

FOLK HEALING AS AN IMPLICIT CULTURE PATTERN IN AN ISLAND PEOPLE OF THE PHILIPPINES

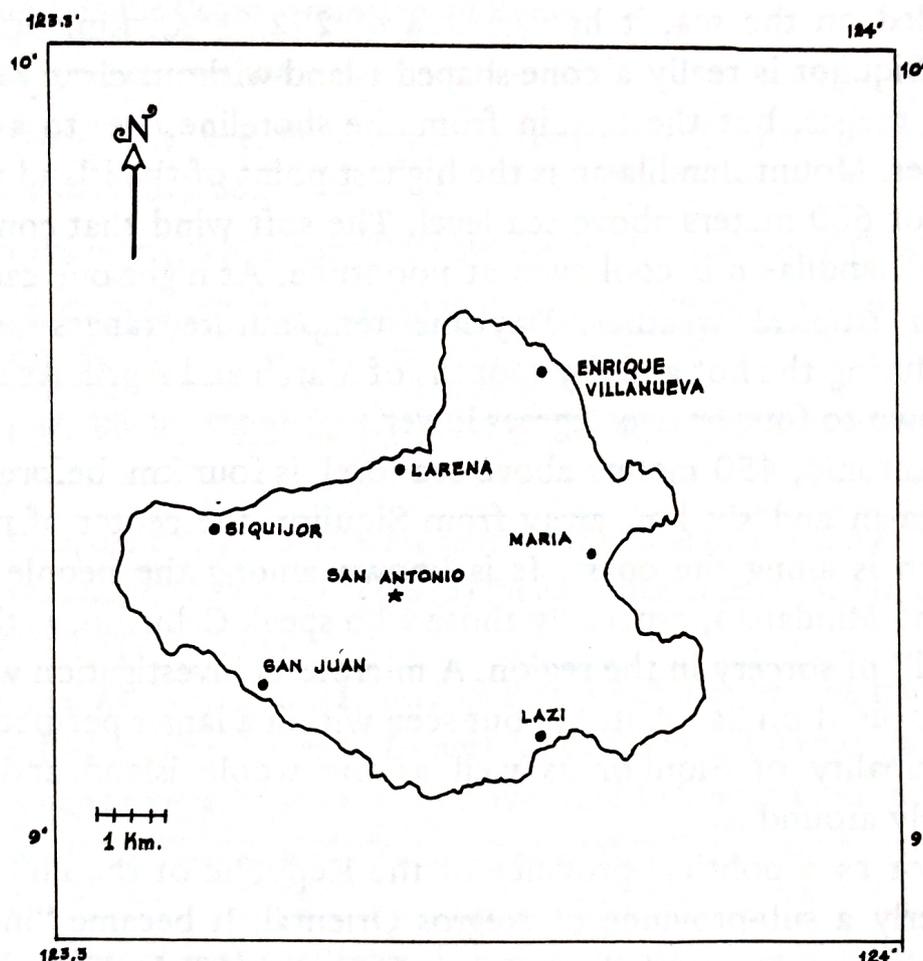
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This report ethnographically presents customs and practices related to folkhealing among the people of Siquijor Island in the Visayas, Philippines. The people of Siquijor are called *Siquijodnon* both by themselves and by neighboring ethnic groups. Their island home is situated within 123.3 and 124 degrees East Longitude and nine to ten degrees North Latitude. Appearing from a distance like an upside-down bowl settled on the sea, it has an area of 292.61 sq. km. or 29,261 hectares. Siquijor is really a cone-shaped island without clearly defined mountain ranges, but the terrain from the shoreline rises to a central peak center. Mount Bandila-an is the highest point of the island with an elevation of 600 meters above sea level. The soft wind that constantly sweeps by Bandila-an is cool even at noontime. At night one can feel a truly cool tropical weather. Daytime temperature ranges between 70-80°F during the hot and dry months of March and April. At night it may go down to four or five degrees lower.

San Antonio, 450 meters above sea level, is four km. before reaching Bandila-an and six km. away from Siquijor, the center of population, which is along the coast. It is known among the people of the Visayas and Mindanao, especially those who speak Cebuano, as the seat or "school" of sorcery in the region. A microlevel investigation was carried out focused on San Antonio but seen within a larger perspective of the municipality of Siquijor as well as the whole island and those immediately around it.

Siquijor as a political province of the Republic of the Philippines was formerly a sub-province of Negros Oriental. It became "independent" by way of an act of the nation's Congress (1971). There are six municipalities in this island province. Charting it on the map, clockwise, starting from the northeast shoreline, there is Enrique Villanueva, named after a former legislator from Negros. Formerly the town was named Talingting and even with the formal name, E. Villanueva, the

people still verbally refer to it as Talingting. Directly facing the Pacific Ocean through the Mindanao Sea is the municipality of Maria which was known as Cangmeniac. Lazi, or La "C," is situated along the south-east shoreline of the island. It used to be called Cantambo. On the southwest is the town of San Juan which was formerly called Campilay. On the west and northwest are the municipalities of Siquijor and Larena, respectively. These towns are easiest to reach by sea travel from the mother province, Negros Oriental. Larena is named after former governor Demetrio Larena of Negros. Previously, the town was known as Cano-an. The provincial capital is in Larena, although by political referendum (1970) the majority of the people of the province voted in favor of Siquijor as provincial capital.



MAP of SIQUIJOR

The office of the Department of Social Welfare of the government at the time this research was conducted indicate the following facts about Siquijor Province:

Population by municipality

1. Siquijor	16,680
2. Lazi	16,193
3. Larena.	13,683
4. Maria	10,742
5. San Juan	10,712
6. E. Villanueva	<u>5,673</u>
T o t a l	73,683

Siquijor municipality has the following profile. There are 42 baranggays (small government political units). There are 2,928 houses and 82 business and commercial establishments. Valencia Academy is the only college in the municipality. There are four high schools, 25 church buildings, seven primary schools, eight six-year elementary schools, 11 public markets and three health facilities centers.

There are 20 municipal roads, four bridges, two wharves, 12 water transportation vessels, 83 public transportation on wheels, one telecommunication center, and one electric power plant.

Agriculture and forest products are the major sources of income of the Siquijodnons. Corn, rice, vegetables, coconuts, bananas, swine and fish are its major products. Mineral materials available in the island are limeshell, phosphate, guano, sand and gravel, and china clay.

Total income during fiscal year 1971-74 was P773,525. Total expenditure for the same year, P744,039.

The number of families in 1974 was 3,404.

The major islands surrounding Siquijor, with their corresponding distances from it in statute miles include: Bohol on the northeast, 28.2; west-northwest is Negros, 11.3; and, south-southeast and east is Mindanao, 28 (Prov. of Siquijor Inauguration Program, 1972).

The Siquijodnons and the people of these neighboring islands speak the Cebuano or Sugbuanon (and a Visayan) language which linguists classify as belonging to the Malayo-Polynesian, or Austronesian, family of language. It may be noted that Cebuano-speaking Filipinos outnumber any of the other ethnolinguistic groups in the nation-archipelago.

How Siquijor Got Its Name

Legend tells us that once upon a time the island of Siquijor was under the sea. Then there was a sudden burst of fire and rumbling. The sound was deafening. There was lightning and thunder. Later, there was quiet. Over the sea an island appeared. That is why even today there are big clam shells and other sea objects that you can find on top of hills in this beautiful island.

