The term “Mansaka” derives from “man” meaning “first” and “saka” meaning “to ascend,” and means “the first people to ascend the mountains or go upstream.” The term most likely describes the origin of these people who are found today in Davao del Norte, specifically in the Batoto River, the Manat Valley, the Maragusan Valley, the Hijo River Valley, and the seacoasts of Kingking, Maco, Kwambog, Hijo, Tagum, Libuganon, Tuganay, Ising, and Panabo (Fuentes and De la Cruz 1980:2). The Mansaka are generally fair with bridged noses, brown hair, and oval faces. In 1972, the population estimate of the Mansaka was around 4,000 (Magaña 1972:347).

Some scholars have classified the Mansaka as a Mandaya subgroup (*Bagani* 1980:30; Cole 1913:165; Fuentes and De la Cruz 1980:1). Linguistically at least, the Mandaya-Mansaka group of languages is often classified under the Manuvu linguistic group which includes the dialects of the Tagacaolo of Davao del Sur, Davaoeño of Davao City, Mansaka or Mandaya of Davao del Norte, and Isamal of Samal Island (*Bagani* 1980:95).

History

Valderrama (1987:5-6) hypothesizes that the racial development of the Mandaya-Mansaka progressed in three phases. From 3,000 to 500 BC, the Indonesians came and intermarried with native women, begetting the Manobo. The migration of the Malays from 300 to 200 BC and the intermarriage with the Manobo produced the Mandaya-Mansaka. In the 13th century, the Chinese arrived and contributed further to the racial and cultural development of the Mandaya-Mansaka.

The island of Mindanao had eluded Spanish rule until the second half of the 19th century. Spain slowly expanded her control in the beginning of the 17th century. In 1851 Davao was made the Fourth Military District of Mindanao. One result of the Spanish conquest was the substitution of the Muslims by the Christians in the coastal commerce with the native highlanders. Although slavery, as practiced by some Islamized groups, was effectively halted, a new form of economic exploitation by the Spaniards was introduced (*Bagani* 1980:121-122).

Spanish *reduccion* was only partially successful. Many Christianized Mandaya-Mansaka who have intermarried with the Visayan eventually returned to the mountains and to their old way of life. This was due to the frequent Muslim raids in the 17th and 18th centuries (Gagelonia 1967:259).

The Americans were more successful. The Mandaya-Mansaka were encouraged to work in coastal plantations and adopt the lifestyle of Christianized natives. The American effort was helped by Japanese businessmen, who developed the abaca industry by introducing new ideas and technology into the area. During the Commonwealth, laws liberalizing Christian migration to the area further changed the lifestyle of many Mandaya-Mansaka (Gagelonia 1967:259-260; *Bagani* 1980:123).

Economy

The main economic activities of the Mansaka are farming, hunting, and fishing. Farming produce include *humay* (rice), *batad* (corn), *paruda* (sweet potatoes), *wakag* (tubers), coffee, and hemp. When it is time to plant humay or batad, the field, which measures approximately 600 square meters, is divided into two parts. Everybody helps in the planting: the men use the *tutudaka*, a 2.1-meter-long wooden pole, on which is attached *bai* (a species of coconut plant) spades to till the soil; the women sow the seeds; and the children use the *wawaris* (bamboo brooms) to cover the seeds with soil. Rice planting culminates with an offering to agricultural *diwata* or spirits—the *tagamaring* (diwata of the balete tree), *dalagping*, and *dalagpian*— to ensure a good yield. Unlike rice and corn, which are harvested and stored, wakag and paruda are only dug from the backyard of a Mansaka household when they are to be consumed. Cash crops include coffee and hemp which command a good price in the lowlands (Magaña 1973:21).

The Mansaka have developed various ingenious methods of fishing: the *yamangot* or the use of naturally hooked rattan shoots to catch mudfish; the *gabukad* or the debris-cleaning method to make fish surface; the *longyab* or the hole-digging method to trap fish; the *ligwat* or the use of *arawas* placed under rocks to trap fish; the *yaaraw* or the setting of a bamboo fence across a stream to make a catch; the *yobas* or the stream-draining method to catch fish; the *tuba* or the use of the poisonous vine *lagtang (Anaminta cocculus)* to make a catch; the *bingwit* (angling); and the *saranaw*, another mudfish-catching method. Bows and arrows are also used in fishing. The arrow used for fishing is different from the one used in hunting, the former being a 1-meter *bagakay* stick on which is attached two steel prongs (Magaña 1973:22).

