be.¹⁶⁶

The healing process, therefore, involves a ritual that is directed at placating or expelling the concerned spirits.¹⁶⁷

The healer is known as the *antulos* or the *abn-us*, one who possesses the power to see or perceive spirits, even the *busaw*, not otherwise perceivable by ordinary people. The *abn-us* knows how to heal, how to placate spirits or how to expel bad spirits from the sick.¹⁶⁸

There are two grades of healing rituals, the *simo dita* and the *simo di tana*. *Simo dita* is employed for ordinary illnesses. Here, two kinds of spirits are called upon for assistance, the *Lafun* and the *Lo-os Klagan*, the latter being the more powerful of the two. The ritual is conducted in the house of the sick. And the presiding healer is called *Tamlo Tagen*. Only one chicken is used in the ritual, the details of which we need not go into here.¹⁶⁹ The incantation will reveal the Bla-an view of the spirit. The call to *Lafun* which is done twice is, as follows:

"Lafun, Lafun, come and help the sick, take away his sickness, remove the bad spirit that caused the sickness. Come now, everything is prepared, the head of the chicken, the liver, the entrails, the gizzard, all the parts of the body, these have all been prepared for you."¹⁷⁰

The call to *Lo-os Klagan*, is not much different:

"Lo-os Klagan, come over here quick, come over here, everything that has been prepared for you is here now, the gizzard, every part of the chicken is here, everything. Please come and help our sick."¹⁷¹

The sick is the first to be fed. After the first mouthful, he gets the rest of the rice and

the chicken is distributed to the members of the entire household.¹⁷⁶

After the call to Lafun or Lo-os Klagan, the *pagdangay* follows. This is the act of determining with the thumb and the forefinger whether or not Lafun or Lo-os Klagan have been reached by the incantations and have come as requested.¹⁷⁷

Sinto di tana is resorted to for the more serious cases. The ritual is held on the ground, some three *alma-os* are in action and three spirits, the Lafun, the Lo-os Klagan and the Balya are called upon to assist in the healing of the sick. The latter is also known among the Koronadal Bla-an as *Smanan Nama*. The ritual requires two chickens, the putting up of two small structures, each about 1 x 1 meter, about seven to nine feet in height, and the roof is made of rattan leaves.¹⁷⁸

Smanan Nama means that the spirit does not eat rice, only *mama* (betel nuts chews), and more powerful than Lafun and Lo-os Klagan. One of the chickens is butchered and cooked and the other, the rooster, shall be kept alive and cared for. If the rooster remains healthy and active, after picking the rice placed on the head of the sick, then the sick person will get well; if the rooster shows a declining health, then the sick person will not survive.¹⁷⁹

Attachment A

Comparative Bla-an Lumad Population in Davao Del Sur, South Cotabato, Sultan Kudarat, Cotabato & Maguindanao Based On Mother Tongue, by Municipality, 1970 & 1990 Censuses

Compiled by B. R. Rodil

PROVINCE/ MUNICIPALITIES	1970	%	1990	%
South Cotabato				
Alabell			5,883	14.44
Bangu	389	1.07	2,311	3.87
Gen. Santos City	3,535	4.11	5,901	2.36
Gilau	7,188	18.97	10,071	16.68
Kiamba	222	1.03	87	0.25
Koronadal	1,486	2.73	3,484	3.22
Lake Sebu			39	0.11
Maasin	1,351	7.85	2,668	9.98
Maitau			40	0.16
Malapatan	3,545	17.73	13,484	37.22
Malungon	2,101	15.42	4,332	7.47
Norala	378	1.10	169	0.47
Polomolok	2,221	6.81	3,435	3.85

Surallah	1,445	3.16		
T'boli			2,190	6.85
Tampacan	770	7.17	1,822	7.14
Tantangan	816	5.11	563	2.14
Tupi	3,734	16.32	7,523	17.41
Davao del Sur				
Bansalan			39	0.08
Davao City			93	0.01
Digos			80	0.08
Don Marcelino			10,953	40.42
Hagonoy	28	0.12	10	0.03
Jose Abad Santos	6,368	2.15	7,568	17.01
Kiblawan	2,219	9.03	3,751	11.81
Magsaysay	1,298	6.23	3,561	9.20
Malalag	241	0.65		
Malita	4,894	10.62	7,776	9.40
Matanao	2,317	5.61	3,263	7.91
Santa Cruz			21	0.04
Santa Maria			11	0.02
Sarangani			5,563	37.11
Sulop	97	0.42	10	0.04
Sultan Kudarat				
Bagumbayan	159	0.60	11	0.03
Columbio	2,011	9.69	3,569	20.36
Kalamansig	192	1.20		
Lutayan	135	1.40	336	1.88
Tacurong			9	0.02
Cotabato				
Carmen	96			
Kabacan			51	0.10
Kidapawan			223	0.30
M'lang			672	0.98
Makilala			10	0.02
Midsayap			10	0.01
Pres. Roxas			9	
Tulunan	856	3.48	1,675	5.33
Maguindanao				
Dinaig	431	1.06		
Buluan	180	0.36		
Sultan sa Barongis	22	0.04		
Upi			9	