It is also said that when the Spaniards were on their way to Cebu in their voyaging ships they saw this island and called it *Tierra del Fuego*. It was perhaps because of the fact that there were many fire trees growing along the shore which bore flaming red flowers. They were most likely in bloom at the time and made the island appear as if it was on fire.

Some old folks in Siquijor say that when the Spaniards first came to the island shore the first thing they asked the natives was, "Que es este lugar. Que nombre es este lugar?" pointing to the ground on which they were standing.

The natives, thinking that the foreigners were speaking about the tide or sea level replied by describing it as "kihod," or "quijod," which means low tide. Hearing that the Spaniards said, "Si quijod" (Yes, kihod), which turned out later as Siquijor, the name of the island.

From Dumaguete City, Negros Oriental, the research-base from where this investigation was conducted, one can cross over to Siquijor by motorized banca or canoe locally known as *pambot* (pump-boat). About four or five of these sea-borne outrigger vessels powered by an outboard motor take alternate turns carrying passengers and small-scale merchandize between the neighboring islands. Each has a maximum load of twenty passengers. These bancas ply between two points, Canday-ong beach on the southeastern fringe of Dumaguete and Solong-on beach in Siquijor town. On these trips from Canday-ong one must be ready to be carried on the shoulders of half-naked men who for a nominal fee of fifty centavos take pleasure in transporting passengers from the beach to the canoe and vice versa. One may prefer to go by motor launch or a regular passenger ship connecting the wharf at Dumaguete and that of Larena. But these trips, made only twice a week, are not as frequent as those of the *pambot*.

Mananambals Congregate on Semana Santa

During the days of the Holy Week of the Christian calendar, *mananambals* (folk-medicine persons) come from Siquijor and its neighboring islands (Negros, Bohol and the coastal towns of Mindanao to congregate in San Antonio. Resident's houses readily become *puluy-anan* (homes) to these "pilgrims." Their trek into the barrio, before the time of motor vehicles, as some of the elderly San Antoniohanons would say, begin as early as Monday. The *mananambals* increase in number as the Holy Week draws towards Friday. Now that motorcycles have side cars and a third wheel attached on them (known locally as "traisikol" [tricycle] or "pedicab") to serve as passenger conveyances traveling over government-built roads between Siquijor town and San Antonio, many of the *mananambals* flock in on Thursday. In 1977 when a more intensive work on this research was done, there were 75 *mananambals* (non-residents of San Antonio) who came for the yearly event.

Mananambals who come yearly in the week spend most of their time talking. At the market place they can be seen in clusters of six or seven men, apparently enjoying themselves in hearty conversation. Usually these small groups are housemates returning to their places of abode at the close of day or at mealtime. Each of them has brought provisions to last many days. Dried salted fish or meat, rice or corn, tobacco for either smoking or chewing, are the major part of their provisions. For drinks, there is plenty of *tuba* (fermented coconut blossom sap) for sale at the market place for only ten centavos per drinking glass or its equivalent.

While there are plenty of humorous stories and jokes in their conversations, very little is said concerning their practice of folk medicine. If ever they mention the subject, it is discussed in a hushed but involved manner. Talks about a patient getting cured or not getting cured (which usually ends up in that patient's death) are discussed by small groups of two or three but never bigger groups of *mananambals*.

In individual interviews conducted by this researcher among the Siquijor-based healers, the overt answer to the question why they do not like to be known openly as people who can heal the sick is that the professional doctors (the doctors trained in the western or modern medical practice) are jealous of the folkhealers. Usually also, the

government authorities are informed and the folkhealer is questioned and in some instances brought to jail for practicing "healing" without a license. Be that as it may, there is a strong aura of secrecy in the medical practice of these native doctors.

Quite possibly, however, the sense of secrecy, if not that of "illegality," arise from the general knowledge that the practice of the *mananambal* fairly often involves also the practice of the *barangan* (sorcerer), although the two are not one and the same. Siquijodnons have some idea as to who among their *mananambals* are sorcerers. This popular belief about sorcery is to be understood within the context of a belief system that many, if not all, diseases come about because of magical spells (Malinowski, 1920; Fortune, 1937).

Among themselves the *mananambals* speak of those who have the *igdala-ut* (power and paraphernalia to practice sorcery). However, these *mananambals* also have their *panagang* (countersorcery), which are made up of formulae and rituals to prevent or counteract magical spells of the *barang*.

Can one learn the art and craft of *barang*? Yes, the *mananambals* interviewed say. However, a student of *barangan* has to spend seven years of correct practice of the craft in order to become proficient. In the words of one *mananambal*, with whom this investigator has established a certain degree of rapport and confidence, "*Magkinahanglan ka ug pito ka Viernes Santo aron matun-an gayud nimo ang pagkatinu-ud nga mananambal.*" (You would need to spend seven Good Fridays [or seven years] in order to learn thoroughly how to be a real *mananambal*). This being the case, little can be said at the moment about this covert culture pattern among folk medicine practitioners in Siquijor. This report will therefore deal further with the aspect of folk medical practices which seem to be allied to the practice of sorcery.

Pagpanambal or Folk Medicine Practice

A folkhealer in Siquijor or its nearby towns would readily concede that western medicine practice is valid. In fact, more often than not, he would be heard to suggest to a patient that the latter consults a medical doctor first. However, a folk medicine man would not hesitate to claim that there are certain diseases which western (modern) medicine practi-

tioners cannot cure. These are the cases where the folk medical practitioner comes in.

Where are medicinal materials for folk healing taken? There are six places from where materials are gathered and later on processed for medical use: *lasang* (forest), *baybayon* (seashore), *dagat* (sea, the shallower portion), *langob* (cave), *simbahan* (church or places of worship), and *lubnganan* (cemetery or graveyard). Materials that naturally grow or are found in these places are selected by *mananambals* at certain times of the year.

Siquijodnon *mananambals* look at their calendar and count backward seven Fridays prior to the Friday of the Holy Week of the year. In all those seven Fridays a *mananambal* goes out to collect medicinal materials. A list of these materials appears later in this report. The speed and zeal of the *mananambal* in his collection gets more hectic as the seven Fridays draw closer toward Holy Week. For each Friday he is to pick up from seven to around 27 different kinds of medicinal materials. These are stockpiled in some dry place in his house, usually in the *silong* (ground level of the house). During the *Mga Mahal nga Adlaw* or *Semana Santa* (Holy Week), all the days in that week are utilized for *pangalap* (search). It seems that the word *pangalap* is not known in the everyday vocabulary of this Sugbuhanon-speaking area. However, it is a word familiar to the *mananambal*. Probably the root word is *halap* or *alap* (to grope as a blind person would). The following is a description of a *pangalap*.

Early in the morning (Friday), after breakfast, a *mananambal*, accompanied by another person (usually an apprentice), goes out into the woods. They carry with them a bolo or two. They also take with them an empty grain-sack. The *mananambal* is supposed to know exactly where in the woods he should go to find the necessary materials. However, if he does not find what he is looking for in one spot, he simply goes to another. He may cut up a branch or several branches of a particular tree, or dig up a part of the roots, cut off some leaves, or uproot an entire plant. Only a minimum of information and instruction is given the apprentice in the process. However, if he asks the *mananambal* for the name of the plant it is given to him immediately. They would move on to other spots in the woods. All collected materials are placed in the

sack. If the *mananambal* feels that what they have gathered in the morning is enough for the day, they may take the afternoon off. The number of items gathered for a day should be between seven and twenty-seven. Some of these plant materials have very strong smell. A combination of different varieties of them gives an exotic aroma as they are piled somewhere in the house.