The main Mansaka hunting weapons are the *tuklo* (spear) and the *sumpitan* (blowgun), a 1.8-meter hollow bagakay pole used in hunting fowl. Traps are also very popular among the Mansaka. The more common ones include the *purot* or stick coated with paste from the *tegep* tree; the *utotan* or whistle which simulates the sound of the *limokon* (edible dovelike bird believed to carry omens), and is used together with the purot; the *litag* or trap consisting of bai pegs, chicken decoy, and movable rattan rings by which chickens are entangled; the *katal* or trapper's basket which is used to contain the catch; and the *arejas* or arched rattan twine, 15 centimeters high, which uses fruits as bait. (Magaña 1973:22-23)

The Mansaka farm, fish, and hunt mainly for subsistence. From their harvest, many dishes can be made. From the wakag, paruda, humay, batad, *iahas* (pork), *usa* (venison), *manok* (chicken), *katumbal* (pepper), and *isda* (fish), 19 "dishes" can be made: the liorot or pork cooked in fresh *tamboorang* (bamboo tube) which had been lined with *siapotan* or *kalapi* leaves; the *liogoan* or minced meat cooked in fresh tamboorang; the *siapotanan* or kalapi-wrapped fish cooked in tamboorang; the *yobol* or washed rice cooked in tamboorang; the *lioon* (boiled rice); the *bianigan* or rice cooked in clay pot which had been lined with leaves; the *tamo* or cereal prepared from

rice boiled in a rectangular *balico* basket; the *kiabidak* or humay, wakag shoots, and katumbal cooked together; the *kiaradoy* or boiled wakag shoots and roots seasoned with pepper; the *yapay* or boiled wakag shoots; the *miaratok* or iahas and manok cooked together; the liaga or boiled iahas or manok; the *tiora*, the Mansaka soup; the *bibog* or native gruel; the *biaki* or boiled paruda shreds wrapped in banana leaf; the *kiodkodan* or boiled shrimps with corn wrapped in *agikik* leaves; the piasagan or boiled fish or meat; the *ginipsaw* or boiled minced meat in a specially designed bark container; and the *lioroban* or minced meat cooked in a pot (Magaña 1973:19-20).

Another economic activity is metalcraft which is epitomized by the presence of the *pandayan* (blacksmith's shop) where weapons such as the bolo, tuklo, knives, arrows, and one-shot rifles are forged (Magaña 1973:23). An industry that may soon disappear is weaving, an occupation in which Mansaka women excel.

Political System

Like the Mandaya, the Mansaka have unwritten laws based on their traditions, i.e., laws which emanate from their customs and beliefs, which have guided the political leaders in judicial, social, and political matters. Traditional leadership revolves around the following: the *matadong* or old wise man who has great influence in community decision making; the *bagani* or *maniklad*, a member of the warrior class who used to lead the community with help and advice from the matadong; the *balian* (shaman) who is usually a female medicine person who officiates in rituals involving sickness, death, and harvest. In the 1920s, as the traditional settlements were transformed into barrios, the Americans abolished the bagani or maniklad class and replaced it with the office of the barrio lieutenant or *tenyente* (Fuentes and De la Cruz 1980:8; Magaña 1973:30; *Bagani* 1980:23).

Social Organization and Customs

Social organization among the Mansaka depends on kinship ties which regulate the interrelationship between families and between members of a family. Kinship ties are indicated in the Mansaka vocabulary: *ama* (father), *ina* (mother), *anak* (child), *anakun* (niece or nephew), *arayon* (parent's relatives), *asawa* (wife), *babo* (aunt), *bana* (husband), *bapa* (uncle), *baraqi* (child's spouse's siblings and parents), *bayaw* (a male brother-in-law), *bilas* (spouse's sibling-in-law), *ginikanan* (parents and grandparents), *igagaw* (cousin), *indas* (husband's sister-in-law), *ipag* (sister-in-law or brother-in-law), *kimod* (last child), *lomon* (younger brother, sister, or cousin), *mataranak* (family), *ogangan* (parents-in-law), *ompo* (grandparent, grandchild), *ompo tood* (great grandparent), *ompo taringa* (great great grandparent), *panganay* (first-born child), *taganak* (parents, aunts, uncles), *tamisa* (only child), and *tud tud lomon* (brother or sister of the same father and mother) (Elkins 1984:174-175).