¹ Collective Interview. Lawon Tokaydo, Danlag Tribal Council member; Cesar Manduon, 42, Pula Bato Tribal Council member; Dalina Guisan, 26, Danlag Tribal Chieftain, and Nena Guisan, 30, Danlag Tribal Council Assistant Tribal Chieftain Danlag, April 2, 1996. They all contributed to the details of the story.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ Collective interview with Sumangay Landayon and Fahay Mayo, Danlag, April 2, 1996.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ Collective interview with Lawon Tokaydo, Fahay Mayo, Sumangay Landayong, Danlag, April 7, 1996.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ Collective interview with Kaben Masalyo, Danlag, April 4, 1996.

²² *Ibid.*

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ Collective interview with Lawon Tokaydo, Cesar Mandu-on, Lucio Tokaydo, Sumangay Landayong, and Moreno Tagwalo, Danlag, April 3, 1996. This writer was also at the last leg of the boundary survey up to the tri-boundary between Danlag, Lam-alis and Salnang.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ Collective interview with Lawon Tokaydo, Fahay Mayo, and Sumangay, Danlag, April 7, 1996.

²⁹ Collective interview with Lawon Tokaydo, Danlag Tribal Council member; Cesar Manduon, 42, Pula Bato Tribal Council member; Dalina Guisan, 26, Danlag Tribal Chieftain, and Nena Guisan, 30, Danlag Tribal Council Assistant Tribal Chieftain, Danlag, April 2, 1996. They all contributed to the details of the story. Also with Lawon Tokaydo, Danlag, May 13, 1996.

³⁰ Collective interview with Lawon Tokaydo, Danlag Tribal Council member; Cesar Manduon, 42, Pula Bato Tribal Council member; Dalina Guisan, 26, Danlag Tribal Chief-

- tain, and Nena Guisan, 30, Danlag Tribal Council Assistant Tribal Chieftain, Danlag, April 2, 1996. They all contributed to the details of the story. Also with Lawon Tokaydo, Danlag, May 13, 1996.
- ⁷ Collective interview with Lawon Tokaydo, Faltay Mayo, and Sumangay, Danlag, April 7, 1996.
- ⁸ *Ibid.*
- ⁹ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁰ *Ibid.*
- ¹¹ *Ibid.*
- ¹² Collective interview with Lawon Tokaydo, Danlag Tribal Council member; Cesar Manduon, 42, Pula Bato Tribal Council member; Dalina Guisan, 26, Danlag Tribal Chieftain, and Nena Guisan, 30, Danlag Tribal Council Assistant Tribal Chieftain, Danlag, April 2, 1996. They all contributed to the details of the story.
- ¹³ Collective interview with Lawon Tokaydo, Cesar Mandu-on, Lucio Tokaydo, Sumangay Landayong, and Moreno Tagwalo, Danlag, April 3, 1996. This writer was also at the last leg of the boundary survey up to the tri-boundary between Danlag, Lam-alis and Salnang.
- ¹⁴ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁵ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁶ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁷ Collective interview with Lawon Tokaydo, Dalina Guisan, Nena Guisan, April 2, 1996 at Danlag.
- ¹⁸ Collective interview with Lawon Tokaydo, Cesar Mandu-on, Lucio Tokaydo, Sumangay Landayong, and Moreno Tagwalo, Danlag, April 3, 1996. This writer was also at the last leg of the boundary survey up to the tri-boundary between Danlag, Lam-alis and Salnang.
- ¹⁹ Collective interview with Lawon Tokaydo, Danlag Tribal Council member; Cesar Manduon, 42, Pula Bato Tribal Council member; Dalina Guisan, 26, Danlag Tribal Chieftain, and Nena Guisan, 30, Danlag Tribal Council Assistant Tribal Chieftain, Danlag, April 2, 1996. They all contributed to the details of the story.
- ²⁰ Collective interview with Lawon Tokaydo, Cesar Mandu-on, Dalina Guisan, and Nena Guisan, Danlag, April 2, 1996.
- ²¹ *Ibid.*
- ²² *Ibid.*
- ²³ *Ibid.*
- ²⁴ *Ibid.*
- ²⁵ Interview with Lawon Tokaydo, Danlag, April 3, 1996.
- ²⁶ Collective interview with Lawon Tokaydo, Cesar Mandu-on, Lucio Tokaydo, Sumangay Landayong, and Moreno Tagwalo, Danlag, April 3, 1996. This writer was also at the last leg of the boundary survey up to the tri-boundary between Danlag, Lam-alis and Salnang.
- ²⁷ Collective interview with Lawon Tokaydo, 68; Cesar Mandu-on, 42; Dalina Guisan, 26, and Nena Guisan, 30, Danlag, April 2, 1996. Moreno Tagwalo, the Bla-an interpreter who recorded the processes of these boundary surveys shared his observations.
- ²⁸ *Ibid.*