At the seashore, not as many items as those from the woods are found. Nevertheless, extreme care is taken by the *mananambal* in picking up the right materials, at least seven of them, of different kinds. It goes without saying that more time is spent in the search in the woods (*pangalap sa lasang*) than in the search at the beach (*pangalap sa baybayon*).

From the sea, materials like urchins, starfish and others would understandably deteriorate quite easily. It is therefore reasonable to pick up these items nearest to the final day of the *pangalap*, i.e., Friday of the Holy Week. The earliest time for the *pangalap sa dagat* (gathering items from the sea) is a week before the final Friday. As these materials from the sea with their marine smell are added to the stockpile the smell becomes even more strange.

Inside caves the the objects taken are *pangay-ay* (stalactite and stalagmite). According to my informants there are around twenty-two caves of different depths and sizes all over the Island. This researcher, accompanied by the folkhealer, had gone into at least three of them. Of the caves entered, the most shallow one had a narrow opening, about three feet in diameter, but the inside part is like a mini-gymnasium.

The next cave we went into caused a great deal of excitement to a group of youths, some of whom served as guides. From the mouth going in to about fifteen meters we descended gradually. Then the declivity sharpened deeply into a pool of water about waistline deep. The innermost bowels of the cave must have been disturbed by our presence because scores of bats, *kabot* or *kawapnit* to Siquijodnons, including swifts (*sayaw* in the dialect) went flying out through the cave's mouth. The scientific name of cave bats in Siquijor is *Cynopterus brachyotis* while the Gray Swift in the Island is identified scientifically as *Collocalia vestita mearnsi*. Its nest is edible and in great demand among expensive restaurants in cities like Cebu, Manila, and Hongkong.

We descended deep. There were stalactites and stalagmites everywhere. There were white ones of different sizes, others were brownish. But these were not the kind that *mananambals* sought. Temperature and humidity were high. We perspired in spite of the cool water running up to our knees on the cave floor.

High humidity and temperature could bring certain effects, like moisture gathering in the inside surface of a camera lens, making picture-taking ineffective. For lighting, ordinary dry-cell battery-powered flashlights were considered non-operative due to the temperature-humidity condition. Instead, we used bamboo torches. We also carried in our pockets plenty of matches in small plastic matchstick containers which were made watertight before we entered the cave.

The *pangay-ay* of the *mananambals* are carefully chosen. They are usually found in much deeper parts of caves. According to my informant a stalagmite that is black with a corresponding white stalactite directly opposite above it is best preferred by *mananambals*. In the third cave, only the *mananambal*, his apprentice and myself went in. It was then three Fridays preceding the Holy Week. They brought only one empty sack and a hammer. The mouth of the cave was only a few steps away from the *mananambals*. Upon our descent, we used a bamboo pole of about eight meters to get down steep cliff-like areas. We used this bamboo twice within some fifty-meter distance. Finally, there at the roof of the cave, well within reach of the *mananambal*, a stalactite was seen protruding. White, and about two feet long, it was a perfect cone. The *mananambal* hammered at its base and in a few minutes we were off with it out of the cave. It took us about two hours to secure that *pangay-ay*. That was only activity for the day as far as the *pangalap* was concerned.

Pangalap sa simbahan (search in church) and *pangalap sa sementerio* (cemetery or graveyard) is undertaken during the Holy Week. These activities were not directly observed in this research. Except for the evidences of *balas nga may kauban nga bukog sa tawo* (soil or sand mixed with human rib bone and a skull) included in the stockpile in the house there was no other evidence that can be mentioned in this report. Bits and pieces of what were obtained from the church include scrap-

ings from an icon's fingers or toes, small portions of its garments, candles, and holy water contained in small bottles. These were kept in a special pouch made of cotton cloth kept by the *mananambal*. The process of obtaining these materials will not be described here.

We will now describe the *pangadlip*. The word *pangadlip* or *adlip* is not known popularly among Sugbuanon speakers outside of Siquijor. The word for it in the common usage is *tagsip* (to ship off a bit of something from a "mother" source). *Pangadlip* seems to be exclusively used among folk medicine practitioners as a part of their folk medical vocabulary.

Pangadlip is done on Holy Thursday of the *Semana Santa*. Visiting *mananambals* interested to obtain these native pharmacological ingredients sit around in a circle on the floor of the living room of the host *mananambal's* house. Seven of them consist one circle. Each one holds a big knife or bolo and a piece of wood which is placed in front of him. The wood serves as a chopping board. The host *mananambal* (one among the seven) sits beside the stockpile of the materials which had been collected during the past seven weeks. Underneath each one's chopping board is spread a wide piece of *dinauban nga dahon ug saging* (banana leaf which had been quickly passed over fire). The passing of it over fire has nothing to do with sanitation. It is merely to keep the leaf more pliant, thus making it more easily manageable for wrapping purposes.

It seems that there is not much prohibition on who is to participate in this *pangadlip*. But it is preferable that in every group there are seven people involved. The host *mananambal*, at random, picks up one item at a time from the stockpile of materials beside him. (Full list of a *mananambal's* materials in Appendix A.) He chips off three small pieces from it and hands over the bigger piece to the next person in the circle. The next *mananambal* in the circle did the same thing and so on, until the procedure reaches the last one who kept a pile of the remaining branch or vine that was handed to him. When they were through with this procedure, each of them wrapped up their collection of *tinagsip* or *inadlip* (chip-aways) in a banana leaf, tied these up with *lanot* (banana trunk strip) and put them away in baskets, bags, or packs.

In the backyard the *kawa* (vat) was set over three large stones

between which fire was burning. A Siquijodnon *mananambal* was feeding it with firewood. What was being "cooked" was a combination of several ingredients, the main one being great quantities (estimated to be about five gantas) of *inagiw nga inadlip* or burnt black mixture of all the materials included in the list (Appendix A). The mixture had been toasted or roasted black and then pulverized. Portions of candles of various sizes were being mixed with the concoction. It is said that only candles which had been obtained from churches and cemeteries could be included in this mixture. Also included were small bits and pieces of whatever materials, such as scrapings from legs or arms or fingers of statues of saints in churches and chapels, or anything at all that may be snatched off from any sacred object during Good Friday's public procession of the preceding year.

While the mixture was still hot and fluid, bamboo cups were filled with it. As it cools, the concoction jells and solidifies. Through these cups, it is distributed equally among the *mananambals* for them to use for *palina*, or for smoking away the illness or whatever is causing it in the patient.

Palina administered to a patient at Valencia, Negros Oriental was observed. A married woman, 27 years old, was suffering from a severe headache. She had been a constant patient of one of the local *mananambals* in the area. The folk medicine man felt her pulse at her wrist. He said, "*Adunay hilanat. Lunod.*" (There is fever. Concealed.) This is to say that the fever in the patient is deep within her body and cannot be easily detected. The patient was made to lie down in bed in her own house.

The *mananambal* asked for a flat iron. He placed some charcoal in it, which he burned. When enough heat was generated, he melted the *palina* by putting the bamboo cup up-side-down over the burning charcoal. A good amount of smoke rose from the open flat iron which was placed directly under the bed where the patient lay. The patient was enveloped in smoke. At this time the *mananambal* massaged her forehead, back and chest with oil that he got from a bottle which also contained *inadlip*. Massage was accompanied by utterance of *orasyon* (ritual prayer). Then the patient was immediately wrapped with a blanket and left alone. In the meantime the medicine-man smoked a ciga-

rette and conversed with those adults who were gathered around the patient. He assured them that she will get well.