Religious Beliefs and Practices

Mansaka *manaog* or domestic gods are represented by wooden statues standing on a *parangka* (pedestal). Manaog have sexes which can be discerned on the sculpture and ornaments on the statues. Offerings are given to the manaog after rice planting, harvest, and before death. The rituals can be either indoor or outdoor. If indoor, the balian places humay, wine, manok, lime, tobacco, and betel nut on a *siklat* (a square bamboo platform suspended from the ceiling). If outdoor, the balian constructs a siklat with the use of four 1-meter wooden poles arranged like an Indian teepee skeleton. Either way, a manaog about 30 centimeters high, is placed at the foot of the siklat. The manaog of the balian are kept on the ceiling near the kitchen, where they become black from the smoke.

Christianity has been introduced and accepted by many Mansaka, but it has not totally eradicated the manaog cult. The Mansaka believe in the saving grace of the Christian God but remnants of the old religion, as in many ethnic groups, persist. Curiously the Mansaka belong to various Christian denominations, often at the same time. For example, in 1973, close to 95 percent of the Mansaka were Catholics at the same time that they were members of other Christian sects—the Baptist Church, the Jehovah's Witnesses, and so forth (Magaña 1973:15, 26-27).

Old Mansaka religious beliefs persist in native medicine. For wounds, the Mansaka mix crushed *marabiga* roots, chewed *sakati* sprouts, *pamantigi* leaves, and oiled *lenek*; for headaches and stomach troubles, heated *kepet* leaves, roasted *baganga* fruit, boiled *aribetbet* roots, boiled buds, and sterilized *sara* saps; for boils, crushed *darupang* flowers and scraped *pitugu* fruit; for pinkish eyes, scraped *tambabasi* stalks; for constipation, ground *warasiman* and boiled *anuring*; for malaria, the bark of the *bagol* tree; for fractures, the bark of the *arit* tree; and for a Mansaka mother's first bath after giving birth, *agosais*, *basikay*, *gapas*, and *baay* (Magaña 1973:27).

Nowadays, traditional medicine is rarely used even by the children of the balian, who go to the Christian town doctor. But the older Mansaka still believe that sickness is caused by supernatural beings and thus make offerings to the gods (Magaña 1973:28).

Architecture and Community Planning

Early Mansaka houses were built on treetops or bamboo groves as a precautionary measure against surprise attacks and raids. Also for defense, the bamboo spikes were installed around the houses, and weapons stocked in the houses. These houses were connected to each other by bamboo bridges that facilitated interhousehold assistance. The bagani's house had an upper balcony that doubled as a watchtower.

Today, the most common Mansaka dwelling is a one-room house, 2.4 x 3 meters,

raised 1-1.7 meters above the ground on four poles. *Sasal* (chopped bamboo tubes) make up the four walls which are topped by a roof made of *tinaksi* (wooden tiles). The flooring is constructed from bai. The ladder is made of a terraced trunk which rests on the door base. A less common Mansaka dwelling is the four-room house, 4.5 x 7.5 meters, resting on 10 or more posts. Reached by a ladder, the front door of the four-room house is raised about 60 centimeters from the ground while the back is at ground level. The house is made of bamboo and wood, has two windows and a Muslim-inspired roof. The four rooms consist of the bedroom, the living room, the storeroom, and the kitchen which contains low-constructed stoves doubling as heating systems. The Mansaka used to sleep with their feet toward the stove; they had no blankets and pillows. Only recently were these introduced by the Visayan settlers (Magaña 1973:18; Fuentes and De la Cruz 1980:2-3).

Visual Arts and Crafts

Before the advent of modern textile products, the Mansaka made their *dagmay* (abaca cloth) from a loom of the same name. The process of making a dagmay using this traditional method is extraordinarily tedious. The dagmay is woven with three types of abaca fibers: the *bintok*, prepared from knotted abaca fibers boiled in the extracted red dye of the plant *sikarig*; the sikarig prepared from unknotted abaca fibers boiled in the red dye of sikarig; and the *kanarum*, prepared from abaca fibers boiled in the black dye of the plant of the same name. Dagmay designs are varied—squares, human forms, *laron na opat* (crocodiles), dots, among others. The most common designs are the laron na opat which holds an aesthetic and religious significance for the Mansaka. Squares, dots, and other geometric designs appear on clay pots and patadyong (barrel skirt); human-figure designs are available but rare (Magaña 1973:24-25).