- ⁵³ *Ibid.*
- ⁵⁴ *Ibid.*
- ⁵⁵ Collective interview with Dalina Guisan, Faliay Mayo, Sumangay Landayong, and Lawon Tokaydo, Danlag, April 3, 1996.
- ⁵⁶ *Ibid.*
- ⁵⁷ *Ibid.*
- ⁵⁸ *Ibid.*
- ⁵⁹ *Ibid.*
- ⁶⁰ *Ibid.*
- ⁶¹ *Ibid.*
- ⁶² *Ibid.*
- ⁶³ *Ibid.*
- ⁶⁴ *Ibid.*
- ⁶⁵ *Ibid.*
- ⁶⁶ *Ibid.*
- ⁶⁷ Collective interview with Lawon Tokaydo, Danlag Tribal Council member; Cesar Manduon, 42, Pula Bato Tribal Council member; Dalina Guisan, 26, Danlag Tribal Chieftain, and Nena Guisan, 30, Danlag Tribal Council Assistant Tribal Chieftain, Danlag, April 2, 1996. They all contributed to the details of the story.
- ⁶⁸ *Ibid.*
- ⁶⁹ Collective interview with Dalina Guisan, Faliay Mayo, Sumangay Landayong, and Lawon Tokaydo, Danlag, April 3, 1996.
- ⁷⁰ *Ibid.*
- ⁷¹ *Ibid.*
- ⁷² *Ibid.*
- ⁷³ *Ibid.*
- ⁷⁴ *Ibid.*
- ⁷⁵ *Ibid.*
- ⁷⁶ *Ibid.*
- ⁷⁷ *Ibid.*
- ⁷⁸ *Ibid.*
- ⁷⁹ *Ibid.*
- ⁸⁰ *Ibid.*
- ⁸¹ *Ibid.*
- ⁸² *Ibid.*
- ⁸³ *Ibid.*
- ⁸⁴ *Ibid.*
- ⁸⁵ *Ibid.*
- ⁸⁶ *Ibid.*
- ⁸⁷ *Ibid.*
- ⁸⁸ *Ibid.*
- ⁸⁹ *Ibid.*
- ⁹⁰ *Ibid.*
- ⁹¹ *Ibid.*
- ⁹² *Ibid.*

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹⁹ Fay Cooper-Cole, *The Wild Tribes of Davao District, Mindanao*. Field Museum of Natural History Publication No. 170. Anthropological Series, Vol. XII, No. 2. (Chicago, U.S.A.: 1913). The Chapter on the Bla-an is on pp. 129-148. This quotation is on p. 132.

¹⁰⁰ Collective interview with Lawon Tokaydo, Cesar Mandaon, Lucio Tokaydo, Sergio Tokaydo and Sumangay Landayong, Danlag, April 3, 1996.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰² *Ibid.*

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁶ Collective interview with Sumangay Landayong and Fahay Mayo, Danlag, April 2, 1996.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹¹² *Ibid.*

¹¹³ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁴ Collective interview with Dalma Guisan, Fahay Mayo, Sumangay Landayong, Lawon Tokaydo, Danlag, April 3, 1996.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*

¹²¹ *Ibid.*

¹²² *Ibid.*

¹²³ Consolidated interview on dyandi and conflict resolution with Magi Salibet, April 7, 1996 at Pula Bato; with Lawon Tokaydo, Fahay Mayo and Sumangay Landayong, April 7, 1996 at Danlag, and with Sapli Tumbeg, Kabayan Tokaydo Sapli, Gohnali Tokaydo Labadia, Turing Dawang, Tony Catil, and Biray Calanao, April 8, 1996, at Pula Bato. Moreno Tagawalo was interpreter.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*