In a few minutes he let the patient uncover herself. She was perspiring. She was instructed to wipe off her perspiration and change her clothing. She did so with the help of an older female relative. Before the *mananambal* left the patient's house he gave instructions that the patient should not touch cold water or drink anything that has not been warmed. He said that he would be back the next day to see how she would be getting along.

This researcher went back and saw the patient after three days. The patient testified that she was well and that she already had her bath, an indication that she has recovered from her illness.

Let us go back to the topic on *palina*-making in Siquijor. By the time the bamboo cups of *palina* had been distributed to the visiting *mananambals* it was noon time. The guests dispersed for lunch. The host did not stop working on his medicine preparation. He went up the kitchen of his house and there broke some mature coconuts into halves. He grated all of them on a grater. Each of these coconuts was a *bugtong*, that is, the one and only fruit in what could have been a bunch. Also, these *bugtongs* grew facing east. Not just any coconut is taken to be used for the purpose of producing oil for medicine.

The host *mananambal* squeezed the milk from the grated coconut and boiled it in a pan until oil is produced. He then poured the oil into clean empty bottles. In this case he used empty liquor bottles. These bottles of oil were distributed to all those *mananambals* who participated in the *adlip*. They were to mix the *inadlip* ingredients with the oil. The mixture would be used externally in massaging the patient's body or part of the body. Hopefully their supply would last for the whole year until they could return to San Antonio for the next supply at the succeeding Holy Week.

The visiting *mananambals* were asked: Can you not obtain these medicinal materials from your own locality? Why do you come to San Antonio to obtain them? Their common answer was: the medicinal plants and other ingredients from Siquijor are more potent than those obtained elsewhere. And besides, the expert *mananambals* live in Siquijor.

Good Friday Activities

In the morning of Good Friday, the *mananambals* were awake early, slowly and quietly moving about the house of the host medicine man. They seemed to be repeating their activity of the previous day, cooking something over the fire, except that the pots they used were smaller. There was something "private" about the way the *mananambals* conducted themselves. When this researcher attempted to join the group huddled around a pot he was told deliberately by his informant, "*Ayaw lang padu-ol dinha*" (Do not go near there). Later on the informant explained, after some hesitation, that that activity was exclusively for those *mananambals* who practice hexing. They were preparing a concoction called *igdala-ut* (something to be used to destroy). Apparently, this was an aspect of the practice of sorcery. It is evident that an investigator has to establish a high degree of rapport (or perhaps become himself, a sorcerer?) to be able to utilize the participant observation technique in ethnography. Such time, hopefully, would dawn upon this anthropological investigator.

Knowing full well that an outsider was prohibited from direct participation in this Good Friday morning activity, one could only observe from a distance of about ten meters while he pretended "disinterest" on what was going on among the *mananambals*. Words that provoked a great deal of interest to this researcher overheard from among the hexers were *barang*, *haplit*, and *paktol*.

Gathered from non-sorcerer Siquijodnons is the following information: There are as many as fifty different methods of sorcery. The three mentioned above are the most commonly known. *Barang* is one method in which the sorcerer commands insects, usually beetles, to enter the body of a victim. The victim suffers from a swollen stomach. The insects can multiply in a victim's body. Other insects such as ants, centipedes, bees, and worms are also used.

Haplit is a form of imitative magic. A doll is used to represent the victim. Pain is inflicted upon the victim by pricking the doll with needles. Incidentally, a doll once used by a Siquijodnon sorcerer and was confiscated by the police was later on donated to the graduate class of Dr. Hubert Reynolds (1968). It is kept as an artifact in the Silliman University Anthropology Museum. Other artifacts related to Siquijor

sorcery practices—*barang* insects, love potion called *lumay* and others—are exhibited at the Anthropology Museum.

Paktol is a more elaborate religio-magical ceremony performed in the forest. According to informants, it is conducted at midnight on any given Friday. Its effect is believed to be fatal to the victim.

Again on folkhealing practices, one *mananambai* gave the following information.

1. Sickness: *Bughat sa babae*, (roughly “woman’s relapse”). This may be described as a pathological condition among women in post-partum stage. The condition is characterized by dizziness and headache accompanied by general body weakness. The *mananambal* explains the cause to be either one or the combination of exposure to the draft—*mahanginan* (note the name of one medicinal plant, *tabonghangin*, meaning, “cover from wind”)—strenuous physical exertion, eating wrong food.

Cure: *Puting kakaw, ungaling bulunganon, uli-an, tabonghangin*. Mix the *inadlip* of these ingredients. Boil them in water and let the patient drink the potion. A glass of this drink everyday for about one week will cure the patient.

2. Sickness: *Hibolos* (loose bowel movement). Male or female. Any age except suckling infants.

Cure: *Manunggol* (this is very bitter), *manggustan, kalingag, tabonghangin, uli-an, pa-uli*. Mix the *inadlip* of these ingredients and soak them in a glass of drinking water. Let the patient drink the potion.

3. Sickness: *Kutukutu* (abdominal pain). Male or female of all ages except suckling infants.

Cure: *Malagayang lubang* (a rice variety), *pa-ulu, tabonghangin*. Pound these ingredients. Soak in drinking water. Let the patient drink the mixture.

4. Sickness: *Kalibang ug dugo* (bloody stool). Male or female of all ages except suckling infants.

Cure: *Manggustan, kalingag, tabonghangin, luy-ang kahoy* (pungent), *banaba, murahay-a, idyok, dawa*. Get scrapings of these ingredients and soak them in a glass of drinking water. Let the patient drink the mixture.

5. Sickness: *Sakit nga lunud* (fever of the patient is said to be

inside and cannot be detected merely through touch).

Cure: *Dawa, malagayang lubang* (these are grains), *pauli, tabonghangin*. The grains are toasted and added to scrapings of the latter ingredients. Soak in ordinary drinking water. Let the patient drink the mixture.

Oraciones or Mga Orasyon

Oraciones (or to Siquijodnons *mga orasyon*) are sacred Latin phrases or prayers taken from religious books used by Roman Catholic priests. These are supposed to be committed to memory by *mananambals*. It may be noted, however, that correct rendition of such prayers, particularly its grammar and certain terminology, are distorted more often than not in the *mananambal's* attempt to mix it up with the vernacular Cebuano.

A *mananambal* gave the following testimony on how he got his *libro sa mga orasyon* (a book of Latin prayers), which he described as "only as big as a matchbox." Once, when he was alone approaching San Antonio chapel, he noticed a "tiny bird" which had a peculiar way of flying. It seemed as if it was trying to catch his attention. It would drift from left to right and back again and then would follow that same pattern as it flew toward him. After a few minutes, it finally settled on the ground before him. It was then that he realized that it was a little book and not a bird. He picked it up and opened it. The printed words were in Latin. He knew for certain that it was for him to keep, in fact, to memorize for some good purpose. He brought it home and from time he started memorizing its contents.

Nowhere in the research was obtained a copy of what may be considered as an "original" printed script of what is claimed to be this sacred book, in spite of the allegations of most *mananambals* that they have taken hold of such a book. When asked whether it is possible to see such a book, the usual answer is that it is only obtained by those who go through the initiatory process of becoming a healer. That is to say, no one who is a nonhealer would be able to take hold of this book of *oraciones*. And those who may have obtained it would often mysteriously lose it. Others in possession of the book would certainly not show it to any other person. However, he may show it with great

caution to an initiate or novice into the folk medicinal practice.