Mansaka women wear the *dagum* (blouse similar to the Chinese shirt) which is half open in the upper and bottom front. Running across the shoulders from the back are two *panahi* or strips of finely embroidered cloth contrasted with color-stitched seams. Mansaka women can opt for four types of skirts to match the dagum. These are the *pula* or ordinary cotton skirts produced by and bought from the Visayan, the *piamuntakan*, *saragboy*, and dagmay—all painstakingly made by the Mansaka and worn only on special occasions. The last is made of dagmay or stamped young abaca fibers (Magaña 1973: 16-17; Fuentes and De la Cruz 1980:3).

Visayan influence in terms of clothing is more marked with Mansaka men than women. Traditionally, Mansaka men sport a shirt with an embroidered cross at the back, and panahi strips and red cloth lined across the shoulders and hem, respectively. The shirt is closed by rattan twines which are also used to hold up the trousers (Magaña 1973:17).

Both Mansaka men and women don jewelry and other accessories to match their colorful costumes. The women wear the *pislitan* or belt with round marble buckles to

hold up their skirt. Mansaka *barikog* (earplugs), which are gold-plated rubber discs about 0.6 centimeter thick and 2.5 centimeters in diameter, dot the ears. The size of the holes on the earlobes is determined by the size of the barikog. Attached to the barikog are *liaog* or bead strands of various colors. Barikog (necklaces) include the *parotgot* or choker, made of beads strung and woven together; the *balliug*, which extends to the navel and is made of beads, rubies, and crocodile teeth; and the *linangkaw* or necklace made of crocodile's teeth. Mansaka women have three kinds of bracelets: the *pamurang*, made of white marble and worn in fours; the *sagay-sagay* or black wooden ring which can only be worn by itself; and the *punod* or brass bracelet also worn by male Mansaka. Very distinctive among the Mansaka is the *paratina* (See logo of this article) or silver breastplate 15 centimeters in diameter. Female balian also carry the *tungkaring* (bells) which are placed at the back of the shirtwaist, and are used in ceremonial dances to placate angry gods. The men wear the *sarakob* (hats made from tamboorang) to protect themselves from the heat of the sun. A *mamaan* (betel-nut container) attached to a string tied to the waist forms part of the male costume. Until the class was abolished, the bagani and maniklad had worn punod and bell on their legs, and red or white *pudong* (headbands). The *sinturon* or loose belt was used more for ornamental than practical purposes. The Mansaka youth of today dress more like the Visayan lowlanders (Magaña 1973:16-18).

The Mansaka, like the Mandaya, are known to have filed and blackened the teeth of their young. The Mansaka believe that only animals have white teeth. This practice has largely fallen out of favor among the youth of today because the latter want to escape from prejudice and economic depression (Magaña 1973:18).

Mansaka weapons include the following varieties of spear: the *piaransan*, a spear with a 30-centimeter blade attached to it; the tuklo, a spear with a blunt point, 7.5 centimeters long; and the *budjak*, a spear with a leaflike blade, 10 centimeters long and 7.5 centimeters wide. In the past, Mansaka warriors carried the *karasag* (wooden shields, 12 centimeters long) with their spears; nowadays, only two of these karasag remain. Other weapons include those which require the use of arrows: the sumpitan and the *busog* or bow made of a bamboo stick with a rattan twine strung to its ends (Magaña 1973:24).

Mansaka wood carving art is exemplified by the wooden statues of their manaog which can be classified into male and female. The male manaog stands on a parangka and is about 15 centimeters high. The eyes of the male manaog are made of two red glass beads; the ears, of earplugs with pendants; the nose and mouth, of short lines carved at the appropriate places. The jaw and neck are bloated, as though the image had mumps. The female manaog sports a comb and a long necklace, and has apelike features with big ears. The sides of both types of manaog are profuse with dark and diagonal lines for decoration (Magaña 1973: 26).