¹²⁹ Interview with Lawon Tokaydo, Danlag, April 3, 1996.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*

¹³¹ *Ibid.*

¹³² *Ibid.*

- ¹²⁶ Collective interview with Lawon Tokaydo, Faliay Mayo, Sumangay Landayong, Danlag, April 7, 1996.
- ¹²⁷ *Ibid.*
- ¹²⁸ Collective interview with Dalina Guisan, Faliay Mayo, Sumangay Landayong, Lawon Tokaydo, Danlag, April 3, 1996.
- ¹²⁹ Collective interview with Lawon Tokaydo, Faliay Mayo, and Sumangay Landayong, Danlag, April 7, 1996.
- ¹³⁰ Collective interview with Lawon Tokaydo, Faliay Mayo, Sumangay Landayong, Danlag, April 7, 1996.
- ¹³¹ *Ibid.*
- ¹³² *Ibid.*
- ¹³³ *Ibid.*
- ¹³⁴ *Ibid.*
- ¹³⁵ *Ibid.*
- ¹³⁶ *Ibid.*
- ¹³⁷ *Ibid.*
- ¹³⁸ *Ibid.*
- ¹³⁹ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁴² *Ibid.*
- ¹⁴³ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁵⁰ Collective interview with Lawon Tokaydo, Cesar Mandu-on, Sergio Tokaydo, Lucio Tokaydo, Danlag, April 3, 1996.
- ¹⁵¹ Collective interview with Lawon Tokaydo, Cesar Mandu-on, Dalina Guisa, Nena Guisan, Danlag, April 2, 1996.
- ¹⁵² Collective interview with Lawon Tokaydo, Cesar Mandu-on, Sergio Tokaydo, Lucio Tokaydo, Danlag, April 3, 1996.
- ¹⁵³ Collective interview with Dalina Guisan, Lawon Tokaydo, Faliay Mayo and Sumangay Landayong, Danlag, April 3, 1996.
- ¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁶² Collective interview with Dalina Guisan, Faliay Mayo and Sumangay Landayong, Danlag, April 3, 1996.
- ¹⁶³ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

⁷² *Ibid.*

⁷³ *Ibid.*

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

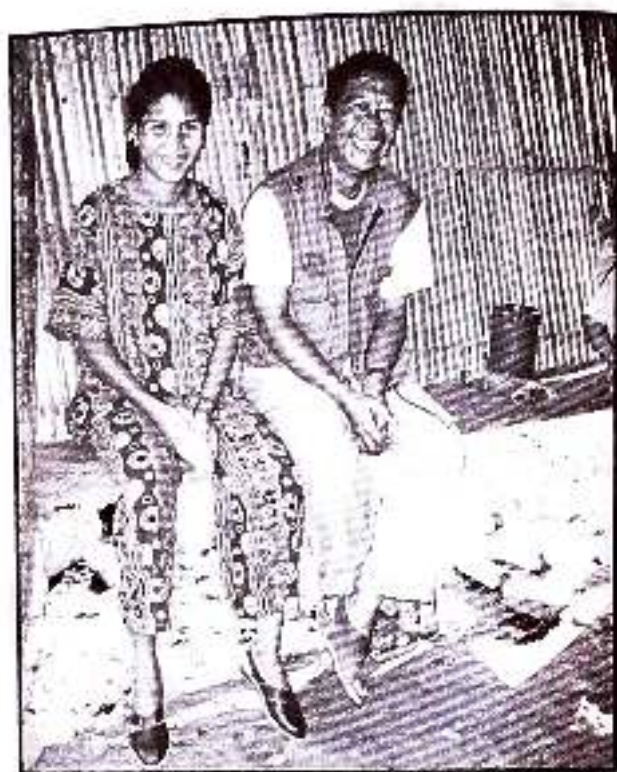
⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*



Dalena Guison, Tribal Chieftain of Danlag, with the author



Lawon Tokaydo, former Bong Fulong and Bong Lebe of Danlag, at left; author at right; Cesar Dialoding at center



*(T-B) Tauten Sanding, Dalaen Pelis (r),
Falo Pelis (l) Maria Sapli, Vero*



Simangay, mother of Dalina Guisau



Children at lunch during blessing of Danlag Tribal Multi-Purpose Coop