Nonetheless, in the course of the research, in one household in barrio San Antonio, a housewife volunteered to show a handwritten copy of a book of prayers. At first she was quite hesitant to bring it out, saying that the owner, a healer who was at that time in Mindanao, may not like her showing it. At any rate, after some haggling, she was persuaded to lend the book under the condition that it be returned to her immediately. The material was really a small notebook, two by three inches in breadth and length and some thirty pages in thickness with dark-brown hard paper for cover. All the leaves of white ordinary paper were filled back to back with handwritten prayers. It is a notebook one could easily buy from *sari-sari* stores. Quite handy, it can be easily carried in one's shirt pocket. (Appendix B exhibits copies of the prayers from that notebook.) There can be no doubt that there is little understanding on the part of the one (presumably a *mananambal*) who copied these prayers from its original text.

However dubious the manner through which these prayers may have been copied, it is worth nothing that a *mananambal*, having taken pains to obtain it, testifies to his strong belief in its effectuality in the process of healing or thwarting perceived danger. This being an ethnographic report, it will not in any way venture into interpretation or explanation that may detract further from the data here presented. An ethnological essay which is forthcoming will deal with this matter.

To conclude, let it be said that, no doubt, medicine practices in Siquijor will continue as part of the lifeways of the people. While modern, western society-oriented medical practice continues to gain acceptance, folkhealing prevails and sorcery alongside with it will not diminish.

In the decades around the 1960s observations have shown that non-western societies as they begin to be drawn more fully into the modern world have resulted in an increase rather than a decrease in sorcery and witchcraft. (McHale, 1961: 331-341.) It has been pointed out that the situation may be explained by the existence of factors of social change, characterized by disruptive, disorganizing effects on traditional societies that encourage people, especially the rural folk or people with rural upbringing, to resort to devices that lend themselves to the continuance of folk medicine, sorcery and withcraft practices.

NOTES

This ethnographic report is a result of a field study made in Siquijor Island during the academic year 1976-77 (weekend visits only plus the Holy Week session of that year). The study was conducted under the financial auspices of the Research, Extension and Development of Silliman University, Dumaguete City.

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APPENDIX A

Bill of Materials (from a *Pangadlip*)

(At this writing the botanical name of the material with asterisk is still being determined.)

1. Lunas (A rare variety of bamboo. It is not kawayan.)
2. Dulaw (A root crop with the appearance of luy-a, ginger.)
3. Tabonghangin*
4. Bito-on sa dagat (starfish)
5. Kolinós*
6. Kalatsutsi*
7. Kapul*
8. Ahos-ahós*
9. Abod*
10. Kamang*
11. Putat*
12. Labigan*
13. Malabunhaw*
14. Pangay-ay
15. Likop-likop
16. Badbad
17. Salimpokot
18. Bolobanitlong*
19. Bokabok*
20. Sidamasko*
21. Nipa*
22. Tubah*
23. Pangasam*
24. Do-ol* (para la lumay)
25. Pahauling kahoy*
26. Lagay-lagay
27. Ungali*
28. Aloloy* (para sa kalibanga)
29. Sida-sida* (para sa sakit tiyan, pait kini)
30. Kalimuyaw (sa baybay kuha-a)

31. Dugtong-dugtong*
32. Mantawi*
33. Pahauling dagko sa moros*
34. Kalagaskagas*
35. Tangolomo*
36. Atay-atay*
37. Kulambuta (squid spine)
38. Kopal dugtong-dugtong*
39. Magamay
40. Umagbat
41. Salimpokot (same as 17)
42. Bisol-bisol* (baybay)
43. Bugo-bugo*
44. Tagilumot*
45. Kawilan*
46. Hanukul nga balagon*
47. Putat balagon*
48. Sig-id uli-an*
49. Buko-buko*
50. Pahauling tapol*
51. Layo*
52. Marbas*
53. Agonoy*
54. Bulungang balagon*
55. Sagingsaging*
56. Banglay*
57. Kalagaskagas kahoy*
58. Gapas balagon*
59. Lomboy*
60. Bintokos*
61. Nipay*
62. Pahauling balagon*
63. Malamawmaw (para sa mata*)
64. Kalibutigro*
65. Gapasgapas (sa lasang)*
66. Alom (para sa panganak)*

67. Bulit*
68. Dalapot*
69. Salangang lipog*
70. Sarigudo balagon*
71. Salangang balagon*
72. Kolinos* (same as 5)
73. Kulukawayan*
74. Pahauling pilipog*
75. Tangolamos kahoy*
76. Pahauling undan*
77. Bokabok*
78. Uwagbugtong*
79. Bang-uli*
80. Ulingon*
81. Lipata*
82. Pahauling pulahung udlot*
83. Panhawan (pait kini)*
84. Pahauli sa moros*
85. Lukdo-lukdo*
86. Salong kahoy*
87. Tulang*
88. Doldol-ihalas*
90. Bonal-bonal*
91. Tuwang kahoy*
92. Lagikaw*
93. Uyap* (fruit is edible)
94. Kolinos balagon*
95. Uli-an*
96. Pahauling puting likod*
97. Agbaw*
98. Panangkilon*
99. Sulbaran*
100. Tulog-tulog balagon*
101. Tagima* (para sa hamkon ug samkon)
102. Taykompula* (himasmo)

103. Bukog ug tawo (*Ayaw tigbasa. Bali-a lang.* — Human rib bone bone. Do not use bolo on it. Break it only with your bare hands).
104. Paragayo*
105. Tagimang balagon*
106. Malakapit balagon*
107. Kawilan*
108. Handalusa*
109. Paksal*
110. Sibukaw*
111. Magaymay*
112. Tambuliganang kahoy*
113. Manaktak balagon*
114. Salibadbad*
115. Bulakan lagalag*
116. Bul-an* (para sa samkon)
117. Bulakan balagon*
118. Malabulan balagon*
119. Iwakan*
120. Taginomok*
121. Adyupana*
122. Tultul kahoy*
123. Taglibasan balagon*
124. Buli-buli kahoy*
125. Pahauli lingig dahon*
126. Halom kahoy*
127. Tibalawon*
128. Pahauling itom*
129. Hanonong-o*
130. Tabong hangin* (same as 3)
131. Tulog tulog kahoy*
132. Banag*
133. Labigan*
134. Solosibuyas*
135. Lagikawnong balagon*
136. Manan-aw*

137. Sig-id balagon*
138. Salay*
139. Hanokol balagon*
140. Bahay (gikan sa dagat)
141. Kabkabon (gikan sa dagat)
142. Antolanga (gikan sa dagat)
143. Salong kahoy*
144. Taypong balagon*
145. Pandan*
146. Taypong kahoy*
147. Bang-uli*
148. Batakuling*
149. Alihokhok*
150. Kisol*
151. Tabololaking kapayas*
152. Tangan-tangan pula*
153. Siyutis balagon*
154. Sonting* (para sa alap-ap)
155. Pragayo*
156. Manta-awi*
157. Kawilan*
158. Dabdaban* (para sa pasmo)
159. Pahauling gilis*
160. Bitoong kahoy*
161. Sarigudho*
162. Tugas himulaw* (para sa pasmo)
163. Malaktak kahoy*
164. Haggay balagon*
165. Patong*
166. Hanokol balagon*
167. Pahauling dagko*
168. Pikit-pikit*
169. Pangasam sa bukid*
170. Pangasam sa dagat
171. Salibadbad* (same as 114)

- 172. Sig-id natural*
- 173. Tamba-uli*
- 174. Kuyap balagon*
- 175. Kalingag*
- 176. Buli*
- 177. Tuang balagon*