Basketry, pottery, and brassware are not only art forms for the Mansaka but are also used as containers. Examples are: the mamaan, a brass box to hold chewing ingredients; the *patakia*, a brass dowry box; the *coron*, a hemispherical clay pot

decorated with dots and triangles; the *tibud*, an earthen jar to store *biais* or wine; the *bikat*, a rattan traveling basket with shoulder slings, and waist and headbelts; the *bakotal*, a cylindrical, 30-centimeter-high mudfish container; *ababa*, a finely woven needle box with wooden linings inside; *cabebeng*, a 30-centimeter-high cylindrical rattan cage; *kambol*, a flat bag; *kayad*, a clothes container; *limot*, a coffee bean container made of bark; *kampipi*, a wallet made of baroy strips and decorated with panahi; *bakag*, a clothes or cereals container; *sapia*, a container used to measure rice or corn; *pugonan*, a corn receptacle; *saboy*, a dried gourd to store rice or biais; and *kabong*, a bamboo container to store nails (Magaña 1973:28-29).

The Mansaka make their *sarong* or lamp by wrapping dried *lauan* sap in abaca leaf, and tying this cover with rattan twine. When burned, it exudes the smell of incense (Magaña 1973:29).

Literary Arts

Mansaka *tutukanon* or riddles, aside from providing a form of relaxation in the evenings after work, express how the Mansaka see the world. Subjects are drawn from familiar things in nature such as food, flora and fauna, body parts, household implements, and natural phenomena. Spirits and supernatural creatures are rarely, if ever, part of the Mansaka riddle. Two reasons may be cited. First, the Mansaka consider riddling a form of relaxation and pleasure; and second, inclusion of the supernatural realm may cause the participants of the tutukanon bad luck or even death. In style, Mansaka tutukanon are expressed in a pair of unrhymed but rhythmic verses (Fuentes and De la Cruz 1980:14):

> *Sang kaban*
> *Yamakmo nang tigib.*
> *(Baba)*
>
> It is a chest
> Full of chisels.
> (Mouth)
>
> *Budbud ya panga-panga*
> *Sangmararan yang kumorang.*
> *(Anila)*
>
> It is a lush tree, but
> Felled with fingernails.
> (Grass onion)

Pagsumbingay or Mansaka jokes employ metaphorical expressions to add subtlety to humor. Examples are *buburong sang kuagut* (salve for the cold), used to refer to a newly married girl who goes to bed with her husband during cold evenings; *luwa sang kagang* (saliva of the crab), used by Mansaka teenagers to refer to a drink when the Visayan are around; *hunungan sang garung* (left behind by fast flying time),

to refer to old bachelors (Magaña 1972: 373-374).

Another type of Mansaka folk speech is the *binabalian* or *oracion*, prayers recited when making an offering after planting or harvesting. An example (Magaña 1972:374):

> *Di da kaw magkadaman kay umpo. Wara tuyoa na olitarowan kaw antak kami matigam sang ka-mayo kaluwa daw mun-muno kay kaniwa pa a-katigam sang kamayo pagtuo adto sang Tagallang.*
>
> Do not get angry, Grandfather, for we are not taking your picture because we want to see how it is. We do not really know what the Lord thinks of this.

Another example of the oracion related to rice planting is this (Magaña 1972:374-375):

> *Laong niini gabutangan ko ako manwagtag na magalay ako na maga-tanom ako niini humay ko. Kamong tagama-ring kamo ang magtag-iya ining tanom ko an-tak mabuhi. Yagala-ong ako titaway ado sa tagmaring. Kamong tanan kanaan tu-nga yang pawa. Ako yang apog ako yata-wag ako yang kaasaron.*
>
> I am telling you I am offering something and calling all of you. I, the one offering you this bounty, am planting rice. Help me grow my crop. You inhabitants of the balete shall own my crop so that it will grow. I am telling you inhabitants of the balete tree that I own half of the clearing. I am the old man, and I am the one calling and promising.

Through oral prose, the Mansaka *babarawon* (origin myth) recounts the origin of things. The following is a paraphrase of a Mansaka tale regarding creation:

One day, while Taganlang was sitting on a rock, he suddenly thought of enlarging the universe. He called his bird Oribig and asked him to collect soil from the farthest corner of the universe. When Oribig returned with the soil, Taganlang began his work by kneading the soil and placing it on a rock. The kneaded soil became the world, from where nature emerged. Not satisfied, Taganlang collected some *kasili* and *bangoy* wood from which he fashioned the first man and woman, respectively. He then covered his designs with leaves which he later removed to disclose the first people in the world. Taganlang then taught the first man and woman the names of animals and things (Magaña 1972:367-368).