APPENDIX B

ORACIONES from a Mananambal's Prayerbook

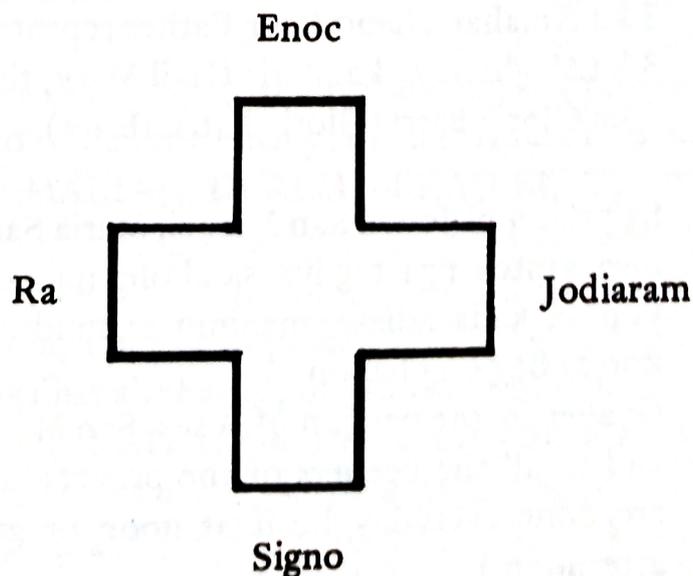
(Free translations of the prayers are not part of the original)

- Orasyon:** Sa pagbangon sa cruz ni Jesus nga gikalig-onan sa kalibutan paghenilin sa tanang manunulay nga yuta-on.
(At the rising of Jesus from the cross that strengthens the world, that drives away all earthly or worldly evils.)
CRISTOS PACTUS SER POR NOBIS ADVINES.
OS KIDA MORTEM AUTEM CROSI AMEN.
ORACION CROS PACTUM BERCOM CAROM
PACTUM BELA DOMINI.
- Orasyon:** Ni Jesus sa iyang pagka hari nga walay molabaw.
(Prayer of Jesus upon his kingship which no one can excel).
COSIACO SA GAHOM CRISTOS REGNAT CRISTOS
EMPERET CRUZ RESEM ROSABES NOMINI DEUS
REX.
- Orasyon:** Paglansang ni Jesus sa Cruz contra sa tanang espiritung malig-no ut mga kalag nga kundinado.
(At the nailing of Jesus on the cross, against every evil spirit and condemned souls).
ENEMENTION DOMINOM SICO ANTEAS SANTI
VANGELICUM SIGONDOM MATIOM LORIA TEBE
DOMINI.
- Orasyon:** Sa pasion sa atong ginoo sa tanang dautang yuta ug paghengiling sa tanang manunulay ug yawan-on.
(Prayer on the passion of our Lord against all evil soil (earth) and to drive away all temptation and evil).
ET CARNATOSIS DE SPIRITUM SANCTUM ET
MARIAM VIRGINEXITOM IMPACTUM PATER NOSTE
ET EN SET TIAS SANTI PATER TOMEN TUWAM.

Orasyon: Bugaw sa tanang mga impacto nga yutan-on ug kotob mabati ang akong tingog dagan gayud sa walay hunong. (To drive away all evil realities that are earth-bound within the reach of my voice, scamper away without stopping).
HASEM PASIM ET SU DEUM ET SI DOMINI GRISTE.

Orasyon: De pulso. Pagluya ug pagkurog sa akong kontra. (Prayer for the pulse. To weaken and scare my enemy).
JESUS, JESUS, TRATIRA SANA MAGSIBRA. ANGEL SA TI-ILAN KO, ANGEL SA KILIRAN KO, IKAW MAN ANG ORASYON DE PULSO NGA MAKALUYA SA KONTRA KO.

Orasyon: Sa pagdiscomonion sa upat ka Evangelio pagkanaug ko sa balay nga dili ako dumagan sa tanang mga dautan. (Prayer to invoke the four gospels as I go down my house that I may not run away from any or all evil).
JESUS, SAN PEDRO, JESUS, SAN PABLO, JESUS PATER EGOSOM, ENOC SIGNO REX JUDIAROM, AMEN JESUS, ENOC.



Orasyon: Sa pagdiscomonion sa 4 ka Evangelio. Sa paghangilin sa tanang dautan ug dili ako ma-unsang.

(Prayer to invoke the 4 Gospels. Plea that nothing should happen to me).

SANTA EBENDERINA, SANTA SENOR EBENDERINA. SANTA METED IPAULI, SANTA MATIAM, SANTA LUCAM, SANTO SENOR, SAN MARIAM, AKONG gidibusyonan. Ang lara, ang mga Santos, Angel, akong magbalantay. Santos kong sangay inyo akong pagbindisyonan sa kamahalan. Inyo akong kuyugan sa pulong sa kamahalan. PAKDOMINOM VOBISCOM. Ang akong asdang nga ang nangag tindog nangapokan, ang maglingkod sa hilapad nga hidalaganan mangatagak sa yuta sa walay undang. Ug akong isinggit kamatay nga walay sanglit kay bisan unsay hisakpan sa tibo-ok kalibutan, kay ako ang mga kapitan sa pulong sa kamahalan.**

It may be noted that the Latin and Bisayan terms are here blended. And this particular prayer item does not really say what it purports to be.

(Literally the term means ritualistic requirement which usually refers to portions of the Rosary used by Roman Catholic Christians.)

Tulumanon:

3 ka Amahan Namong (Our Father repeated thrice)

3 ka Maghimayang ka Mariang (Hail Mary, thrice)

3 ka Gloria Patri (Gloria Patri, thrice)

Orasyon: Sa pasion ni Jesus, San Miguel, Maria Santisima ug sa tanang mga santos nga tag-iyang sa akong mga orasyon nga gidibusyon sa kada adlaw, mahimong sa mudto kon sa kaadlawon kon sa bag-ong hapon.

(Prayer in the passion of Jesus, San Miguel, Mary most holy and to all the keepers of the prayers in my devotion which are done everyday be it at noon or at daybreak or early afternoon.)

JESUS, JESUS, JESUS, CRUZ SALVAME PINI DEUM DOMINI.

- Orasyon:** Kuntra sa pang-abatan
(Prayer against attack of ghosts.)
JESUS, CRE JESUS, SALVEME ET PINI ET DEUM
DOMINI.
(Prayer against temptation, or at a fight where you are concerned). PAHUM ERA TERAM.
- Orasyon:** Ni Senor Solomon, 150 ang iyang pina-angkan ug 150 ang iyang gipa-angkan; paglukmay sa boot sa tawo.
(Prayer of Solomon, 150 did he beget and 150 (women) through whom they were sired; prayer to soften the will of a person).
SALOTAN Y BABOLOM REGNUM PASET VOLOM-TATE.
- Orasyon:** Ni Santa Magdalena nga malukmay ang boot sa tawo.
(Prayer of St. Magdalena to bend the will of a person).
SUHAG GLORIA SANTA MAGDALENA LUKA RET
DEPASI.
- Orasyon:** Sa pagluya.
(Prayer to weaken others).
COSTE DEMI DOMINI JESUS.
- Orasyon:** Sa pagluya sa akong contra, o mabuang ang tawo.
(Prayer to waken my enemy, or to drive him insane).
JESUS, MARIA, DEREM ERAO-EL-AL ANTOMIN
JESUS.
- Orasyon:** Kuntra sa mga malala, o peste.
(Prayer against all that is poisonous, or pests).
KEBAGARA KAITARUM KASIALANOBIS TUWOM.
- Orasyon:** Ni San Vicente.
(Prayer of San Vicente).
BINIBAS SALVO TENATE PELINA.