Another Mansaka babarawon is the flood myth which tells of the peopling of this world after a flood destroyed the earth. A long time ago, there was a flood which destroyed everything on earth except for a pregnant woman living on the top of Kandaraga Mountain. The woman gave birth to a son who became her husband. Later, they begot six children—three boys and three girls—who married each other. One couple went out to sea, the other to Maragusan, and the third disappeared. The cause of the flood was the absence of Manaul, the bird guarding the sea passage which was clogged by driftwood, forcing the water back. When Manaul returned, he tried to remove the clog but broke his leg instead. His mother came to his rescue and successfully removed the clog. Everything returned to normal and the woman with her son-husband and their children descended from Kandaraga to multiply and people the earth (Magaña 1972:368-369).

The Mansaka are said to prefer their *babatukon* or *human-human* (folktales) to their tutukanon. The former embodies the Mansaka's oral attempt to reveal their attitudes and world views. In style, human-human are recounted in prose accompanied by facial and bodily expressions, and usually begin with phrases such as "Once upon a time," or "Long ago" (Fuentes and De la Cruz 1980:36).

The story of Kimod and the swan maiden tells of a man's fight for his love. Kimod is a young man who one day takes his sumpitan to hunt for birds. He hasn't gone far when he notices seven maidens flying and alighting near a lake. Following them, he sees the maidens taking off their robes to bathe in the river. He steals the dagmay of one. After bathing, the maidens prepare to fly off but the youngest discovers her dagmay missing. In exasperation, her sisters leave her behind. Kimod comes out from his hiding place and, pretending to be curious, asks her why she is alone. The maiden tells him of her situation. Feigning ignorance, he invites her home and offers her something to wear. After getting home, he introduces her to his mother as his bride. A few years after they have lived together as a couple, a child is born to them. One day, as Kimod goes hunting, the child begins to cry, all the while pointing at the sumpitan. Pretending to teach the child how to use it, the wife takes the sumpitan and blows into it. Her lost dagmay falls out. Angry at Kimod's deceit, she takes off to the heavens with her child. Later, Kimod returns and discovers that his wife has deserted him. He goes out to look for her, and by climbing a tandadura tree, he reaches the skyworld where he is met by Tamisa, the brother of the swan maidens, who asks him who he is looking for. Kimod answers that he is looking for his wife; Tamisa responds by showing him the seven maidens who all look alike. He challenges Kimod to choose who among the seven is his wife; if he fails to pick the correct one, he will be killed. Luckily, he is helped by an *aninipot* (firefly) which promises Kimod that it will alight on his wife's *yongsam* (hair gathered in a bun). Kimod chooses correctly but Tamisa, who is not satisfied, hands Kimod a bamboo tube which is open on both sides, and challenges him to fill it with water. Luckily, a *tabuwan* (insect of the hornet family) comes to his aid by plugging one end of the tube with glue. Still Tamisa is not satisfied. He hands Kimod a piece of *dagom* (needle) and challenges him to cut down an *amorawon* tree with it. Luckily, a *baratok* (bird of the woodpecker family) comes along and aids him by pecking down the tree. But still Tamisa is not

satisfied. He takes one *ganta* of *dawa* (finest cereal) and one ganta of *balyog* (glass beads) and scatters them onto the floor. He challenges Kimod to sift, separate, and collect them to the right weight. Luckily again, help is on the way in the form of a *tigasaw* (ant) and his friends who are able to separate the two kinds and collect them in a basket. Timasa is not amused and challenges Kimod to a last trial. He asks Kimod to dig a hole big enough for his head and says that he will drop the chopped amorawon tree on him. Luckily, the *ambaw* (rat) comes to his rescue by digging a tunnel where he is able to escape to Tamisa's house. Tamisa finally relents, invites Kimod to a drinking bout, and allows him to take his wife home (Fuentes and De la Cruz 1980:59-63).

"Tinampikan" tells of greed and its consequences. Although it is a tribal practice that a newlywed couple should stay with the husband's family until after the first child is born, the parents of Maison—because of poverty—urge him and his wife Tinampikan to start a life together as soon as the wedding festivities end. Three days after moving in, Maison and Tinampikan find that their new home has leaks. So Maison climbs to repair the leaking portions. He asks his wife to point to him the parts that need mending. Tinampikan says yes but goes instead to the kitchen to broil a banana; she wants to have the banana all to herself. In her haste to finish the banana, she chokes on it and dies. When Maison finally comes down and discovers his dead wife, he is overcome with grief; and seeing the broiled banana, he says: "Why did you have to eat that hot banana? You know I would not have had the heart to ask you to share it with me seeing that there was only one piece." During the funeral, Tinampikan's relatives learn of the cause of the tragedy and are embarrassed (Fuentes and De la Cruz 1980:46-47).

The *diawot* (epic poems) of the Mansaka narrate the customs and traditions of the tribe. They consist of seven-syllable verses which are either sung or chanted, and employ *linda* or rhetorical devices such as the use of synonyms for repeating ideas in successive lines, part-whole identification, and end rhymes or identical sound patterns. The word *hulubaton* refers to a diawot in verse form; the Mandaya have the same word but it refers to the narratives making up the epic; in Mansaka, it is applied to the prosaic form of thediawot which is usually chanted or sung (Fuentes and De la Cruz 1980:79).

Before reciting the epic, the native bards invoke the help of friendly spirits; such invocation is not part of the epic proper but is recited so as not to displease the spirits. Following is an example of the prayer, the original of which is not available (Fuentes and De la Cruz 1980:80):

> Dweller of the balete tree,
> Composer of songs,
> Attend to my prayer.
> Rock yourself before me,
> Teach me your music.
> Instruct me carefully.
> So as not to commit mistakes.

Alimokon, bird of the balete tree,
Blend your voice with mine
Lest I become harsh and croaky,
Lest I become a laughingstock.
Do not consider me presumptuous
I did not volunteer to sing.
Someone ardently desires to record your song
As legacy to our children.
Let me proceed with the song.
Skipping a long portion of the beginning,
That I may tell only of the story of Sugan …

The most popular of the Mansaka diawot is the *Manggob* consisting of some 15 episodes tied into the main plot filled with supernatural objects and creatures, among others the magic necklace, the magic sword, the fighting shadow, and the magic handkerchief. Literary devices such as the deus ex machina are used. For example, the three gods—Macawlang, Mangaway, and Magbuburangin—are used to resolve tribal problems and conflicts. A synopsis of the diawot *Manggob* follows (Magaña 1972:353-356):

Manggob, the hero of the epic, is abandoned by his parents Alimpuros ng Bagyo and Pagsinangan after he is born. Raised by a giant, Manggob sets out for Mapandan to look for his parents who warmly welcome him. His elder brother Makaranos refuses to accept him and challenges him to prove his mettle. Manggob accepts and wins the fight after which Makaranos relents. After some time, Manggob leaves to look for his fortune; he leaves his parents a vine which will tell of his death should its leaves wither. Some years later, Manggob returns a bagani with news of an impending tribal war. During the preparations for the war, Makaranos falls into a deep sleep and is aroused only by Manggob's golden top. Thinking that it is the enemy, Makaranos wakes up to find that it is only the top. He is angry and throws the golden top into space. Manggob leaves to look for the top which he finds in Subangnon. The Subangnon chief refuses to relinquish the top and a fight ensues. Manggob wins and gets back his top. After Manggob returns to Mapandan, he and his brother decide to attack Conogcogan. When they reach Conogcogan, they discover that their enemies have already sent a typhoon to destroy Mapandan and have captured their sisters Gabon, Ubang, and Buliaon. Manggob is very angry and massacres most of Conogcogan's inhabitants. After the victory, Manggob's sisters are released and returned to Mapandan. Manggob decides to go to Yubagan to challenge Mabayaw who in turn is in Mapandan to cut down the tree Burarakaw for the hand of his bride. Munggo, the Burawanon chief, has asked Tibay for the same bride-price for the hand of Masadya. When Manggob hears the news, he quickly returns to Mapandan and discovers Burarakaw cut and made into *biday* (boats). He destroys all the bidays but Tibay offers him a truce which Manggob readily accepts. He then helps Tibay in his courtship of Masadya. When the day of the wedding arrives, Manggob lures Tibay away and marries Masadya. Tibay is angry and a tribal war ensues. Seeing the senseless killings, the gods Macawlang, Mangaway, and Magbuburangin intercede and try to stop the war. Manggob's only condition for the

cessation of hostilities is the restoration of Burarakaw. The wish is granted and peace finally comes. Makaranos asks for the hand of Masadya and gets it. Tibay marries Manggob's sister Gabon, Munggo has Ubang for his wife. Manggob goes to Biudburan and marries the chief's daughter Allag. Mawngat, Allag's brother, eventually marries Buliaon. Thus, the peace pact is further strengthened by these intertribal marriages. After his retirement, Manggob's son Libaynon takes over and rules effectively and with dignity.**Performing Arts**