- Orasyon:** Ni San Roque.
(Prayer of San Roque).
EGOSUM, EGOSUM, EGOSUM, BENEDES SALVO
TENETE PIENA.
- Orasyon:** Kuntra sa mga malala, bongkol, tawal.
(Prayer against all things poisonous, evil spells, evil prayers
of others against you).
SALYA, GADYA, SAXO.
- Orasyon:** Sa trangkaso.
(Prayer against fever flu).
EKTARAM.
- Orasyon:** Sa hibolos.
(Prayer against loose bowel movement).
PERATOM.
- Orasyon:** Sa suka, hibolos.
(Prayer against vomiting, loose bowel movement).
EKARAGAT.
- Orasyon:** Sa paghunong sa dugo.
(Prayer against or to stop hemorrhage).
BAKSILEUM.
- Orasyon:** Nga dili mabughat sa panganak.
(Prayer that a woman at childbirth would not get sick with
an ailment related to child delivery).
MGA BATA MATAUCUM.
- Orasyon:** Sa pagpanganak.
(Prayer during childbirth).
HANE TAUM
- Orasyon:** Sa pagkatawo sa bata bisan pa patay na sa sulod sa tiyan.

(Prayer for the live birth of a child even though it is already dead in its mother's womb).

HIMINORASUM.

Orasyon: Sa paglubong sa bagong balay.
(Prayer for the erection of a new house).
TRESONAT.

Tulumanon alas 2:30 sa hapon, alas 6 sa hapon, alas 2:30 sa kaadlawon.

Revesar Losario (Rosario) Latin.

Amahan Namong Roram

Iyong hinisam

Orasyon: Maghimaya ka Maria.
(Prayer: Hail Mary).
ENONEM BELOREM KISAROM

Orasyon: Mito-o ako
(Prayer: I believe).
MOWIM DISAM AROTAM
JESUCRISTO AFORAM AKORAM BIKRIAM
GLORIA PATRI JEM ON TI-E

Orasyon: Sa kaaway ni Jesus Cristo.
(Prayer against the enemy of Jesus Christ).
VIRGEN ET CRUS AWAM JESUS CRUZ.

Orasyon: Sa pagtatak sa hinagiban.
(Prayer to have the enemy's weapon fall).
SOBES JESUSUM MITAYA ENOHAM, JESUS, JESUS.

Orasyon: Sa pagto-on sa dugo.
(Prayer to keep blood from flowing).
EMPA AG LOGA BALSAMO PATUTU SA DUGO
SABISICO.

- Orasyon:** Aron dili hisakpan sa kaaway.
(Prayer so one is not taken by his enemy).
JESUS, JESUS, JESUS, CATO EGOSUM, EGOSUM,
EGOSUM, DEUS ELATERA JESUS.
- Orasyon:** Ang pagahi sa panit.
(Prayer, hardening of skin).
O GINA NI NO UM DIS BRAN PACTUM EROM.
- Orasyon:** Aron dili maglisod sa kamatayon.
(Prayer so one does not have difficulty at time of death).
ORACION CRISTE PACTUS ES PRONOBIS ARDEM
ARE AD MORTEM ANTEM CHUSIS OMNIPOTENTE
DIOS CRUZ DIOS.
- Orasyon:** Sa pagbadlas sa contra.
(Prayer to defeat the enemy).
OVED RUGUS SALIBA SAEN.
- Orasyon:** Nga dili maibot ang armas.
(Prayer to prevent the unsheathing of weapon by enemy).
DAM DAM JUDAM JESUS NAZARENO DERUM
PEDEDUM.
- Orasyon:** Nga dili ibakyao ang hinagiban.
(Prayer so weapon is not hoisted).
METIM KAPEYUM TUWAM IMBAHINAM.
- Orasyon:** Sa eskrema.
(Prayer in combat).
SE EMPARANG PERDECA SO PEDE DE MANO.
- Orasyon:** Bisan libotan kita sa mga hinagiban nga dili maunsa sa maitabo.
(Prayer so that even if we are surrounded by weapons nothing will harm us).

ES ARAMPEO LAMPIO SUSOM.

- Orasyon: Sa combate general.
(Prayer for general combat).
PAKLASEBET CUWAMBIS BETOS.
- Orasyon: Contra sa mga impactos.
(Prayer against evil spirits).
DEUS PATRI ET FELIU ET SPIRITU SANTOS.
- Orasyon: Sa atong ginoo.
(Prayer of our Lord).
ERGOSUM IRRAT ESARIA EGOSUM ERAT EGOSUM
TRES PADRES NOS ESTROS.
- Orasyon: Contra sa hilo-an.
(Prayer against one who poisons another).
JESUS, NISOL PEN PENDILO.
- Orasyon: Contra sa hilo-an.
(Prayer against one who poisons another).
COMBEBETSAN TO METOLINA ALLEMA ALLINA.
- Orasyon: Contra sa hilo-an.
(Prayer against one who poisons another).
MITIM GONAN TUWAM, JESUS RASIOM, JESUS,
JESUS, JESUS, MARIA Y JOSEPH.
- Orasyon: Sa pagluya sa akong contra.
(Prayer to weaken my enemy).
ENONONG DEUS, JEUS LEVOS IMEGUSOM.
- Orasyon: Nga dili mahinayon.
(Prayer to prevent (. . . . ?))
ERAT ET DEMA NI ET, JESUS, JESUS, JESUS NIVE
JESUS.

Orasyon: Mito-o ako, credo.
(Prayer, I Believe Creed).

EN DEIUM PATRIM AMEN POTENTE CREATORIUM
EDE ET TERRA EN JESUSUM CRISTOM FELEUM EJAS
UNICOM DOMIOSTROM QUE CONCEPTOS EST DE
SPIRITU SANTO KATUS ET MARIA VIRGINE PASU-
SUB PILATO CRUCIFIXUS MO ETUUS ET ESPULTUS
DE DONDETE AD INFEROS TERCIA DIE RESUREXET
AMORTIUS ANUDENT AD DEXTERAM DIE PATER
OMNIPOTENTE JUDE VENTURAS ESTJUDICARE
VIVAS ET MORTEUS.

CREDO EN SPIRITU SANTOM ERELESIAM CATO-
LICAM, PECATORUM, CARMIS RESURRECCIONEM
ITAN ASTARNAM, JESUS.

Orasyon: Sa misal.
(Prayer for the misal prayer book)?

1. AVE MARESTELLA DIE MATER ALMA UT QUE
SEMPRE
2. SUMI MA ILLUD AVE GABRILLES ORA PUNDA
NO EN PACE.
3. SALVE DU DORE EXPRATOR LUMIN BONE
CANATA PACE.
4. MONTRATE LASE MATRAM CUMAT PETE PRUES.
5. VERGO SEMGO LARES INTER OMENES METES
NOS COLPES SO BITOS NUTUS PACE ET COSTES.
6. VITAM PROESTA PEROMATA PARATUTUM SET
VENDETS JESUSUM SEMPRECALLEMOS.
7. SET EASE DIE PATRESUMINMA CRESTE DECOS
SPIRITU SANTOS TRIBOS NOMINI NOS JESUS.

Orasyon: IN NOMINI PATRES ET LE IT SPIRITUS SANTE EX-
STONGETUR IN TICNENOS VERTUS DIABOLE PER
EMPOGETIA MINMAN-OM NESTRAROM ET PER
NOVAS ATIONAM GLORIA AS SAE ET SANTO DIE
GENETROSES VIRGENES MARIA SANCTUROM

ANGELUROM, AROTE ANGELUROM MARTYRUM,
CONFESURUM, VIRGINES UT QUE OMMEN SI MULT
SANCTURUM JESUS.

Orasyon: Ni Jesus sa atong ginoo sa pag Evengaleio tawal secoyi.
(Prayer of our Lord Jesus in the Evengel for healing).

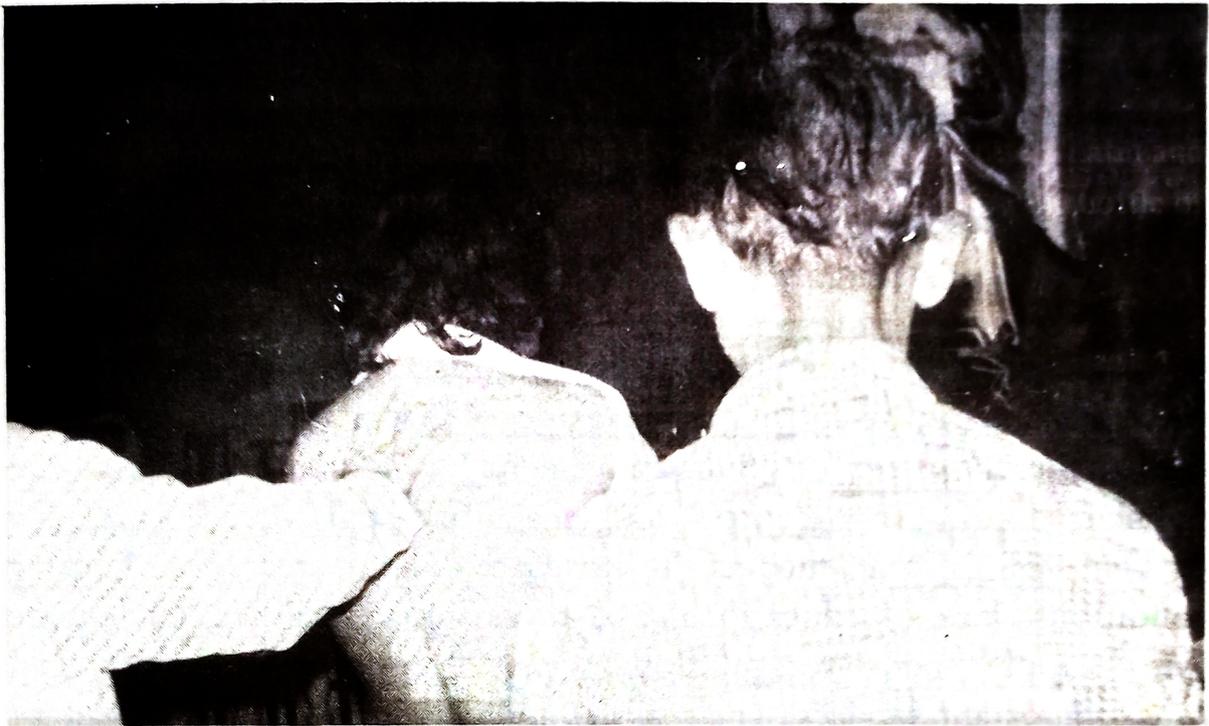
AMITRA SEGUNDOM LUSCIANA JUDU DE MARCOS
SALOME, SANTA MONICA, SANTA MAGDALENA,
SANTA APOSTOLES' ANGEL KONG MAGBALANTAY,
ANGEL KONG SANGAY POSTE YE DECUM, DECUM,
SANTOS, JESUS.



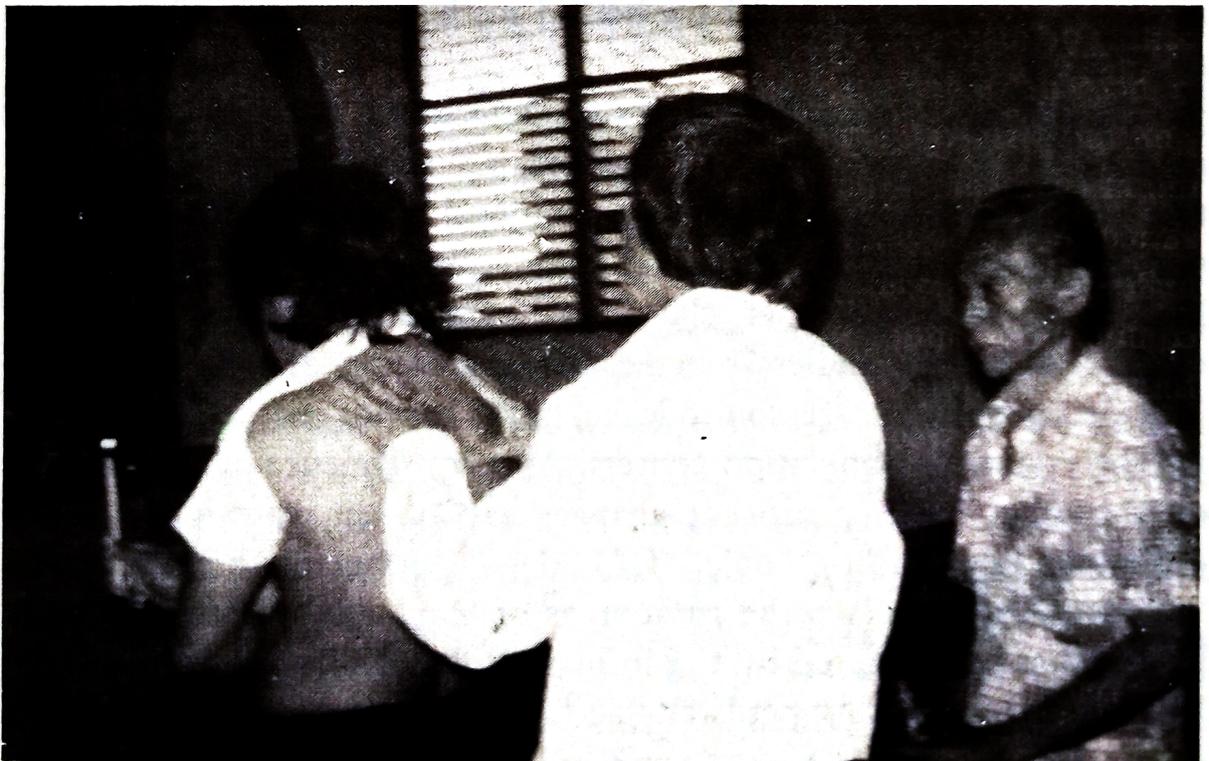
A *mananambal* or folk-medicine man of Siquijor sits in the chair he has personally designed for his own use when he administers healing to the sick. Note the bottles of herbal oil and native medicine behind the researcher's tape recorder.



Folk-medicine practitioner administers healing practice to a highly educated citizen of the town. Ministration was done in a church house. Note the *mananambal* in the act of blowing his breath upon the forehead of the patient.



Folk-medicine man lays his healing hand upon the back of the patient. The third man is an aide who assists the *mananambal* in responsorial prayer and in holding bottles of medicinal oil.



A *mananambal* lays both hands upon the patient's back as he utters Latin and Bisayan prayers. Note the lighted candle held by the patient and also the bottle of oil by the medicine-man's assistant.