The Mansaka possess a wide array of musical instruments, giving life to their songs and dances. Examples of Mansaka musical instruments include the agong or round brass percussion instrument; a larger version of the *agong* is the *tarabon*, which was used to give war signals. The *kudlog* or two-stringed guitar which resembles the Maranao kutyapi (lute) comes in two varieties: a *binudyaan* or a two-string, eight-fret guitar which has the shape of a boat with a curved neck at the end; and a *binarig* which has only four frets. Another Mansaka string instrument is the four-chord *takol* which is made of bamboo about 60 centimeters long, and has pieces of wood placed under the string for tuning and pitch control. The *kubing* or jew's harp is carved out of bamboo, measures 12.5-15 centimeters long and 7.5 centimeters wide, and produces a soft melody when vibrated. Wind instruments include the *parundag* or Mansaka saxophone which is a 60-centimeter bagakay tube with five holes; and the bamboo flutes of which there are two types—the longer *bonabon* and the shorter *lantoy* which resembles the flute. A Muslim contribution is the *kulintang* or gong ensemble consisting of several graduated gongs (Fuentes and De la Cruz 1980:3-4, 116-119; Magaña 1972:353; Magaña 1973:25-26).

One of the most popular Mansaka instruments is the *gimbal* or drum made of *bahi* (betel nut) and animal hide, of which two are appropriate: doeskin and male deerskin. The Mansaka believe that animal hide which have not been properly aged for at least five years will not produce the right sound. A musical rendition where the gimbal is played is the *lisag*, a 10-minute instrumental piece performed by a man and a woman each playing the instrument. The woman assumes the feminine role when playing, and the man takes on the male's (Magaña 1972:353; Magaña 1973:25-26).

Mansaka folk songs are expressive of the group's culture, folkways, and traditional beliefs about the world and themselves. Magaña (1972: 356-357, 373) has identified two forms of Mansaka folk songs: the *saliada*, which is similar to the ballad, and the *bayok* or songs of love and adventure. The former resembles the ballad in style, i.e., it employs refrain and repetition. An example of the saliada is "Amando" which tells of a protagonist who wakes up one morning, leaves his wife, and decides to marry another woman. A portion of "Amando" follows (Magaña 1972:357-362):

Yang kay laong nang Amando
Tingug nang leomakilat
Babay da sang karim ko,
Bayda sang kadigi ko.
Nay panday kadyag ko

Kaubayan kaubayan
Siding buntod panday
Sang banaybanay.
Kaubayan si Nogonon
Panday si Lintawanan.

Kadegi ko pandugang
Kadyag ko pandarugno
Kaubayan si Nogonon
Panday si Lintawanan.
Agad pa kay mayninan,
Misanay gid ko pandugang,
Yandang pagapawpot,
Yandang pagapadarit
Pagapadarit na timbang
Pagapawpot na timaroy.

That was said by Amando,
The voice of the thunderbolt,
That is my love,
The object of my affection.
I want girls very much—
Girls, ladies, and
Living mountain girls
Of the mountain,
Nogonon is a woman
Lintawanan another one.

Though married, I want to marry again
Though tied, I want to be tied again.
Nogonon is a woman;
Lintawanan another one.
Though married, I will love you;
Though married, I have affection for you.
She is the only one
I want for a companion.
She is the only one I want
To embrace in bed
And to be my companion in marriage.

Although Magaña (1972:373) mentions the existence of the Mansaka bayok, no samples have been recorded.

Other than literature and music, dancing is a source of pleasure and entertainment for the Mansaka. Various hand, arm, feet, and knee movements characterize Mansaka dances, which are expressive of rituals no longer performed; in such cases, the dance

assumes a more leisurely role. One such dance is the *anito balyan* of Samal Island, Davao, an ancient ritual dance for healing the sick. The ritual-dance consists of a medicine man and a female medium in a complex healing ritual involving the sacrifice of a chicken and the use of a human skull. Color is added with dancing girls, waving palm fronds, and flickering lights. The *japa kaunod*, the Mansaka version of the courtship dance, is performed by a boy "dancing in a path around the girl." The *inamo na sayaw* or monkey dance is performed by two people, while the *udol* commemorates fallen warriors (Orosa-Goquingco 1980:136-137). • G.E.P. Cheng with notes from E.A. Manuel/Reviewed by S.K. Tan

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